A BRITAINE

A ROMANE

A SAXON

BRITANNIA

A DANE

A NORMAN

THE HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAINE

Under the Conquests of ye
ROMANS, SAXONS,
DANES and
NORMANS.

Their Originals Manners,
Habits Warres, Coines and Seales,
with the Successions, Lines, Acts,
and Illues of the ENGLISH MONARCHS,
from IVLIVS CÆSAR, to ovr most,
gratious Soueraigne
King IAMES.

The Second Edition
Reuised & Enlarged wth Sundry descents of ye Saxons
Kings, Their Mariages and Armes.

By IOHN SPEED.

IMPRINTED AT LONDON

Anno
Cum Privilegio
1623

Are to be sold by George Humble at the
Whit horse in Popes-head Alley

The Right Hon.ble Basil
Fielding Earl of Denbigh
1703

TO
THE MOST HIGH,
AND MOST POTENT
MONARCH,
IAMES,
OF GREAT BRITAINE, FRANCE,
AND IRELAND KING; THE MOST
CONSTANT AND MOST LEAR-
NED DEFENDER OF THE FAITH;
INLARGER AND VNITER OF
THE BRITISH EMPIRE; RESTORER
OF THE BRITISH NAME; ESTABLI-
SHER OF PERPETVALL PEACE, IN
CHVRH AND COMMONWEALTH;
PRESIDENT OF ALL PRINCE-
LY VERTVES AND
NOBLE ARTS;

IOHN SPEED,
HIS MAIESTIES MOST
lovvly and moſt loyall Subiect
and Seruant, conſecrateth theſe his labours, though
vnworthy the aſpect of ſo high an
Imperiall Maieſtie.

THE CONTENTS OF THE *CHOROGRAPHICALL PART.*

THE FIRST BOOKE.

Deſcribing the whole Kingdome in generall, with thoſe *Shires, Cities,* and *Shire-townes,* which are pro-perly accounted for *Engliſh.*

Countries and Counties.	*fol.*
Ark-ſhire	27
Bedford-ſhire	41
Buckingham-ſhire	43
Cambridg-ſhire	37
Cheſ-ſhire	73
Cornewall	21
Cumberland	87
Darby-ſhire	67
Deuon-ſhire	19
Dorceſter-ſhire	17
Durham-Biſhopricke	83
England Generall	5
Eſſex	31
Gloceſter-ſhire	47
Great Britaine	1
Hant-ſhire	13
Hertford-ſhire	39
Hereford-ſhire	49
Huntington-ſhire	57
Iſlands	93
Kent	7
Lanca-ſhire	75
Leiceſter-ſhire	61
Lincolne-ſhire	63
Man Iſland	91
Middleſex	29
Mounmouth-ſhire	107
Northampton-ſhire	55
Norfolke	35
North & Eaſt Ridings	81
Northumberland	89
Nottingham-ſhire	65
Oxford-ſhire	45
Rutland-ſhire	59
Saxons Heptarchie	3
Shrop-ſhire	71
Somerſet-ſhire	23
Stafford-ſhire	69
Suffolke	33
Surrey	11
Suſſex	9
Warwicke-ſhire	53
Weſtmorland	85
Weſt-Riding	79
Weight-Iſland	15
Wilt-ſhire	25
Worceſter-ſhire	51
Yorke-ſhire	77

THE SECOND BOOKE.

Containing the Counties of Wales.

Countries and Counties.	*fol.*
Angleſey Iſland	125
Brecknock-ſhire	109
Caermarden-ſhire	103
Caernaruon-ſhire	123
Cardigan-ſhire	113
Denbigh-ſhire	119
Flint-ſhire	121
Glamorgan-ſhire	105
Merioneth-ſhire	117
Mountgomery-ſhire	115
Penbroke-ſhire	101
Radnor-ſhire	111
Wales generall	99

THE THIRD BOOKE.

Scotlands Kingdome in one Generall. 131

THE FOVRTH BOOKE.

Containing the Kingdome of IRELAND.

Countries and Counties.	*Fol.*
Ireland Generall	137
Mounſter	139
Leinſter	141
Connaugh	143
Vlſter	145

THE

THE CONTENTS OF THE *HISTORICALL PART.*

THE FIFTH BOOKE.

CONTAINING,

Chap.		*fol.*
1	The Site and Circuit of Great Britaine	155
2	The names attributed to Great Britain	157
3	The ancient inhabitants of Great Britaine	161
4	The manners of the ancient Britaines	166
5	The Gouernment of Great Britaine	170
6	The Gouernors of Great Britaine	172
7	The Pictures and Attires of the Ancient Britaines; as also of the Picts and their originals.	179

THE SIXTH BOOKE.

Containing the succesions of the Monarchs of Great Britaine *vnder the* Romans.

Chap.		*fol.*
1	Caius Iulius Cæsars first comming into Britaine	183
2	Cæsars second expedition into great Britaine	185
3	Octauius Cæsar Augustus	188
4	Tiberius Nero	190
5	Caius Caligula	191
6	Claudius Drusus	193
7	Nero Claudius	197
8	Seruius Sulpitius Galba	201
9	The Gospels first plantation in Great Britaine	202
10	Marcus Saluius Otho	208
11	Aulus Vitellius	209
12	Flauius Vespasian	210
13	Titus Flauius	212
14	Flauius Domitian	213
15	Cocceius Nerua	216
16	Vulpin Traian	217
17	Ælius Hadrian	218
18	Antonius Pius	220
19	Marcus Aurelius	221
20	Commodus Antoninus	224
21	Heluius Pertinax	225
22	Didius Iulianus	226
23	Septimius Seuerus	227
24	Bassianus Caracalla / Septimius Geta	231
25	Opilius Macrinus	233
26	Antonius Heliogabalus	234
27	Alexander Seuerus	235
28	Caius Verus Maximinus	236
29	Pupienus Maximus / Clodius Balbinus	237
30	Antoninus Gordianus	238
31	Iulius Philippus	240
32	Traian. Decius	241
33	Trebonianus Gallus / Vibius Volusianus	242
34	Iulius Æmelianus	243
35	Licinius Valerianus	244
36	Licinius Galienus	245
37	Flauius Claudius	247
38	Aurel. Quintilius	248
39	Valerius Aurelianus	248
40	Claudius Tacitus	250
41	Annius Florianus	251
42	Valerius Probus	251
43	M. Aurelius Carus	253
44	Diocleſian Iouius	254
45	Constantius Chlorus / Val. Maximianus	257
46	Constantinus Maximus / Licinius Licinianus	259
47	Fla. Val Constantinus / Fla. Val. Constantius / Fla. Iulius Constanc.	262
48	Cla Iulianus the Apostata	264
49	Fla. Iouianus	267
50	Fla. Valentinianus / Fla. Valens	269
51	Fla. Gracianus / Fla. Valentinianus	272
52	Fla. Theodosius	274
53	Arcadius / Honorius	275
54	Theodosius 2. / Valentinian	278

THE SEVENTH BOOKE.

Shewing the Saxons *Kings, and* English *Monarchs.*

Chap.		*fol.*
1	The downefall of Britaine	281
2	The Saxons Originall	289
3	The manners of the ancient Saxons	288
4	The Saxons first arriuall into Britaine	297
5	The Kingdome of Kent	294
6	The Kingdome of the South-Saxons	300
7	The Kingdome of the West-Saxons	303
8	The Kingdome of the East-Saxons	309
9	The Kingdome of Northumberland	313
10	The Kingdome of Mercia	329
11	The Kingdome of the East-Angles	324
12	Britaines withstanders of the Saxons	329
13	Hengist the first Saxon Monarch	341

Chap.		Fol.
14	Ella	342
15	Cherdik	343
16	Kenrik	344
17	Cheuline	345
18	Ethelbert the firſt Chriſtian Saxon	346
19	Redwall	349
20	Edwin	350
21	Oſwald	353
22	Oſwy	354
23	VVlſhere	356
24	Ethelred	357
25	Kenred	358
26	Chelred	359
27	Ethelbald	360
28	Offa	361
29	Egfrid	363
30	Kenwolfe	364
31	Egbert ſole Monarch	365
32	Ethelwolfe	367
33	Ethelbald	369
34	Ethelbert	370
35	Ethelred	371
36	Elfred	373
37	Edward the elder	377
38	Ethelſtan	380
39	Edmund	382
40	Edred	384
41	Edwy	385
42	Edgar	386
43	Edward the Martyr	390
44	Ethelred	392
45	Edmund Ironſide	399

THE EIGHTH BOOKE:

Chap.		Fol.
1	The Danes Originall	395
2	The Danes firſt attempts for England	397
3	Canut the firſt Daniſh King	400
4	Harold	404
5	Hardicanut	406
6	Edward the Confeſſor.	408
7	Harold	412

THE NINTH BOOKE.

Chap.		Fol
1	The Normans original, and Dukes	421
2	VVilliam Conqueror	425
3	VVilliam Rufus	437
4	Henry the firſt	444
5	Stephen	455
6	Henry the ſecond	465
7	Richard the firſt	482
8	Iohn	493
9	Henry the third	519
10	Edward the firſt	555
11	Edward the ſecond	566
12	Edward the third	577
13	Richard the ſecond	603
14	Henry the fourth	623
15	Henry the fifth	635
16	Henry the ſixth	662
17	Edward the fourth	686
18	Edward the fifth	705
19	Richard the third	722
20	Henry the ſeuenth	739
21	Henry the eight	765
22	Edward the ſixt.	829
23	Mary Queene	841
24	Elizabeth Queene	857

THE TENTH BOOKE,

IAMES, our dread Soueraigne. 910.

HENR. SPELMAN Mil. Lectori.

NOn leue, nec temerè laudo tibi ſeria, lector,
Gratum opus & dignum conſule (crede) vides.
Noſter hic Ortelius, ſic noſtrum hunc exhibet orbem.
Vt res emineat, tota Britanna, ſimul.
Ora, ſinus, fluuii, portus, nemus, oppida, tractus.
Regna, duces, populi, fœdera, bella, quies.

S^r. Rich. Saint George Norrey *King at Armes, in fauour of this worke.*

IT is farre from my purpoſe, to comend without cauſe, or by ouercurious floriſh to make a ſhadow ſeeme a ſubſtance, this worke needs no ſuch deceptio viſus; *The ſubiect is of it ſelfe honorable, and able to ſtand without ſuch weake proppes. The glory of our Nation being almoſt buried in the pit of obſcurity, is herein reuiued, the continuance of Chriſtianity traced from age to age, the antiquity and ſituation of our Townes, Caſtles, Religious Houſes, Nobility, and all other memorable matters ſo liuely portraied, as in a glaſſe wee may rightly diſcerne the true ſhape, quality and condition of each of them in particular. This worke therefore being now brought vpon the publike ſtage and view of the world, may in my poore cenſure giue ſatisfaction to the learned Reader, and*

abide

abide the touch of the malignant opposer; which being effected without hope of gaine, or vaine ostentation with so great care, both of body and mind, is the more precious, for, difficilia quæ pulchra. Wherein Gods power is made knowne in this his weake, but worthy instrument: and the glory of Great Britaine made more famous to the world, as well in the Geographicall demension of the Lands situation, as in the Historicall relations of her most famous Monarchs, and glorious Actions; no Kingdome hitherto so particularly described, nor Nations History by true record more faithfully penned: In honor whereof, I sacrifice these lines of my loue, vpon the Altar of this worke, and celebrate the Authors remembrance to future posterities.

To my friend Mr. IOHN SPEED, being very sicke.

GReat loue, and little skill may cause me to missay.
But certainly this sicknes cannot make thee die:
Though cruell symptomes, and these thirteene yeers assay
For thy deare country, doth thy health & strength decay;
Yet sith thy toylsome labour, and thy industry
Is for thy Countries sake, her fame on hie to raise:
Shee shall thy temples crowne with euerlasting bayes,
And in despite of death, shall cause thy memory
To liue in endles fame with all posterity.

Now may shee see her beauty, and her riches store,
What erst shee was in eu'ry age, and change of state,
And present greatnes such as neuer heretofore,
Since this great Monarch rul'd from north to southerne shore
And sith thy life is to thy Country dedicate,
Let none presume thy lawrell from thy head to reaue
For this hir story, which thy skilfull hand did weaue:
But liue, & weare it (Speed) vntil the worlds great fate
Shall bring all earthly things vnto their vtmost date.

ALEX. GILL.

In exactissimi huius operis Authorem; Eulogium Tho. Barkham.

VInctа diu, rumpat despectа, silentia lingua,
Culmina vt immensi memorem superata laboris
Speide tui: insuetâ iactor licèt, (optime,) curâ,
Quam tibi pro merito possim circundare Palmam.
Qui coeant populi, quæcunque sub orbe Britanno
Digna refers, vno aspectu, scriptoque, locoque,
Sanguineas signas, atauorum bella, palæstras;
Nobilitansque aptâ patriam compagine, rerum,
Ad nostra exactum deducis tempora filum.
Ergô erit hæc magni merces non parua laboris,
Egregium pariunt hæc quòd monumenta decorem
Ipsa sibi, ventura quòd hæc mirabitur ætas,
Totáque perpetuas debet Respublica grates.

A l'honneur de l'autheur & son œuure.

LE trespuissant ouurier de la ronde machine,
Pour son chief d'œuure teint cest' Isle separée:
Et quoy que des plus grands thresors du ciél parée
Son lustre assuiettit au temps & a ruine.
D'un Demidieu ouurier d'une fabriq' diuine,
Par la plume se void la bresche reparée,
La ruire dressée, & la force asseurée
Contre la mort, que tant de beautés assassine.
La police, le nom, l'inuincible courage,
Les Princes, Prouinces, & tout qu'est d'auantage
Du Breton belliqueux, luisent en son Histoire:
Pour vn ouurage donq' a touts tant admirable,
Faisons, Faisons, Brettons, d'un burin memorable,
Grauer le nom de SPEED au temple de Memoire.

T. BARKHAM.

To the right well deseruing Mr. IOHN SPEED the Author of this Worke.

IN this BOOKE, (Bibliothec, or Booke of Bookes;
TIMES Library, PLACES Geographie)
All that is shewne for which the curious lookes
Touching this LAND, for place, or Historie,

In which thou hast with paine, with care, and skill,
Surueid this Land more neere then ere it was:
For which, they Wit thou strain'd hast to thy Will,
That wils as much as Witte can bring to passe.

The faire Hibernia that westerne Isle likewise,
In euery Member, Artire, Nerue, and Veine,
Thou by thine Art dost so Anatomize,
That all may see each parcell without * paine.

Heere Time, and Place, like friendly foes doe warre
Which should shew most desir'd Particulars;
But Place giues place, sith Time is greater farre;
Yet Place, well rang'd, gets glory by these warres.

No helpes thou hadst, nor no assisting aide,
In this attempt: but, Vertue gaue thee might
That well to doe, that well thou hast assaide
Which shall (in grace) out-liue immortall spight.

Hadst thou among the Romans liu'd when they
Did signiorize the World; A Signiory
Should then (at least) haue guerdon'd thy Suruey,
Thy Mappes, Desciptions, and thine Historie.

But, thou thou dost liue when all Arts saue the * eight
(Illiberall-liberall Arte) a begging goe;
That Arte alone, with her true friend Deceipt,
Gets all; then all seekes but that Arte to know.

But, by thy Arte though nought be purchased
But emptie Fame (that feeds, but fattens not)
Yet shall it feed thy NAME till DEATH be dead;
While empty noble Names away shall rot.

The Leaues this Book contains, and Maps here grau'n,
Are still as Feathers to thy Fames faire Wings,
To fanne fresh Aire vpon the face of Heauen;
And, raise the same aboue all ending Things:
That when Confusion wracks this double FRAME,
A Spirit shall moue on CHAOS Call'd thy Fame.

The vnfained louer of thy person,

Io. DAVIES

* Adulation

* trauell

Ὀγδοάσιχρ

In Historiam Magnæ Britanniæ Parentis sui chariſſimi, iam secundâ curâ editam.

SIc faciat miseros, faciat sors vna beatos:
Est aliquid clarum non habuisse patrem.
Spem superat tua fama meâ, riget æmula virtus:
Languet ad exemplum, quod nequit ipsa sequi.

Nil, quod perficiat natus, tua charta reliquit,
Nil, quod sudores prouocet usque meos.
Magnum opus est. i. perge Liber, repetásque triumphos,
Perge per Albionem (non peritura) tuam.

Io. SPEED Fil.

F *him that this* GREAT Taske *hath done*
(great for the goodneſſe many waies)
FAME *doth affirme he well hath wonne*
ARTS *higheſt* Prize, *and* Palme *of praiſe.*
In Climes, *and* Realmes *remote throughout,*
His merits merit rare report:
For none the like hath brought about;
Or equaliz'd in any ſort.
The Shafts of his endeuours, ſhot
At Gaine, *and* Pleaſure; *both haue hit:*
His Obſeruations *haue begot*
On priuate, publicke *Benefit.*
Chiefe Cities, Townes, *and* Countries *many*
(Which this vaſt Globe of Earth *affords)*
I oft haue view'd; but neuer any
So well deſcrib'd by Mappes *and* Wordes.
His trauel'd Body, *toiled* Mind
(To bring this Worke *at laſt to reſt*
In Period *which his* Plot *deſign'd)*
Should now reſt famous with the beſt.
The Romans *ſuch* Deſerts *did Crowne*
With Laurell, which their Soile brought forth;
But I, of Branches *farre off growne,*
Bring Wreaths *to this worke, more of worth,*
The Palme *(wherein rare vertues bee,*
And, for a Conqueſt, Crownes a King*)*
The Oliue, *and the* Cedar *Tree,*
Faire, fat, and fruitfull; theſe I bring.
In Egypt, Syria, *and the Land*
Of Promiſe, *(named by holieſt* High*)*
I could not ſee, nor vnderſtand,
For vertue, any Trees *come nigh.*
As theſe (worth praiſe) are profitable,
They being of the worthieſt kinds:
So in beſt ſence, hath Speed *been able,*
To pleaſe (worth praiſe) the worthieſt Minds.
In ſhort, to giue him then his due,
This Art *his better neuer knew.*

IO. SANDERSON.

THE PROEME.

TO THE LEARNED AND LOVERS OF GREAT BRITAINES GLORY.

HAuing thus farre trauelled in the portrait and deſcription of this famous Empire of GREAT BRITAINE, I might here haue reſted, and claimed the priuiledge that yeeres and imbecillity haue brought me vnto: had not a further deſire in others vrged it a matter incident, hiſtorically to lay down the originals of thoſe Nations, and ſucceſſions of thoſe Monarchs, which either by birth or conqueſt haue aſpired to the Imperiall Crowne. And albeit I finde my ſelfe both tired in the former; and moſt vnfit to proſecute this latter, yet will I endeauour to giue herein my beſt aſſayes; though as my labours, ſo my wants alſo, thereby will be made more vulgar to the world.

For if thoſe men were blame-worthy againſt whom Heraclite exclaimeth, who with long toile and great trouble finde a little pure ſubſtance in a great deale of baſe earth: how ſhall I then free me from the like imputation, that from ſo many mines of pure metals, haue gotten ſo little Oare, and the ſame neither well tried in my defectiue fornace, nor yet artificially caſt off through the default of the mould; wanting both skill for to faſhion, and meaſure to performe the true proportions that in ſuch a proiect is to be required; and how often theſe my defects haue diſſwaded my proceedings, is beſt knowne to him that is the ſearcher of the heart. Heraclite.

But by what fate I am inforced ſtill to goe forward, I know not, vnleſſe it bee the ardent affection and loue to my natiue Country; wherein I muſt confeſſe that Nature in thoſe gifts hath beene both liberall, yea and prodigall, though Fortune as ſparing and faſt handed againſt me, euer checking the Bit with the Raines of neceſsity, and curbing the meanes that ſhould illuſtrate my labours: which moues me oft times to thinke, that if the great Philoſopher Theophraſtus, had cauſe on his death-bed to accuſe Nature, for giuing man ſo long a leſſon, and ſo ſhort a life; then I againſt Fortune may as iuſtly exclaime, that hath aſsigned me ſo great a ſubiect and ſo little meanes. And therefore let it not ſeeme offenſiue that I draw my waters from the Ceſterns of others, who am not able to fetch them at the ſpring-head my ſelf: Neither that I ſtrike vpon the ſame Anuile vnto their ſound, though nothing ſo loud, nor with the like ſtrength; wherin yet this fruit at leaſt will (I hope) redound of my endeuours that I ſhal incite the more learned: if not otherwiſe, yet in emulatiõ of me, to free the face drawn by Apelles, from the cenſure of the fault or defect in the foot, and not onely to amend, but euen to new-mould the whole. Which thing though my dayes are neer ſpent; and with Barzillai I may ſay that muſicke to me is now vnpleaſing: yet doth my care thirſt after the ſet of that ſtrain, as Socrates thoughts ran euer on his Booke: who the night before he was to ſuffer death, was deſirous to learne muſicke, becauſe he would die, learning ſtill ſomething. Moſes the firſt Gouernor of that Common-wealth, which whiles it ſtood, was the glory of the earth, and a paterne to all kingdomes Theophraſtus. 2 Sam. 19. 35. Socrates. Deut. 11. 19. 20.

Deut. 11. 19. 20

Deut. 4. 32.

Thales.

Cicero.

Simonides.

Cassidore.

Bale in Leylands New-yeers gift.

Gen. 49. 29.

Ierem. 37. 1.

Matth. 13. 57.

Ierem. 9. 1. Luke. 19. 41. Matth. 15. 26.

Habak. 2. 9.

Gen. 13. 10.

Tho. Lanquet.

Ouid. Metam. lib. 15.

succeeding, left this for a Law *to remaine for euer, That the Fathers should teach their children*; and should *commit vnto writing those things which the Lord in their dayes had done*; and enioyned the *children* likewise *to Enquire of the times that were past, euen from the first creation of man: For when as Empires and Kingdomes, Common-weales and Cities, do end and perish, yet the* Histories *thereof do remaine and liue*; *And that made* Cicero *to say as he did, That* Salamina *should be vterly forgotten, before the* things that were done in Salamina should perish: *And therefore as among the wise answers of* Thales, *the* Histories *of* Countries *are to bee accounted for* principals, *either as* Cicero *calleth them the* Mistris of life, and expositions of Times; *so likewise let vs from the* lyricall Poet Simonides *learne this further, That* he is perfectly happy which knowes his natiue country, to be truly glorious. *And as* Cassidore *calles him* a worthy Citizen, that seeketh the commodity of his country: *So contrariwise he is by* Bale *esteemed but a* fruitles clod of earth, that sucks the sappe of his soile only to himselfe, *whose memoriall shall perish as the dispersed* smoake *in the* clouds, *though for a time hee mount aloft in his swelling pride. This naturall loue and true affection to our* natiue Country *we may further learne from the ancient* Patriarks *and* Fathers *themselues*; *who besides a desire that they had to theirs, continually to liue therein during life, commanded* their bodies to be buried therein after death: *from whose* Bowels *they first had assumed their* breaths, *and in whose* bosome *they layd their* bones, *as in their last* bed *of rest. Yea, of the vnreasonable creatures, the* Birds *and* Beasts, *wee may learne this loue, that alwayes are willing towards their* home. *And if it happen that* Countries *grow vnkinde as* Homers *did, that in his old age and blind, suffered him to beg his bread*; *or that a* Prophet *in his owne* country *is not esteemed, as* Jeremy *felt it, and* CHRIST IESVS *taught, yet did the* one *for his peoples captiuity*, wish his eyes a fountaine of teares, *and the other for his* countreys destruction lamented and wept, *holding* it vnlawfull to take the childrens bread, and to giue it vnto others.

That this our Country *and* subiect *of* History *deserueth the loue of her inhabitants, is witnessed euen by forraine* Writers *themselues, who haue termed it the* Court of Queene Ceres, *the* Granary of the VVesterne world, *the* fortunate Jsland, *the* Paradise of pleasure *and* Garden of God; *whose* Tipographicall *descriptions for the whole* Jland, *and* Geographicall surueyes *for the seuerall parts, exceed any other Kingdome vnder the cope of Heauen*; *that onely excepted which was conquered and diuided by* Josuah; *And for fruitfulnesse and temperature may be accounted another* Canaan; *watered* with Riuers that do cleaue the earth, *as the* Prophet *speaketh, and maketh the land as rich and beautiful, as was that of* Ægypt. *Our* Kings *for* valour *and* Sanctity, *ranked with the* worthiest *in the* world, *and our* Nations original, conquests, *and* continuance, *tried by the* touch *of the best* humane *testimonies, leaue as faire a* Lustre *vpon the same* stone, *as doth any other, and with any* Nation *may easily contend* (*saith* Lanquet) *both for* antiquity *and* continuall inhabitants, from the first time that any of them can claime their Originals.

And although our many Records *are perished by the* inuasions *of* strangers, *through their couetous* Conquest *of so* faire a Land, *or in the* ciuill dissensions *of* home-bred aspirers *that haue sought the possession of so* rich a Crowne, *yet* Truth *hath left vs no lesse beholding vnto* her, *then* mightier Nations, *and* them *that would be farre more* famous. *Neither is it to bee wondred at, that the* Records *of* GREAT BRITAINE *are* eaten vp with Times teeth, *as* Ouid *speakes, when as in* Times ruines *lye buried their* Registers, *that haue beene kept with a stronger* guard, *as* Titus Liuy *in the entrance of his* History *affirmeth of the* Romanes. *As* for those things (*saith hee*) as are reported either before or at the foundation of the City, more beautified and set out with Poets fables, then grounded vpon pure and faithfull reports, I meane neither to auerre nor disproue. *Of whose* vncertainties, *let vs a while heare the* reporters *themselues speake, before we proceed to the certaine* successions *of our* British Monarchs: *vntill which time the* credit *of our* History *may well be said to* waigh with (*if not* down peize) *many* others. Varro (*that learned* Romane writer, *who liued an* hundred yeeres *before the birth of our* Sauiour Christ)

calleth

calleth the first world *to the* Flood vncertaine; *and thence to the first* Olympias *fabulous*: *Because in that time* (*saith he*) there is nothing related (for the most part) but Fables among the Greekes, Latines, and other learned Nations. *And therefore* Plutarch *beginneth the* liues *of his* worthy men *no higher then* Theseus: *because* (*saith he*) what hath been written before, was but of strange things, and sayings full of monstrous fables imagined and deuised by Poets, which were altogether vncertaine and most vntrue. *And* Diodorus Siculus (*that liued in* Augustus Cæsars *time, a great searcher after* Antiquities, *and for* thirty yeers *continuance a traueller into many* Countries, *for information and further satisfaction*) *writing his* History *called* Bibliotheca, *containing* forty Bookes, *and* yeeres *of continuance* one thousand, one hundred thirty and eight, *of his* first sixe *himselfe giueth this censure in his* Proeme. These Bookes (*saith he*) containing the Acts of ancient men, before the destruction of Troy, with the ancient Histories aswell of Grecians as Barbarians, are called fabulous: *Which mooued* Lucretius *the Poet to demand this question:*

Cur supra bellum Thebanum & funera Troia,
Non alias quondam veteres cecinere Poetæ?

Why haue not Poets in their workes of fained stories brought,
Things done before the Warres of Thebes, or Troyes destruction wrought?

Yea and of Troyes *story it selfe, if wee may beleeue* Thucydides (*whom* Bodine *commendeth for an* absolute Historian) though it be ancient (*saith hee*) yet a great part thereof is fabulous. *And* Tully *out of* Plato *complaineth of as much*: For you Grecians (*saith he*) *as* children in learning, deliuer onely things vncertaine, and haue mingled fables with the VVarres of Thebes, and of Troy, things (perhaps) which neuer were, but gathered out of the scattered Verses of Homer and others, not digested by Aristarchus, and are yet vncertaine and obscure. *And that the* Greekes *indeed were but* babes *in* Antiquity, Josephus *in his Nations defence against* Appion, *sufficiently doth approue, where hee affirmeth, That* inuention of their Letters was not so old as the siege of Troy, *insomuch that* the Poesie of Homer (*then the which there is none more ancient among them*) was not committed to writing, but sung by roate. *And the* Latine *tongue it selfe by* M. Cato *is said, not to haue* been in vse foure hundred and fifty yeeres before the building of Rome. *And* Titus Liuy *their famous* Historian, *freely confesseth, That* the vse of Letters and learning among the Romanes, was very rare and hard to be found before the taking of Rome by the Gaules. *Yea, and of the vncertainty of* Romes *foundation, how lauishly soeuer* Historians *haue written, not only* Fenestella *hath continued whole* Pages, *but* Plutarch *likewise in the life of* Romulus, *hath many* sayings, *wherof this is one; The* Historiographers (*saith he*) do not agree in their writings, by whom, nor for what cause the great name of Rome (the glory whereof is blown abroad through the world) was first giuen vnto it; *some affirming, that the* Pelasgiues *after they* had runne *ouer a great part of the* world, *lastly stayed themselues in that place where* Rome *was new built, and for their great strength in* Armes, *gaue name to that City* Rome, *which signifieth* power *in the* Greek *tongue*. Other *say, that certain Troyans after their siege, in* certain vessels saued themselues by flight, *and being put into the* Thuscan Sea, *anchored neer to the Riuer* Tyber: *whose* wiues *being extreamely* Sea-sick, *through the counsell of* Rama *a* Lady, *the wisest & worthiest among them, set fire on the whole* Fleet; *whereupon their* husbands (*though sore offended*) *were inforced to make vse of their present necessity, and neer vnto* Palantium *planted this* City, *whose* Fame *presently grew* great, *& in honour of Lady* Roma *named it* Rome: *and from hence they say the custome of* * kissing *in salutations came; after the example of these* wiues *who to appease their* husbands *wraths with* smiles *&* imbracings kissed *their mouthes*. Some *will haue the name* Rome *from* Roma *the daughter of* Italus *and of* Lucaria, *or elsof* Telephus *the son of* Hercules, *& of the wife of* Æneas. Others *of* Ascanius *the son of* Æneas. Some *again from* Romanus

Histories vncertaine to the Flood, and from the Flood to the first Olympias, fabulous. Plutarch.

Diodorus Siculus.

Lucretius.

Thucydides.

Tully.

Iosephus contra Appion. lib. 1.

M. Cato in a fragment of his

Titus Liuius.

Fenestella. *Plutarch in the life of Romulus.*

But that cannot be, for Herodotus affirmeth the Persians long before, vsed kisses to salute each others, Herod. lib. 1.

manus *the ſonne of* Vlyſſes *and of* Cyrce, *will haue it named* Rome Others *from* Romus *the ſon of* Emathion, *whom* Diomedes *ſent thither from* Troy, *deriue that name. And ſome there* are *that bring the name* Rome *from one* Romus *a* tyrant *of the* Latines, *who droue the* Thuſcans *out of thoſe parts. And they who thinke that* Romulus (*as that is moſt generall, and carieth the moſt likelyhood to be* Romes names founder, *do not agree about his* anceſtors, *as more at large in* Plutarch *appeareth. And therefore with* Thucydides *we may well ſay,* It is a hard and difficult matter to keepe a meane in ſpeaking of things, wherein ſcarſly can be had a certain opinion of truth. *And the rather for that the* Writers *themſelues haue blamed each* others *of* affectation *&* falſhood, *as in* Joſephus *we may ſee; who affirmeth, That* Hellanicus *diſſented from* Acuſilaus, Acuſilaus *with* Diodorus *correcting* Herodotus; Epherus *accuſed* Hellanicus *of vntruthes; ſo did* Timæus *reproue* Ephorus *of as much;* Philiſtus *and* Callias *diſſented from* Timæus *in his Hiſtory of* Sicily, *and* Thucydides *is accounted a lyar by* ſome. Cæſar *is taxed by* Aſinius Pollio (*ſaith* Suetonius) *to bee* partiall *in his* Commentaries; *and* Tacitus *by* Tertullian *is blamed for vntruths;* Fabius Maximus *is reprehended by* Polybius *for defectiuely writing the* Punicke *warres; and himſelfe againe with* Silenus, Timæus, Antigonus, *and* Hierom, *as much found fault with by* Dionyſius Halicarnaſſæus, *for writing the* Romane hiſtories ſo vnperfectly. *And a man may vſe the very ſame ſpeech againſt* Dionyſius, *ſaith* Bodine. Theſe things *thus ſtanding, let vs giue leaue to* Antiquity, *who ſometimes* mingleth falſhoods with truth, to make the beginnings of Policies ſeeme more honourable: *And whoſe* power *is ſo farre ſcrued into the* worlds *conceit, that with* Hierome *we may ſay,* Antiquity is allowed with ſuch generall applauſe, that knowne vntruthes many times are pleaſing vnto many. *Yet with better regard to reuerend* Antiquity; *whom* Iobs oppoſer *wils vs inquire after, and to our owne* relations *in deliuering their* cenſures, *let this be conſidered; That* more things are let ſlippe, then are comprehended in any mans writings, *and yet* more therein written, then any mans life (*though it be long*) will admit him to reade. *Neither let vs be foreſtalled with any preiudicate* opinions *of the* reporters, *that in ſome things may iuſtly be ſuſpected, or in* affection, *which by nature we owe to our* naturall Country; *nor conſent* (*as* Liuie *ſpeaketh*) *to* ſtand to the ancientneſſe of reports, when it ſeemeth to take away the certeinty of truth. *To keepe a meane betwixt both, my ſelfe with* Bildad *doe confeſſe, that I* am but of yeſterday, and know nothing, *and therefore will relate the* originall names *and* Nations *of this famous* Iland, *with the* ſucceſſions *of her* Monarches *and* Hiſtoricall actions, *ſo farre onely as is moſt approued by the beſt* VVriters, *and will leaue other* clouds *of obſcurity to be cleared by the* labours *of a* more learned penne.

Thucydides lib. 2. cap. 7.

Joſephus contra Apion. lib. 1.
Hellanicus.
Acuſilaus.
Diodorus.
Herodotus.
Ephorus.
Timæus.
Philiſtus.
Callias.
Thucydides.
Suetonius in vita Cæſar. Sect. 55.
Tacitus.
F. Maximus.
Silenus.
Antigonus.
Hierome.
Dionyſius.
Hall.
Bodine.
Auguſt. ciuit. Dei lib. 3. cap. 4.

Hierom. in his Prolog. in Iob.

Iob. 8. 8.

Titus Liuius lib. 8.

Thine in the Lord

IOHN SPEED.

THE

THE SITE AND CIRCVIT OF GREAT BRITAINES MONARCHIE.

THE FIFTH BOOKE.

CHAPTER I.

BESIDES those fruitfull *Ilands* that dispersedly are scattered about the *Mayn*, like to beautiful *pearls* that incompasse a *Diademe*, the Ile of GREAT BRITAINE doth raise it selfe first to our sight, as the *Bodie* of that most famous & mighty *Empire*, whereof many other *Kingdomes* and *Countries* are *parcels* and *members*. Being by the *Almighty* so set in the maine *Ocean*, as that shee is thereby the *High Admirall* of the *Seas*; and in the terrestriall *Globe* so seated, as that she is worthily reputed both *The Garden of pleasure*, and *The Storehouse of Profit*, opening her *Hauens* euery way, fit to receiue all forraine traffick, and to vtter her owne into all other parts: and therefore (as the Soueraigne *Lady* and *Empresse* of the rest) deserues our description in the first place.

BRITAINE Admirall of the Seas.

(2) This *Iland* is so spacious and ample, that *Cesar* (the first Romane discouerer thereof) supposed that he had found out *another World*: for to his seeming it appeard, that the *Ocean* was rather contained within that *Mayne*, then that *Mayne*, to be compassed with the *Ocean* about. And *Iulius Solinus*, for her circuit and largenesse, saith that *it deserueth the name of Another World*. But *Aristides a Greeke* Author speakes much more properly, who by way of excellency termeth BRITAINE, *The Great Iland*: As likewise *Tacitus*, that vndertooke to describe BRITAINE by his owne knowledge, who saith, that *of all Ilands knowen to the Romans it was the greatest*: And so doth *Dionysius* in his description of the *World*.

In Paneg. y. Orat. to Constantius.

Aristides.

Tacit. in vit. Agr.

BRITAINE the greatest Iland knowne to the Romanes.

Dionysius.

Strabo.

Rutil. Numat.

(3) But as *Strabo* compares the then knowen *World*, to a *Cloake*, *Rutilius Numatianus Italy*, to an *Oken leafe*, and *Dionysius Spaine*, vnto an *Oxe-hide*: so the said *Tacitus* in the life of *Agricola*, from *Liuie* his ancient, and *Fabius Rusticus* his moderne, doth liken the fashion thereof to a long *Dish*, or *two-headed Axe*: whose forme notwithstanding may better be exposed to the eie, in the draught before seen, then can be explained in words to conceit, or vnto any other thing be compared besides it selfe: especially seeing that so many good Writers haue had but very bad succes in their resemblances of *Countries*. And *this* of them is rather vnlike to either, if wee speake of the whole, which then was vnknowen, as it seemeth by *Tacitus*. And the huge enorme tract of ground beyond *Caledonia* which runeth vnto the furthermost point, growing narrow and sharpe like a wedge, was first redoubled with the *Romane* fleet by *Iulius Agricola*, and BRITAINE discouered to bee an *Iland*, one hundred thirty and six yeeres after *Iulius Cesars* first entrance therein.

Fabius Rustic.

BRITAINE discouered to be an Iland 136 yeers after *Iulius Cesars* entrance into it. *Tacitus in Vita Agric.*

(4) Some haue beene induced by the narrownesse of the *Sea*, and likenesse of the *Soile*, to thinke that BRITAINE was sometimes ioined to the continent of *France*: whereunto *Seruius Honoratius* subscribeth in his Commentary vpon the first *Eclog* of *Virgil*, who there mentioneth,

BRITAINE thought one continent with FRANCE. *Seruius Honorat.*

—— Penitus toto diuisos orbe Britannos,
The Britaine people quite from all the world disiond.

As likewise by *Claudian* another ancient Poet it is stiled,

Claudian.

—— nostro deducta Britannia mundo,
The Britaine soile remooued from our worlds continent.

And *Vinianus* with them affirmes, that in the *beginning*, *Britaine and Gallia were both one Land.* The like doth *Virgil* verifie of the Ile of *Sicilie*, which in times past he reports to haue been one with *Italie*. Others hold, that all *Ilands* had their first separation from the *Mayne* by the rage of the *generall Deluge*, & that the mountaines thereby shewed their tops aboue the plaine grounds; and the plains setling lower, became deepe vallies, when or howsoeuer, by *Gods* diuine ordinance and wisdome, wee see that these *Ilands* situated in the *Seas*, doe no lesse serue and adorne the *Ocean* it selfe, then the *Lakes* and *Pooles* of water doe the drie land, and all of them (as members of one masse) to minister sustenance for the life of all things liuing, and pleasures to the vse and seruice of man.

Vinianus.

Sicilie thought once one continent with *Italy*. *Dominius Niger.* Thought of some that all Ilands had their first separation from the *Mayne* by the rage of the *Generall Deluge*.

(5) The *Iland* of BRITAINE, of all others the most famous (by *Catullus* reputed the furthest towards the *West*) is bounded on the *South* with *Normandie* and *France*, vpon the *East* with *Germany* and *Denmarke*, vpon the *West* with *Ireland* and the *Atlanticke Ocean*, and vpon the *North* with the vast *Deucalidon Seas*. The length thereof, measured by the *graduations* to both extremes, that is, from the *Lyzard Point* Southward in *Cornwal*, which lieth in the *Latitude of* 50 *degrees* and 6 *minutes*, to the *Straithy head* in *Scotland* (being the furthest point of this Iland towards

Catullus.

owards the *North*) ſet in the *degree* 60, and 30 *minutes* containeth (according to the *ſcale* of the terreſtriall *Globe*) ſix hundred twenty foure miles: not to trouble the Reader with other accounts, ſeeing the ſame ſo exactly to agree with the ſpaces of the *heauens*. And the extent of *Land* in the brodeſt part is from the *Lands end* in *Cornwall* in the *Weſt* (ſituated in 14. *degrees* and 37 *minites* of *Longitude*, according to *Mercater* his *Atlas*) vnto the *Iland Tenet* in the *Eaſt* of *Kent* (lying in 22 *degrees*, 30 *minutes*) & containeth miles 340, as they haue deliuered, that with curious ſearch haue laid the dimenſion thereof.

Britaines length.

(6) The ſite of this *Iland* is ſet by the *Mathematicks* in the eighth *Climate* for *Latitude*, and the *Longitude* likewiſe placed betwixt the *Parrallels* foureteene and twenty ſix: at ſeat as well for *Aire* as *Soile* both fruitfull and milde; and for length of dayes, pleaſant and delightfull: for in the height of Summer the day is ſaid to be eighteene equinoctiall houres long, whereof ſixteen & a halfe are ſpent from *Sunne* to *Sunne*. Yea and *Tacitus* ſaith, that *in the furtheſt North part of the Iland the nights are ſo ſhort, that betwixt the going out, and comming in of the day, the ſpace is hardly perceiued, and the Sunne ſeene neither to ſet nor ariſe: Becauſe* (ſaith hee) *the extreme and plain parts of the earth proiect a low ſhadow, and raiſe not the darkneſſe on high, ſo the night falleth vnder the skie and ſtarre.* Better might hee haue ſaid, by reaſon of the inclination of his *Circle* to the *Horizon* deſcending not directly, but paſſing obliquely, razing as it were vnder their *Horizan*.

Britaines bredth.

BRITAINE in the 8. Climate for Latitude, and for Longitude placed betweene the parallels fourteene and twenty ſix.

In the furtheſt North part of *Britaine* the nights ſo ſhort, as the ſpace betwixt the daies going and comming can hardly be perceiued. *In vit. Agricola.*

(7) The *aire*, ſaith *Strabo* and *Tacitus*, is rather inclinable to *ſhowers* then to *ſnow*, And *Ceſar* commends it to bee more temperate, and the cold leſſer, then that in *France*, as not ſubiect to either extremes as the more *Northerne* and *Southerne* Countries are: to which temperature *Ceſcenius Getulicus* a very ancient Poet ſeemeth to haue reſpect, when of this *Iland* thus he verſifieth:

Non illîc Aries verno ferit æra cornu,
Gnoſia nec Gemini præcedunt cornua Tauri.
The horned Ram there buteth not the aire of tender ſpring;
The Twins, nor Bull do to this ſoil vntimely ſeaſons bring.

Ceſar. com. lib. 5. The cold in *Britaine* leſſe then in *France*.

Probus in Virgil. Georgic.

(8) And although the *Seas* thereof are accounted and called by *Nubienſis* the *Arabian*, *The dark & dangerous Seas*, in regard of the miſty vapors that ther from ariſe, yet in the winter ſeaſon thoſe clouds are diſperſed into ſtil ſhowers of raine, that doe diſſolue the rigour and great extremitie of the cold: yea and thoſe *Seas* themſelues ſtirred and working to and fro with the windes, doe thereby wax warme (as *Cicero* ſaith) *ſo that a man may eaſily perceiue within that world of waters a certaine heat incloſed.* And *Minutius Felix* prooning that GOD hath a ſpeciall regard to the ſeuerall parts of the world, as well as to the whole, ſaith, that BRITAINE, *though otherwhiles wanting the aſpect of the Sunne, yet is it releeued with the warmth of her enuironing Seas*; and as much refreſhed, we may wel ſay, by thoſe ſweet and gentle winds that in the height of Summer are ſent from thoſe *ſeas*, & doe abate the rigor of the *Sunnes* great ſcorching heat; and yeeldeth not only entercourſe for traffique into all parts of the *World*, but plentifully aboundeth with all ſorts of fiſh, to the great benefit of the Inhabitants; and bringeth foorth *Pearles*, as *Tacitus* ſheweth, which were *vſually caſt out with the flood, and gathered at the ebbe.* Theſe *Pearles*, though not altogether ſo orient as they in *India*, by *Amianus* in his 23 booke and 12 chapter, are called *Rich gems*. And *Pliny* in his ninth booke and thirty fifth chapter, vſeth the like terme: The deſire whereof (as *Suetonius* ſaith) *drew Ceſars affection* for the Conqueſt of *Britaine*.

The Arabioke Geographie.

Britiſh Seas warme. *De natura Deorum Lib. 2.* *Minutius Felix*, adioined to *Arnobius*, as his eighth booke.

Britaines windes in ſummer aſſwage the heat.

In vita Agricola.

(9) *The ſoile* (ſaith *Tacitus*) *ſetting aſide the Olive, the Vine, and ſuch other plants as are onely proper to hotter* Countries, *taketh all kind of Graine, and beareth it in abundance: it ſhooteth vp quickley, and ripeneth ſlowly: the cauſe of both is the ſame the ouer-much moiſture of the ſoile, and the aire.* And *Ceſar* writeth, that for timber it was ſtored of all kindes, as in *Gallia*, the *Beech* and *Firre-tree* onely excepted. For abundance of *Graine*, *Britaine* is ſaid to bee *The ſeat of Queene Ceres*, by *Orpheus* the old Poet; and the *Granary* and *Storehouſe* for the *weſterne world*, as *Charles* the great tearmed it. And by our owne anceſtors in the blacke Booke of the *Exchequer* it is called a *Paradiſe of pleaſure*. From whence the *Romans* were wont yeerely to tranſport (with a fleet of eight hundred veſſels bigger then Barges) great ſtore of corne for the maintenance of their Armies. But vnto the particular relation of each ſeuerall bleſing belonging to this moſt happy Iland, wee will not againe enter, ſeeing that in euery *County* we haue ſufficiently, and no more then truly, ſpoken thereof. Only, if you pleaſe, heare what hath been ſaid of this Land by the *Romane Orators*, and firſt in the *Panegyricke* to *Conſtantius* the Emperour.

In vit. Ceſar. cap. 47.

Britaine aboundeth with all ſorts of graine.

Ceſar. Com. lib. 5.

Britaine called the ſeat of Q. *Ceres*.

Romans laded 800 veſſels with corne in *Britaine* for their armies eliewhere. *Zoſimus*.

(10) *O happie* BRITAINE, *and more fortunate then all other Lands beſide, which firſt didſt ſee* Conſtantine *Emperour! For good cauſe hath nature endowed thee with all bleſſings both of aire & ſoile: wherin there is neither exceſſiue cold of Winter, not extream heat of ſummer: wherein there is ſo great abundance of graine, that it ſufficeth both for bread and drinke. There the forreſts are free from ſauage beaſts, and the ground void of noyſome ſerpents: in whoſe ſtead an infinite multitude of tame cattle that are with their vdders ſtrutting full of milke, and loden with fleeces to the ground. And verily (that which for the vſe of our liues wee moſt eſteeme) the daies are therein very long, & the nights neuer without ſome light, for that thoſe vtmoſt plaines by the ſea ſide caſt and raiſe no ſhadowes on high; and the aſpect both of skie and ſtarres paſſeth beyond the bound of the night: yea the very Sunne it ſelfe, which vnto vs ſeemeth for to ſet, appeareth there only to paſſe by a little, and goe aſide.*

Panegyric. to *Conſtantius*.

In *Britaine* neither exceſſiue cold of winter, nor extreame heat of ſummer. *Britaine* abounding with all plenty of foode for mans ſuſtenance and delight.

Britaines nights neuer without ſome light.

And in another, ſpoken to *Conſtantius*, the father of *Conſtantine* the Great, thus is ſaid:

Though Britaine *be but a ſingle name, yet ſurely the States loſſes haue beene manifold, in forgoing a Land ſo plentifull in fruit and graine, ſo rich in paſturage, ſo full of mines and veines of mettal, ſo gainefull in tributs and reuenewes, ſo accommodated with many hauens, and for circuit ſo large and ſpacious.*

Panegyr. ſpoken to *Conſtantius*.

BRITAINE full of mines of metals.

And a Poet of good antiquity, of natures motherly affection towards this our Iland, hath thus written:

Tu nimio nec ſtricta gelu, ſydere feruens,
Clementi cælo temperiéque places.
Cùm pareret Natura parens, varióque fauore
Diuideret dotes omnibus vna locis,
Sepoſuit potiora tibi, matrémque profeſſa,
Inſula ſis fœlix, plenàque pacis, ait.
Quicquid amat luxus, quicquid deſiderat vſus,
Ex te proueniet, vel aliunde tibi.
Nor freezing cold, nor ſcorching hot thou art;
Thy aire a heauenly temper, ſweetly breath'd:
So pleas'd Dame nature when ſhee firſt bequeath'd:
To euery ſoile of her rich gifts a part;
Then Mother like beſt choice for thee ſhe ſought:
Be thou (quoth ſhe) the Bleſſed ile of peace.
What euer pleaſure yeelds, or wealths increaſe,
From thee ſhall grow, or ſhall to thee be brought.

Remaynes.

(11) And that *BRITAINE* hath beene taken for thoſe fortunate *Ilands* whereof the Poets haue imagined a perpetuall ſpring time, is certaine by *Iſacius Tzetzes* a Greeke Author of good account. And in *Robert of Auesburie* we read, what time Pope *Clement* the ſixt had elected *Lewis* of *Spaine* to be Prince of the *Fortunate Ilands*, raiſing him powers both in *Italy* and *France*, the Engliſh Leigier Ambaſſadours, that lay then in *Rome* for King *Edward* the third, were ſo deepely ſet in the opiuion, that this preparation was made againſt BRITAINE, that they wrote their ſuſpicions conceiued, and preſently with-drew themſelues into *England*, to certifie the King of theſe deſignes. And it ſeemeth Pope *Innocent* the fourth was of the ſame minde, when (as *Matth. Pariſ.* writeth) hee ſaid, *Verè hortus deliciarum eſt Anglia: vere puteus inexhauſtus eſt: Et vbi multa abundant, de multis multa*

Iſacius Tzetzes.

Robert of Auesburie.

Britaine taken for the fortunate Ilands.

Adam. 1246.

Pope Innocent maketh suit to the King of England to see Britaine.

multa possunt exterqueri, &c. *Certes, the Kingdome of England is the very Paradise of pleasures, a Well which can neuer be drawen drie: where many things doe abound, and whence many things may bee exported*, &c. With which his conceit he was afterward so far transported with a longing desire, as hee made great meanes and earnest suit to the King of *England* (as the said Author writeth, *ad ann.* 1250.) that hee might come into *England* to see that Country which was euery where so much renowned. In a word, BRITAINE is so rich in commodities, so beautifull in situation, and so resplendent in all glory, that if the *Omnipotent* (as one hath said) *had vouchsafed to fashion the world round like a ring, as he did like a globe, it might haue been most worthily the onely Gemme therein.* Whose *Vallies* are like *Eden*: whose *Hilles* are as *Lebanon*: whose *Springs* are as *Pisgah*: whose *Riuers* are as *Iordan*: whose *Walles* is the *Ocean*: and whose defense is the Lord IEHOVAH.

Ioseph. bell. Iudai. lib. 7. cap. 13.

BRITAINE sustained at once no lesse then 11. Kings commanding great powers

(12) The body then of this *Imperiall Monarchie* sheweth not onely the greatnesse of it selfe in it selfe, but also extendeth her beautifull branches into many other *Countries* and *Kingdomes* farre iacent and remote. This greatnesse is made the more sensible, for that the *Iland* in times past sustained at once no lesse then eleuen *Kings* in their royall estates, all of them wearing Crownes, and commanding great powers. Such was the *Heptarchy* of the *Saxons* seuen *Kingdomes*, seated on the South of *Seuerus* his *Wall*. Two *Kingdomes* thence had their sites in that Northerne part, and their seuerall *Kings* of *Scots* and *Picts* ruling on both sides the *Clude*, euen vnto the *Deucaledonian* Seas. And two *Kingdomes* (if not more) diuided into *North* and *South*, and their Kings of the ancient *Britaines* ruling the *West* part of this *Iland* beyond the *Clawdh Offa*, or *Offa his Ditch*, commonly called WALES.

(13) The *Ilands* likewise belonging to this *Empire* had *Kings* of their owne, as that of *Man*, the *Orcades*, and in *Ireland* at one time fiue Kings raigning together. *France* also is annexed, and so was *Cyprus* sometimes with some Prouinces of *Syria*, subdued by K. *Richard* the first, surnamed *Cœur-de lion*. And at this present in the *new World* of *America* a *Colonie* of BRITAINS is seated in that part now called VIRGINEA; wherby the borders of our *Soueraignes* command and most rightfull title may bee inlarged, and the Gospell of *Iesus Christ* further preached, which no doubt will in time be imbraced, to the saluation of many and great honour to the BRITAINES. And that the borders of this most royall *Tent* haue beene wide spread in former times, *White of Basingstocke* is of opinio, who affirmeth that *the limits of the British Empire in old time was from the* Orcades *vnto the* Pyrenean Mountaines. And that K. *Athelstan* after his conquest of those Northern parts with that of *Denmarke* wrote so his title: which further is confirmed by the Charter of K. *Edgar* for the foundation of the Cathedrall Church at *Worcester*, wherein likewise he so stiled himself. The inlargement whereof we pray to be accomplished, especially in those parts where God is not knowen, according to the saying of the Prophet, that *the curtaines of our habitations may bee further spread, with increase on the right hand and on the left: and that our seed may possesse those* GENTILES, *and dwell in their Cities*: Whereby the ninth Nation may bee conuerted vnto CHRIST, as eight others before this time by *English-men* haue been.

R. Powell in his Caron. of *Wales* in *Rhoderick* the Great.

The Ile of *Man* belonging to *Britaine*, a Kingdome within it selfe. *Cyprus* and some prouinces subdued to *Britaine*.

A Colonell of *Britaines* in *VIRGINEA*.

Vitus Basingstock. The limits of the British Empire in times past from the *Orcades* vnto the *Pyrean Mountaines*.

Isa. 54.

Eight Nations conuerted to Christ by *Englishmen*.

THE NAMES THAT HAVE BEEN ATTRIBVTED VNTO THIS ILAND OF GREAT BRITAINE.

CHAPTER II.

The first inhabiters of this Iland being meerely barbarous, neuer troubled themselues to transmit their Originals to posterity. *Cæsar Com. lib. 6. Druides* the onely wise men among the first inhabitants of this Iland. If the first inhabitants of this Iland had written any thing of their originall, yet it must needs haue perished. *Gildas de excidio Britannie.* No vnderstading of the first affaires of this Iland, but from forraine Writers.

AS touching the first *Inhabitants* & originall *Names* of this *Iland*, things so far cast into the misty darknesse of obscurity and obliuion, that there is no hope left vs, so lately born to discouer them; especially knowing that the first *Inhabitants* being meerely barbarous, neuer troubled themselues with care to transmit their *Originals* to posterity: neither if they would, could haue done, being without *Letters*, which only doe preserue and transferre knowledge vnto others. But admit they had letters, yet was it not lawfull for them to commit their affaires to writing, as *Cæsar* doth testifie of the *Druides*, the onely wise and learned men among them, that had the managing both of Iustice and religious Rites. And had they committed these things to writing, yet doubtlesse had they perished in the reuolutions of so many ages as are passed, and so many conuersions or euersions of the State. *Gildas* and *Ninius*, the *Britaines* first Historians, confesse plainly, that *they had no vnderstanding of the ancient affaires of this Iland, but from forraigne writers*; and neither that *aboue two hundred and odde yeeres before the birth of our Sauiour Christ*. At which time *Polybius* a most graue Writer, and an attendant vpon *Scipio*, saith, that *the Regions Northward from* Narbona (as this is) *were vtterly vnknowen; and whatsoeuer was written or reported of them, was but a dreame.* And therefore vntill such time as the *Romane* Writers reach foorth their hands to direct vs, wee shall wander, as without a guide, and shall seeme to heape more rubbish vpon former ruines.

Polybius.

Romane Writers the best directers for the antiquity of *Britaine*.

(2) Yet let this bee granted, that the *Originall* names of Countries & Prouinces were first assumed from their possessors, whereof *Iosephus* in the seuenth *Chapter* of his first *Booke* of *Antiquities* is a sufficient Witnesse, who in the dispersion of *Noahs* sons and his nephewes, nameth the Countries according to their families. So did the children of *Dan* name *Laish* after their father: *Iair* his *Cities* that he conquered in the Land of *Gilead*: and *Iudea* from *Iudah* whose King was of him. And that this also was the practise of the *Gentiles*, *Perionius* doth shew, who saith, that *himself so knew no Nation in the earth, which would not haue their names either from their Prince, Captaine, or King*: the example whereof he inferteth, that *Spaine* was so named from *Hispalus*, *Italy* from *Italus*, and the like.

The originall names of Countries and Prouinces assumed first from their possessors. Iudg. 18. 29. Iudg. 10. 4.

Perionius de originall Gallica. *Spaine* named from *Hispalus*, *Italy* from *Italus*. *Samothes* the first sonne of *Iapheth* the first inhabiter of this Iland, who named it *Samothea* 252. yeeres after the flood.

(3) And accordingly from *Samothes* the sixth sonne of *Iapheth* (whom *Moses* calleth *Meschech*) the brother of *Gomer*, and of *Iauan*, whose seed is said in the tenth of *Genesis* to haue repleniished the *Iles of the Gentiles*

Gentiles, is brought by ſome Authors into this Iland, the yeere after the generall *Floud* two hundred fifty and two, where he ſeated, and gaue Lawes to his people, and left to his poſterity the name thereof to bee called *Samothea*, after his owne. But ſith the credit of this *Samothes* and his *Samothea* ariſeth onely from a ſmall and new Pamphlet, bearing the name of *Beroſus* the *Chaldean*, bolſtred out vnder a ſhew of aged *Antiquity*, and thruſt into the World vnder the countenance of the ancient Hiſtorian himſelfe: I meane not to enforce, ſeeing my purpoſe is to expoſe this moſt beautifull *Iland* in her owne beſeeming attire, and not deformed by theſe rotten and patched rags. And of this forged *Beroſus* wee haue better cauſe to vpbraid *Iohannes Annius* his Countenancer & Commenter, then the *Egyptian* Prieſts had to twit *Solon*, in accuſing the *Grecians*, that *for Hiſtory had not attained to the yeeres of a gray head.* For it exceeds not much one hundred and twenty yeeres ſince the ſame Booke firſt appeared in the World; and then vehemently ſuſpected as fabulous by *Lodouicus Viues*, and afterwards conuicted by the learned *Gaſperus Varrerius* in a ſeuerall Treatiſe, and now vniuerſally reiected of all skilfull *Antiquaries*.

The credit of this *Samothes* and his *Samothea* ariſeth only from a ſmall and new pamphlet, bearing the name of *Beroſus* the Chaldean.

Plato in Timæo. *Solon* quippeth the Grecians, as not hauing attained to the yeeres of a gray head for Hiſtory.

Lodouic. Viues.

Gaſperus Varrerius.

Beroſus reiected.

(4) But the name ALBION is better receiued, being found ſo tearmed of the *Grecians* in ancient time, as in the Booke *De Mundo*, written to *Alexander*, and ſuppoſed to be *Ariſtotles*, *Pliny* in his *Naturall Hiſtory*, *Ptolomy*, *Strabo*, and others: yet vpon what ground it ſhould be ſo called, there ariſe many coniectures. *Pomponius Mela*, *Nicolas Perottus*, *Rigmanus Phileſius*, *Ariſtotle*, and *Humfrey Lhuyd*, deriue it from *Albion Mareoticus* a Gyant, and ſonne of *Neptune*, that conquered (as they ſay) theſe *Samotheans*, and ſeated himſelfe in this *Iland* the yeere after the *Floud* three hundred thirty fiue. And if that be true which *Perottus* and *Lilius Giraldus* haue written, then may this *Albion* giue name to this *Iland*. Notwithſtanding, *Strabo*, *Munſter*, and Frier *Bartholmew*, will haue it ſo named, *ab albis rupibus*, of the rockes and white cliffes appearing towards the coaſts of *France*: which carrieth the more likelihood through the credit of *Orpheus* a moſt ancient Poet, who in his *Argonauticks* (if ſo be they were his) calleth the *Iland* next vnto *Hibernia*, or *Hernin*, which queſtionleſſe is this of ours, Αυηδν μέσην that is, *the white Land*. And accordingly haue the *welſh Poets* called it *Inis Wen*. And this is further confirmed from *Cicero*, who termeth theſe whitiſh cliffs *mirificas moles*: as alſo by the antick *Coins* of *Antoninus Pius*, and *Seuerus* the *Romane Emperors*, whereon BRITAIN is ſtamped in a womans attire ſitting vpon *rocks*. And the ſame being chalky, or of a plaſter-like ſubſtance, *Fracaſtorius* ſuppoſeth was the cauſe of the ſweating ſickneſſe, and whereof *Albion* had the name. Vnleſſe ſome will deriue it from *Alphon*, which as *Feſtus* ſaith, doth ſignifie *white* in *Greek*; or *Olbion*, rich or happy, in regard of the fertility of the ſoile, wholſome temperature of the Aire, and the rich commodities in the ſame: either from *Alpion* for the high ſituation. But from the Latine *albis rupibus* it could not be deriued, when that language was vnknowen to the World. *Marianus* the Monke, *Iohn Rous*, *Dauid Pencair*, and *William Caxton*, from others more ancient, do fetch the name thereof from *Albina* the beautifull daughter of *Diocleſian* King of *Syria*, who with her ſiſters thirty in number, for the ſlaughter of their husbands, were baniſhed their Countrey, and without man, oares, or tackles, were committed to the mercy of the *Seas*, who after many aduentures, laſtly arriued vpon this ſhore, where they inhabited, and gaue name to this *Iland*, calling it *Albion* after the name of their eldeſt ſiſter: and accompanying with *Diuels*, brought forth a Progeny of *Gyants*, if we will beleeue the *Legend* of this moſt impudent liar, which is worthily reiected by *Bidius*, *Volateranus*, *Harding*, *Bale*, *Iohn Rous*, and others. But that the name *Albion* was both of great acceptance & long continuance, is apparent by the worthy *Epitheton* of King *Edgar* the *Saxon*, who in his *Charter* for the foundation of the *Abbie* of *Ely*, hath theſe words: *Ego Edgarus Baſileus dilecta Inſula Albionis, ſubditis nobis ſceptris Scotorum, Cumbrorum, & omnium circumcirca Regionum, quieta pace frnence, &c.* By which hee knitteth the whole *Iland* together, as Land worthily to be beloued, and calleth it ALBION.

Plato in *Timæo*. *Solon* quippeth the Grecians, as not hauing attained to the yeeres of a gray head for Hiſtory.

Lodouic. Viues.

Gaſperus Varrerius.

Beroſus reiected.

ALBION the name of this Iland ſo termed by the Grecians.

Pomponius Mela cap. de Gallia. The name *Albion* from *Albion* the Gyant.

Strabo lib. 4. *Munſt.* Coſmogr. *Barthol. de proprietatibus rerum.*

Albion called the *White Land.*

Welſh Poets calleth this Iland *Inis Wen.*

(5) The next name aſcribed vnto this *Iland* is *Britaine*, and that firſt found and giuen by the *Grecians*, who were the firſt diſcouerers of theſe Weſterne parts of the world: either from their painted bodies, as their neighbours (if not anceſtours) the *Gaules* were named of their long *ſhaggie haire*, or of their rich metals therein gotten, and thence carried in abundance into other Countries; or from *Brute*, that with his diſperſed *Troians* conquered it, as he of *Monmouth* hath tranſlated; or what occaſion ſoeuer I diſpute not: onely it feares me I ſhal giue but ſmall ſatisfaction to the deſirous Reader, of the cauſe and originall of this name, being conſorted with ſo many vncertainties, wherein the further we follow this intangled *threed*, the further are we lead into the *Labyrinth* of *ambiguitie*. But as *Plutarch*, *Liuy*, and other *Latine Writers* haue complained of the many *fictions & fables of Poets intermingled with the hiſtories of truth*, whereby truth it ſelfe was often made incredible; ſo we in rehearſing the diuers names of *Britannie*, and the reaſons thereof by ſundry Writers alleaged, reſt free in our relations, either from impeaching the power of *Antiquitie*, or approouing thoſe things that are as yet wrapped vp in *Times Obliuions*, leauing the credit to them that haue left the ſame vnto vs, and the cenſure of their opinions to the iudgement of the learned, and thoſe of better experience.

BRITAINE. The Grecians firſt named this Iland by the name *Britaine.*

Ieffrey ap. Arthur.

How this Iland came to haue the name *Britannia* is very vncertaine.

The fainings of Poets haue bred diſtruſt in many true Hiſtories.

(6) The vulgar receiued opinion, held on with foure hundred yeeres continuance, (ſome few mens exceptions had againſt the ſame) is, that this *Iland* tooke the name of *Britannia* from *Brute* the ſonne of *Syluius*, of whom more ſhall bee ſpoken in the next Chap. for the peopling of this *Iland*, and from whom ſome (following a ſuſpected *Gildas*) doe write the name *Britaine*: for ſo doth *Hierome*, who tranſlating *Æthicus* that excellent *Scythian Philoſopher*, calleth both this and the *Ilands* adiacent, *Inſulas Brutanicas*. But beſides the many obiections made both by forraine and home-bred Writers, that ſeeme to make the Story of *Brute* doubtfull, *Humfrey Lhuyd* a *Cambre-Britaine*, a learned and diligent ſearcher of *Antiquities*, doth confidently denie the name *Britaine* to be taken from *Brute*; and among many other obſeruations, makes this an infallible argument, that *the letter B, is not the firſt radicall of that name*; and affirmeth boldly, that there is not any *Britiſh* word *whoſe firſt radicall letter is B.* And therefore hee will haue it to be anciently written PRYDCAIN, compounded of two *Britiſh* words, PRYD and CAIN, which ſignifie (as he ſaith) *Beauty* and *White*; the *C. being loſt in the latter word, for the more eaſie pronuntiation in the Britiſh tongue; and the P. in the former changed into B. by the Latines, for the more gentle and pleaſant ſounds ſake*: ſo that himſelfe thinketh, that thoſe learned and expert men in the *Britiſh* tongue, which wrote the *Ilands* name with *B.* doe therein rather follow the *Latines*, then iudging that to be the true name indeed: for proofe whereof hee citeth both ancient *Copies*, and *Traditions* of their own old *Poets* the *Bardi*, by whom (ſaith he) it was vſually called *Prydain*, as the fitteſt denomination for ſo beautifull a Land. But if either colour or commodities were her *God-fathers* at the *Font-ſtone*, why was ſhe not rather named, *The Palace of Queene Ceres*, as old *Orpheus* termes her; either *Inſula florum*, as it hath beene found written in a very ancient manu-ſcript? And yet to ſecond this his conceited name, I finde recorded by *Biſhop Cooper*, a learned Writer, that which makes for that purpoſe. *At Euychurch* (ſaith hee) *two miles from* Salisbury, *in the digging downe of a wall, a Booke containing twenty leaues of very thicke velome was found, which from the hands of Maſter* Richard Pace, *chiefe Secretary to the King, I receiued; but being ſore defaced, could read no one ſentence thorow*;

The name *Albion* receiued in the Charters of ſome of our latter Kings.

In his Breuiary of *Britaine.*

The letter B. no radicall in the Britiſh tongue.

PRYDCAIN.

Britaine vſually called *Prydain.*

Britannia the *Inſula florum.*

Biſhop *Cooper* in his Dictionary.

Britannia written *Prydania.*

King *Edward* VI.

Humfrey Lhuyd in Breuiar. Brit.

Marianus Scotus.

Ioh. ROUS.

Albion, from *Albina* the beautifull daughter of *Diocleſian.*

A ridiculous opinion for a progeny of Gyants in *Albion.*

thorow, yet did I well perceiue the word PRYTANIA, (not called ſo, from the adiuncts *White* and *Beauteous*) but rather *from the Greeke word* Πρυτανεία *Prytanya*, which as he ſaith, doth ſignifie *mettals*. For the *Grecians* flouriſhing in wiſedome, and experience, entred the *Ocean*, and finding this *Iland* full of *Braſſe, Tynne: Lead, Iron, Gold*, and *Siluer*, gaue name thereunto accordingly, and called it *Prytania*. Thus farre he. And ſome in regard of theſe rich commodities thence brought, will haue it named *Britannia*, as vpon like occaſion *Vibius Sequeſter* affirmeth *Calabria ſometimes to haue beene ſo called*. Others, and thoſe many, do hold a more ſtrange opinion, namely, that this *Iland* was called *Britannia* of *Bretta* a *Spaniſh* word, which ſignifieth *Earth*, for that it was ſeparated from the maine land, and, ſay they, *it was once ioined with the continent of France*. Of this opinion are *Antonius Volſcus, Dominicus Marius Niger, Seruius Honoratus, Vinianus, Bodine, Twyne*, and *Verſtegan*. But how that name from that ſeparation may be gathered I vnderſtand not: for if it be granted that this *Iland* alſo was cut from the continent (as it is thought all others in the world were) by the violent rage of the vniuerſall floud, yet it followeth not that this only ſhould claime that name, and from that occaſion more then any other, or then all of them ſo diuided and ſet apart in the maine *Ocean*. Others there are that would haue the name *Britaine* to bee brought from *Britona a Nymph* in *Greece*, daughter to *Mars* who (as they ſay) to auoid the laſciuious intents of *Minos*, forſooke the country, and paſſing the ſeas ariued in this *Iland* and by her the name aroſe, this hath *Textor*. But I might as well cite *Calepine* for his *Anglia*, & *Marianus* for his *Albina*, being all fables conſorting alike together and fictions of the ſame authority that *Virgils Dido* is. *Heſychius* deriueth the name *Britaine* from *Britannus* the father of *Celtice*, on whom *Hercules* begat *Celtus* the originall of the *Celta*, as *Parthenius Niceus* a very ancient author writeth. And Sir *Thomas Eliot* a learned Knight, draweth the name of this *Iland* from the *Greeke* fountaine alſo, but of other ſignification, viz. Πρυτανία, *Prutania*, by which terme the *Athenians* ſignified their *Publike reuenues* and yet that is iuſtly excepted againſt, ſeeing that it is a peculiar terme only to the *Athenians*, and that the *Grecians* called this *Iland* Βερτανία, not Πρυτανία, *Goropius Becanus* in his *Originall of Antwerp* ſaith, that the *Danes ſought here to plant themſelues*, and ſo named this *Iland Bridania*, that is, *free Denmarke*. And others deriue it from *Prutenia*, a country in *Germany*. But that both theſe are fictions it manifeſtly appeareth, for that this *Iland* was famous by the name of *Britaine* many hundred yeeres before that either *Dania* or *Prutania* were heard of in the world.

Pomponius Letus would haue it *Briton*, and that name giuen it from the *Britons* in *France*. Indeed it is probable, that from the *Celtes*, the old *Gaules*, our originals deſcended: but that the name ſhould come of thē, hath no colour of truth, ſeeing that thoſe *Britons* came from vs, and not we from them: and in *Cæſars* time that coaſt was called *Armorica*, but this of ours *Britaine*. *Forcatulus* deriueth the name thereof from *Brithin* a drinke, which as *Athenæus* ſatih was vſed among the *Greeks*. And others will haue it from the *Bruty* a roauing & ſtragling people in *Italy*: both which are accounted but idle conceits, and for no leſſe we will leaue them. *White* of *Baſingſtock* wil haue the name thereof deriued from an *Hebrew* word, and *Iſidore* from a word of her own language. Thus then is *Britanny* burthened with many titles vnder one truth; and theſe are the aſcriptions, cauſes & exceptions, as far as we are able to gather: all which muſt giue place to that which is to follow out of the collections and iudicious obſeruances of Maſter *Cambden*. Whoſe words I wil abridge, and by his good fauour bring to furniſh this chapter, the further to ſatisfie the vnſatisfied Reader.

(7) This then he holdeth for granted, that *ancient, nations in the beginning had names of their owne: and that after from theſe the Greeks & Latines by wreſting them to the analogie or proportion of their ſpeech, impoſed names vpon Regiones and countries, which tooke their denominations from their people and inhabitants. So* Iewry *was named from the Iewes*, Media *from the Medes*, Perſia *of the Perſians*, Scythia *of the Scythians, &c. And why not then by the authority of* Martial, Iuuenal, Auſonius, Procopius, *and in old inſcriptions ſet vp by the Britaines themſelues*, BRITTA, BRITO, BRITONES, BRITTVS, *from* BRIT, *or* BRITH, *from whom any one being of that nation might be termed* NATIONE BRITTO; *as is ſeene ſo inſcribed in Saint* Mary *the Round at* Rome? *The* Saxons *likewiſe themſelues called the* Britains Bryttas, *and* Witichindas *the Saxon euerie where nameth the Britaines* Britæ: *ſo that the word* BRIT *is doubtleſſe the Primitiue, from whence* BRITTO *is deriued, and from whence the firſt glimpſe of light leading to the word* BRITAINE, *ſeemeth to appeare. And that all nations deuiſed their names of that, wherein they either excelled others, or were knowen by from others, whether in regard of their firſt founders honor, as the* Ionesof Iauan, *the* Iſraelites *of* Iſrael, *the Canaanites of* Canaan; *or whether in reſpect of their nature, conditions, and inclinations, as the* Iberi *after the Hebrew Etymologie becauſe they were Mincrs; the* Heneti *becauſe they were ſtraglers; the* Nomades *for that they were breeders of cattell; the* Almanes *for their eſteemed valour and manhood; the* Frankners *for beeing free; the* Pannonians, *as* Dio *conceiteth, of their coats with cloth-ſleeues; the* Aethiopians *of their blacke hue: and the* Albanes *becauſe they were borne with white haire, for ſo ſaith* Solinus, *that the colour of their heads gaue name vnto the people. Seeing then that theſe our* Ilanders *were known and called by a name common to both them & their neighbors,* Cimbri *or* Cumeri, *and had no better marke to be diſtinguiſhed and known from the borderers, then by their cuſtome of painting their bodies, whereof the moſt approued authors doe witneſſe, as* Cæſar, Mela, Pliny, Martial *and others, who affirme that the* Britaines *vſed to colour themſelues with* woad, *called in the Latine* glaſtum (*and* Glaſe *at this day with them doth ſignifie blew*) *what if I then ſhould coniecture* (ſaith he) *that they were called* Britains *from this their painted bodies? for what is thus ſtained or coloured, in their ancient countrey ſpeech is called* BRITH. *Neither let this Etymologie of* Britains *ſeeme to be either harſh or abſurd, ſeeing the very words ſound alike, and the name alſo as an expreſſe image repreſenteth the thing which in Etymologies are chiefly required; for* Brith, *and* Brit, *doe paſſing well accord: And the word* Brith *among the* Britaines, *implieth that which the* Britans *were indeed, to wit, painted, ſtained, died, and coloured, as the Latine Poets deſcribe them: hauing their backes pide or medly coloured, as* Oppianus *termeth them.* From which colours and vſe of painting, the ancient Britaines (as he thinketh) had their names, and is yet in vſe among the Welſh. *But this is certaine that a* Britain *is called in the Britiſh tongue* BRITHON, *and as* BRITO *came of* BRITH, *ſo did* BRITANNIA, *who as* Iſidore *ſaith, tooke the name from a word of their owne nation: for what time the ancient Greeks (that firſt gaue name to this* Iland) *either as rouers or merchants trauelled into other remote and farre diſioined countries (as* Eratoſthenes *reporteth) learned from the Inhabitants themſelues, or els of the* Gaules *which ſpake the ſame language, that this our nation was called* Brith *and* Brithon: *They then vnto the word* BRITH, *added* TANIA, *which in the Greek Gloſſaries betokeneth a* REGION, *and whereof they made a compound name* Βερτανία, *that is, the* BRITONS-LAND. *And that this is ſo, the countries alſo lying in the weſt part of the world, as* Mauritania Luſitania, *and* Aquitania, *doe ſufficiently confirme: for the Grecians being the firſt Surueiors of thoſe regions, of* Mauri, *who,* Strabo *ſaith, was called* Numidia, *made* Mauritania; *of* Luſus *the ſonne of* Bacchus, Luſitania, *and of* Aquis (*waters, as* Iuo Carnotenſis *is of opinion*) *called the country* Aquitania: *as alſo* Turditania, *and* Baſtitania, *Prouinces in* Spain, *might ariſe from the* Turdi, *and* Baſti *their poſſeſſors. And that this manner of compoſition is moſt vſuall in the names of countries we ſee: For came not* Ireland *by compoſition of the Iriſh word* Erim? *Did not* Angle-terre *grow together of an* Engliſh *and* French *word*

Prytania ſo called from the Greek word Πρυτανεία

Vibius Sequeſt.

Britannia of Bretta a Spaniſh word.

Antonius Volſcus Dominicus Marius Niger, &c.

Bridania named of Britona a Nymphe. *Textor Chrono.*

Textor.

Heſychius.

Parthenius Niceus.

Sir Thomas Eliot.

Britaine of the Greek word. Πρυτανεία.

Grecians called this Iland Ερτανγλαν and not Πρυτανεία, *Goropius Becanus in Orig. de Ant. lib. 6.*

Britannia or Free-Denmark.

Britaine ſo named before either Dania or Prutania were heard of in the world. *Pomponius Letus.*

Britons in France came of vs. *Camden Brit. pag. 8.*

Forcatulus.

Britaine called of Brithin a drinke. *White.*

Britaine called of an Hebrew word. *Iſidore.*

Cambdeni Britannia.

Ancient nations had names of their owne afterwards wreſted by Greeks and Latines.

Iewry ſo called of the Iewes. Media of the Medes. Scythia of the Scythians. Britta, Brito, Britones and Brittus, from Brit or Brith.

BRIT. *Witichindus.*

Brit the primitiue from whence Britto is deriued.

Iſraelites ſo called in honour of their firſt founder Iſrael. Iberi why ſo called. Nomades named of their breeding of Cattell. *Dio.* Aethiopians ſo called of their blacke hue. *Iulius Solinus.*

Britaines and their neighbors called both by one name Cimbri or Cumeri. *Cæſar, Mela, Pliny, Martial.*

The Britaines coloured themſelues to be diſtinguiſhed from their neighbors.

Brith and Brit do accord.

Oppianus. Cynegetic. li. 1. Britaines ſo named for painting themſelues.

Iſidore.

Eratoſthenes:

The Grecians vnto the word Brith added tania.

Strabo. Tania added to diuers countries, by the Grecians. *Iuo Carnotenſis.*

England comming of Angleterre.

Danmarch compounded of Dan and March.

S. Hierom. in Genes.

Phlegon.

Grecians inhabited well neere all the sea coasts of the whole world.

Athenæus.

The certainty of the Greeks inhabiting in Britain *Brodæus Miscellan. lib. 3.*

Vlysses Altar in Caledonia.

Thule thought to be one of the Iles of the Orcades in Scotland.

Low countries.

Thule much mentioned in Greek writers.

Lazar. Baysius.

As other nations glory that they deriue many words from the Greeks, so may we.

Athenæus.

For so by the Scriptures account I place the time.

In Britaine great store of large trees.

Phileas Tauromenites.

Cæsar.

In Scotland Firre trees for masts.

tnd became England? *Doth not* Franc-lond *proceed from a French and Saxon word? Came not* Poleland *from a Polonian word, which with them betokeneth a plaine? and was not Danmarch compounded of* Dan *and the Dutch word March, which signifieth a bound or limit? Neither haue we cause to wonder at this Greek addition* TANIA, *seeing that* S. Hierome *in his questions vpon* Genesis, *proueth out of most ancient Authors, that the Greekes inhabited along the sea coasts and Isles of Europe thorowout as far as to this our Iland. Let vs read, saith he,* Varroes bookes of Antiquities, *and those of* Sisinius Capito, *as also the Greeke writer* Phlegon, *with the rest of the great learned men, and we shall see, all the Ilands well neere, and all the sea coasts of the whole world, to haue been taken vp with Greek inhabitants, who, as I said before, from the mountaines* Amanus *and* Taurus *euen to the British Ocean, possessed all the parts along the sea side. And verily, that the* Greeks *ariued in this our region, viewed and considered well the site and nature thereof, there will be no doubt nor question made: if we obserue what* Athenæus *hath written concerning* Phileas Tauromenites *who was in Britaine in the yeere one hundred and sixty before* Cæsars *comming: if we call to remembrance the Altar with an inscription vnto* Vlysses *in Greek letters, erected in* Caledonia *as* Solinus *saith, and lastly if we marke what* Pytheas *before the time of the Romans here, hath deliuered and written as touching the distance of* Thule *from* Britaine. *For who had euer discouered vnto the Greeks,* Britain, Thule, *the* Belgick *countries, and their* sea *coasts especially, if the* Greek *ships had not entred the* British *and* German Ocean, *yea and related the description therof vnto their Geographers? Had* Pytheas, *thinke you, come to the knowledge of six daies sailing beyond* Britaine, *vnlesse some of the* Greeks *had shewed the same? Who euer told them of* Scandia, Bergos, *and* Nerigon, *out of which men may saile into* Thule? *And these names seem to haue been better knowen vnto the most ancient* Greeks, *then either to* Pliny *or to any* Roman. *Whereupon* Mela *testifieth, that* Thule *was much mentioned and renowned in* Greek *writers:* Pliny likewise writeth thus; Britain *an* Iland *famous in the monuments and records both of the* Greeks *and of vs. By this meanes therefore, so many Greeke words haue crept into the* British, French, *and withall, into the* Belgick, *or* Low-Dutch *language. And if* Lazarus Baysius, *and* Budæus *doe make their vant and glory in this, that their French-men haue bin of old* φιλόμουσοι, *that is, louers and studious of the* Greeks, *grounding their reason vpon few French words of that Idiome, which receiue some marks and tokens of the* Greek *tongue: if* Hadrianus Iunius *ioyeth no lesse, because in the* Belgick *words there lie couertly* Greek *Etymologies: then may the* Britains *make their boast in whose language many words there be deriued from the* Greeks. Thus farre M. *Cambdens* iudgement for Britannia.

Which name we find first mentioned by *Polybius* the *Greeks* historian, who liued and trauelled with *Scipio* thorow most parts of *Europe*, about 265. yeers before the birth *of Christ*. And after him *Athenæus* a Greek author of good account, and before the yeere of grace 179. mentioneth the name of *Britaine*, and that vpon this occasion: King *Hiero* saith he, *framing a ship of such hugenesse and burden, as was admirable to the world, was much troubled for a tree, whereof he might make the maine mast: which at last with much adoe was found in* Britaine, *by the direction of a Swineheard: and by* Phileas Tauromenites *the Mechanick conueied into Sicilie*, whereby that want was sufficiently supplied. To this let not the *Criticks* from *Cæsar* say; that *Britaine brought forth neither Beech nor Firre*, as he in his fift book of commentaries affirmes (if by *fagus* he meane the *Beech*) seeing that the same kind doth most plentifully grow in all parts of this *Iland*, and the *Firre-trees* for masts in the North west of *Scotland* vpon the bankes of the *Lough argicke* of such great height and thicknesse, that at the root they beare 28. handfuls about, and the bodies mounted to 90. foot of height, they beare at that length 20. inches Diametre, as hath been measured by some in commission, & so certified to his *Maiesty*: and at this present growing vpon the lands of the right worthy Knight Sir *Alexander Hayes, his Maiesties principall Secretary for Scotland.*

But among the Latine Writers *Lucretius* was the first that before *Cesar* mentioneth *Britaine* in these verses:

Nam quid Britannum cælum deferre putamus,
Et quod in Ægypto est, quà mundi claudicat Axis:
We see the difference in the spheeres where Britaines Sunne doth goe
From Egypts Clime, wherein Charles-waine is forc'd to draw so low.

Lucretius.

(8) Other names hath this *Iland* beene termed by, and that either by way of note for her situation, as *Insula Cæruli, the Iland in the Sea*, so written in the *sonet* or *parodia* made against *Ventidius Bassus*, and by *Claudian* confirmed, whose *sides* (saith hee) *the azure Sea doth wash.* And in a very ancient manuscript it is found written, *Insula florum, an Iland of flowers*, for the abundance of Graine therein growing: as also for her subiection to the *Romans*, hath beene *called by Ægisippus, the Romane world*, and by her owne Historian *Gildas, Romania*: for beeing first subdued by them, the very name of seruitude (saith he) *stucke fast to the soile.* And *Prosper Aquitanicus* in expresse words calleth it, the *Romane Iland*, and so did the South-saiers when the statutes of *Tacitus* and *Florianus* the Emperours were by lightning ouerthrowen, who propheciedd, that an *Emperour should arise out of their familie, that should send a Pro-consull to the Romane Iland.* Vpon the like cause of conquest & subiection we read in *Amianus*, that what time the *Iland* had affaied a dangerous reuolt in the raigne of *Valentinianus* the Emperor, *Theodosius* as then Gouernor of *Britaine*, reducing them vnder their wonted obedience, in honor of *Valentinianus*, caused the *Iland* to bee called VALENTIA, which name notwithstanding died either with, or immediatly after the death of the said Emperour.

Britains called *Insula Ceruli.*

Britaine the Romane world. *Prosperus Aquitaine.* A prophecy of the Romane sooth-sayers concerning Britaine. This Iland Britaine named the Roman Iland.

Amianus Marcel. lib. 28. cap. 7.

This Iland named *Valentia.*

(9) But about the same time, when as by *Gods* decree the *Romanes* fulnesse was come to the wane, and the greatnes of their glory did abate; by the downefall of that one Empire, many Kingdomes beganne to arise, and to haue their Rulers, Lawes, and Limits of themselues. Among the rest, this *Iland Britaine* shortly came to be diuided into three seuerall Kingdomes, & each of them to retaine an absolute power in their owne dominions, and were knowen by their seuerall and proper names. The first was *Scotland* from *Scotia*, and that from *Scythia*, as the best suppose, whose Southerne bounds was the famous *Wall* from *Carlile* to *Newcastle*, and from thence the enorme tract of all that Northerne promontory was called *Scotia*, or *Scotland.* The second was *Cambria*, of vs called *Wales*, sited in the West of this *Iland*, incloising those waste mountaines with a *ditch* drawen from *Basingwarke* in *Flint-shire* in the North, to the mouth of *Wye* neere *Bristoll* in the South, so separated by great *Offa* the *Mercian* King. And the third was *Angle-lond*, the East, the most fruitfull, and best of the *Iland*, lying coasted with the *Erench* and *Germane Seas*, so named when the vnited *Heptarchie* of the *Saxons* was ruled by king *Egbert*, who by his edict dated at *Winchester*, *Anno* 819. commanded the same to bee called *Angle-lond*, according to the name of the place from whence his ancestors the *Angle-Saxons* came, which was out of the continent part of *Denmarke*, lying betwixt *Iuitland* and *Holsatia*, where to this day the place retaineth the name *Engloen.* And therfore *Calepine* is to be reiected, that would haue the name from *Queene Angela*, and *Goropius*, of good *Anglers*; either from Pope *Gregorie* his attribute of *Angell-like* faces; or from others that would faine it from *Angula* the *Giant-like* brother to *Danus*; or force it from *Angulus Orbis.*

This Iland Britaine diuided in to three kingdomes. The first, Scotland, whose partition southward is from Carlile to Newcastle.

The second. Cambria or Wales, whose partition is from Basingwark to Wye.

The third. Angle-lond coasted with the French and German Seas.

This Iland named Angle-lond of a place in Denmarke called Engloen.

Gregory 1.

(10) Neither indeed was it called *England* before the daies of *Canutus* the *Dane*; but with *Angle-land*, retained still the names both of *Albion* and *Britaine*, as in a *Saxon* Charter made by King *Edgar*, the tenth in succession from *Egbert*, and no lesse then one hundred forty and nine yeeres after this Edict is seene, where in the beginning he stileth himselfe thus: *Ego Edgar totius Albionis Basileus*, &c. And in the end of the same charter thus: *Edgar Rex totius Britannia Donocon-*

This Iland not called England before the daies of *Canutus* the Dane.

This Iland vsually called both Angle-lond, Albion, and Britain, before *Canutus* daies.

nem.

nem cum sigillo S. Crucis confirmaui. And yet vpon his *Coines* wrote himselfe *Rex Anglis*, whereby wee see the rellish of the former names not vtterly extinct, though a new was imposed by the *Saxons*.

The name *England* not changed either by the *Dane* or *Norman* Conquerours.

(11) This last name this *Iland* still retained, though two seueral Conquests of two seuerall Nations were made of the same. Neither did *William* the Conqueror attempt to alter it, it sounding belike so *Angel-like* in his eares, accounting himselfe most happie to be King of so worthy a Kingdome: the glorie wherof is further inlarged by the ranking of Christian nations, assembled in their generall Councels, wherein *England* is accounted the fifth, & hath place of precedency before kingdoms of larger territories.

Hath the fifth place in all Generall Councels.

This name of *England* continued for the space of seuen hundred eighty and three yeeres, vnto the comming in of our Soueraigne Lord King IAMES, *in anno* 1602. who by the hand of GOD hath vnited all these *Diademes* into one Imperiall Crowne, & reduced the many Kingdomes in one *Iland*, vnder the gouernment of one *Monarch*: and after the manifold conquests, irruptions, and dissensions, hath setled an eternall amitie; & extinguishing all differences of names, hath giuē the whol *Iland* the ancient name of GREAT BRITAINE, by his *Edict* dated at *Westminster*, quartring the royal *Armes* of his seuerall *Kingdoms* in one royall *Scutchion*, and for his *mott*, as is most meet,

BEATI PACIFICI.

Hath continued and kept the name *England* the space of seuen hundred eighty and three yeeres.

Now reduced to the name of *Great Britaine*.

THE ANCIENT NATIONS INHABITING THIS ILAND OF GREAT BRITAINE BEFORE THE CONQVEST THEREOF BY THE ROMANES.

CHAPTER III.

Britaine replenished with people before *Noahs* flood.

IT is not to bee doubted, but that this *Iland* with the *Vniuersall* was replenished with people, immediately after that men began to be multiplied vpon the earth, euen in the daies of the former *Patriarkes*, and long before the *Flood* of *Noah*, as sundrie ancient Writers haue related. And surely if wee consider in those first ages of the world the long life of man (the only meanes to multiplication) and the worlds continuance for one thousand six hundred fiftie and six yeeres before it was destroied, wee shall easily yeeld, that euery Country and corner of the earth was plentifully peopled and inhabited. And so much doe the *Sacred Scriptures* intimate vnto vs, where, by the Prophet *Esay* it is said: *Thus saith the Lord, that created heauen; God himselfe, that framed the earth, and made it: he hath prepared it; he created it not in vaine; he formed it to be inhabited.*

Isa. 45. 18.

(2) But when the wrath of GOD was executed vpon the world for sin, & all ouer-whelmed with a *Flood* of waters, the whol earth therby became altogether vnpeopled, *eight persons* only with the breed-reserued creatures saued in the floting *Arke*: Whose Port or Hauen was the mountaine of *Araret* in *Armenia*; whence with the blessing of procreation, mankinde againe began to be multiplied vpon the earth; and from the confusion of *Babels* building, to be scattered by *Tribes* and *Colonies*, according to the diuersitie of Languages, into diuers parts and Countries of the world, giuing nams to the places where they seated, according to the names of their Princes or chiefe Commanders. Amongst whom the sonnes of *Iapheth* the eldest sonne of *Noah* (whom *Moses* declareth to haue peopled the *Iles* of the *Gentiles*) betooke themselues into *Europe*, these westerne parts of the world: as *Sem* did into *Asia*, and *Cham* into *Africa*: whose posterities accordingly dispersed, *Iosephus* in his first *Booke* of *Antiquities* hath both branched into their seuerall diuisions. and reduced them to their first roots and originals.

Noahs flood.

The hauen of *Noahs* Arke, *Mount Araret*.

Babels Tower the cause of sundrie Languages, and dispersion of people.

Iapheths progeny peopled *Europe*. Genesis 10.

Sems planted in *Asia*.
Chams off-spring seated in *Africa*. *Ioseph lib. 1.*

(3) Now that the *Iles of the Gentiles* mentioned by *Moses*, were these of *Europe*, all learned men confesse: and therefore those especially of *Britannie* and *Sicilie*, as *Wolfangus Musculus* is of opinion. And that *Europe* fell to *Iaphets* portion, *Iosephus* and *Isidore* doe agree: who affirme his off-spring to haue inhabited from the *Mount Taurus* all *Europe Northward*, so farre as the *British Seas*, leauing names both to places and people. And *Gildas*, as *Nubrigensis* witnesseth, and *Polydore Virgil* granteth, will haue this *Iland* inhabited euen from the *Flood*. But of these ancient things, saith *Sebastian Munster*, no man can write certainly, it depending only vpon coniecturlas, and the same by heare-say, and flying reports of priuate men, as *Origen* spaketh.

Europe the Iles of *Gentiles*.

Wolfang. Muscul. Origen. lib. 9. ca. 2. Wolfang. Lazius. Theophilus Episc. Antiochia. ad Antol. lib. 2.

Sebastian Munster.

Stories of the first times meere-lie coniecturall.

(4) *Gomer* then, the eldest sonne of *Iapheth*, gaue name to the *Gomerians*, who filled almost this part of the world, leading (as *Villichius* saith) in the tenth yeere of *Nimrod*, a *Colonie* out of *Armenia* into *Italie*, which of *Gomer* were called *Combri*, and afterwards *Cimbri*: whence such as departed *Italy* went into the *North* parts and gaue name to *Cimbrica Chersonesus*: from whence it is certaine we the *English* proceede, & of whom also it is likely the *Britaines* came. For so iudgeth a learned *Britain* himselfe, who saith his countrymen the *Welsh* which are vnlearned, as yet know no other name for their land and people, but only *Cumbri*.

Gomer the eldest sonne of *Iaphet*.
Villichius.
A Colonie of *Gomerians* called *Cambri* or *Cimbri*, of *Gomer*, came into *Italie*.
Englishmen were of *Cimbrica Chersonesus*, which came from *Italy*.

Joh. Lewis in Reform. hist. li. 1. ca. 9.

(5) And that of these *Gomerians* were also the *Gaules*, learned *Clarenceaux* that brightest lampe to all Antiquities, out of *Iosephus* and *Zonaras* sufficiently hath obserued; who that they were also called *Cimbri*, he proueth out of *Cicero*, & *Appian Alexandrinus*; that those *Barbarians* whom *Marius* defeated, *Cicero* plainly termeth *Gaules*, where he saith, *C. Marius* represt the armies of the *Gaules*, entring in great numbers into *Italy*: which, as all *Historians* witnesse, were the *Cimbrians*. And the *Habergeon* of their king *Belens* digged vp at *Aqua Sextia*, where *Marius* put them to flight, doth shew the same: whereon was engraued in strange characters BELEOS CIMBROS; as also the testimony of *Lucan* doth no lesse, who calleth the Ruffine hired to kill *Marius*, a *Cimbrian*, whom *Liuy* & *Plutarch* in the life of *Marius* affirme to be a *Gaule*. They also who vnder the conduct of *Brennus* spoiled *Delphi* in *Greece*, were *Gaules*, as all writers with one voice agree, and yet that these were named *Cimbri*, *Appian* in his *Illyricks*

Gaules of the *Gomerians*.

Appian Alexand. Lib. Celtica.

Gaules by all Historie were the *Cimbrians*.

Marius Habergeon.
Marius killed by a *Cimbrian*.
Delphi spoiled by *Brennus*.

Brennus a *Britaine* or a *Cimbrian.*
Virgil. catalect. lib. 8. c. 3.
Quintilian.

doth teſtifie. And for *Brennus* their *Grand-Captaine*, our *Hiſtorians* report him to be a *Britaine*: as likewiſe *Virgil* (though in taunting wiſe) termeth that *Grammarian* the *Britaine Thucydides*, whom *Quintilian* affirmes to be a *Cimbrian.*

The *Turkes*, the *Ionet*, *Medes*, and *Thracians* come of *Noahs* nephewes.

(6) And if of the reſt of *Noahs* nephewes, ſeated in ſeuerall countries, the *Nations* proceeding from them, are knowen by their originall names, as the *Turkes* of *Togorma*, whom the *Iewes* to this day ſo terme, the *Ionet* from *Iauan*, the *Medes* from *Madai*, the *Thracians* from *Tiras*, and ſo of the reſt, whoſe names as yet ſound not much vnlike to their firſt planters; why then ſhall not we thinke, that our *Britaines* or *Cumerians*, are the very of-ſpring of *Gomer*, and of *Gomer* tooke their denomination, the name ſo neere according? Sith granted it is, that they planted themſelues in the vtmoſt borders of *Europe*, as *Iſidore* hath ſaid. For the *Ark* reſting in *Armenia*, and the people thēce flowing like waters from the ſpring, repleniſhed thoſe parts firſt that lay next their ſite, as *Aſia* the leſſe, and *Greece* before *Italy*: *Italy* before *Gaule*, and *Gaule* before *Britaine.* And if we conſider the occaſions that might be offered, either for disburdening the multitudes of people, for conqueſt, deſire of nouelties, ſmalneſſe of diſtance, or commodities of the aire and ſoile, we may eaſily conceiue this *Iland* to haue been peopled from thence. For it ſtandeth with ſenſe that euery country receiued their firſt inhabitants from places neere bordering, rather then from them that lay more remote: for ſo was *Cyprus* peopled out of *Aſia*, *Sicile* and *Candie* out of *Greece*; *Corſica* and *Sardinia*, out of *Italy*, *Zeland* out of *Germany*, *Iſland* out of *Norway*, and ſo of the reſt. Now that *Britaine* had her firſt inhabitants from *Gaule*, ſufficiently is proued by the name, ſite, religion, manners, and languages, by all which the moſt ancient *Gaules* and *Britaines* haue been as it were linked together in ſome mutuall ſociety; as is at large proued by our Arch-Antiquary in his famous worke, to which I refer the ſtudious reader.

Iſidore.
Armenia the fountaine region of al Nations.
Places neereſt *Armenia* firſt peopled.

The occaſions why people diſperſe.

Each Nation peopled from places neere.

Britaine had her firſt inhabitants from the *Gaules*

Britannia Cambdeni.

(7) And although the inner parts of the *Iland* were inhabited, as *Ceſar* ſaith, of ſuch whom they themſelues out of their owne records, report to haue been borne in the *Iland*: yet the *ſea coaſts* were peopled by thoſe, who vpon purpoſe to make war, had paſſed thither out of *Belgia*, and *Gaule*, who ſtill caried the names of thoſe cities and ſtates, out of which they came: as the *Belgæ*, the *Attrebatij*, *Pariſi*, and the like names of people both in *Gaule*, and in *Britaine*, that after the warres there remained. Which is the more confirmed in that both the *Prouinces* were gouerned by one and the ſame *Prince*, as *Cæſar* in his owne remembrance knew, and nameth one *Diuitiacus* to hold a good part of *Gaule*, and alſo of *Britaine* vnder his gouernment. Yea and *Tacitus* the moſt curious ſearcher into *Britaines* affaires, in the life of *Agricola* thus diſciphereth them. *Now* (ſaith hee) *what manner of men the firſt inhabitants of* Britannie *were, forraine brought in, or borne in the land, as among a barbarous people, it is not certainly knowen. Their complexions are different, and thence may ſome coniectures bee taken: for the red haire of the dwellers in* Caledonia, *and mighty lymmes import a German deſcent. The coloured countenances of the* Silures, *and haire moſt commonly curled, and ſite againſt* Spaine, *ſeeme to induce, that the old* Spaniards *paſſed the Sea, and poſſeſſed thoſe places. The neereſt to* France *likewiſe reſemble the* French, *either becauſe they retaine of the race from which they deſcended, or that in Countries butting together, the ſame aſpect of the heauens doth yeeld the ſame complexions of bodies. But generally it is moſt likely, the* French *being neereſt, did people the Land. In their ceremonies and ſuperſtitious perſwaſions, there is to be ſeene an apparant conformity. The Language differeth not much: like boldneſſe to challenge and ſet into dangers: when dangers come, like feare in refuſing: ſauing that the* Britaines *make ſhew of great courage, as being not mollified yet by long peace.*

Cæſar Comment. lib. 5.

The ſea coaſts of *Britaine* peopled out of *Belgia.*

Cæſar Com. lib. 2.
A part of *Gaule* and *Britaine* gouerned by one Prince.

Tacitus in vita Agricola.

The *Caledonians* import a *German* deſcent.
The *Silures* from *Spaine.*

Britaine moſt likely to be peopled by the French.

(8) Whereby wee ſee, that theſe *Cimbrians* (of whom, as *Appian Alexandrinus* ſaith, came the *Celts*, and of them the *Gaules*, as *Plutarch* in the life of *Camillus* affirmeth, with whom both *Plato* and *Ariſtotle* agree) were the ancient progenitors of theſe our *Britaines*: and them, with the *Gaules*, to be both one and the ſame people, is allowed by *Pliny*, that placeth them both in the continent of *France*; for ſo *Euſtathius* in his Commentarie vnderſtandeth *Dionyſius Afar*, that theſe *Britaines* in *Gaule* gaue name to the *Iland* now called GREAT BRITAINE, as *Pomponius Letus* and *Beda* before him had done. Theſe things conſidered, with the neerneſſe of their ſites for ready entercourſe, made both *Ceſar* and *Tacitus* to conceiue as they did. Neither were theſe things following ſmall motiues vnto them: for their religion was alike, ſaith *Lucan* and *Tacitus*: their boldneſſe in warres, and maner of armes alike, ſaith *Strabo*, *Tacitus*, *Dion*, *Pliny*, *Herodian*, and *Mela*: Their building alike, ſaith *Ceſar* and *Strabo*: their ornaments and manners alike, ſaith *Pliny* and *Ceſar*: their wits alike, ſaith *Strabo* and *Tacitus*: their language alike, ſaith *learned Bodine*: and in all things the vnconquered *Britaines* to the ancient *Gaules* alike, ſaith *Tacitus.* And all theſe doe warrant vs (me thinkes) to come from the *Cimbrians*, whoſe ſonnes, and our fathers, were the *Celts* and *Gaules*: the bands of whoſe amities were ſo linked together, that the *Britaines* gaue aid, and aſſiſted the *Gaules* againſt *Ceſar*, which was no ſmall cauſe of his quarrell againſt them.

Plutarch.
Plato.
Ariſtotle.

Britaines and *Gaules* both placed in the Continent of *France.*

Pomponius Letus.
Beda Hiſt. Angl. lib. 1. cap. 1.

Lucan.
Britaines and *Gaules* alike in many reſpects.
Strabo, *Tacitus*, *Dion*, &c.
Cæſar, *Strabo.*

Bodin.

Tacitus.

The *Celts* and *Gaules* our fathers.
Bale Cent. 1.
Britaines aſſiſted the *Gauls* againſt *Ceſar.*

(9) Not to deriue the truth of our Hiſtory from the fained inuentions of a *forged Beroſus*, that bringeth *Samothes* to people this *Iland*, about one hundred fiftie two yeeres after the *Flood*, to giue lawes to the Land, and to leaue it to his poſterity, for three hundred thirty fiue yeeres continuance: although hee be countenanced by *Amandus Zirixeus* in the annotations of *White of Baſingſtoke*: and magnified vnto vs by the names of *Dis* and *Meſhech* the ſixt ſonne of *Iapheth*, from whom this *Iland* with a Sect of *Philoſophers* tooke their names, ſaith *Textor*, *Bale*, *Holinſhead*, and *Caius*: yet ſeeing this building hath no better a foundation but *Beroſus*, and he not only iuſtly ſuſpected, but long ſince fully conuicted for a counterfeit, we leaue it, as better fitting the pens of vulgar *Chroniclers*, then the reliſh or liking of iudicious Readers: whileſt with *Laertius* wee iudge rather, that thoſe *Sophes* were termed *Semnothoes*, and they not from *Samothea*, as *Villichus* would haue vs beleeue.

Beroſus thought a forged author.

Holinſh. hiſt. lib. 1. cap. 2.
Vitus hiſt. Brit. lib. 1. Annot. 25.
Geneſ. 10. 2.

Textor, &c.
Iob. Caius in Antiq. Canterb. lib. 1.

Lod. Viues in anotation. vpon Auguſtine Ciuit. Dei, lib. 7. cap. 4.

Laertius in vita Philoſophorum, cap. 1.
Villichus.

(10) Neither ſoundeth the muſicke of *Albions* legion tunable in our eares, whom *Beroſus* with full note, and *Annius* alloweth to be the fourth ſonne of *Neptune*, and him the ſame that *Moſes* calleth *Napthtahim*, the fourth ſonne of *Mizraim*, the ſecond ſonne of *Cham*, the third ſonne of *Noah*, (becauſe his fictions ſhould be countenanced with the firſt) who being put into this *Iland* by *Neptune* his father (accounted forſooth the *god* of the Seas) about the yeere after the *flood* three hundred thirty and fiue, ouercame the *Samotheans*, as eaſily he might, being a man of ſo great ſtrength in bodie, and largeneſſe of limmes, that hee is accounted among the *Giants* of the earth. Him *Hercules* ſurnamed *Lybicus* in battle aſſailed for the death of *Oſiris* his father, and after forty foure yeeres tyranny (ſaith *Bale*) ſlew him with his brother *Bergion* in the continent of *Gallia* neere to the mouth of the riuer *Rhodanus*: whence *Hercules* trauelled into this *Iland*, as *Giraldus* (from *Gildas* the ancient *Briton* Poet) coniectureth, whoſe fifth dialogue of Poetrie hee had ſeene; and the rather beleeued, becauſe *Ptolemy* calleth that head of *Land* in *Cornwall*, *Promontorium Herculis*, and left the poſſeſſion of the *Iland* vnto them of *Cham*, contrary to the meaning of the *Scriptures*, that made him a *Captiue*, but neuer a *Conquerour* ouer his brethren, whiles their firſt *Policies* were ſtanding.

Hollinſhead.
An vnlikely ſtorie of *Britaines* firſt peopling.

Samothea this Iland *Britaine* conquered by *Chams* poſterities

Pompon. Mela.

Bale.

Giraldus.

Hercules in *Britaine* left the poſſeſſion thereof to *Chams* poſterity.

(11) The laſt, but much applauded opinion, for the poſſeſſing and peopling of this *Iland*, is that of *Brute*, generally held for the ſpace of theſe laſt foure hundred yeers (ſome few mens exceptions reſerued) who with his diſperſed *Troians* came into, & made cōqueſt of this *Iland* the yeere of the worlds creation

An opinion much applauded.

Brute and his *Troians* conquered this Iland.

2887.

2887. and after the *vniuerſall flood* 1231. in the eighteenth yeere of *Heli* his *Prieſthood* in the land of *Iſrael*, and before the incarnation of *Chriſt* our *Sauiour* one thouſand fifty nine. This *Brute* is brought from the ancient *Troians* by deſcent, yea and from the perſons of the heathen deified *Gods*: as that he was the ſonne of *Syluius*, who was the ſonne of *Aſcanius*, the ſonne of *Æneas*, the ſonne of *Anchiſes* by *Venus* the *Goddeſſe*, and daughter to *Iupiter* their greateſt in account. And if *Pliny* and *Varro* hold it praiſe-worthy to challenge deſcents (though falſly) from famous perſonages, wherby, as they ſay, appeareth an inclination to vertue, and a valerous conceit to perſwade vnto honor, as ſprung from a race diuine and powerfull: then by all meanes let vs liſten to him of *Monmouth*, who hath brought his Nation to ranke in degree with the reſt of the *Gentiles*; which claime themſelues to be the *Generation of the Gods*.

Brute deſcended from Iupiter.

Pliny.
Varro.

A falſe deſcent may not be challanged.
Geffrey of Monmouth died in *Anno* 1152.
Acts 17.28.

(12) But why do I attribute the worke to him, as the Author, ſith he profeſſeth himſelfe to be but the *tranſlator* of that hiſtory out of the *Britiſh* tongue, which *Walter* the *Archdeacon* of *Oxford* brought out of *Normandie*, and deliuered vnto him? For the further confirmation thereof, and more credit to his ſtory, *Henry* of *Huntington*, who liued in the time of king *Stephen*, and wrote likewiſe the *hiſtory* of this *land*, bringeth the line of *Brute* from *Æneas* the *Troiane*, and his arriuage and conqueſt to happen in the time of *Heli* his *Prieſthood* in the land of *Iſrael*, as *Geffrey ap Arthur* hath alſo done: not taking (as ſome thinke) any thing thereof from him, but rather out of an ancient booke intituled *De Origine Regum Britannorum*, found by himſelfe in the *library* of the Abbey of *Bec*, as he trauelled towards *Rome*: which hiſtory began at the arriuall of *Brute*, and ended with the acts of *Cadwalader*, as by a treatiſe of his owne inditing, bearing the ſame title, hath been compared, and found in all things agreeing with our vulgar hiſtory, as induſtrious *Lamberd* affirmeth himſelfe to haue ſeen. And *Ninius* is ſaid by the writer of the *reformed hiſtory*, to bring theſe *Britaines* from the race of the *Troians*, foure hundred yeeres before that *Geffrey* wrote: yea and long before *Ninius* alſo, *Talieſin* a *Briton* Poet in an *Ode* called *Hanes*, os *Taieſſ* his courſe of life, in theſe words, *Mia deythymyma at wedillion Troia*, that is, *I came hither to the Remnants of Troy.*

Henry of Huntington died in *Anno* 1148.

Henry Huntington alſo recordeth Brutes line and arriuall in Britaine.
Geffrey ap Arthur.
A booke hereof found.

Wil. Lamb. Peramb.
Ninius and Talieſin bring the Britaines from Brute.

(13) That *William* of *Malmesbury* (who wrote in the daies of King *Henry* the firſt) was before him of *Monmouth*, is moſt certaine; yet doth he make mention of *Arthur a Prince* (ſaith he) *deſeruing rather to be aduanced by the truth of records, then abuſed by falſe imputation of fables; being the only prop and vpholder of his country.* And *Beda*, his ancient alſo, nameth *Ambroſius Aurelianus* to be *King* of the *Britaines*, long before that *Geffrey* was borne: So was *Brennus* mentioned by *Liuy*; *Bellinus*, (if he be *Belgius*) hy *Iuſtine*; *Caſſibelan* by *Ceſar*; *Cunobilin* by *Suetonius*; *Aruiragus* by *Martial*; *Lucius* by *Euſebius*; *Coel*, *Conſtantius*, *Caranſius*, and others by *Eutropius*, and *Paulus Diaconus*; and *Helena* by *Nicephorus*, *Ambroſe*, and *Socrates*. Theſe are the affirmatiues that giue countenance to the *Archdeacon* of *Monmouths* tranſlation, and credit to *Brutes* conqueſts and ſucceſſours; yea and *Iohn Harding* his *Herauld*, in his home-ſpun poetry, can eaſily emblaze his *armes* to be *Gules*, charged with two *lions rampant* endorſed *Ore*; and the ſame to be borne by the Kings of *Troy*. And his banner diſplaied at his entrance is ſaid to be *Vert* a *Diana* of *gold* fitchel, crowned, and inthronized, the ſame that *Æneas* bare, when he entred the land of the *Latines*. But the cenſures of theſe relations I leaue to the beſt liking of iudicious Readers, only wiſhing them to be vnlike the inhabitants vnder the rockes of the Cataracts of *Nilus*, whereof *Cicero* and *Amianus* make mention, who were made deafe by the continuall noiſe of the fall of *Nilus*: leſt by the ſound and loud voices of theſe writers, the exceptions of others cannot be heard, which from the fulneſſe of their pennes I will likewiſe declare, without offence, I hope, vnto any.

Died in *Anno* 1142.

Malmesb. de Geſtis rerum Anglorum. lib. 1.

Beda hiſtor. Angli. lib. 1. cap. 16.

Liuy.
Iuſtine.
Ceſar.
Suetonius.
Martial.
Euſebius.
Eutropius.
Nicephorus.
Ambroſe.
Socrates.
Harding Chro. Chap. 11.
Iuuenal. Hamil.
Nicholas Upton.

Stowe.

Cicero de Som. Scipionis.
Amianus Marcel. lib. 22. cap. 14.
Hiſtories muſt be weighed with iudgement.

(14) Firſt (with a reuerend reſeruation had to the *ſacred hiſtories*) *Varro* the moſt learned Latine writer, diuiding *times* motions into three ſeuerall parts, that is, from the *creation* to the *flood*, which he termeth altogether *vncertaine*: from the *flood* to the firſt *Olympiad* (by *Beroaldus* computation ſet in the yeere of the world 3154. and thirty one of the raigne of *Ioas*, king of *Iudah*: ſeuen hundred ſeuenty and foure yeers before the birth of our *Sauiour*) he calleth *fabulous*: and the laſt age from the firſt *Olympiad* to himſelfe, he nameth *hiſtoricall*. Now the ſtory of *Brute* beginning two hundred ſixty ſeuen yeeres before the firſt *Olympiad*, falleth in the time wherin nothing els is related, either of the *Greeks* or *Latines*, the only learned writers, but fables and tales, as both himſelfe and others haue told vs, much more then, among the barbarous, vnlettred, and vnciuill nations, as all theſe parts of the world then were.

Varro.

Times motions diuided into three parts. *Beroaldus.*

The third only hiſtoricall.

The ſtory of Brute fabulous.

(15) Whereupon *Gildas* our ancienteſt homeborne writer, (cited and in whole ſentences followed by *venerable Beda*, who termeth him the *Britaines hiſtorigrapher*) in this of *Brute* is ſilent, and in his lamentable paſſions neuer dreames of him but as one ouerwhelmed with griefe bewaileth the wickedneſſe of the time wherein he liued, who was born, as himſelfe ſaith, in the forty fourth yeere after the *Saxons* firſt entrance, about the yeere of *Chriſts incarnation* 493. and died, as *Bale* citeth out of *Polydore*, the yeere of our redemption 580. *Ninius* alſo another ancient writer, who liued aboue eight hundred yeeres ſince, taking in hand the *Chronicles* of the *Britaines*, complaineth that their great Maſters and doctors could giue him no aſſiſtance, being ignorant of skill, and had left no memoriall of things paſſed, nor committed their acts vnto writing, whereby hee was inforced to gather what he had gotten from the *annals* and *Chronicles* of the holy *fathers*. *Beda* likewiſe, whoſe hiſtory ended in *anno* 733, beginneth no ſooner then with *Iulius Ceſars* entrance; notwithſtanding he had the aſſiſtance of the *Abbat Albinus*, who was brought vp vnder *Theodorus* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and had begun the hiſtory of this land with moſt diligent ſearch from the records of the kingdome of *Kent*, and the prouinces adioining; as alſo being further aſſiſted by *Daniel* Biſhop of the *weſt-Saxons*, who ſent him all the records that were to be found of the ſame Biſhoprick, *South-Saxons*, and the *Ile of wight*. The like helpes had he from *Abbat Eſſius*, for the country of *Eaſt-Angles*; from *Cymbertus* and the brethren of *Laſtinge* for the prouince of *Mercia*, and *Eaſt-Saxons*. And from the brethren of *Lindisfarnum*, for the country of *Northumberland*; beſides his owne paines in collections, knowledge and experience: all which he did diſgeſt and hiſtorically compile, and before the publication thereof ſent it to king *Ceolulphe* at that time raigning in *Northumberland*, to be approued or corrected by his moſt learned skill: yet in none of theſe found he that hiſtory of *Brute* nor his ſucceſſors, which as ſome would haue it, was then vnbegotten in the world.

Gildas.

Beda hiſt. Angli. lib. 1. cap. 22.
Gildas maketh no mention of Brute.

Bale out of Polydore.
Ninius alſo ſaith nothing of him.

Beda hiſt. Angli. lib. 5. cap. 24.
Beda beginneth but at Iulius Cæſar.
Beda had the help of the Abbat Albinus.

Of Daniel Biſhop of Weſt-Saxons.

Of Abbat Eſſius.

Of Cymbertus and brethren of Læſtinge.
Of the brethren of Lindisfarnum.

(16) After him *Elward*, as *William of Malmsburie* calleth him, or rather (as he writeth himſelfe) *Patricius Conſul fabius Queſtor Ethelwerdus*, a diligent ſearcher of antiquities, a reuerend perſon, and of the blood roiall, wrote foure bookes, briefly compriſing the whole hiſtory of *England*, from the beginning of the world vnto the time of king *Edgar* wherein he liued: of *Brute* nor his *Britains* ſpeaketh a word; but paſſeth with ſilence to the *Romans* and *Saxons*. What need I to cite *Ingulphus*, who died *anno* 1109. *Florentius of Worceſter*, that floriſhed in the daies of King *Henry the firſt*, or *William* of *Malmsbury*, that wrote vnto the end of his raigne; all of them writers before *Geffrey of Monmouth*, but none of them mentioning this ſtory of *Brute*. This moued *William of Newbourgh*, borne (as himſelfe ſaith) in the beginning of King *Stephens* raign, & liuing at one and the ſame time with this *Archdeacon of Monmouth*, too too bitterly to inueigh againſt him and his hiſtory, euen ſo ſoone as the ſame came forth: as in the proeme of his booke is to be

The hiſtory of Brute not to be found in Beda his time.
Elward.

Elward ſpeaketh nothing of Brute.
Ingulphus.
Florentius of Worceſter.

William of Malmesbury.
All theſe writers before Geffrey, and yet none mention Brute but he.

William of Newboroughs Chronicle inueighing againſt Ieffrey ap Arthur.

be ſeen. And that the words are his and not our own, take them from him as they lie. *In theſe our daies* (ſaith he) *there is a certaine writer riſen vp, deuiſing fictions and tales of the* Britaines *out of the vaine humors of his owne braine, extolling them far aboue the valorous* Macedonians, *or worthy* Romans; *his name is* Geffrey, *and may well aſſume the ſirname* Arthur, *whoſe tales he hath taken out of the old fables of the* Britaines, *and by his owne inuention augmented with many vntruths, foiling them ouer with a new colour of the* Latine *tongue, and hath inueſted them into the body of an hiſtory. Aduenturing further to diuulge vnder the name of authentick* propheſies, *deceitfull coniectures and fore-deemings of one* Merline (*a wizard*) *whereunto alſo he addeth a great deale of his owne.* And againe: *In his booke which he hath intituled the* Britaines hiſtory, *how ſhamelesly, and with a bold countetenance he doth lie, there is no man that readeth therin can doubt, vnleſſe he hath no knowledge at all in ancient true hiſtories; for hauing not learned the truth of things indeed, he admitteth without diſcretion and iudgement the vanitie and vntruths of fables. I forbeare to ſpeake* (ſaith he) *what great matters this fellow hath forged of the* Britaines *acts before the* Empire *and comming in of* Cæſar. *Thus farre* Paruus.

Merlin, a wizard

A deuice to put by this William of Newburghs accuſation.

But I know the anſwer to this ſo great an accuſation: namely, that this *William* making ſute vnto *Dauid ap Owen Gwyneth*, Prince of *North-wales*, for the Biſhoprick of *Saint Aſſaphs*, after the death of Geffrey, and thereof failing, falſly ſcandalized and impudently belied that moſt reuerend man. Which ſurely had been a great fault, and might of vs be beleeued, had not others of the ſame ranke and time, verified aſmuch.

Deſcript. Camb. cap. 7. He flouriſhed in Anno 1210. Giraldus Cambrenſis calleth Bruts hiſtory the fabulous ſtory of *Ieffrey*.

(17) For *Sylueſter Giraldus*, commonly called *Cambrenſis*, that flouriſhed in the ſame time with the ſaid author, made no doubt to terme it *The fabulous ſtory of Geffrey*. The like is verified by *Iohn Weathamſtead* Abbat of *Saint Albanes*, a moſt iudicious man that wrote in *anno* 1440. who in his *Granarie* giueth ſentence of this hiſtory as followeth. *The whole diſcourſe of* Brutus (ſaith he) *is rather poeticall, then hiſtoricall, and for diuers reaſons is built more vpon opinion then truth; firſt becauſe there is no mention thereof made in the* Romane *ſtory, either of his killing his father, or of the ſaid* birth, *or yet of baniſhing the ſonne. Secondly, for that* Aſcanius *begat no ſuch ſonne who had for his proper name* Syluius *by any approued Author: for according to them, he begat only one ſonne, and his name was* Iulius, *from whom the family of the* Iulij *tooke their beginning. And thirdly,* Syluius Poſthumus, *whom perhaps* Geffrey *meaneth; was the ſonne of* Aeneas *by his wife* Lauinia, *and he begetting his ſonne* Aeneas *in the thirty eight yeer of his raigne, ended his life by courſe of naturall death. The kingdome therfore now called* England, *was not heretofore, as many will haue, named* Britaine *of* Brutus *the ſonne of* Syluius. *Wherfore it is a vaine opinion and ridiculous to challenge noble blood, and yet to want a probable ground of the challenge: for it is manhood only that enobleth a nation; and it is the mind alſo with perfect vnderſtanding, and nothing els, that gaineth gentility to a man. And therefore* Seneca *writeth in his Epiſtles to* Plato, *that there is no King but he came from vaſſals, and no vaſſall but he came from Kings. Wherefore to conclude, let this ſuffice* (ſaith he) *that the* Britaines *from the beginning of their nobility haue been couragious and valiant in fight, that they haue ſubdued their enemies on euery ſide, and that they vtterly refuſe the yoke of ſeruitude.*

Aſcanius had no ſonne whoſe proper name was Syluius.

A ridiculous thing to vſurpe gentility.

Wiſedome the true nobility.

Seneca Epiſt. 44.

(18) Now that *William* of *Newborough*, had ſufficient cauſe (ſay ſome) to exclaime againſt the fantacies of *Merline*, and the fictions of *Arthur*, is made manifeſt in the ſequel, not only by the decree of that obtruded *Councel* of *Trent*, wherein was inhibited the publication of *Merlines books*; but alſo (in effect) by the ſtatute enacted the fifth yeere of our laſt deceaſed *Queene Elizabeth of bleſſed and immortall memorie*, wherein is forbidden ſuch fantaſticall predictions, vpon occaſions of *Armes, Fields, Beaſts, Badges, Cognizances*, or *Signets*, ſuch as *Merline* ſtood moſt vpon; and likewiſe *William* of *Malmsbury* ſaith, that *Arthur* being the only proppe that vpheld his country, deſerued rather to be aduanced by truth, then abuſed with fables wherewith that ſtory is moſt plentifully ſtored. And alſo, that *Weathamſtead* had reaſon to account *Brutes* acts and conqueſts, to be rather poeticall then any waies warranted by the records of truth, appeareth by the ſilence of the *Romane* writers therein, who name neither *Brute* nor his father in the genealogie of the *Latine* Kings: and if any ſuch were, (ſaith the contradictors) how could they be ignorant of the vntimely death of their king, ſlaine by the hand of his naturall (though in this act vnnaturall) ſonne? or what ſhould moue them, being ſo lauiſh in their own commendations, to be thus ſilent in their *Brutes* worthineſſe, that with ſeuen thouſand diſperſed *Troians* warred ſo victoriouſly in *Gallia*, conquered a *kingdome of Giants*, ſubdued a moſt famous *Iland*, raigned glorioufly, and left the ſame to his poſterity; none of them, either in proſe or poetry once handled, but left to deſtiny to be preſerued by a long enſuing meanes, or to periſh in obliuion for euer? And ſurely this moued the whole ſenate of great Clerks to giue ſentence, that neuer any ſuch *Brute* raigned in the world; ſuch as were *Boccace, Viues, Hadrian Iunius, Polydore, Buchanan, Vignier, Genebrard, Molinæus, Bodine*, and others.

Brute not mentioned in the genealogie of the Latine Kings.

Neuer any ſuch king in the World a Brute. *Boccace, Viues, Hadrianus Iunius, &c.*

(19) Yea, and there are ſome *Criticks* that faine would take aduantage from the defenders of *Brutes* hiſtory themſelues, as from *Sir Iohn Prys*, that produceth many vncertain enſamples of the originall of other nations; which granted, (ſay they) doth no waies confirme the truth or certainty of our owne; neither is it any honour to deriue theſe *Britaines* from the ſcumme of ſuch conquered people as the *Troians* were. *Humfry Lhuyd* likewiſe denying abſolutely the deriuation of the *Britaines* name from *Brute*, and bringing it from two compounded words, (as we haue ſaid) doth thereby weaken the credit of his conqueſt of this *Iland* to their vnderſtanding, as alſo the catalogue of his ſucceſſors, which are ſaid to raigne ſucceſſiuely for many hundred of yeeres after him. And another induſtrious *Britiſh* writer, hauing the help of two moſt ancient *Britiſh* copies, the collections of *Caradock of Carnaruan*, their owne *Bardies* euery third-yeeres viſitation, and twenty ſeuen authors of good account, (all of them cited in the preface of his *Chronicle*) beſides his helps had in the offices of *records* for this realme; yet aſending no higher then to the perſon of *Cadwallader, Prince of Wales*, whoſe raign was in the yeere of *Chriſts* incarnation 682. and no leſſe then one thouſand ſeuen hundred twenty and ſixe yeeres, after that *Brute* is ſaid to come into this Iland, doth not warrant (ſay they) the ſtory that is included betwixt, but rather euē the ſame is interlaced with many doubtfull vncertainties, and ſo left diſputable by the ſaid compiler himſelfe; as namely whether that this *Cadwallader* whome the *Britaines* claime to be their king, be not the ſame *Cheawald* whom the *Saxons* would haue theirs; both liuing at one *time*, both in *acts* alike, and *names* neere, both abandoning their *kingdomes*, both taking the habit of religion, both dying in *Rome*, both buried in one *Church*, nay, ſay they, in one *Sepulchre*. The like he bringeth of the *Britaines Iuor*, and the *Saxons Iue*, in the like coherences of *names*, *acts*, *deuotions*, and *deaths*: ſo that this hiſtory of *Brute* carrieth not ſo ſmooth a current for paſſage as is wiſhed, nor is that *Gordeons* knot ſo eaſily vnlooſed.

Cadwalladers ſtory alſo doubtfull.

Ran. Cheſt.

Rob. Fabian.

Againe, the *Reformer* of the *Britiſh hiſtory* himſelfe, although he hath written one whol chapter in defence of *Geffrey Monmouth*, and ſtraineth to make his booke authenticall, complaining often & accuſſing learned and vnpartiall *Cambden* ſeuerall times, for blowing away ſixty of the *Britaine* Kings with one blaſt: yet when he compareth the generations with the time, is forced thus to write: *From* Porrex *to* Minogen *are twenty one Kings in a lineall deſcent, and but yeeres ninety two: now diuide* 92. *by* 21. *and you ſhall find, that children beget children, and theſe* (ſaith he) *by George Owen Harry* in his book of pedegrees dedicated *to his Maieſty, appeareth to be in a lineall deſcent, beſides three or foure*

Iohn Lewis.

Maſter Cambden. accuſed by the defender of Ieffrey of Monmouth.

Merlines books inhibited.

An act inhibiting fantaſticall predictions.

Malmesburies teſtimony of Arthur.

The Britaines hiſtories weakned by themſelues.

D. Powell begin-neth his hiſtory of Wales but at Cadwallader.

A further diſproofe of Brutes hiſtory.

foure collaterals. And yet goeth further: *Though the Scripture* (saith hee) *alledge* Iudah, Hezron, Salomon, *and* Ezekiah, *to be but yong when they begat their sonnes, which* (*as* Rabbi Isack *saith*) *might be at thirteene yeeres of age: And although Saint* Augustine *say, that the strength of youth may beget children yong; and* Hierome *bringeth instance of a boy that at ten yeeres of age begot a childe: yet this doth not helpe to excuse the mistaking of yeeres for the British Kings aboue mentioned.*

Achaz he should haue said. Rabbi Isack. Aug. de ciuit. Dei, lib. 16. cap. 43. Hierome.

Thus far *Iohn Lewis*: and for the exceptions made against *Brute*: wherin I haue altogether vsed the words of others; & will now (without offence, I hope) adde a supposall of mine owne, seeing I am fallen into the computation of times, which is the onely *touch-stone* to the truth of histories, especially such as are limited by the bounds of the sacred *Scriptures*, as this for *Brutes* entrance is. And that the same cannot bee so ancient (supposing it were neuer so certaine) as the vulgar opinion hitherto hath held, the circumstance of time, to my seeming sufficiently doth prooue.

The Authors owne opinion of *Brutes* history.

(20) For *Brutes* conquest and entrance are brought by his Author to fall in the eighteenth yeere of *Heli* his *Priesthood* in the Land of *Israel*, and so is fastned into a computation that cannot erre. Now the eighteenth yeere of *Helies* gouernment, by the holy *Scriptures* most sure account, is set in the yeer of the *worlds creation* 2887. after the *vniuersall flood* 1231. and before the *birth* of *our blessed Sauiour* 1059. yeeres. *Brute* then liuing in this foresaid time, was foure descents from the conquered *Troians* (as he of *Monmouth* hath laid downe) which were *Æneas*, *Ascanius*, *Syluius*, and himselfe: so that by these generations succession in order, the very yeere almost of *Troys* destruction may certainly be pointed out and knowen: which in searching hath been found so doubtfull, that by some it hath beene thought to be a meere fable. Yet with more reuerence to antiquity obserued, let vs cast and compare the continuance of these foure generations vnto *Brutes* Conquest, not shortning them with *Baruch*, to be but ten yeeres to an age: neither lengthning them with *Iosephus*, who accounteth one hundred and seuenty yeeres for a generation: but with more indifferency let vs with *Herodotus*, who wrote neerer these times, allow thirty yeeres for a succession, as hee accounteth in his second booke. Now foure times thirty make one hundred and twenty, the number of yeeres that these foure Princes successiuely did liue: by which computation likewise measured by *Scripture*, the ruination of *Troy* fell in the thirty eight yeere of *Gideons* gouernment in *Israel*, and was the yeere after the *worlds creation* 2768. But the authority of *Clemens Alexandrinus*, alleged out of *Menander*, *Pergamenus*, and *Letus*, destroieth that time of *Troies* destruction, and placeth it fully two hundred and thirtie yeeres after, euen in the raigne of King *Salomon*: for in his first booke *Stromaton* thus he writeth: *Menelaus from the ouerthrow of Troy* came into *Phœnicia, at that time when Hiram King of Tyrus gaue his daughter in mariage vnto* Salomon *King of* Israel. Where, by him we see, that *Troies* ruines and *Salomons* raigne fell both vpon one time. And so *Brute* hath lost of his antiquity, by this account, 230. yeers; and entred not in *Helies* Priesthood, but rather in the vsurpation of *Iudahs* Kingdome by *Athalia*, and in the yeere of the world 3118.

Baruch. 6. 2. *Ioseph. contra Appion. lib. 1.* *Herodotus in Euterpe.* Iudg. 8. 28. *Clemens Alexand. Stromat. 1.* *Menelaus* returned from *Troy* when *Hiram* gaue his daughter in mariage to *Salomon*. 2. King. 11. 3. *Brute* his conquest rather in *Athalia* her time. *Ioseph. cont. Appion. lib. 1. & 2.*

(21) To whom let vs ioine *Iosephus*, an Author of great credit, & without suspicion in this case, who in his Nations defence against *Appion*, in both his bookes, confidently affirmeth himselfe able to proue by the *Phœnician* Records of warrantable credit, that *the city* Carthage *was built by* Dido, *sister to* Pigmalion, *one hundred fifty and fiue yeeres after the raigne of King* Hiram, *which was* Salomons *friend, and one hundred forty three yeeres, and eight moneths after the building of his most beautifull Temple.* Now wee know by *Virgil*, from whom all these glorious tales of *Troy* are told, that *Carthage* was in building by the same *Dido* at such time as *Æneas* came from *Troies* ouerthrow, through the Seas of his manifold aduentures. If this testimonie of *Iosephus* be true, then fals *Troies* destruction about the twentieth yeere of *Ioas* raigne ouer *Iudah*, which was the yeere of the *worlds creation* 3143. whereunto if we adde one hundred & twenty yeeres for the foure descēts before specified, then wil *Brutes* conquest of this *Iland* fall with the twelfth of *Iothams* raigne in the Kingdome of *Iudah*, which meets with the yeere of the worlds continuance 3263. And so hath he againe lost of his antiquity no lesse then 375. yeeres.

Phœnician records. *Carthage* built after King *Hirams* raigne 155. yeeres. *Virg. Æneidos lib. 1.* *Tacitus annal. lib. 16. cap. 1.*

Phœnician records.

Carthage built after King *Hirams* raigne 155. yeeres.

Virg. Æneidos lib. 1.

Tacitus annal. lib. 16. cap. 1.

Brutes conquest rather in *Iotham* his time. 2. King. 15. 32

(22) And yet to make a deeper breach into *Brutes* story, and to set the time, in a point so vncertaine, as from which neither circle nor line can be truly drawen; *Manethon* the *Historian Priest* of *Egypt*, in his second booke cited by *Iosephus*, affirmeth that the *Israelites departure from* Egypt *was almost a thousand yeeres before the warres of* Troy. If this be so (as it seemeth *Iosephus* alloweth it so) and one hundred and twenty yeeres more added, for the foure descents aboue mentioned, the number will fall about the yeer of the *worlds creation* 3630. long after the death of *Alexander the Great*, and *Greeke Monarch*. By which account the great supposed antiquity of *Brute*, is now lessened by seuen hundred fifty and two yeeres; and the time so scantelized betwixt his and *Cæsars* entrance, that two hundred forty six yeeres onely remaine: a time by much too short for seuenty two Princes, which successiuely are said to raigne each after others, and from *Brute* to *Cæsar* recorded to haue swaied the regall Scepter of this *Iland*.

Manethon cited by *Ioseph. cont. Appion. lib. 1.* *Israelites* depart from Egypt 1000. yeers before the warres of *Troy*, by *Iosephus* account. *Ioseph. cont. Appion. lib. 1.* *Brutes* conquest rather after *Alexander* the great.

Two hundred forty six yeeres a time to short for the raigne of seuenty two Kings.

(23) But vnto these obiections I know the answer will be ready; namely the diuersities of *Scriptures* account, being so sundry and different, that the story of *Brute* cannot thereby bee touched, but still standeth firme vpon it selfe. Indeed I must confesse, that from the first *Creation*, to the yeere of mans *Redemption*, the learned *Hebrewes*, *Greeks*, and *Latines*, differ much, and that not only each from others, but euen among themselues so farre, that there can be no indifferent reconciliation made, as by these seuerall computaitons may be seene, as followeth:

A supposed answer.

Hebrewes:	*Baal Seder-Holem*	3518.
	Talmundistes	3784.
	New Rabbins.	3760.
	Rabbi Nahsson	3740.
	Rabbi Leui	3786.
	Rabbi Moses Germidisi	4058.
	Iosephus	4192.
Greeks:	*Metrodorus*	5000.
	Eusebius	5190.
	Theophilus Antioch.	5476.
Latines:	*Saint Hierome*	3941.
	Saint Augustine	5351.
	Isidore	5210.
	Orosius	5190.
	Beda	3952.
	Alphonsus	5984.

The great differences in computation of yeers among Writers.

And yet doe these disagreements helpe little the *Obiectors* if this be considered, that the maine foundation of these diuersities consisteth chiefly in the *first world* before the *Flood*, wherin it is manifest, that the reputed *Septuagint* addeth to the *Hebrew Originall* fiue hundred eighty and six yeeres. And from the *Flood* to *Abrahams* birth, is accounted eight hundred & fifty yeeres more then *Moses* hath. As likewise the like is done in the latter times: for from the *Captiuity* of *Babylon* to the death of *Christ*, one hundred thirty and seuen yeeres are added more then the Sunnes course hath measured: so that it seemeth the differences were not great for the times of *Heli*, *Salomon*, nor *Iudahs* Kings, in whose raignes *Brute* is brought to people, and possesse this *Iland*. But leauing these diuersities, and to come to a certainty, let vs calculate, the yeeres of the *holy historie* according as *Funcitius*, *Beroaldus*, and sundry other *Theologike Chronologers*

These differences were chiefly before the Flood. *Septuagint.*

Ioseph. Antiquit. lib. 1. cap. 7.

Funcitius. *Beroaldus.*

The accounting of yeeres by the Scripture is a moſt ſure maner of computation.

nologers haue done, who from the *Scriptures* moſt ſure account ſo tye the ſtories of times together, that like to a golden chaine, the linkes are faſtned each to other, and the whole ſo compleate, that a yeere is not miſſing from the *fall of man*, vnto the full time of his *redemption*.

From the creation to the flood, 1656.

(24) Firſt then from the *Creation* to the *Flood* are reckoned yeeres 1656. gathered by a triple account, from the ages, begettings, and deaths of the fathers. The like is thence obſerued for foure hundred twenty and ſeuen yeeres, that is, to the ſeuenty fifth of *Abrahams* life, wherin God began to tie the times accounts in holier ſummes: for *Terah*, the firſt recorded *Idolater*, was the laſt in honour that had the *Sunnes* courſe meaſured by mans life. And now the bonds of time tie the *Promiſe* to *Abraham*, to bee before the *Law* foure hundred and thirty yeeres, as the *Apoſtle* to the *Galathians* affirmeth. From the *Law* to the *building* of *Salomons Temple*, and that in the fourth yeere of his raigne, were yeeres foure hundred and eighty: and from that *foundation*, to his *death*, were thirty ſix yeeres: for his whole raigne was forty. From his *death* and Kingdomes diuiſion, vnto the burning of that *Temple*, which was executed in the nineteenth of *Nebuchadnezzar* King of *Babel*, were yeeres three hundred and ninty, as by the daies of *Ezekiels* ſiege and ſleepe appeareth in the *ſecond* and *fifth* verſes of his *fourth Chapter*. From the burning of the *Temple*, to the end of *Iudahs captiuity*, were yeeres *fifty* and *one*, for the whole time of *Babels* bondage contained ſeuenty yeeres, as *Ieremy* 25. 11. whereof nineteene were expired; and fifty one remaining vnto the firſt yeere of *Cyrus* their *deliuerer*, whom the Lord in that regard calleth *his anointed*, *Iſay* 45.1. In the *firſt* yeere of whoſe *Monarchie* he publiſhed an *Edict* for the returne of the *Iewes* and new building of their *Temple*, as in the books of *Chronicles* and of *Ezra* is ſeene. And from this *firſt* yeere and *proclamation* of King *Cyrus*, vnto the laſt yeere and death of *Chriſt our Sauiour*, the great yeere of *Iubile*, *the acceptable time*, wherein *he trod the winepreſſe alone*; to the finiſhing of the *ceremonies*, the taking away of ſinne, the reconciling of iniquity, the bringing in of *euerlaſting righteouſneſſe*, to the ſealing vp of *viſion* and *prophecie*, and to the *anointing* of the *moſt holy*; were yeeres *foure hundred and ninety*, as the Prophet *Daniel* from the *Angell Gabriel* receiued, and vnto vs hath deliuered, *Dan.* 9. 24. all which added together, make the number to be *three thouſand nine hundred and threeſcore yeeres*. And by this ſaid *computation*, I haue accounted *Brutes* ſtory, as all others wherein I ſhall bee occaſioned to ſpeake.

From the promiſe to *Abraham*, till the *Law*, 430. Galath. 3, 17.

From the *Law* to *Salomons Temple*, 480. 1. King. 6. 1.

From the foundation of the Temple, to *Salomons* death, 36. yeeres. 1. King. 11. 42.

From *Salomons* death, to the burning of the Temple, 390. yeeres. 2. King. 25. 8. Eze. 4. v. 2. & 5

From the burning of the Temple, to the end of *Iudahs* captiuity, 51. yeeres. Ier. 25. 11. Iſa. 45. 1. 2. Chron. 36. 21. 22. 23: Ezra 1. 12.

From the firſt yeere of *Cyrus*, vnto the death of Chriſt, 490. yeeres.

Ioſhu. 24. 2.

Dan. 9. 24.

(25) Laſtly, if from among theſe miſty clouds of ignorance no light can be gotten, and that wee will needs haue our deſcents from the *Troians*; may wee not then more truly deriue our blood from them through the *Romanes*, who for the ſpace of foure hundred threeſcore and ſix yeeres were planted amongſt vs? in which continuance it is moſt certaine, they tooke of our women to be their wiues, and gaue their women to be wiues vnto vs, ſeeing that ſome of their Emperors did the like themſelues, and from whoſe blood, ſaith *Beda*, the *Britaine Ambroſius* lineally deſcended. And if beauty & parts be the inſtigatours vnto loue, as in the firſt world we ſee it was, no doubt then the features of the *Britaines* were mouing Angels vnto the *Romanes*, whoſe faces euē in thoſe times were accounted to be angelicall, and whoſe perſonages as yet, are reſpected as the beſt (if not better) then any other in the world. But that the *Romans* themſelues deſcended from the *Troians*, or *Æneas* ſhould be the roote of the *Iulian* family, howſoeuer the fictions of Poets as a ſpring tide haue flowed from the fulneſſe of their pennes, yet *Tacitus* their beſt writer, accounteth thoſe things not far vnlike to old fables, wherein he iudgeth that *Nero* to win credit before the Conſuls, & to get reputation in the glory of eloquence, vndertooke the pleading of the *Ilienſes* cauſe, declaring the *Romanes* deſcent from *Troy*: and the *Iuly* from the loines of *Æneas*, which notwithſtanding he cenſureth as is ſaid. And *Ioſephus* in the diſperſion of *Noahs* ſonnes and families, affirmeth that *Romus* was the *Originall* of the old *Romanes* and he of *Chus*, and *Cham*, if he meane as he ſpeaketh. To conclude; (by what deſtiny I know not) nations deſire their originals from the *Troians*, yet certaine it is, that no honor from them can be brought, whoſe city and fame ſtood but for ſix deſcents, as vnder the raignes of *Dardanus*, *Erichthonius*, *Tros*, *Ilus*, *Laomedon*, & *Priamus*, during which time they were thrice vanquiſhed; twice by *Hercules* in the daies of *Laomedon*, and the third time raſed by the rage of the Grecians in the raigne of King *Priamus*, and the *Troians* themſelues made as it were the ſcum of a conquered people. And therefore as *France* hath caſt off their *Francio* King *Priamus* his ſonne, *Scotland* their *Scotia* King *Pharaoes* daughter, *Denmarke* their *Danus*, *Ireland* their *Hiberus*, and other Countries their *Demi-gods*; ſo let BRITAINES likewiſe with them diſclaime their BRVTE, that bringeth no honour to ſo renowned a Nation, but rather cloudeth their glorie in the murders of his parents, and imbaſeth their deſcents, as ſprung from *Venus* that laſciuious Adultereſſe: of whom ſaith *du Pleſſis*, I am aſhamed that the heathen were not aſhamed of this ſhamefulnes; but much more that Chriſtians bluſh not to name her in their verſes.

Britaines may more truly deriue their deſcent from *Troy* by the *Romanes*.

Britaines tooke wiues of the *Romanes*, and they of the *Britaines*.

Beda hiſt. Anglic. lib. 1 cap. 16.

Gen. 6. 1.

Romanes to bee deſcended of the *Troians* is a fable.

Tacit. ann. 12. 12.

Ioſeph. 1. 7. *Romus* the originall of the old *Romanes*.

To haue a deſcēt from *Troy*, cannot be an honour to any Nation.

Troians thrice vanquiſhed.

Brute embaſeth the deſcent of the *Britaines*.

Truth of Relig. cap. 22.

THE MANNERS AND CVSTOMES OF THE ANCIENT BRITAINES.

CHAPTER IV.

HAuing thus farre ſpoken of the ancient Names of this famous *Iland*, and of the Nations acknowledged to bee the firſt Planters and Poſſeſſors thereof; it remaineth that ſomewhat be mentioned of the *Manners* and *Cuſtomes* of thoſe people and times, though not ſo pleaſing or acceptable as were to be wiſhed, for that the clouds of ignorance and barbarous incinility did then ſhadow and ouer-ſpread almoſt all the Nations of the earth: wherein I deſire to lay imputation no further then is ſufficiently warranted by moſt autentike Writers: and firſt from *Cæſar*, who formoſt of all the *Romanes* diſcouered and deſcribed our ancient *Britaines*.

Of their Perſons. *Cæſ. Comment. li. 5.* where hee vſeth the word *Lutens*.

(2) Touching their perſons: *All the Britaines* (ſaith *Cæſar*) *vſed to die themſelues with woad, which ſetteth a blew colour vpon them, and that maketh them more terrible to behold in battle*. But *Pomponius Mela* therein mo-

ueth

ueth a doubt. They died their bodies (ſaith he) with *Woad*; but whether to make a gallãt ſhew, or for what other cauſe elſe is vncertaine. And yet *Herodian* herein abſolutely determineth, where hee ſaith, that the *Britaines* knew no vſe of *garments* at all; but about their waſtes and neckes wore chaines of iron, ſuppoſing them a goodly ornament, and a proofe of their wealth: and their bare bodies they marked with ſundry pictures repreſenting all manner of liuing creatures, and therefore they would not be clad, for hiding the gay paintings of their bodies: To which painting *Pliny* alſo agreeth, and deſcribeth that hearb *woad*, to be like to the *Plantine* in *Gallia*, naming it *Glaſtum*, with the iuice whereof (ſaith he) the *women* of *Britaine*, as well wiues as young women, anoint and die their bodies all ouer: reſembling by that tincture the colour of the *Æthiopians*, in which manner they vſe at ſolemne feaſts and ſcrifices to goe all naked. And *Dio Nicæus* out of the epitome of *Xiphilinus* ſaith, that the cuſtome of that Nation was, to abide in tents all naked and vnſhod. Notwithſtanding, *Cæſar* doth elſewhere report, that they clad themſelues in leather, which perchance is meant of the ciuiller ſort of them, and in time of battell. *Solinus* likewiſe ſpeaking of the *Britaines*, ſaith, their Country is peopled partly with *Barbarians*, who by meanes of artificiall inciſions of ſundry forms, haue from their childhood diuers ſhapes of beaſts incorporate vpon them; and hauing their markes deeply imprinted within their bodies, looke how their groweth for ſtature, ſo doe theſe pictured characters likewiſe increaſe. Neither do theſe ſauage Nations repute any thing a greater teſtimonie of their patience, then by ſuch durable skars to make their lims drinke in much painting and colour. Theſe skarres by *Tertullian* are tearmed *Britannorum ſtigmata*, *The Britaines markes*. And vnto this skie-colour, or blewiſh dyings, it ſeemeth *Martial* had relation in his praiſes of Lady *Claudia*:

Claudia, cæruleis cum ſit Rufina Britannis,
Edita, cur Latia pectora plebis habet?
Sith Claudia comes of azur'd Britains race,
whence comes her minde ſo deckt with Roman grace?

And of this vſe of *painting*, as our great *Antiquary* iudgeth; both the *Britains* had their primitiue deriuation, and the *Picts* (a branch of Britiſh race) a long time after, for that their accuſtomed manner, were called *Picti* by the *Romans*, that is, the *painted* people.

(3) The haire of their heads, ſaith *Cæſar*, they let grow, & wore long, which naturally was curled, and of colour yellow (as in the Panegyricke Oration aſcribed to *Mamertinus*, and ſpoken in praiſe of *Maximianus*, is to be ſeene) all other parts of their bodies being ſhauen, ſauing only the head and vpper lippe. Yet their complections were much different, as by *Tacitus* wee ſee, who auoucheth that ſome of thoſe *Ilanders* were red of haire, as the *Calydonians* in the Northerne Promontories; the haire of the *Silures* coloured & curled, like to the old *Spaniards*; and thoſe neereſt vnto *Gallia* reſembled their complections, though not altogether ſo yellow, ſaith *Strabo*. But their *wit* by *Tacitus* is preferred before them, and their ſtatures more tall, as *Strabo* affirmeth, whoſe lineaments ſhewed a good making of body; and meaſurable proportion in all parts anſwerable. Their *women* faire, and of exceeding good features, as is deſcribed by the *Romane* Writers. Such was *Boudicea*, ſaith *Xiphilinus*; *Claudia* and *Helena*, ſaith *Martial* and *Eutropius*.

(4) That the ſtrength of nature wrought long in the *Britaines*, we read of out *Plutarch*, who reporteth that the people liued one hundred & twenty yeeres, for that, ſaith he, their cold and frozen Country kept in their naturall heat: whoſe conditions by *Diodorus Siculus* are commended to be plaine & vpright, farre from the wilineſſe & craft of the *Romans*. And by *Strabo* their diſpoſitions are partly reſembled to the *Gaules*, but yet ſomewhat more rude and plaine; and thoſe moſt ciuill, who were the inhabitants of *Kent*, by reaſon of their oftner cõuerſing with other Nations, as *Cæſar* ſheweth. But the farther in the continent, the more rude, & leſſe acquainted with other kind of riches beſides cattell, as *Pomponius Mela* affirmeth.

(5) Now touching their domeſticke matters. *Their buildings were many, and like to them of the* Gaules *ſaith* Iulius Cæſar; *notwithſtanding they giue the name of Townes to certaine combers of woods, which they haue fortified with rampires and ditches, whether they retreat, and reſort to eſchue the inuaſions of their enemies.* Which ſtand them in good ſtead, ſaith *Strabo*: for when they haue by felling of trees, mounted, and fenced therewith a ſpacious round plot of ground; there they build for themſelues houſes and cottages, and for their cattell ſet vp ſtalles and folds, but thoſe for the preſent vſe onely, and not for long continuance. Which, as *Diodorus Siculus* ſaith, were vſually thacked with *reed*; but the cities without walls, and the country without townes, as *Dion* deſcribeth the *Caledonians* and *Meats*.

(6) Their *wiues* were ten or twelue a peece, as *Cæſar* hath alleaged, which they held common among brothers and parents, yet the iſſue reputed his, who firſt maried the mother when ſhe was a maide, and *Dio* indeed affirmeth no leſſe, adding withal, that the children thus begotten, were foſtred & brought vp in common among them. And *Euſebius* likewiſe teſtifieth, that many *Britaines* together kept one wife in common to them all. This community in mariage moued *Iulia* the Empreſſe of *Seuerus*; to twit the wife of *Argetecaxus*, that the faſhion of the women of *Britaine* in accompanying with men, was very impudent; to whom ſhe replied and ſaid, *we Britiſh women do indeed herein differ from you* Roman *Ladies*; *for wee ſatiſfie our appetite, by accompanying with the worthieſt men, and that openly, but you with euery baſe fellow, in a corner.*

(7) For their diet; it was a hainous matter with them to eate either *Hen*, *Hare*, or *Gooſe*, ſaith *Cæſar*, which notwithſtanding they bred for their pleaſures; neither fed daintily at full and rich tables, as *Diodorus Siculus* affirmeth, but rather in neceſſity could liue vpon barkes and roots of trees, and with a kind of meat no bigger then a beane, after which for a good time they did neither hunger nor thirſt, ſaith *Dio Nicæus*: who likewiſe teſtifieth, that the *Britains* did till no ground, neither eat *fiſh*, though their riuers therof be plẽteouſly ſtored, but liued vpõ prey, veniſion, and fruits: to which alſo *Cæſar* addeth *milke*, whereof (ſaith *Strabo*) they had not then skill to make *cheeſe*. And according to *Solinus*, their vſuall drinke was made of *barley*. But for *tillage*, *Pliny* ſeemeth to contradict *Dio*, affirming that the *Britaines* manured their grounds with *Marle* in ſteed of dung; which argueth no ſuch ſimplicity in gardning, Planting, and in other like points of husbandry as *Strabo* doth tax them with. And this foreſaid temperance of diet differeth much from that which *Saint Hierome* chargeth their neighbours the *Anthropophagi* of *Ireland*, who vſed to feed on the buttocks of *boies*, and womens paps, as their moſt dainty and delicate diſh.

(8) For their *religion*, or rather diabolicall ſuperſtition, it was as the reſt of the world (ſome few excepted) when *Satan* had clouded the truth of *Gods* doctrine, by the foggy myſts of confuſed darkneſſe. For *Tacitus* makes their ſuperſtitions, and ceremonies to be the ſame in conformity with the *Gaules*. And what that was, *Dio Caſſius* in his *Nero*, and *Solinus* in his hiſtory doe declare; who doe aſcribe to them the moſt inhumane offering of mans fleſh in their ſacrfices: And beſides their ancient Idols, ſuch as *Dis*, *Iupiter*, *Appollo*, *Diana*, and the like, they worſhipped *Andates* for their Goddeſſe of *Victory*, vnto all which they performed no ſmal adorations and honors, imputing their proſperities vnto them: vnto whom alſo they erected temples with ſuch magnificence as they then had; whoſe walls, as it ſeemeth, long after remained, whereon ſome of thoſe prophane portraitures with deformed lineaments were ſeene by mournfull *Gil-*

Herodian.

Pliny alſo addeth another ornament, and ſaith that the Britains wore *rings* on their middle finger.

The Britaines would not be clad, becauſe they would ſhew the gay paintings of their bodies.

Plinie.

Oribaſius calleth that herb *Vitrum*; and the Britains call that colour, *glaſſe*. whence our Engliſh word glaſſe (called alſo *Vitrum* in Latin) may ſeeme to be taken, by reaſon of the colour thereof.

Dio Nicæus.

Cæſar.

Some Britains clad in leather.

Solinus.

Tertullian. Britannorum ſtigmata.

Martial.

Maſter Cambden.

Picts of the Britiſh race.

Called Picti of their painted bodies.

Cæſar Com: lib. 5.

Mamertinus.

Tacitus in vit. Agricolæ.

Calydonians the Northern people.

Silures the Weſterne.

Tacitus.

Strabo.

Xiphilinus: Martial, Eutropius.

Plutarch.

They liued to a great age.

Diodorus Siculus.

Strabo.

Cæſar.

The Britaines in Kent the ciuillеſt.

Pomponius Mela.

Of their domeſtick matters.

Cæſar. lib. 5.

The Britaines townes are their woods being fortified.

Strabo.

Diodorus Siculus.

Dion.

The Britans multiplicity of wiues.

Cæſar. com. lib. 5.

Dio.

Euſebius Euang. præpar. l. 6.

Iulia her reproofe to a Britiſh woman.

The anſwer.

Dion. Caſ. lib. 76.

The Britaines diet.

Prohibited meats.

Cæſar.

Diodo Siculus.

The Britaines of a very ſpare diet

Dio Nicæus.

They eat no fiſh.

Cæſar.

Vnskilfull to make cheeſe.

Strabo.

Their drinke of barley.

Solinus.

Plinie.

Strabo.

Hiero, aduerſus Iouinianum lib. 1.

Of their religion and learning.

Dio Caſſius.

Solinus.

The Britaines inhumane ſacrifices.

The names of their Idols.

Gildas.

das, carrying a sterne and grim countenance, after the wonted heathenish manner: *here see we* (saith he) *vpon these desert walles, the vgly features of the Britains Idols, meerely diabolicall, & in number almost exceeding those of* Egypt. So by *Tacitus* they are noted with the common custome of the *Gentiles*, which was, that they sought for the direction of their *Gods* by the looking into the entrals of *Beasts*, yea and of men too; and that they honored the Altars of their Gods with the sacrifice and blood of such as they tooke captiue in wars. And *Plinie* writing of *Magick*, saith, that in his daies the art thereof in *Britaine* was highly honored, and all the people thereunto so much deuoted, yea and with all such complements of ceremonies in the same to be performed, that a man would thinke the *Persians* had learned all their *Magick* skill from them, *Priests* and instructers had they, whereof the chiefe were called *Druides*, whose office was imploied about holy things, saith *Cæsar*; for they had the managing or publike & priuate sacrifices, and to interpret and discusse matters of religion. Vnto them doe resort great numbers of young men to learn at their hands, and they be had in great reuerence. For they determine almost all controuersies, and matters in variance, as well publike as priuate. And if there happen any thing to be done amisse, if there be any murther committed, if there rise any controuersie concerning inheritance or bounds of lands, they take the matter into their power, and award either recompence or penalties in the case. And if there be any, be he pruate person, or be it corporation, that will not stand to their iudgement, they interdict him, which punishment among them is held most grieuous. They that are so excõmunicated, are accounted in the number of the wicked and vngracious: all men shun them, all men eschue their company and communicaton, lest by conuersing with them, they should defile themselues and receiue harme. If they demand law, they may not haue it: neither may they enioy any place of honor. Ouer all those *Druides*, there is one *Primate*, which hath chiefe authority ouer them. When he is dead, if there be any of the rest that excelleth in worthinesse, he succeedeth: or if there be any equall, he is chosen by voices of the rest, and diuers times they striue for the soueraignty by force of armes.

Plinie: Magick highly honored of the Britaines.

Cæsar. com. 6.

The Druides determine almost all controuersies.

Excommunication of great force in the time of the ancient Britaines.

Among the Druides one Primat and chiefe ouer the rest.

These men at a certaine season of the yeere, in the borders of the *Caruntes* (whose country is counted the middle of all *Gallia*) do sit together in a place hallowed, whereunto resort from all sides all such as haue any controuersies: and looke what is decreed and Iudged by them that they stand vnto. This order of discipline is thought to haue had beginning in *Britaine*, & from thence to haue been brought into *Gallia*. And at this day, they that are desirous to attaine this skill more exactly, do commonly repaire thither to learne it. These *Druides* customably are exempted from the wars, neither do they pay taxes and tallages with other folke: for they are pruiledged as from the wars, so from all other burthens. Allured with so great rewards, many euen of their owne accord, do register themselues in that order, and diuers are sent thither by their parents and kinsfolke. Where they are reported to learne a great number of verses by heart. Whereof it commeth to passe, that diuers continue twenty yeeres in learning. Neither do they thinke it lawfull to put them in writing, whereas in al other things, for their accounts, as well publike as priuate, they vse the Greek letters.

They assemble once a yeare at a place in France to heare controuersies.

Here appeareth that Academies were then amongst the Britans, and from their example deriued into other countries.

They are exempted from war.

Their schollers must learne a great many verses by heart.

They vse the Greek letters lest their skill should be too common.

This order they seeme (in mine opinion) saith he, to haue taken for two considerations: partly because they will not haue their discipline published among the common people; and partly because they will not that they which shall learne, trusting too much to their bookes, should haue the lesse regard of remembrance: in that it hapneth well neere to most men, that vpon trust of the helpe of their *booke*, they are slacker in learning things by heart, and lesse care to beare them in mind. This is one of the chiefest things that they labour most to beat into mens minds, that the *Soules* die not, but doe after death passe from one to another: and hereby they thinke men should be most stirred vnto virtue, when the feare of death is nothing regarded. Also they dispute many other things: as of the stars, and their oft mouings: of the bignesse of the world, and the earth: of the nature of things: of the strength and power of the goddes immortall: and do therein instruct the youth. Vnto these *Druides* and their doctrine had *Lucan* the Poet relation in his first booke towards the end, where he writeth thus of them.

Their Theology is, that the soule dieth not, but passeth from one to another.

Their naturall Philosophie

Lucan.

Et vos barbaricos ritus, moremq́, sinistrum
Sacrorum, Druidæ, positis repetistis ab armis.
Solis nosce Deos & Cæli sydera vobis
Aut solis nescire datum. Nemora alta remotis
Incolitis Lucis, Vobis autoribus, vmbræ
Non tacitas Erebi sedes Ditisq́, profundi
Pallida regna petunt, regit idem spiritus artus
Orbe alio: longæ, canitis si cognita, vitæ
Mors media est. Certè, populi quos despicit Arctos,
Fœlices errore suo, quos ille timorum
Maximus haud vrgent lethi metus: inde ruendi
In ferrum mens prona viris, animæq́, capaces
Mortis: & ignauum est reditura parcere vitæ.

In English thus.

You (Druides) *free from wars, with barbarous deuices*
Sinistrous rites performe, and vncouth sacrifices:
High Mysteries, of God, and Heauens, you only know;
Or only erre therein. Where shady woods doe grow;
There you repose, and teach, that Soules immortall bee;
Nor silent Erebus, *nor* Plutoes *Hall shall see.*
And (if your Sawes be sooth) Death is no finall dome,
But only Mid-way, twixt life past, and life to come.
Braue Britain *bloods per di! warmd with this happy error,*
Death (greatest feare of feares) amates thẽ with no terror.
Hence t'is, they manly rush on pikes, and grisly death,
And scorn base minds, that stick to spend reuiuing breath.

(9) These *Britaines* being meerly barbarous, as most of the Western parts of the world then were, liued priuatly to themselues with scarce any commerce, or entercourse with any other nation: neither indeed were much known to forraine people for a long time. For the first notice of them extant, was by *Polybius* the Greeke writer, that accompanied *Scipio* in his warres about the yeare of the *worlds creation* 3720. and two hundred and nine before the *birth* of *our Sauiour Christ*. Which Author nameth their *Iland* to be plenteously stored with *Tynne*: but of other things therin is silent, seying that al those parts which lay betwixt *Tanais* and *Narbor* bending Northward, in his daies were vnknowne & vncertaine, and therefore the reporters of them he held as dreamers. So doth *Cambden* another *Polybius* account it a prodigall humor of credulity, to be perswaded that *Himilco* from the estate of *Carthage* to discouer the coasts of *Europe*, in the said expedition entred this *Iland*: or that *Hannibal* should war in this *Iland*, because *Polybius* in the *Eclogues* of his tenth booke saith, that he was inclosed within the streets of *Britaine*, which place is mistaken for the *Brutij* in *Italy*: or that *Alexander* came from the *East Indians*, to *Gades*, and from thence into *Britaine*, though *Cedrenus* say so, seeing all other writers are against it; or that *Vlysses*, (ancient enough if he be that *Elishah* the sonne of *Iauan*, the fourth sonne of *Iapheth*) should visit *Britaine* in his trauels, whereof *Brodæus* maketh doubt; though *Solinus* report that an Altar in *Caledonia* was erected, and *Vlysses* in Greeke letters thereon inscribed. Which might very well be: for who doubteth but that the *Greeks*, in their vaine deuotions, did both build and sacrifice vnto their Gods, which they made of their worthiest men? and sith *Vlysses*, (in regard of his farre sea-trauels) was had in speciall account among all nauigators, why might not such monuments be reared, and his name inscribed, as farre as the *Grecians* trauelled, though his person neuer came there?

Of their commerce and traffick.

Polybius the first that tooke notice of this land.

Polyb. lib. 3.

Cambd. Britannia de moribus Britan.

Matters scarse to be beleeued.

That Himilco entred this Iland.

Polib. Eclog. lib. 10.

That Hannibal should war here.

That Alexander came hither.

That Vlysses should visit Britaine.

And if the *Romans*, at whose greatnesse the whole world trembled, were so lately known in those ancient

The like examples we haue now of *Cap. Henry. &c.*

The Romans not mentioned either by Thucydides or Herodotus.

ent times, as that nither *Thucydides* nor *Herodotus* made mention of them: yea and with much adoe at last were heard of by the *Grecians* themselues: as *Iosephus* affirmeth; And if the *Gaules* and *Spaniards*, (inhabitants in the continent) for many yeeres together were vtterly vnknowen to the worlds historiographers; shall we then thinke, that this remote *Iland*, and people then far from ciuility, were noted foorth with markes of more certainty? surely to my seeming, nothing lesse: seeing that their next neighbors the *Gaules* knew not so much as what manner of men they were: none resorting thither, except some few merchants, and they no further, then vpon the sea coasts, neither able to describe the bigneſse of the *Iland*, the puissance of the inhabitants, their order for war, the lawes that they vsed, the customes of the people, nor their hauens for the receit of ships; all which *Cæsar* by diligent inquiry sought after, but could find no satisfaction till he had sent some purposely to search it out.

Ioseph. contra Appion. lib. 1. Gaules and Spaniards for many yeeres vnknown to historiographers.

The Britains vnknowen to their next neighbors. *Cæsar com. lib. 4.*

(10) Neither is this their want of knowledge to bee wondred at, seeing the entercourse of their trafficke was vpheld by so meane commodities: for *Strabo* saith, that their merchandizing chiefly consisted in Iuory Boxes, Sheeres, Onches, Bits, and Bridles, Wreathes and Chains, with other conceits made of Amber and Glasse; for which notwithstanding they were compelled to pay customes and impostes vnto *Octauian Augustus*, as elsewhere shall be shewed.

Their merchandise of small vse. *Strabo.*

(11) And as their commodities were very mean, so were their meanes either for exportation or importation very slender in those times; I meane their shipping. It is true, that some are of opinion, that Ships were first inuented in these our Seas: but that this should be true, I haue cause to doubt, that Art being long before inspired by God himselfe into the heart of *Noah* for making the Arke: and no doubt practised by that patterne of many others. But that the ancient *Britaines* had ships of reasonable vse, though of simple Art, *Cæsar* testifieth, saying, *that the keeles and ribs of their ships were of light wood, and couered ouer with leather*: which kinde the now-*Britaines* call *Corraghs*: and *with them* (saith *Polybistor*) *they did saile betwixt Britannie and Ireland*, (which sea for roughnesse and danger may bee compared with any other whatsoeuer) *though the bulke of their vessels were but of some flexible wood, couered with the hides of Buffles: and as long as they were sailing, so long did they abstaine from meat*: whereby it seemeth they neuer sailed any great iourneys. And of this their shipping *Pliny* also speaketh, and *Lucan* singeth, thus:

Their shipping very meane. Ships first inuented in Britaine, is a matter to be doubted.

The ships of this Iland according to Cæsar.

Primùm cana salix, madefacto vimine, paruam
Texitur in puppim, cæsoq; induta iuuenco,
Vectoris patiens tumidum super emicat amnem:
Sic Venetus stagnante Pado, fusoq; Britannus,
Nauigat Oceano.

At first, of hoary sallowes wreathed boughs, the ships
Small bulke is trimly twist, and clad in bullocks hide:
Then, patient to be rul'd, on swelling waues she skips.
Thus on the spacious Poe the Venice Merchants glide,
And Britaine Pilots saile on surge of Ocean wide.

Pliny and Lucan of the ships of this Iland.

But after-times brought the *Britaines* to more exquisite skill in nauall affaires, insomuch as the royall Nauy of this Kingdome hath beene reputed (and so is at this day) not only the inuincible walles of our owne, but the incredible terror of al other kingdoms which haue or shall enuy our happy peace: and the aduentures likewise of Merchants, and the skill of our Seamen, hath left no corner of the world vnsearcht.

(12) And their trafficke amongst themselues was not of much worth, in that, as *Cæsar* saith, *the Coynes which they had were either of brasse, or else iron rings sized at a certaine waight, which they vsed for their monies*. Of which kind I my selfe haue seen found, and lately taken vp in little cruses or pitchers of earth. But as times grew more ciuill, and trafficke more frequent, they shortly after stamped both *siluer* and *gold*; and thereon the faces of their *Kings*, euen in the daies of *Iulius Cæsar*, who was the first that had his owne

Cæsar. Com. lib. 5.

The Britaines coines.

In Sir Rob. Cotton's library.

The first Romane coynes with

stampt on the *Romane Coynes*. Many of these are amongst vs remaining, whereof I haue inserted some few, as in their due places shall follow, which I receiued from the liberall hand of that most learned Knight Baronet, & worthy storer of Antiquities, *Sir Robert Cotton*, of *Cunington*. These *Coynes* are cõmonly imbossed outward and shield-like, whereon the *inscription* or *face*, is seen; the reuerse hollow, and therein their *deuise* set: and by these formes are they known to be ther *Britains*, no other nation stamping the like, except some few among the Grecians.

Kings image were in Cæsars time.

Sir Robert Cotton.

The marks to know British coynes from forraine.

(13) We come lastly, to speake of the manner of their warfare, which *Cæsar* thus describeth. First (saith he) they ride round about all parts of the battell, casting their darts: and often times with the terrible noise of their horses, and the ratling of their chariot wheeles, they amaze the enemy and breake their array. And when they haue wound themselues in among the troopes of horsemen, they leape forth of their waggons, and fight on foot. In the meane while the waggoners withdraw themselues somewhat out of the battell, and set their waggons in such order, that if they be ouercharged by the enemy, they may haue speedy and easy recourse vnto them. By meanes whereof they are both as ready to remoue as the horsemen, and as stedfast to stand in the battell as the footmen, and supply both duties in one. And they are come to such perfectnesse by daily practice and exercise, that euen in steepe and falling places they will stop their horses running a full gallop, and guide and turne them in a short roome, & run vpon the vergies, and stand stedfastly vpon the beames, and quickly recouer themselues backe againe into the waggons.

Of their warres. *Cæsar com. 4.*

They amaze the enemy with the ratling of their chariot wheeles.

These would often giue ground to egge their enemies from their maine battell, and then would leape out of their chariots and fight on foot. And they kept also such an order in fighting on horseback, that whether the enemies chased, or were chased, they were alwaies in danger. For they neuer fought in great companies together, but scatteringly a great way distant the one from the other, and had stals lying in diuers places one to supply another, hauing euer fresh & lustly men in the roomes of them that were weary. Of this their manner of fight in chariots, *Strabo* also declareth; and *Diodorus Siculus* saith, that the *Britaines* liued after the manner of the first age of the world, vsing chariots in their fight, as the report goes of the ancient *Greeks* at the *Troian* warres. *Pomponius Mela* also describing these *Britaines*, affirmeth that their fight was not only with horsemen & footmen, but also with waggons and chariots, harnessed, and armed at the ends of the axle-trees with hookes and sithes, after the manner of the *Gaules*; but with apparance of greater courage, as *Tacitus* saith; as being not yet mollified by long peace. Their strength in field consisteth most of footmen, yet some countries there are (saith he) that war in waggons, the greatest persons guiding the same; and so much doth *Iuuenal* intimate, who in shew of prophecy, but indeed in flattery of the Emperor *Domitian*, salutes him after this manner:

Cæsar. com. 5.

They fight not in great companies together.

They haue euer fresh men in the roomes of them that are weary. *Strabo.* *Diodorus Siculus.*

The Britaines fight in chariots, as the vse was in the worlds first age. *Pomponius Mela.*

Tacitus.

Their chiefe strength consists in footmen. *Iuuenal.*

It boads thee T'triumph great to captiuate some King;
Or fierce Aruiragus *from Chariots beame to ding.*

Dio Nicæus from *Xiphilinus* more particularly declareth their strength: *Their horses* (saith he) *are but little, yet therewithall swift of pace: their footmen also run very speedily, but in their standing are the strongest: their armor are shields, and short speares, in the nether end whereof is fastened a round bell of brasse like vnto a ball, which at the first onset of incounter they shake with great courage*, supposing that such a ratling noise doth much amate the enemy. And *Herodian* saith, *that their shields were narrow* and *speares short, wearing swords hanging down their naked loines, hauing neither knowledge nor vse either of corslet or helmet.*

Dio.

Their footmen run swiftly. Their armor.

Herodian.

(14) Some haue thought that their women also were not exempted from the wars; but certaine it is that many of that sex were renowned for their valour amongst them. Which made *Tacitus* to say, *it was vsu-*

Many British women renowned for valour. *Tacitus.*

all for the Britains *to fight vnder the conduct of women,* (which the *Romans* found to their smart) *nor to make any difference of sexes for gouernment.* A more noble patterne whereof, neuer had any age, then in our late glorious Virgin Queen, (the wonder of her sexe, and of al future ages,) who, as she was inferior to no Prince euer liuing, for her admirable gouernment in vpholding of her kingdomes peace, so was she a match (to say no more) to the proudest monarchs, in her managing of her wars; as (when occasion was offered) she was ready to make good, in her owne roiall person in the field. But besides the vse of armes, the ancient British women had another imploiment in the field, which I will only set downe in *Tacitus* his words, speaking of *Paulinus Suetonius* his assailing of *Anglesey*: *The British Army* (saith he) *stood on the shore thicke of men and munition, and women running vp and downe among st them, like furies, carrying burning firebrands in rusull attire, and with their haire hanging about their shoulders. The* Druides *meane while went with their hands lift vp to heauen, pouring out praiers and imprecations.* The strangenesse of which sight so amazed the *Roman* souldiers, that they stood still like stocks, whiles the other wounded them at their pleasure; till *Paulinus* encouraged them, and they excited one another, not to be so daunted by an army of *women* and *wizards. &c.*

Queen Elizabeth a glorious virgin Queen.

A most valorous Princesse in war.

Tacitus.

The British womens rusull attire and the Druides behauiour in praier amaze the *Roman* souldiers.

(15) In the relations of these things, let no man thinke, that the glory of these ancient and warlike nation of *Britains*, is any waies disparaged, or made inferior to them that would be more famous, whose beginning haue been as meane, and state as rude, if not more. For let vs consider the *Romans* so lauish in their owne worths and greatnesse; who notwithstanding, bring their name and originall from *Romulus*, a bastard by birth, nourished by a beast, educated among a sort of rustick shepheards: and grown to the ripenesse of his owne affections, he became ring-leader of a damned crue, that liued by robberies and without lawes: besides the shedding of his naturall brothers blood, as *Titus Liuius* their owne historian witnesseth: and both himselfe and followers, had in such contempt and derision by their neighbour nations, that they both disdained and refused to giue them their daughters in mariage, lest in time they also should become lawlesse, vntill that by subtilty and force, they had rauished their virgins, and thereby made them vnworthy of other matches. Yet when their after fortunes and successe, had mounted them vpon the wings of glory, and seated them on the necks of their subdued neighbors, their *Cæsars* would needs be more then mortall, and their pedigrees must lineally be brought from the Gods.

Titus Liuius, &c.

The *Romans* deriue their name from an infamous person.

(14) And, to let passe many others, the like may be said of the beginners of the *Scythian* and *Turkish* Empires, two golden pillers raised vpon leaden bases: howsoeuer now, the power of their command, circles three parts of the earth. Nay, what more is, that pretious, roiall, and *Gods* only people, from whom the *eternall King of Kings* descended, in their offrings made in time of their highest glory, were by *the Lord* thus commaunded to acknowledge and say: *A Syrian was my father, who being ready to perish for hunger, went down into* Egypt, *and soiourned with a small company.* And the richest stone of that most beauteous building in his highest pride is counselled by the Prophet, *to look back to the rocke whence it was hewen, and to the hole of the pit whence it had been digged.*

The poore beginnings of Scythian and Turkish Empires.

And of Iewish.

Deut. 26. 5.

Isai. 51. 1.

THE GOVERNMENT OF GREAT BRITAINE.

CHAPTER. V.

WEE come, at length, to speake of the gouernment and politicall estate of the *Britaines*, which doubtlesse (the times then considered) was as honorable in their rulers, and as manageable in the subiects, as any other nations in these West parts of the world: their temperance, religion, learning, and noble resolution shewing no lesse. But in this point I must craue pardon of our *British Heraulds*, and some learned *Antiquaries*, if I bring not a lineall succession from *Brute*, and a *monarchicall* gouernment in those times of obscurity, through whose mists no *Egles* cies could pierce, before the daies of *Geffrey ap Arthur*, as before was touched. And therefore following his counsell, who is best able in these things to giue direction; I will begin the succession of *Great Britains Monarchs*, at the entrance and person of *Iulius Cæsar*; at which time, it seemeth by him and other *Latine* writers (the best Recorders of kingdomes affaires,) this *Iland* was gouerned rather after the maner of an *Aristocratie*, that is, by certaine great Nobles and Potent men, then vnder the commaund of any *One* as an absolute *Monarch*: though herein is a difference, in that in the *Aristocraticall* regiment, the rulers are all *Peeres* of one Common wealth; whereas here, as many *Princes*, so *many seuerall Publike weales.* For so *Cæsar* himselfe found the state of *Britaine* to be diuided into *Prouinces* vnder the names of her inhabitants; and to be ruled by diuers *Peeres*, or petty Kings.

The British gouernment.

Their succession doubtfull.

Not meerly monarchicall.

How in Cæsars time and after.

(2) And such a *Gouernor* was *Cassibelan*, ouer the *Trinobants*: *Cingetorix*, *Caruilius*, *Taximagulus*, and *Segonax*, all foure *Rulers* together in *Kent*: *Comius* supposed to be King of the *Atrebatij*, and to be the same *Comius* of *Arras*, whom *Cæsar* imploied to tease and worke the *Britaines* to his subiection: *Caractacus* the warlike King of the *Silures*, *Galgacus* the worthy King of the *Caledonians*; yea and *women* also, without exception of sex, held gouernment among them, such was faithlesse *Cartismandua* Queene of the *Brigantes*, and famous *Bondicea* Queene of the *Icenians*. Whereby it seemeth that euery seuerall Prouince owed seruice and allegeance only to their owne Prince. And as their gouernments were confined vnto certaine bounds and limits, so were the *Inhabitants* diuided and distinguished by diuers *Names*: of whom because we shall haue occasion hereafter often to speak, it shal not therfore be amisse in this place once for all, table-wise to lay downe the same; whereby our narrations may passe vntroubled without more explanations, and the readers mind carried with lesse incombrances. Those ancient names of people, and places for abode, throughout the whole *Iland*, from *Ptolemie* were as follow.

Tacit. an. 14. 33.

Tacit. Histor. lib. 3. cap. 9.

A TABLE OF THE ANCIENT INHABITANTS, AND THE SITES OF THEIR POSSESSIONS AS THEY WERE CALLED BY PTOLEMY, AND OFTEN SINCE MENTIONED IN THE ROMAN WRITERS.

People.	Countries.
CANTII.	*Kent.*
REGNI.	*Sussex.*, *Surrey.*
DVROTRIGES.	*Dorsetshire.*
DAMNONII.	*Deuonshire.*, *Cornwall.*
BELGÆ.	*Somersetshire.*, *Wiltshire.*, *Hampshire.*
ATREBATII.	*Barkshire.*
DOBVNI.	*Oxfordshire.*, *Glocester.*
CATIEVCHLANI.	*Warwickshire.*, *Buckingham.*, *Bedfordshire.*
TRINOBANTES.	*Hertford.*, *Essex.*, *Middlesex.*
ICENI.	*Suffolke.*, *Norfolke.*, *Cambridge.*, *Ely Iland.*, *Huntington.*
CORITANI.	*Rutlandshire.*, *Lincolnshire.*, *North hampton.*, *Leicestershire.*, *Darbyshire.*, *Nottingham.*
CORNABII.	*Staffordshire.*, *Worcestershire.*, *Cheshire.*, *Shropshire.*
BRIGANTES. PARISI.	*Lancaster.*, *Yorkshire.*, *Richmondshire.*, *Duram.*, *Westmerland.*, *Cumberland.*
ORDOVICES.	*Flintshire.*, *Denbighshire.*, *Caernaruon.*, *Montgomery.*, *Merionethshire.*
SILVRES.	*Herefordshire.*, *Radnorshire.*, *Brecknock.*, *Monmouth.*, *Glamorgan.*
DIMETÆ.	*Caermarden.*, *Penbrookshire.*, *Cardiganshire.*

People.	Countries.
OTTADINI.	*Northumberland.*, *Teisidale.*, *Twedale.*, *Merch.*, *Louthien.*
SELGOVAE.	*Lidesdale.*, *Ensdale.*, *Eskdale.*, *Annandale.*, *Niddisdale.*
NOVANTES.	*Gallowey.*, *Carick.*, *Kyle.*, *Cunningham.*
DAMNII.	*Clydsdale.*, *Renfraw.*, *Lennox.*, *Striueling.*, *Menteth.*, *Fisa.*
CALEDONII. GADINI.	*Perth.*, *Strathern.*, *Albin.*, *Argile.*, *Lorne.*
EPIDII.	*Cantire.*
VICEMAGI.	*Murray.*
VENNICONES.	*Mernia.*, *Anguis.*, *Mar.*
TÆZALI.	*Buquhane.*
CANTÆ. CREONES. CERONTES.	*Rosse.*, *Sutherland.*
CARNONACÆ. CARINI. CORNABII.	*Strathnauern.*
SIMERTAE. LOGI.	*Caithnes.*

Their emulations & ambition.

(3) These *States* ambitiously banding each against others, to raise their owne Prince to a more soueraigne supremacy, and to enlarge their *Prouinces* vpon the borders of the next, were euer ready, the least occasion ministred, saith *Pomponius Mela*, to enter quarels, and seldome held amity, or were quiet. This was the cause, as *Tacitus* tells vs, *which brought that puissant nation into bondage: and was the only helpe to the* Romans *victories*: for seldome it chanced (saith he) *that two or three states met in counsell, and concurred in opinion to repulse the common danger*: so that whilst they resisted and fought one by one, all at length were subdued. But this was not at once performed by *Iulius Cæsar* the first *Roman* enterer, who (as he saith) rather *shewed the place to posterities, then gaue them the possession thereof*, supposing it his glory sufficient, to haue done what he did. For vnto the daies of *Domitian*, they held play with the *Romans*, and that with such valour, that the subduing of some small part of this *Iland* was accounted by themselues to match the conquests of other mightier countries, and more notes of honour shewed in their publike triumphs for one *Britaines* misfortune, then vsually was solemnized for whole kingdomes subdued.

Pomponius Mela.

Tacitus in vita Agric.

Cæsar first enterer, not conquerer.

(4) That such people possessed, and that many Kings together raigned here in *Britaine*, *Pomponius Mela* doth shew: *Britaine* (saith he) *bringeth forth Nations, and Kings of nations, though they be all without ciuility and barbarous*. And *Cæsars* intendments being known vnto them, it is said that many of their *Cities* sent him by their *Embassadors* proffers of submission: whereby appeareth their diuersities of *States*, whereof only two held promise, and the rest failing was the occasion of his *second expedition* for *Britaine*. And *Tacitus*, speaking of the shipwrack suffered by the *Romans* in the raigne of *Tiberius*, saith, that *many of their souldiers then distressed and torne, being cast vpon the coasts of* Britaine, *were by the people curteously releeued, and by their petty Kings sent backe vnto* Germanicus *their* Generall *into* Germanie; which *Princes* or petty *Kings*, were drawn (as else where he saith) by emulation into many partialities and factions; which was indeed their owne destruction. And by *Gildas* these were termed cruel *Tyrants*, taking his authority out of *Saint Hierome*.

Tacitus Annal. lib.2.cap.5.

Gildas. S. Hierome.

Caratacus.

(5) Let thus farre suffice, in generall, of these ancient *Britains*; whose particulars we will further prosecute in the places of their resistances, lest otherwise they should seeme to fight only against themselues. And therefore so many of these *Gouernors*, as either yeelded their subiections to the *Romans*, or stood their opposites till their own strengths were spent, I will briefly touch, vntill such time as the land was made a *Prouince*, by the valour and industry of *Iulius Agricola* the first *Roman* that found it an *Iland*, and left it more ciuill, and in subiection to the *Roman* Empire; and by the way I will insert some of such ancient Coynes, as among them were then vsed, expressing their names, and places of coynage.

THE KINGS AND GOVERNORS
GREAT BRITAIN WITH THE ANCIENT COINES VSED IN THEIR TIMES.

CHAPTER VI.

THE first *British Coyne* (as is supposed) both by the fashion therof being shield-like, and *Name* thereupon inscribed REX COM: denoteth *Comius*, (if he be a *Britaine*) *King* of the *Atrebatij* in this *Iland*: whom some iudge to haue fled thence vnto *Cæsar*, as a *traytor* to his Natiue country; and in *Gallia* vanquished those parts, that lay coasted against the *Wight*, wherein (by *Ptolemy*) the people called likewise the *Atrebatij* inhabited: ouer whom he receiued the gouernment by the gift of *Cæsar*, and was by him imploied to worke the *Britaines* to his obedience. And that he was King of the *Atrebatij* in *Britaine*, may be strengthned by that which *Cæsar* in his second book of *Commentaries* affirmeth, where, by his owne knowledge he saith, that one *Diuitiacus* raigned ouer a great part of *Gallia*, and some portion of *Britaine* also: and so likewise this *Comius* is reported to be of great respect among our *Britaines*, and able in that country to doe much. Neither is it altogether vnlikely, seeing the *Britaines* distasted his loyalty to *Cæsar*, and his Ambassage for their subiection, with such dislikes, that they laid violent hands vpon him, and cast him in prison, vsing no such rigor against the rest of their owne Ambassadors. Notwithstanding when successe altered, they set him at liberty, and made him their meanes to pacifie *Cæsar*.

Ptolemæi Geograph.

Cæsar. comment. lib.4.

Other Coynes I haue inserted to such British Princes as by their inscriptions are knowne to be theirs. And whereas some are not yet noted by that honor to the world; I haue vnto such added only blankes, if happily more be reuealed hereafter, and the bowels of the earth deliuer to others her treasures hid, as formerly (and in these our searching daies) she hath already done.

(2) *Cassibelan*

(2) *Cassibelan*, as the most worthy among the *Britains Kings*, to withstand the common danger now ready to light vpon them all, by the inuasions and wars of the *Romans*, was by a generall consent chosen their *chieftaine*, though in times past, he had molested his neighboring prouinces to the inlargement of his owne. Whose signiories, as *Cæsar* saith, were seuered from the *Cities* towards the sea coast by the riuer Thames, about fourescore miles from the same. He had obtained the gouernment of the *Trinobantes*, by the slaughter of *Imanuence*, and the expulsion of *Mandubrace* his sonne. And, with great valour, held opposite to the *Romans*, vntill the reuolt of his chiefe *Citie*, the *Cenimagues*, *Segontians*, *Ancalits*, *Bibroces*, *Cassians*, and other states, which drew backe, and yeelded to the enemy; his confederates, the foure Kings of *Kent*, ouerthrown, his owne towne won, and himselfe forced to yeeld vnto *Cæsar*, and the land to pay a tribute of 3000. pound yeerly to *Rome*. A *British* Coyne of gold with the inscription CAS in scattered letters we haue inserted; as also another wheron is instamped the word VER, supposed to be his, because it is thought to haue bin coined in antient *Verolam*, the City of *Cassibelan*, in his daies, before the *Romans* won it.

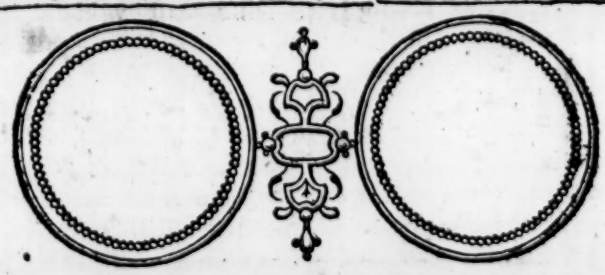
Cæsar. commen. lib. 5.

Verolam a famous City neere to the place where now S. Albons is.

(3) *Cingetorix*: *Caruill*: *Taximagull*: *Segonax*: } whom *Gæsar* calleth *Kings* that raigned in *Kent*, were instigated by *Cassibelan* suddainly to set vpon, and to assault the *Roman* forces, that lay lincamped vpon the sea shore whilst he kept *Cæsar* occupied further in the mayne: which thing they attempted, but failed of their hoped expectation, their men being slaine, three of them chased, and *Cingetorix* the chiefest taken captiue. This heauy news and vnfortunate successe, sed *Cassibelan* to sue vnto *Cæsar*, and by the meanes of *Comius* obtained his peace.

(4) *Mandubrace* a Prince of the *Trinobantes*, but a traytor to his country; whose father *Imanuence* being slaine by *Cassibelan*, and his owne life likewise sought after, and in danger, fled vnto *Cæsar* into *Gallia*, and followed his fortunes in the wars; wherein, he was a great spurre vnto *Cæsars* forwardnesse for *Britain*, both to be reuenged vpon the murtherer of his father, and to recouer the gouernment of the *Trinobantes* vsurped by *Cassibelan*: preferring his owne ambitious desire, and the reuenge of one mans death, before the freedome of his *natiue Countrey*, or the deaths of many his countrimen, that daily stopt the *Romans* passage with streames of their blood. He recouering his chiefest *City* with the protectiō of the *Romans*, yeelded subiection, & forty hostages to *Cæsar*: whose example drew others to sell their own liberty, & to buy many miserie at too deare a rate, and with too late repentance: him doth *Beda* call *Androgorius*.

Beda hist Angl. lib. 1. cap. 2.



(5) *Cenimagues*, *Segontians*, *Ancalits*, *Bibroces*, *Cassians* } Inhabitants of { *Norfolk-Suff. Cam. &c.*, *Hantshire.*, *Hendly hund. in Oxford.*, *Bray hund. in Barkshire.*, *Caishow hund. in Hartf.*

Cæsar. commen. lib. 5.

Camb. Britan.

These people or States, seeing the proceedings and happy successe of *Cæsar*, after the example of the *Trinobantes*, whose chiefest *City* had yeelded him obedience, and were thereby secured, and protected from the harmes of his souldiers, sent him likewise their submissions, and were accepted into subiection: so ready were they to saue their owne stakes, that they left the whole to the hazard of losse, which soone after followed as an ouerflowing flood, wherein was lastly drenched the whole *Ilands* liberty,

(6) *Cunobeline*

Numb.14.17.
Isay.11.1.
Isay.9.6.

Matt.2.

Esay 11.6.
Mica.4.3.

(6) *Cunobeline* (for ſo vpon his Coynes his name is inſtamped) was the ſon of *Theomantius* and hee the ſonne of *Lud* (as ſay our *Britiſh hiſtorians*, by whom his name is coruptly written *Kymbeline*) he liued at *Rome*, and in great fauour with *Auguſtus Ceſar* the Emperor, by whom he was made Knight, and by his meanes the peace of *Britain* was continued without the paiment of their *Tribute*, as *Fabian* out of *Guido de Columna* hath gathered. *In the foureteenth yeere of his raigne, the Day-ſtar of* Iacob *appeared, and the rod out of* Iſhai *did flouriſh from the womb of a Virgin, when the wonderfull Counſellor, the mighty God and Prince of Peace, the* Emmanuel, *God with vs, was borne at* Bethlehem *of his maiden-mother the bleſſed Virgin* Mary, *and was made man like vnto vs in all things, ſinne only excepted. Theſe were the times that great Kings and Prophets deſired to ſee, but ſaw them not, when the Wolfe and the Lambe, the Leopard and the Kid, the Calfe and the Lyon fed together; for war was not heard of then in the world, but rather their ſwords were made into mattockes, and their ſpeares turned into ſithes, as the Prophets, Sibyls, and Poets from them haue affirmed.* In *Rome* the temple of *Ianus* was ſhut, and in *Britaine Cunobeline* enioied peace with the reſt of the world, and his fame was made more famous by the many Coynes inſtamped of him, and whoſe face thereon among all the *Britiſh* Kings was firſt inſcribed, as by theſe here inſerted doth euidently appeare, one with two faces, like vnto *Ianus*, and ſix more with his owne, beſides three others wherein is read his name, one of them with a womans head, another with a horſe, and the third with a wreath; all theſe (if not more) are knowne to be his, which ſheweth his wealth, his fame, and his ciuill reſpect. The chiefeſt Citie for his princely reſidence was *Camalodunum*, now *Malden* in *Eſſex*, wonne by *Claudius* from the ſonnes of *Cunobeline*, as by the inſcription of the Coyne next enſuing appeareth, and wherein many of the *Britiſh* monies alſo receiued their impreſſe. This City with the free towne *Verolam* afterwards felt the heauy hand of mercileſſe Bodvo in her reuenge againſt the *Romans*; who laid the beauty and gorgeous buldings thereof ſo leuell with the earth, that thoſe walles and mounted turrets neuer ſince aſpired to halfe their wonted heights.

(7) *Adminius*

(7) *Adminius* the first ſonne of *Cunobline*, *King* of the *Britaines*, by *Suetonius* his report, vpon ſome offence was baniſhed the Iland by his father; and with a ſmall traine fled ouer the ſeas into *Belgia*, where *Caius Caligula* was in making his ridiculous expedition againſt the *Ocean*. And yeelding himſelfe to his protection, added matter to his vaine-glorious humors, as of a great victory and conqueſt; ſending the newes thereof to *Rome*, with an eſpeciall command that his letters ſhould be deliuered in the *Temple* of *Mars*, and that in the aſſembly of a full *Senate*. It is iudged by learned *Cambden* that the *Roman* Coyne aboue prefixed, vpon whoſe reuerſe is inſcribed *Metropolis Etiminy Regis*, to be meant of this *Adminius* the ſonne of *Cunobeline*, whoſe Citie *Camalodunum*, *Claudius Ceſar* the Emperour afterwards wonne, and wherein a temple was built and conſecrated vnto him, attended by the Prieſts *Auguſtals*: which heauily burdened the poore eſtates of the *Britaines*.

Sueton. in vita Caligulæ, ſect. 44.

(8) *Catacratus* another ſon of *Cunobeline*, immediatly after the death of his father, found himſelfe agreeued at the *Romans*, for the retaining of certaine fugitiues the betraiers of their natiue country; whereof one *Bericus* was a chief and a great firebrand of *Claudius* his attempts againſt the *Britaines*. This *Catacratus* maintained reſiſtance againſt *Aulus Plautius* the *Emperors Deputy*, with ſuch noble reſolution and warlike encounters, that often he endangered both his perſon and army. But *Fortune* and *victory* attending the *Romans*, brought at length *Catacratus* their captiue into bands, with great ſlaughters of his *Britaines*, himſelfe led ſhortly after in great triumph through *Rome* in honour of *Plautius* his ſo fortunate ſucceſſe. The miſeries of others thus made the *Romans* to mount the chaire of their triumps; and the chaines of their captiues, the records of their preſent aſpired pride.

But the bordering *Dobuni* ſeeing his fall, made their own ſtandings ſurer by yeelding themſelues ſubiects to *Rome*.

Dio calls him *Cataeratus*;

(9) *Togodumnus* the third ſonne of *Cunobeline*, and ſucceſſor to *Catacratus*, proſecuted his countries quarrell with the like boldneſſe and reſolution as his brother before him had done: & was the only touch-ſtone that gaue *Veſpaſian* his luſtre, whoſe interpoſition (as *Tacitus* ſaith) was the beginning of that greatneſſe whereunto afterwards he aſpired. And with ſuch manhood followed the chaſe of the *Romans*, that in a bloodly battell he ended his life, and brought *Plautius* their *Lieutenant* vnto a ſtand, where ſtraitned in dangers both of place and people, he was forced to ſend to *Claudius* the Emperor; whoſe conceit was then grounded, that in *Britaine* was greateſt glory to be gotten, and therefore came to his aſſiſtance in perſon himſelfe, the firſt ſince *Iulius Ceſar* that attempted their conqueſt. His recorded compoſitions made with *Aruiragus*, the marriage of his daughter and building of *Gloceſter*, I leaue to be read out of *Geffrey* of *Monmouth*, and to be allowed at the choice of his hearer; only noting that the poſſeſſion of ſo faire a land drew the affection and aged perſon of this Emperor to vndergoe ſo farre diſtant and dangerous a iournie, as this of *Britaine* lay from *Rome*.

Tacitus in vita Agricolæ.

(10) *Cogidunus* a *Britaine* borne, receiued in pure gift at the hands of the *Romans*, certaine *Cities*, ouer which he peaceably raigned their *King*. For when they had conquered the neereſt part of this *Iland*, and reduced it into the forme of a *Prouince*; according to their ancient policie, it was their cuſtome, (ſaith *Tacitus*) to

Tacitus in vita Agricolæ.

vse Kings themselues for instruments of bondage, both in admittance of their authority, and in protecting them against their opposits. Other memoriall of him none remaineth, but that he is reported to haue rested euer most faithfull to the *Romans*, and was of them accordingly esteemed, albeit his owne people bare him no such good will, but rather accounted him and others his like, to be *Romes* only instruments, and *Britaines* vipers, that brought in strangers to eat out the home-bred inhabitants, and fettered the freedome of their land, with the heauy chaines of a forrein subiection.

(11) *Caractacus* the most renowned Prince of the *Silures*, in nine yeeres resistance waded through many aduentures against the common enemy. For when as the *Icenians Cangi*, and *Brigantes* began to faint and giue ouer, he only with the *Ordouices* held out with such seruice and fame, that thereby he grew both famous and fearefull to the *Romans*. But *Destinies* determining the downfall of *Britaine*, the props that were set to stay it still vp, proued too slender, and brake vnder the waight. For this *bold Caractacus* ouerthrown in battell, his wife, daughter, & brethren taken Prisoners, and his forces defeated, committed himselfe to the protection of *Cartismandua* the *Brigants faithlesse Queene*: who by her was deliuered to the *Romans*; and by *P. Ostorius* brought to *Rome*; where beholding the riches and glory of that City, he openly and boldly checked the auarice and ambitious humors of the *Romans*, who being owners of so great and glorious things, were (notwithstanding couetous & greedy for the poore possessions of the *Britaines*. And there being led in triumph, with admiration he was beheld of all the spectators, and for his vndanted spirit and magnanimous resolution released of bands, and taken in to fauour by *Claudius* the *Emperor*. And the Lords of the Senate assembled together, made glorious discourses touching *Caractacus* captiuity, affirming it to bee no lesse honorable then when *P. Scipio* shewed *Syphax* vnto the people, and *L. Paulus*, *Perses*, or of any other exhibited, vanquished and ouercome. The *British Coyne* here aboue shewed, by the scattered letters therein inscribed, is by the iudicious obseruers of such ancient monies supposed to be his.

Zonaras.

Tacit. Annal. 12. cap. 8.

(12) *Venutius*, a famous King of the *Brigantes*, and husband to *Cartismandua*, (a woman of an high and noble linage, but of a base and vnsatisfied lust:) finding his bed abused by *Vellocatus* his seruant and harnesse-bearer, raised his power against her, and her paramour. With him sided his *Brigants*, and the neighbour countries adioining, whose good will went generally with the lawfull husband, fearing the ambitious authority of a lustfull woman. With her went the *Romans*, at the command of *Didius* their *Deputie*: and these striking battell won the day: yet so as the war continued to the *Romans*, the kingdome to *Venutius*, and the infamy with *Cartismandua*, both for betraying the pledge of her trust reposed by *Caractacus* in his distresse, and her truth to *Venutius* her noble Lord and husband: preferring the licentious pleasures of a vassall, before the bed of chaft mariage, or the nuptiall imbracements of a worthy King; and hath to ages following left her name noted with the scarres of infamy, that time nor continuance shall euer weare away. His ancient coyne is thought to be as thou seest here aboue described.

(13) *Prasutagus* } King and Queene of the *Icenians*, a people vnshaken by war, and themselues rich; (as *Tacitus* reporteth;) the only cause of their ruines, for which the *Romans* then warred; were brought to destruction vpon this insuing occasion. King *Prasutagus* dying, by will left *Nero* his heire (supposing by this meanes to leaue his state the safer,) together with the protection of his two daughters. These, contrary to trust, were abused and defloured, the mother *Boduo* turned out of all, and against all manly ciuility, or womanhood respect, contumeliously and despitefully whipped. In the reuenge of which vnsufferable wrongs she so opposed and oppressed the *Romans*, that at one battell seuenty thousand (or as *Dion Cassius* saith 80000. of their slaughtered bodies she sacrificed to her dead husbands ghost; and hath left the fame of her proceedings registred, euen by her enemies themselues, to her immortall and neuer dying memory. The strong Cities, *Camalodunum*, and *Verolanium*,

Boduo } *Sans*, a people vnshaken by war,

lanium, ſhe ſacked with the rage of mercileſſe war; *Petilius*, *Licutenant* of the *ninth Legion*, ſhe diſcomfited; *Catus* the *Procurator* ſhe droue ouer the ſeas, *Poſthumus* the *Campe-maſter* durſt not reſiſt her, and all indeed feared the valour of this heroick Lady: whoſe lawes were not martiall to ſaue vpon ranſome: whoſe reuenge was not pacified with yeildings or ſubmiſſion, nor did ſhe thinke there was bloud enough in the *Romans* to imbrue the altars of her aſſiſting gods, or to waſh off the ſtaine of their ignoble and vnmanly iniuries. But when ſucceſſe altered, after loſſe, and valorous reſiſtance, ſhee made an end of her life by poiſon, leſt liuing ſhe ſhould ſee either her own miſeries in their triumphs, or leaue her remembrance in the records of their lauiſh and ſelfe-pleaſing hiſtorians. Her Coyne of gold we haue here expreſſed, the forme ſhield-like, and vpon the emboſſement thus inſcribed: BODVO.

(14) *Aruiragus*, the valiant britiſh King, whom *Humfrey Lhuyd* confidently affirmeth to be the ſame man that is called *Meurigus*, and is ſaid to withſtand *Claudius* in his enterpriſes for *Britaine*, vntill a compoſition of mariage was concluded betwixt the Emperors daughter and himſelfe. Notwithſtanding by *Iuuenal* it is plaine, that this *Aruiragus* was in his fame in the daies of *Domitian*, vnto whom the Poet, as a Prophet, would foredome his happy ſucceſſe in the diſpoſition of his gouernment ouer the *Britaines*, as in theſe his verſes are ſeene:

It bodes great honour to thy ſelfe, ſome King thou ſhalt depriue,
Or elſe Aruiragus *from the rule of* Britaines *waine ſhalt driue.*

An ancient *Britiſh Coyne* of ſiluer is here inſerted, and a mans head thereon inſtamped, which is ſuppoſed to be his, the letters alluding ſo neere to his name.

(15) *Galgacus*, a worthy and moſt valiant Prince of the *Caledonians*, for vertue, and birth, preferred before any other in the *Northern* parts of this *Iland*, and made their *Generall* againſt the inuaſions of *Iulius Agricola*, was the laſt *Britaine*, that againſt the *Romans* ſtood out: accounting thoſe only happy, which were free from the contagion of that *Roman* tyranny, and themſelues the flower of all the *Britiſh* nobility, that yet had not ſubiected their necks to their yoke. The reſiſtance which he made was great and warlike, but againſt the decree of God no man can ſtand; for the *Romans*, riſen to their greatneſſe, bare downe all that withſtood them; and in a bloody battaile ſubdued him, and his forces; making all ſilent before them where they came, and leauing deſolation in the places where they had been. Thus then was the whole *Iland* ſubiected to the *Roman* Emperors, about one hundred thirty and ſix yeeres after *Caſars* firſt entrance, and the land that had been ruled by many petty Kings, was brought now (as moſt parts of the world beſides were) vnder the gouernment of one abſolute Monarch. Grieuous, no doubt, was the loſſe of their liberties, but a greater gaine was gotten not many yeeres after; for from the rude and ſauage manners of the barbarous, they were reclaimed, and became moſt ciuill. And he that had giuen their *Iland* to his *Chriſt*, prepared their hearts to receiue *him* their *King*; vnto whoſe ſubiection alſo they were motiues to the *Romans* themſelues. Two ancient *Britiſh* Coynes ſtamped in ſiluer wee haue here ſet downe, attributing them both to this *Galgacus* of *Caledonia*. Notwithſtanding in theſe (as in the reſt) I muſt ſubmit my ſelfe to the more experienced, & the cenſures of theſe ancient things to the learned and more iudicious.

Pſal. 25

(16) Theſe then were the reſiſters of the *Romans* proceedings, that rather yeelded their breſts to the ſword, then their necks to the yoke of a forrein ſubiection, and made their aſſaulters more famous in their conqueſts, and themſelues more renowned to following poſterities: neither in theſe relations haue we followed the records of our owne, but the approued teſtimony of their beſt writers, who haue deliuered what we haue ſaid, and no doubt felt the like repugnancy of many others, both in the South and North of this *Iland*, though their names died with their valiant reſiſtance. And as theſe *Britains* held the *Romans* at euen hand the ſpace of one hundred thirty and ſix yeeres; neither then were ſubdued without themſelues, that euer ſided with the enemy againſt themſelues, and whoſe factions made way for the feet of their conquerors, as from *Tacitus* wee haue declared: So their ſucceſſors the *Saxons* found as warlike withſtanders, till God, for the *Britains* ſinnes had caſt downe their ſtrenght, whereof more ſhall follow (Chriſt aſſiſting) in the due place of their ſtories, that from the raigne of *Vortigerne* the ſcourge

of his country to *Cadwallader* the laſt Prince of the *Britaines*, ſpent their liues in the quarrell of liberty, and hath left their memorials famous for their countries defence.

(17) But the ſtate of kingdomes (how largely ſo euer extended, or by what humane wiſedome ſtrengthned with defence) do find their periods not to exceed much the number of ſix hundred yeeres, as by common experience among moſt nations is ſeene. In theſe times therefore when the world was ſhaken with wars, firſt by the *Romans* that ſtroue to mount hie the ſpires of their intended glory, and were by Gods decree appointed to ouerrun and afflict the earth, when kings of people (I ſay) were inforced to lay the Crownes from their heads at their conquering feet; and free nations loaded with the yokes of their bondage: then was fulfiled the reſolution of this queſtion demanded, *Alas who ſhall liue when God doth this?* And then among the reſt, *Britaine* gaue place to neceſſity with as manlike reſiſtance as did ſtates more ſtronger, or kingdomes confined with far more larger compaſſe. And *Cæſar* himſelfe bought his enterance with ſuch loſſe to the *Romans*, that no Emperor after aſſaied the like, before aged *Claudius*, whoſe opinion was, that thence the remembrance of his ſucceeding glory ſhould wholly ariſe.

Numb. 24.23

But when the props of that Empire began for to faile, as nothing can bee firme in this ſtill-wearing world, the *Saxons*, for their valour a ſecond triumphant nation, began as it were where the *Romans* left: for beſides the continuall poſſeſſion of their owne country, as in that caſe vnpartiall *Tacitus* doth tell vs; their legions were tranſported into all parts of the world, and without whom almoſt no victory was wonne: of whoſe power and proweſſe in the expeditions of warre both *Dionyſius*, *Arrianus* and *Seneca*, do ſpeake. To theſe then likewiſe if the *Britaines* gaue place, the lots came forth with the like price of the reſt, and in this *Iland* they bought their conqueſts as deere as they had done in any other part of the world. Neither was *Britaine* ſubdued by either of theſe nations, or their inverſion and exchange of policie altred, but with as vnwilling ſubiection & ſtreames of bloud as had been ſluſed out of the ſides of their mightier nations, or by them had bin tamed to follow their triumphal chariots. And more honour attributed to paſſe theſe *Britiſh* ſeas, with more admiration only to ſee the *Iland* it ſelfe, then was vſually conceiued of kingdomes more larger, or that lay iacent as farre from *Rome*. And the conqueſt of ſome ſmall parts of *Britaine* in no ſmall ſelfe-glory to bee inſcribed as trophies of their victories vpon their Coynes, and to giue ſirnames to the Emperors and their ſonnes: as ſhall be ſhewed, when the age of this hiſtory ſhall be increaſed with the times of the *Romans* affaires in this Iland. Free from ſubiection before the attempts of *Caius Iulius Cæſar* by the teſtimony of *Diodorus Siculus*, and neuer had yeelded to any forrein power, as not prouoked by *Dionyſius* or *Hercules*, nor inforced by any to maintaine their liberties by the feats of warre. But *Cæſar* in *Gallia* thirſting after noueltie, or his conceited humor to purchaſe renowne, made the ſeaſeeme ſafe from dangers in paſſage; and himſelfe reſolute to venture his perſon amongſt, thoſe bold and borbarous *Britaines*: wherein he left no meanes vnaſſaied for their conqueſt and ſubiection, nor his ſucceſſors omitted any prouident care to retaine and keepe the land in their poſſeſſions, which whileſt it ſtood a prouince in their obedience was held and accounted the faireſt plume in their trumphant Diadem, and the loſſe thereof (if no more but onely in name) as was publikely affirmed; wold proue a great detriment to the Empire. This made the *Romans* to deſire it as they did, who beſides the great glory they conceiued in the conqueſt, made it the granary for the weſterne gariſons; beſides the delicate prouiſions for their Emperors owne tables.

Tacit. in his deſcription of Germany.

And the *German Saxons* ſtraitned in their owne countries through increaſe of their people, or haply to ſupply their owne wants, infected with piracies theſe Weſt parts of the word, and among all others ſet the eie of their affections vpon this moſt beautifull *Iland*, and neuer left their attempts vnaſſaulted till they ſet the glorious diadem thereof vpon their owne heads. Changing the name *Britannia* into *Anglia*, a terme moſt fit to expreſſe that ſubiect, and pleaſing in ſound as Angelicall like, neither haue themſelues proued vnworthy of ſo rich a poſſeſſion, that in wars haue maintained, and by voiages made known her fame as far as the ſune hath his beames, or the endleſſe *Ocean* her ebbes & tides. But of theſe things wee ſhall haue occaſion hereafter.

And now addreſſe our ſelues to deſcribe our ancient *Britaines*, and to ſhew their true pictures as they are reported. At firſt rude and vnciuill (I taske them no further then all others then were in the world, ſome few excepted that were only taught by God) and with the firſt were reclaimed to a more ciuil reſpect, both in their apparell and apprehenſion of literature; whoſe pictures in the Chapter ſucceeding we wil demonſtrate as they are deſcribed by *Cæſar*, *Pliny*, *Dio*, *Herodian* and others; at firſt altogether naked, cut, and painted as thou ſeeſt; afterwards partly clad in imitation of others which frequented their country either for trafficke or conqueſt; in both which manner take them as they are reported to bee by theſe authors, and impute no liberty in the draught to the workmans beſt liking, nor thy ſelfe any whit diſparaged to be brought from ſuch parents, which here are ſet as the pillars ſpoken of by *Ieſophus*, that after the flood did preſerue the inuented ſcience of the celeſtial bodies, leſt time or elements ſhould conſume that knowledge, or deuoure thoſe rules before demonſtrated: So the true portraiture of our ancient progenitors may by theſe be preſerued from the ruines of time, & made our motiues to be thākfull vnto him that hath brought vs forth in this moſt ciuill times, and not only clad vs with the garments of humanity, but by his ſpirit hath guided vs vnto a celeſtiall knowledge.

Ioſeph. Antiqui. lib. 1. cap. 3.

THE PORTRAITVRES OF THE ANCIENT *ARITAINES*, OF THEIR NAKEDNESSE, PAINTING AND FIGVRING THEIR BODIES, OF THEIR PERSONAGES, HABITES, AND HABILIMENTS, BOTH IN PEACE AND WARRE: AS ALSO OF THE *PICTS*, THEIR ORIGINALL AND HABITES, &c.

CHAPTER VII.

THe vnderstanding and apprehensions of men clouded in ignorance, are by a *Great Philosopher* compared to the eye-sight of such men, as stand and behold things afarre-off; becausse both of these, though they apprehend some generall shapes and notices, yet can they not discerne of the true proportions and proprieties of their Obiects. The like happeneth in the search and suruey, as of all other Nations, so of our owne, of our first *beginnings*, our *antique Customes, behauiours, habits*, &c. the true Circumstances whereof are the more difficill to find, in that those things are not onely remote many degrees beyond the kenning of our Eye, (yea so manie Ages from the times wherein we liue,) but are also shadowed and enwrapped in manifold vncertainties and contrarieties, wherwith euen those *writers* haue perplexed our way, who vndertooke to bee both our *Guides* and our *Lights*. Notwithstanding, our purpose being to propose vnto the eye of our now glorious and gorgious *Britaines*, some generall draughts of our poore and rude *Progenitours*, (that as *King Agathocles* in his chiefe feasts vsed onely *earthen dishes* to put himselfe in minde that his Father was but a potter, so wee may remember that true *British Nobilitie* is more in *Vertue* then in *Aunceſtors*;) let vs first see what the principall notes and markes are, whereby the persons of those first *Britaines* were made so remarkeable among all other Nations.

Aristotle.

The reason why Nations Originals are so hardly found out.

The three chiefe notes of the *Britaines.*

(2) These Notes were chiefly three; first, their going *naked*: secondly, their *staining* and *colouring* of their whole Bodies; thirdly, their *cutting*, *pinking* and *pouncing* of their flesh with garnishments (for so they thought them) of sundry shapes and fashions, as the two first ensuing *Icones* or *Portraitures* doe represent. Touching all which, the reports of *Authors* are very discrepant: and therefore sith light is gotten out by collision of flintes, wee will essay, whether out of those *writers* contradictions (brought to the stroke, and confronted togeather,) we may strike some glimering light to direct vs how to paint them forth, who so delighted in painting themselues.

1. The first note of the *Britains*, their Nakednes.

(3) First touching their going *naked*, the authority of *Caesar* must ouersway (as being auncienteſt) the *too generall reports* of such others, as seeme to relate that the *Britaines* generally vsed no Couerture, as neglectiue either of weathers iniurie, or of ciuill modesty; for he saith, *interiores plerique pellibus sunt vestiti: the In-land men for the most part were clad with skinnes.* And yet these *In-landers* were the rudest of all the rest, the *Kentish* and *Sea-borders* being *full of humanity, and little differing from the French ciuilitie:*

Caesar.

So that when *Herodian* saith, *Vestis vsum non cognoscunt, nec induuntur quidem, They neither know the vse of Garments, nor put any on*: either he speaks on hearesay, or his large report must bee restrained to some certaine Persons; Times, and Places. And for certaine *Persons* and *Times* indeed *Plynie* somewhat limits it, saying; that *their married women, both elder and yonger, (coniuges, nuruse,) in certaine festiuals vsed to goe starke naked*: so doth *Dio* also for certaine *Places*: *in their Tents* (saith he) *they liued naked and vnshod*, where he seemeth to allow them some couerture abroad. The like may be supposed in time of *Winter* or *War*; were *Herodian* himselfe saith onely, *plerae, corporis nudi, A great part of their body was bare.*

Herodian.

Pliny.

Dio.

Herodian.

(4) It may seeme hereby, that those Originals of Particular Nations were not much vnlike that first beginning of the vniuersall prosemination of Mankind, when our first Parents innocencie walked in naked simplicitie: the foundations of all things being, as fartheſt from our sight, so more simple and farre from those artificiall fraudes, which some call *wit* and *cunning*. And though an *ancient Father be mistaken, in conceauing that by the fower letters of the name of *Adam*, were signified the foure quarters of the *World*, (that being an *Hebrue* name of three letters, and not a Greeke of foure) yet all those Quarters of the *World* participate somewhat of *Adams* dispositions; and as all *Naturall* things retourne by course to that whereof first they were framed, so if Lawes, discipline, and Customes, did not restraine men, they would in time, of themselues reuolue to that first neglectiue condition, and careleſnesse of those outward respects whence men are now named *Ciuill.*

*Saint Cipria. interprets *A anatole, East.* *D. dusis, West.* *A. arctos, North.* *M. mesembrios. South.*

(5) But in our *Britaines*, three reasons there seeme of this their going *vncloathed*. First their *hardinesse*, which was partly naturall, and partly acquired by practise of their bodies to durance: of whom *Dio* records that *all of them had an excellent habit in tolerating hunger, cold, and labours, insomuch as they could endure to abide many daies together in the water vp to the chinne without any food at all*; that they *would liue in the woods on roots and barkes of trees*; though one kinde of foode he there mencioneth vnknowne in our times, *whereof vsing to take as much as a beane onely, they were not subiect either to hunger or thirst.* No marueile, if those, who would endure this, could endure the want of garments: especially in a soile whereof we finde this *Euloge. Tu nimium nec strictа gelu, &c.*

Causes of the *British* nakednes.
1. *Hardinesse.*

Dio Nic.

Nor freezing cold, nor scorching hot thou art,
Twixt both thou hold'st the meane and pleasing'st part.

See Chap. 1. sect. 10.

The like patience we find euen now not only in the wilder *Irish*, and *Virgineans*, but in rogues and Wanderers of our owne Country; who often pittilesse of them-

themſelues voluntarily depriue their Bodies of this Protection againſt the Aires offence, to procure pity of others. And what ſpeake we of theſe? ſeeing euen children for Cuſtome, and Women for pride, wil ſuffer their Breaſts, and moſt tender parts of their Body, to be expoſed not only to offence of weather, but of modeſty alſo? yea generally, the *handes*, and *faces*, being of moſt ſubtileſt ſence, yet by cuſtome are enabled now to endure that, which by the like cuſtome the the olde *Britaines* endured in their whole Bodies; whereby *Plutarch* thinkes *they vſually liued ſo long euen to the age of ſixeſcore, the externe cold keeping in and augmenting their internall heate*.

Iutarch.

2. *Ignorance:*

(6) As ability to endure colde, ſo *ignorance* (in many) of meanes to preuent it, may ſeeme another occaſion of theſe *Britaines nakednes*. The *Romans* (it ſeemes) in their old *Conſuls* times, and after, had not the skill nor vſe of *Hats*, *Breeches*, *&c.* That *Britaine* abounded with *Wooll* and other materials for cloathing, is paſt all doubt, for which cauſe, by one in a *Panegyrick* it is named *Riche in Paſturage*, which by another is thus explicated, that therein was *an infinite multitude of tame cattell both with Vdders full of milke, and loaded with fleeces to the ground*. So then *Wooll* was not wanting, but *Will* or *Skill*; the latter in moſt likelihood: for, as *Strabo* ſaith, that though thoſe *ſtrutting Vdders* yeelded great *ſtore of milk, yet ſome of them had not skill to make cheeſe*, and hauing ſo *rich* grounds, *yet had not the art of tillage*, ſo their ſheepe might haue ſuch *heauy fleeces*, yet ſome of their Owners no cunning to keepe themſelues warme therewith. Some of them, I ſay; for otherwiſe, as *Pliny*, touching *Tillage*, giues light to *Strabo*, witneſſing, that others of them were ſo good *Husbands as to manure their grounds with Marle*, as likewiſe doth *Dioſcorides*, ſaying *they had skill to make drinke of Barley*: ſo probable is it, that thoſe other who were by *Cæſar* and *Tacitus* ſaid to be ſo *like the French* in conditions, had alſo ſome part of their Art in fitting the Burthen of their Sheepes backes to couer their owne.

Paneg. ad Conſtan.
Paneg. ad Conſtan.

Strabo.

Pliny.

Dioſcorides.

Cæſar.
Tacitus.

(7) The laſt reaſon of ſuch their going *naked* ſometimes, was out of an opinion that no clothing ſo adorned them, as their painting and damasking of their Bodies, for which cauſe (ſaith *Herodian*) *they would not couer themſelues, leſt then their gay painting ſhould not be ſeene*: but *Pomponius Mela* makes doubt, whether their thus painting themſelues were for *ornament* or for *ſome other vſe*; which doubt *Cæſar* ſeems to reſolue, as if the men did it becauſe it *made them looke more terrible in warre*.

3. *Pride.*

Herodian.

Mela

Cæſar.

(8) And thus we are now orderly fallen on the ſecond of thoſe three notes appropriated by *Authors* to our *Britaines*. which is their *painting* and *ſtaining of their Bodies*, which appeares by *Cæſar* to haue beene more vniuerſally vſed then going naked, for *all the Britaines* (ſaith he) *die their bodies with ſtaining*. As Authours differ in the reaſon of this their *painting*, (as we ſhewed) ſo in the *name*, perchance alſo in the *ſubſtance* of that wherewith they ſtained themſelues, and ſomewhat alſo in the *colour* it ſelfe. The *ſubſtance Cæſar* calles *luteum*, which yet in vulgar acception is thought to be ſome *yellow* ſubſtance, as *Pliny* cals *luteum oui, the yolke of the Egge*; *Pliny* himſelfe ſaith the *Frenchmen* call it *glaſtum*, deſcribing it to be an herbe like *Plantayne*, which *Oribaſius* (as learned *Cambden* ſheweth) doth terme *Vitrum*, in which ſenſe *Mela* is vnderſtood to ſay that they were ſtained *Vitro* (and not *Vltro*) it being generally taken to be *Woad*, from thoſe ancient times hitherto vſed for the ſureſt ſtaine. But for the *colour* which is made, *Cæſar* and the reſt agree, it was *Cæruleus, blewiſh or azure*, which colour the *Cambro-Britannes* doe yet call *glace*, whence our *glaſſe* for windowes (called alſo *vitrum*) ſeemeth by reaſon of the *colour*, to haue taken name. Onely *Pliny* leaueth ſome ſcruple, in ſaying, that *the naked painted women imitated the Æthiopian colour*; which muſt be vnderſtood either *comparatiuely*, in reſpect of People white and vnpainted, or becauſe *blew* a farre-of hath the appearance of *blacke*.

2. The ſecond note of the *Britaines*, their painting.

Cæſar.

Cæſar. & *Pliny.*

Cambd. in Brit. p. 14.

Mela.

Pliny.

(9) That the *Britaines* tooke their *Name* from this

See Chap. 2. §. 7.

this painting, hath beene already ſhewed out of *Iſidore*, who writes, that *they had that name from a word of their owne language*, wherein *Breeth* ſignifieth as much as *painted* or *ſtained*; but whether thoſe other Inhabitants of the more Northerne parts of this Iland, called alſo *Picti* or *painted*, had their name vpon the ſame ground, & whether they were ſome branch of the *Britiſh ſtocke*, or of ſome tranſmarine *Colonie*; it is a queſtion not yet decided. *Pomponius Lætus*, and ſome other, deriue them from *Germany*, ſome from the *Pictones* in *France*; but *Beda*, from *Scythia*, whence ſaith hee, *they are reported to haue come into Ireland in a few long bottomes*, and finding no ſeating there, to haue entered into *Britaine*. Though *Beda* his authoritie be venerable, yet the learned find reaſons to induce them rather to beleeue, that they were the remaines of thoſe ancient *Britaines* which either inhabited the *North-part* of this Iland, before the *Romanes* entrance, or which (vpon their Conqueſt) fled thither to auoid the *Romiſh* yoake, where the difficulties of the aire & ſoile protected them from the *Romanes* ambition and inuaſion. Whereto *Tacitus* well accordeth, ſaying, that *Agricola* droue the *Romanes* Enemies (he meanes the more vntractable *Britaines*) into thoſe parts, as it were into another *Iland*. And it is thought incredible, that thoſe *Enemies of the Romans*, who ſent forth againſt *Agricola* an Army of *thirty thouſand* ſtrong, & who ſo vexed *Seuerus*, that in one Expedition he loſt *ſeuenty thouſand* of his *Romanes*, & their Aiders were ſo vtterly extinct, as that none of them remained; but that rather they wonderfully multiplied, being thoſe who afterward much perplexed and ouerran the *Romane Prouince*, and to whom (not vnlikely) ſome other, ſuch as *Beda* mentioneth, did afterward ioyne themſelues.

Iſidore. What the *Picts* were.

Cambden p. 82.

Tacitus.

(10) If we would adde *reaſons* vnto *Authorities*, to proue that theſe *Picts* were no other then that multiplied offspring of thoſe *Britaines*, we could produce their* *Language*, their *manners*, their kind of *Gouernement* (all bearing *Britiſh* Reſemblance) to confirme the ſame. But what needs? ſince the ſelfe-manner of *painting* is an vndoubted marke in the Children repreſenting of what Parents they were borne. That they were painted, *Claudian* ſhewes, calling them, *The Picts, ſo truly named*; which *Iſidore* well expounds, *The Pictiſh Nation had their name from their Bodie, depainted with the iuice of an herbe growing amongſt them.* When therefore the *Romans* excluded them from their other *Prouinciall Britaines*, this name (*Pictes*) for diſtinctions ſake was in vſe amongſt them; before which times, yea and long after, they were knowne to *writers* by no other name then *Britaines*, and the *Romane Emperor*, *Commodus*, *Seuerus*, *Baſſianus*, *Geta*, & vpon the Conqueſts of them, inſtiled themſelues *Britanici*, *Britiſh* (not *Pictiſh*) *Conquerors*. But after the *Romane tongue* had preuailed with the *Romane ſword*, the *Britaines* themſelues vſed to name any thing painted by the name of *Picte*; as may bee gathered out of *Vegetius*, who ſaith, that the *Britaines* called certaine *Sallops*, *Picts*, becauſe their *ſailes*, *tackle*, and *Marriners apparell*, were *coloured blew*, the very colour, wherewith theſe *Britiſh Picts* (as * ſomewhere they are truely called) vſed to ſtaine themſelues. When afterward the *Iriſh-Scots* had confederated themſelues with theſe againſt the *Romans*, they all began by degrees to be more ciuilized: the more *Southerly* of them being by *Ninian* the *Britaine* conuerted vnto Chriſt, about the yeere of *Grace* 430. thoſe other more *Northward*, by *Columbanus* Anno 565. by which time, it is likely, that Ciuilitie increaſing, their *painting* and other like ruder Cuſtomes were well nigh forgotten, both amongſt them, and alſo amongſt thoſe other *Britaines* vnder the *Romanes* Gouernment. In which regard we haue beſides thoſe præfixed *Icones*, and Patternes of their firſt and moſt ſauaged times, here added alſo their *Habits*, when they beganne to put on with conditions, a little better cloathing alſo.

Claudian: Why the Picts were ſo called. *Iſidore.*

**Vet. Annali. Anglorum.*

(11) Neither may we thinke that formerly they refuſed ſuch Apparell, onely to ſhew this *ſtaining and colouring*

3. The third note of the *Britaines* their picturing of their bodies.

* *Beda* makes the diuers tongues, but they were onely different. *Dialects.* See *Cambden.*

colouring of their Bodies: for beſides it, ſome other belliſhments they had, which they eſteemed much more gracefull, then either their painting was, or any Cloathes could be. Which of the *Britaines*, *Solinus* thus deliuereth: *The Country is in part* (note that hee makes it not generall) *inhabited by People barbarous, who by artificiall formes of inciſion haue from their Childhood ſundry ſhapes of Beaſts depourtraied in their bodies, and as their limmes increaſe in growth, ſo doth the pictured worke together therewith, neither doth theſe wild people boaſt of any greater kind of patience, then in bearing long-laſting ſcarres, where the paint had deeply ſuncke into their ſliced fleſh.* The very paralell whereof is alſo by *Iſidore* ſet downe touching our *Picts*, *whoſe, bodies ſliced and pinked by an artificiall punchion, did ſuck in the iuice of the ſtayning herb, carrying theſe raſures on their pictured limbes, as badges of their Noblenes, thus endamasked.* Neither only the ſhapes of *Beaſts*, but of all other things, were ſo printed in their fleſh; which *Herodian* takes to bee the prime reaſon, why they delighted to goe *naked*, leſt they ſhould hide theſe their pleaſing garniſhments. Where alſo by the way may be obſerued, ſince *Solinus* ſaith that the *barbarous* onely vſed ſo to doe, and *Herodian*, that thoſe who did ſo, vſed therefore to *goe naked*; that therfore not the *Britaines* in generall, but the moſt barbarous of them vſed to goe naked. And very anſwerable to *Solinus* (who elegantly calleth ſuch their figuring of themſelues, *inſcriptis viſceribus, a writing on their Bodies*) is that of *Claudian*, *Perlegit exanimes Picto moriente figuras, On dying Picts he reades the breathles ſpapes*, as if the *beaſts* ſo liuely portraited on them, ſeemed to lie dead together with the murdered bodies of the *Picts*.

Solinus.

Herodian.

Iſidore.

*Maculoſa Nobilitas.

Claudian.

(12) By theſe varieties of picturing, (if *ſome haue not miſinformed vs out of their alleaged ancient *Authors*) thoſe people ſo diſtinguiſhed themſelues, that the *maried women* were knowne by hauing pictured on their *ſhoulders, elbowes, and knees*, the heads of ſome fierce beaſtes, as Lions, Gryphons, &c. On their *Belly*, the Sunne ſpreading his beames: on their *Pappes*, Moones and Starres, &c. On their *armes thighes*, and *legges*, ſome other fancies of their owne Choice. But for their *Virgins*, their whole Body was garniſhed ouer with the ſhapes of al the faireſt kinds of flowers and herbes; which (to ſpeake indifferently) could not but yeeld, though a ſtrange, yet no vnpleaſing aſpect. Whereas the *Men* were (as *Cæſar* ſpeakes) *very horrible to bee looked on*, hauing all their breaſt & bodie disfigured with vgly Beaſts, Serpents, rauenous Birdes, ſcales and finnes of fiſhes, &c. In which relation yet, this ſcruple will not eaſily be remoued (if it bee true, *that from their childhood their prints increaſed with their bodies*) how thoſe, who being *Virgins* had no prints but of herbes and flowers, becomming *Wiues* were ſo eaſily tranſformed either into Beaſts or heauenly Creatures.

The vſe of their different picturing.

*The Appendix to *Hariots Virginea.*

Their married women.

Their Virgins.

The Men.

(13) The later *Women* (as you ſee by the later portraiture,) became farre more modeſt, that is indeed more *womanly*; hauing learned that then they openly ſhew moſt beauty, when openly they ſhew not their beautie: much leſſe ſhould they expoſe to the view', that which nature moſt endeuoured to hide, as knowing it leaſt worth the viewing: yea *ſome obſerue that *women* being drowned, naturally ſwimme with their face and foreparts downward, whereas *Men* doe contrary; as if the impreſſion of modeſty were not to leaue a Woman euen after death. *Agryppa* who mentioneth it, reporteth alſo of ſome Matrons, ſo too-modeſt, that they choſe rather to die, then to expoſe ſome hidden diſeaſes to their Chirurgians view: A point vnfortunatly inſerted into his witty booke, *in Praiſe of women*, which he dedicated to *Margaret* wife to *Maximilian* (afterward *Emperour*) ſhee, of womanly baſhfulnes, chooſing rather to die, then to haue her thigh cured, which was broken with a fall from a horſe. The picture of this *Britiſh woman* here laſt deportraied, is framed to that deſcription of the moſt valiant *Britiſh Lady Boudicea*, of whoſe braue attempts on the Romans, you ſhall read more hereafter in the 7. Chapter of the Sixt Booke.

Agrippa de laude faminarum.

(14) Of which Sex, though naturally the weaker, yet in moſt *Writers* there are remembrances of ſome whoſe Actions both *politicke* and *warlike* haue been no way inferiour to the worthieſt Men; as our owne Age hath giuen teſtimony to the World in another *Great Lady* of Britiſh race (the of-ſpring of the valiant and louely *Meridycke of Wales*) the glory of whoſe Raigne and Regall vertues ſhall be as laſting as the World. Whoſe iuſt, wiſe, and reſolute kind of Gouernement hath iuſtified that Cuſtome of our old *Britaines* and *Picts*: of the former of which *Tacitus* reports, as *Beda* doth of the later, *that they made no difference of Sex for the Soueraigne command, yea and vſed to warre vnder the conduct of women.* In which reſpect though their Ordinary ſort of *women* were not imploied in martiall ſeruices, otherwiſe then before we ſhewed in the fourth Chapter, yet becauſe ſome of the choiſeſt of them haue been ſo imployed, we haue ſo deciphered them in their Martiall habit.

Of their women Gouernours.

Queen *Elizabeth* deſcended from *Owen Teuder*, whom *Leiland* calleth *Meridick*.

Tacitus. Beda.

(15) For their other habiliments of *warre*, and the manner thereof, we haue deſcribed it in the ſame 4. Chapter; their *fight* being (as *Diodorus* ſaith) *after the faſhion of the Heroes in the firſt age of the World, who fought in Chariots*; yet *on foote alſo they were moſt ſtrong* (ſaith *Dio*) and alſo *moſt ſwift*; which makes me maruaile why *Strabo* ſhould ſay, *they were* pedibus male ſuffulti, *not ſtrongly vnderpropped*; Who alſo ads, that they were (as himſelfe obſerued at *Rome*) *much taller then the Gaules, but yet of no very elegant ſhape and timber*; Vſing as (*Cæſar* ſaith) *to weare their haire very long and curling, otherwiſe ſhauen all their bodie ouer, except onely the vpper lippe.* Their *weapons* (ſaith *Herodian*) were *narrow ſhields*, and *ſhort ſpeares*, at the end whereof (ſaith *Dio*) was *a little bell like a ball*, which they ſhooke at their firſt encounter in *Warre* for terror of the Enemy. *Swords* alſo had they, but ſhort, *hanging at their naked ſides*; but *helmet* and *corſlet* they vſed none, as eſteeming *them burdens* rather then helps in warre. But *about their necks they wore a round circle of Iron (as an ornament no leſſe eſteemed then gold with other Nations) as alſo about their waſte*, whereat they hung their skeines: being (doubtleſſe) *a moſt warlike Nation*, (as their poſterity haue euer ſince proued) and *moſt deſirous to ſpill blood*, wherein yet their Offspring by diuine bleſſing are now moſt different from their Anceſtors.

Of the *Britains* habits in warre.

Diodorus.

Dio Strabo

Herodian.

Dio

Herodian.

The later *Britiſh women.*

THE SVCCESSION OF THE MONARCHS OF GREAT BRITAINE IN THE TIME OF THE ROMANS, WITH AN HISTORICALL RELATION OF THE liues, Acts, and gouernments of their Emperours and Lieutenants: So farre as toucheth the affaires of this Iland, and so long as it stood a Prouince to that Empire.

The sixt Booke.

CHAPTER I.

The Romans the second possessors of this Iland.

THE next Nation to the *Britaines* that obtained possession, and soueraignty of this *Iland*, were the *Romans*, and of them *Caius Iulius Cæsar* the first, what time their *State* had vndergone all kinds of gouernments, and now aspired almost to their highest pitch of glory. This *Cæsar* bearing the office of *Questorship* in *Spaine*, and naturally disposed for great assaies, was thereto the more incited at the sight of *Alexanders* portraiture, standing in the temple of *Hercules* at * *Gades*, where beholding it with great admiration fell into a sudden dislike of himselfe, and (as *Alexander* in seeing *Achilles tombe*) with an ambitious, yet honorable emulation, sighed and said: *Hast thou at my yeers atchieued the conquest of the whole world, my selfe hitherto hauing done no memorable act?* Euer after which he disdained that his petty charge, and made suite to the *Senate* to be dismissed; holding that the cloude which ouershadowed his following and (soone after) flowing fortunes. And forthwith returning to *Rome* obserued euery occasion that might make him gratious in the peoples eies, hauing the aduantage of the time which then was swaied with most dislikes: and entring into many factions, yea and some of them not without suspition of conspiracy, did nothwithstanding so manage his proceedings, that their constructions were euer made honorable, and himselfe the man by all assents that did support the glory of their *State*; vnto whom offices of high dignities were assigned, which daily increased his credit and power. And in the time of his *Consulship*, tooke vpon him the gouernment of *Gallia*, where he remained ten yeeres together, and forbare no occasion for warre, were it neuer so vniust or dangerous: Insomuch that framing a bridge of wood ouer the broad and swift riuer *Rhene*, he entred the country of the *Sweuians*, being the first *Romane* that assailed the *Germans*: And thence with victory returning, found his charge the *Gaules* in quiet: both which fortunes were as spurres to his aspiring minde, and set his thoughts to worke vpon other attempts.

* *Calet. Suet. in vita Cæsar. Sect. 7.*

Cæsars speech beholding Alexanders picture.

Cæsars complottings for the Empire.

Cæsar ten yeers in Gallia.

Cæsar the first Roman that assailed the Germans.

(2) For now intending a voiage into *Britaine*, he prepared thitherward, as well to inlarge the extent of his ambition and glory, as to satisfy himselfe with the sight and seate of the *Iland*, as for a further knowledge of those people the inhabitants, after whom he had most diligently inquired, yet by no relation could find content. But his pretence was reuenge against the *Britaines*, for that thence (as himselfe speaketh) the *Gaules* had receiued most of their supplies against him in all his warres, or as some haue written, for the desire of *Pearles* that therein plentifully grew, whose beauty and weight he had oft obserued.

The first siluer coine of the Romans was stamped 490 yeeres after Romes foũdation *Lod. Viues* annotatiõ vpon *August. Ciuit. Dei lib. 4. cap. 31.*

Causes of Cæsars inuasion. In Com. liber 4.

Sueton in vita Cæsar.

Strabo.

But becaus the summer was almost spent, and that the voiage seemed dangerous through want of knowledge, either for place of entrance, or safety in harbour (for our learned countriman *Roger Bacon* was doubtlesse in an error, who *thinketh* that *Cæsar set vp perspectiue glasses on the coast of France, and thence saw all the ports and creeks in England*) he thought good to send one *Caius Volusenus* a military Tribune in an galley before him, giuing sufficient instructions for so great an enterprise in hand, himselfe drawing towards those parts of *Gallia*, that lay neereſt coasted vnto *Britaine*, thence expecting his successe.

Bacon de arte & natura.

Volusenus Cæsars spie.

(3) These things were not so secretly done, but that the *Britaines* receiued notice thereof, and therupon some of their priuate States sent Ambassadors with proffers of submission vnder the assurances of their hostages. Which *Cæsar* accepted and sent back again with liberall promises, ioining in commission with them *Comius* a king of the *Atrebatij* (for so he is stiled vpon his Coyne) a man well reputed, and respected among the *Britaines*, that he might perswade the rest of the States to imbrace *Cæsars* amitie. In effecting of which businesse, some fiue daies being spent, *Volusenus* returned, hauing waffed vpon the coasts of *Britaine* so far, as with safty he might, which was no further then to view it with the eie, his foot not daring to tread the shoare replenished with those barbarous people, as it pleased the *Romans* to terme the *Britaines*. His discouery and relation gaue small en-

The *Morines* were of the hither parts of *France*, as *Turwine*, *Calis*, &c.

Atheneus reports he had 1000. ships.

The Romans diuided their night into foure equall parts, each part being called a watch.

Cæsar commeth in person against *Britaine*.

courages to *Cæsars* hoped successe, and had not the *Morines* yeelded him their obedience, it may be thought his voiage at that season had been staied.

(4) But now composing his affaires in *Gallia*, and hauing ready an hundred ships (wanting but two) besides many *Gallies* also for transporting his army, he loosed from the shoare, hauing a good wind, about the third watch of the night, taking order for his horsemen to imbarke with all speed and follow after *him*; himselfe early in the morning attained the sight of *Britaine*, whose *cliffes* he found couered with armed men, and place for entrance so naturally beset, being strengthned with steepe hills and rocks, that he there cast anchor, and called to counsell the *Legats* and *Tribunes*, declaring vnto them the danger of the hauen that gaue such aduantage to their enemy, whose darts from the higher ground might much impeach their arriuage, and therefore determined their landing elsewhere.

(5) Their Counsell was no sooner dismissed, but *Cæsar* (both tide and wind fitting him) not foreslowing the occasion, gaue signe of remoue, and some eight miles distant came to * *a plaine and open shoare*, and made preparation to land his men. Thither also the *Britaines* had remooued part of their forces, and so valiantly withstood the enemies, that *Cæsar* himselfe, though wholly addicted to honor himselfe and his *Romans*, yet confesseth that his army was sore ouerlaid and terrified with that incounter: and had they not been assisted from the *Gallies* with an vnusuall kind of *Engines*, which did beat backe the *Britaines* (vnexpert of that strange manner of assault) the *Romans* had not set foot on *British soile*, neither durst they then aduenture it, vntill the *standard-bearer for the tenth legion* desperately leapt foorth of the ship with his *Eagle*, calling on the danted souldiers and asking whether they would dastardly forsake their *ensigne* and betray it through cowardize to the enemy? which opprobry prouoked them to follow his example, and so they got the shoare after an encounter fierce and terrible on both parts, as *Cæsar* acknowledgeth. But the *first of all* (euen before the *Stander-bearer*) who put courage into the *Romans* and taught them how to deale, *was* (as testifieth *Eutropius*) *one Scæua a Britaine* (who formerly had fled to *Cæsar*) and guiding foure other souldiers in a boat to a rock neer the shore, where the tide leauing them, his fellowes slunke backe in the boat, but hee most boldly defended himselfe from the rocke against the *Britaines*, like a Beare at a stake among a multitude of mastiues, till hauing all his armour broken in peeces, and himselfe all wounded with darts, he swamme to the fleet; and begging pardon for his foole-heady forwardnesse, *Cæsar* both forgaue him, and *rewarded his valour with the honour of a Centurion*: and hee did *Cæsar* afterwards noble seruice at *Dyrrachium* in the ciuill warres. *Cæsar* confessing, that hee alone saued the fortification against *Pompey*, at which time his target was shewed to *Cæsar*, *hauing 230. holes pierced in it by the enemy*, whereof *Iosepus Iscanus* that ancient Poet of *Excester* writeth thus:

Hinc & Scæua satus pars non obscura tumultûs
Ciuilis, Magnum solus qui mole soluta
Obsedit meliorq; stetit pro Cæsare murus.
The Britaine Scæua in ciuill warres well knowne,
*Besig'd the * Great, and rampiers ouerthrowen,*
Was Cæsars wall more strong then wall of stone.

The first attempt assaied, that is warranted by any true Record for the conquest of this Iland: which happened in the yeere of the worlds creation 3873. and before the birth of our Sauiour Christ, 54.

(6) This enterprise for landing thus atchieued, *Cæsar* charged so fiercely vpon the *enemy*, that hee put them to flight; but wanting his *horsemen* to follow the chase, (which as yet were not arriued) he proceeded no further, but encamped his host vpon a great plaine, not farre from the Sea, and not without likelihood thought to be *Barham Downe*: for so neere lay it vpon the shoare, that thence he beheld the dispersion and losse of his 18. *ships* (comming vnder saile with his *horsemen* to his assistance) through the violence of *a storme*, and rage of *Sea*.

(7) In the meane time the *Britaines*, that after flight had againe *recouered head*, and in their assemblies aduisedly considered their imminent dangers, concluded their submission for the safest *remedy*, and to that end sent their *second Embassadours* vnto *Cæsar*, with whom *Comius* before remembred was imploied, whom they had retained in strait prison for *Cæsars cause*, but now made him a meane to worke their *peace*; which was granted after some soft and gentle reproofes, with *hostages* receiued for performance of *Couenants*, and resort of their *Nobles* to *Cæsars* campe, to yeeld *themselues* and *Cities* to his will.

The Britaines second ambassage to *Cæsar*.

(8) These *Britaines*, although rude in regard of the *Romanes*, and vnmatchable to them in *educated ciuility*, yet were so skilfull in the affaires of *warre*, and so ready to discerne the least aduantage, that they easily perceiued the weakenes of *Cæsars* power, both in want of *horsemen* to equall their *wagons*, wherein chiefly stood the strength and order of their *fight*, as also of *ships* for seruice and safety, as occasions should be offered: whereby their mindes touching their *promised submission* began to wauer, and the matter with better aduice to be pleaded in their *assemblies*; for that not only these foresaid *ships* for *Cæsars* supply were dispersed and hindred, but euen his owne *fleet*, which lay then in harbour, by the rage of *winde* and *sea*, (beeing then spring-tide, and the *moone* in the full) was not onely filled with waues, but also their *tacklings*, *sailes*, and anchors spoiled *or lost*, the violent storme so dashing the *bulkes* one against another, that their *bruised bottomes* were thereby made vnfit for burden.

Cæsars ships distressed.

(9) This *losse* was so *great*, that it is accounted *the first of the three aduerse fortunes which euer happened to* Cæsar *in all his proceedings*: and it was so well obserued by the *Britaines*, that immediately they intended a *reuolt*, and in Counsell vrged this, as the materiall point that breathed *hope* and *life* to their *former liberties*, condemning themselues as impious, if they should refuse to ioine consent with the *heauens*, whose *elements* had thus farre fought for their *freedome and full deliuerance*, assuring themselues (if on this aduantage they might cut off these new *guests*) that neuer any afterward would aduenture to enter *Britain* in hostile manner.

Suetonius in vit. Cæsar.

Britaines reuolt.

And thereupon they began both to slacke the performance of *couenants*, and daily to withdraw themselues from *Cæsars Campe*, which gaue him iust occasion to suspect whereat they aimed. And to preuent their proceedings he as wisely wrought: for first repairing his *Nauie* with the huls timber, and tackling of the most *bruised ships*, with the losse of *twelue ships* only, the rest were made able to brooke the *seas*. And prouiding against the aduantage of the enemie, he sent foorth the *seuenth Legion* for forrage to supply any occasion.

(10) This *Legion* taking the coast cleere, and little surmising so sudden a *reuolt*, fell to the *sickle* and *sithe* like haruest *labourers*, and laid their weapons aside, mistrusting no *Enemie*. Now the *Britaines* as forward to put in practise what they had determined, closely had laid themselues in ambush, for thither they knew the *enemie* would come, a peece of *corne there standing*, whereas in all other parts haruest was past: and so hauing these *workmen* in their danger, suddenly fell vpon them, slaying some, and forcing the rest out of *their array*, who not knowing the order of their *fight*, cast themselues in a ring (the best defensiue forme of embatteling) and stood on their *guard* as they might: but had they not happily been rescued, *Cæsar* had lost one whole *Legion* at that time.

The Britaines suddenly assaile the Romanes.

(11) For though this *skirmish* thus in acting was altogether vnknowne and vnexpected to the rest of the *Romans*, yet by the rising of the dust, appearing to

* Thought to be *Deale*.

This ensigne was an Eagle of siluer standing in a little shrine vpon the top of a speare. *Valer. Max. lib. 3. cap. 2.*

Cæsar. bell. ciuil.

Ioseph Iscanus in Antiocheide.

* Viz. *Pompey*.

The first assay for the conquest of this Land. *An. mundi* 3873.

Cæsar putteth the *Britaines* to flight

At Barham Downe Cæsar seeth the dispersion of his ships.

to the *Cohorts* that warded before their *Campe*, the ſame was miſtruſted, which cauſed *Cæſar* in all haſte to make thitherward with part of his *hoſt*.

(12) The *Britaines* thus preuented, ſeeing more ſupply to maintaine the *battle*, ſtood ſtill, without further ſtroke: and the *Romans* as much amazed at this ſudden attempt, and order of their fight, *made a ſtand*, not venturing any further. Which *order in fight* ſo often mentioned, and ſo much admired, in *Cæſars* words we will declare, the rather becauſe ſome haue thence collected, that the *Britaines* were the offſpring of the *Troians*, who with other *Eaſterne Nations* only vſed this kinde of fight in *Chariots*.

Clem. Edmonds his obſeruations on *Cæſ. Coment. li. 4. ca. 12. obſer. 2.*

Cæſ. Coment. li. 4.

The manner of the Britaines fight.

(13) *They vſed* (ſaith he) *to ride in wagons againſt the approch of the enemie, and to circulate them about with a whirling compaſſe, and ratling noiſe, each waies caſting their darts as they did driue, and euer as they ſaw aduantage would winde themſelues in amongſt the horſe and foot, to breake the array; which done, they would forſake their wagons, and on foot moſt dangerouſly aſſaile the enemy. In the meane while the waggoners would with-draw themſelues ſomewhat out of the battle, and place their wagons in ſuch order, that if their maſters were ouer-charged, they might haue ſpeedy acceſſe, and opportunity of retrait, by which meanes they were euer as quicke to moue as were horſemen, and as ſtedfaſt to ſtand the battle as were the foot, whereby they did ſupply the duties of both at once, and by daily exerciſe grew ſo expert in managing their horſes, that running them forcibly downe a ſteepe hill, they would ſtop, and turne them in the mid-way, and they would run along the beame, and ſtand firme vpon the yoke; whence with like facility they would againe returne into their Chariots.*

This order *Cæſar* ſo well obſerued, as that notwithſtanding his deſire of reuenge, yet wanting his *horſemen* (as he pretended) wherein conſiſted the *chiefeſt reſiſtance*, hee durſt attempt no further on them, but was content to keepe the *field* without profer of *battle*.

(14) The *Britaines* likewiſe hopeleſſe of further *ſucceſſe* at that preſent, departed without any *impeachment*, intending to proſecute their cauſe with a greater and more *generall ſupply*: and thereupon ſent *meſſengers* to their ſeuerall *States*, with notice of their hopes againſt ſo ſmall a power; whoſe *Campe* by them if any way might bee vanquiſhed, the purchaſe of *ſpoile*, beſides their *freed liberties*, would requite the paines.

The Britains gather a greater power.

(15) Theſe States, though maintaining *ciuill factions* amongſt themſelues, yet ſeeing the intended danger of this *generall enemy*, preſently aſſembled *a great power*, purpoſing yet once againe to try the hazard and fortune of warre. *Cæſar*, whoſe vigilancy did euer equall his valour, prepared his *army*, wherein now only 30. *horſemen* were preſent, and thoſe brought to him by *Comius* the King. The battle ioining continued *not long*, but that the *Britaines* gaue backe and *fled*, whom the *Romanes* purſued as farre as ſtrength indured, and *returned* with the ſlaughter of many, burning the Country where they came.

Cor. Tacitus in vit. Agric.

Comius ſupplieth *Cæſar* with 30 horſe.

(16) Thus the *Britaines* once againe *vanquiſhed*, foorthwith ſent their third *Embaſſage* vnto *Cæſar*, deſiring peace, with promiſe of quiet ſubiection; whom he with hard termes now reproued, and impoſed a double number of *hoſtages* to be brought him into *Gallia*, whither he made all poſſible preparation, for that the *Æquinoctium* drew neere, doubting his *crazed ſhips* would hardly brooke the *winter ſtormes*, that vſually rage vpon *theſe Seas*. And hauing gotten a faire wind, *imbarked* all his forces about *midnight*, and ſo brought moſt of his *fleet* ſafe to the continent. This enterpriſe ſo fortunately accompliſhed, *Cæſar* by his letters made knowen to the *Senate*, who decreed and proclaimed to his honour *a generall ſupplication or thankſgiuing* to their *Gods*, for the ſpace of *twenty daies* together, wherein all the *Romans*, clothed in white garments, and crowned with *garlands*, went to all the *Temples* of their *Gods*, and offred *ſacrifices* for ſo glorious a *victory*.

The Britaines ſubmit themſelues the third time.

Æquinoctium is when the day & night are both of a length.

Cæſar was now the firſt that had 20. daies euer grãted the greateſt victories hauing before him but 5. daies, or 10. at the moſt.

CESARS SECOND EXPEDITION INTO BRITAINE.

Chapter II.

CÆSAR expecting the performance of *Couenants* agreed vpon in the treaty of *peace* with the *Britaines*, receiued *hoſtages* from two of their *Cities* only, and no more: the reſt drawing backe, refuſed his ſubiection: whereupon intending not to loſe ſo rich a prey, nor to ſuffer that *Sunne* to bee *eclipſed*, whoſe glory thus farre in his *Horizon* had *aſcended*, hee appealed ſome troubles in *Gallia*, and in the *winter ſeaſon* began his preparation to that *enterpriſe*. And hauing had experience of his former wants, he furniſhed himſelfe accordingly, and the next *ſpring* following drew his forces towards *Calis*, the ſhorteſt cut into *Britaine*. There committing the charge of *Gallia* to *T. Labienus* his Lieutenant, himſelfe with fiue Legions of ſouldiers, 2000. *horſemen*, and 800. *ſhips*, about the going downe of the *Sunne* looſed from the ſhoare, and with a ſoft Southerne gale were carried into

Moſt of the Britaines breake couenant with *Cæſar*.

Itcius Portus ſome thinke to be *Calis*, ſome *S. Omers*.

into the ſtreame. But about midnight the winde failing, and their ſailes becalmed, the tide diuerted their courſe: ſo that in the dawning he well perceiued his intended place for landing to be paſſed.

Cæſar againe landeth at the place of his firſt arriual

(2) Therefore falling againe with the change of tide, and indeuours of their Oares, about noone the ſame day hee recouered the ſhoare, euen in the ſame place (and that without any ſhew of reſiſtance) where he had found beſt landing the Summer before. There in conuenient manner he encamped his hoſt, and by certaine *Fugitiues* got notice of the power and place of the enemy.

(3) And leſt delay ſhould afford them aduantage, he committed the gouernment of his ſhips at anchor to *Qu. Atrius*, and his campe on land to the gard of ten Cohorts, beſides the ſtrength of three hundred horſemen; and himſelfe with the reſt about the third watch of the night tooke their march towards the enemy, proceeding with ſuch celerity, that by the day dawning they were entred twelue miles higher into the Continent: where ſeeking to paſſe a riuer, which is ſuppoſed to be the water *Stower*, the *Britaines* with their darts and chariots began in moſt terrible manner to aſſault the *Romanes*. But being at length by them repulſed, tooke into a wood ſtrongly fortified both by nature and mans induſtrie. For in the time of their owne diſſenſions they had formerly made this place one of their ſtrongeſt fortreſſes, and had cut down many trees, which ouerthwart the waies of entrance they had beſtowed.

Cæſar reſiſted at the riuer *Stower*.

(4) In this they ſecretly kept, and where they ſaw aduantage, would by companies ſallie out vpon the enemie to their no little annoiance. Whereupon *Cæſar* commanded the ſeuenth Legion to raiſe a banke, and to build a *Teſtudo* of boards, couered with raw hides, by which meanes the place without much adoe was won, and the *Britaines* forced to forſake the woods. Whoſe chaſe *Cæſar* forbade both in regard the day was neere ſpent, as alſo that the countrey was altogether vnknowen to the *Romans*. But the next day the purſuit being begun, ſudden newes was brought from *Q. Atrius*, that moſt of his ſhips the night before by a violent tempeſt were caſt on Land, their bulks ſhaken, their cables broken, and anckours loſt. *Cæſars* experience in like miſhaps the Summer before, made him ſo much more ready to preuent the worſt. And therefore recalling his forces, in all haſte returned to his Campe, finding the relation too true in their wracke, wherein forty of his ſhips were quite loſt. Wherefore he wrote to *Labienus* his Lieutenant in *Gallia* for ſupply of ſhips, thence to bee ſent in all haſte. Then gathering his ſhipwrights out of the legions, with the ruines of the bruiſed bulkes, he repaired the whole; and now hauing twice felt the dangers of theſe ſeas, cauſed his whole fleet, (*a ſtrange attempt*) to be drawn on land, euen into the midſt of the fortifications of his campe, ſo to ſecure them from the like miſhap, and that one ſtrength might defend both.

The Britains driuen from their fortreſſe.

Cæſars Nauie greatly impaired by tempeſt.

Hee draweth his fleet on ſhoare;

(5) In which admirable toile ten daies and nights were altogether ſpent, before hee could returne to the place from whence he came; where now the *Britaines* through great confluence of people had increaſed their power, and entred againe their fortreſſe and wood. The chiefe command of theſe affaires was committed ro *Caſſibelan*, whoſe coine wee haue heere likewiſe ſet, a Prince of good repute for feats in warre, whoſe *Seigniory* was ſeuered from the Cities towards the Sea by the great and famous riuer *Thamiſis*, and extended into the land full foureſcore miles.

This *Caſſibelan* preſent Gouernour of the *Trinobants*, had attained to the poſſeſſion of their chiefeſt Citie by the ſlaughter of *Imanuence* their former *Ruler* (a man well reſpected, and much lamented after death) whoſe ſonne *Mandubrace*, a gentleman of great hope, fearing the like danger, by the new eſtabliſhed authority of *Caſſibelan*, had made ouer into *Gallia*, crauing *Cæſars* aſſiſtance to ſet him in his right.

Cæſar. Com. lib. 5.

(6) *Caſſibelan* (if among theſe authentike Authors the *Britiſh writers* may bee heard) was the *brother of King* * *Lud*, and in the nonage of his nephewes *gouerned the Trinobants*, whoſe bounds hee ſought to enlarge vpon the bordering Countries of his neighbours, and in his fortunes had ſo borne himſelfe, that he was *much maligned*, and *more feared*. But now all their dangers yoked alike in a common perill, they laid aſide priuate grudges, and held him *the only man* to ſupport the ſtrength of their troubled and declining eſtate, and by a common conſent made him *Generall of their Warres*. The expectation of whoſe proceedings he long *delaied not*, but with a fierce and hot encounter *did aſſaile the Romans*, and ſo manfully diſcharged the parts of his place, that in the ſight of the whole Campe *Quintus Laberius* a military Tribune was *ſlain*, (in memory wherof *the place* as yet, though ſomewhat corruptly, is called *Iul-laber*) and *Cæſar* himſelfe profeſſeth he learned many points of martiall policy by their braue and running kinde of encountering.

Flor. Hiſtor. Fabian.

Caſſibelan brother of King *Lud*.

Lamber. Peramb.

(7) But his next daies ſeruice prooued not ſo fortunate; for *the Romans* hauing learned their owne defects by the former daies experience, *laid aſide their weighty armour*, that with the more facility they might both aſſaile the enemies, and with like nimbleneſſe auoid their furie, they hauing now beſtowed their powers diſperſedly, and ſcattered their troupes into companies, whereby the *Romans* were ſtil matched with freſh ſupplies. A policy no doubt of no ſmall conſequence, had not deſtiny determined the fatall ſubiection of the *Britaines*, and *Fortune* now raiſed the *Romans* almoſt to the height of their Monarchy.

(8) For this failing, the *Britaines* neuer after ſhewed themſelues with any vnited reſiſtance, but hauing loſt the day *departed*, thinking it better to ſecure euerie priuate by his owne meanes, then by a generall power to hazard all, as *hopeleſſe* any more to vphold that which the heauens (they ſaw) would haue down. And *Caſſibelan* himſelfe deſpairing of happy ſucceſſe, drew into his owne territories, keeping with him not aboue 4. thouſand wagons. And fearing the *Romans* further approch, fortified the riuer *Thamiſis* (then paſſable onely in one place) with ſharpned ſtakes bound about with lead, and driuen ſo deepe into the bottome, that *Beda* and *Aſſer* report them ſo to remaine in their times. All which notwithſtanding, the *Romans* paſſed with the repulſe of their enemies, and *Cæſar*, who grew now to the height of his honour, marched further into the Continent, and comming forward, was met by Ambaſſadours from the chiefeſt Citie of the *Trinobants*, which *firſt* of all the States profered ſubmiſſion, and *promiſed ſubiection*, with this intreaty alſo, that *Mandubrace* (who being *Cæſars* follower, and doubtleſſe the contriuer of this ſubmiſſion) might be Gouernour of their City.

Britains retire to their ſeuerall Prouinces.

Thought to be *Oatland*.

Beda lib. 1. cap. 2.

The *Trinobants* ſubmit to *Cæſar*. *Beda* calleth him *Androgerius, lib. 1. cap. 2.*

(9) *Cæſar* ready to worke vpon ſuch aduantage, *ſeized them* at *forty hoſtages*, *with* ſufficiency of *graine* for his whole army, which with all expedition thoſe *Suppliants* performed, *preferring* the ſatisfaction of their owne *diſcontentments* before the common cauſe of their *Natiue country*, thus laid open, and betraied into the enemies hands; from whoſe example many other States without ſtroke yeelded to *Cæſars* command: yea further treacherouſly ſhewing vnto him both the power and place of *Caſſibelans abode*, who had now retired himſelfe into his owne Citie called *Verolam*, well fortified both with woods and mariſh grounds.

Ceminagues, Segontianus, Ancalites, Bibrokes, Caſſianus.

Thither *Cæſar* came, and with little loſſe or labour won the place, and many of the miſerable *Britaines* both taken and *ſlaine*. *Caſſibelan* now *deſpairing* of his owne power, farre vnable to match, and much leſſe to ouermatch his Enemies, *inſtigated* the Gouernours of *Kent*, being foure in number, *Cingetorix, Caruilius, Taximangulus*, and *Segonax*, (whom *Cæſar* termeth

S. Albans beſieged by *Cæſar*.

The Gouernours of *Kent* ioine with *Caſſibelan* againſt *Cæſar*.

meth Kings) to raise all their strengths, and suddenly to set vpon the *Romans* Campe that guarded their ships; which enterprise was accordingly attempted, but with such successe, that the *Britaines* were on each side slain, and *Cingetorix* taken *prisoner*, the rest sauing themselues by flight.

Cassibelan sollicíteth for peace.

(10) *Cassibelan* beholding these vnfortunate proceedings, *feared* the end of vnhappie *successe*, for hee saw his Country wasted, his owne designes defeated, and himselfe forsaken by the traiterous reuolt of many Cities and States on euery side. Therefore as bootlesse to bandy against fortune, he sought to hold his owne with others, and sent *Comius* King of the *Atrebatij* to be his meane to *Cæsar* for peace, which was the willinglier heard and granted, for that Princes great valour, and that *Cæsar* determined to winter in *Gallia*, his affaires so requiring it.

A great Tribute:

So saith an old written Chronicle, the Author not named.

(11) The conditions were hard, but necessitie must be obeied: for *Cæsar* imposed a grieuous Tribute to be *taxed of the Britains*, of no lesse then *three thousand pounds yeerely* to be paid, and moreouer included the safety of *Mandubrace*, with his *Trinobantes* taken into friendship, and protection of the *Romans*; & lastly, that these *Couenants* should be faithfully obserued, he cõmanded *hostages* for assurance forthwith to be deliuered. These things thus compounded, he tooke the *Seas*, about the second watch of the night, which then began to equalize the day in length, and safely arriued in the Continent of *Gallia*; Hauing rather shewed the place to posterities, then deliuered to the *Romans* the possession thereof, as *Tacitus* saith, supposing it his glory sufficient to vndergoe a matter so rare and difficult, and at his comming to *Rome*, to haue presented his *British Captiues*; whose strangenesse for attire and behauiour, filled the peoples eies both with wonder and delight. *He offered also in the Temple of Venus genitrix, a Surcoat made all of British pearles, as a Trophey and Spoile of the Ocean.* And now his fortunes comming to the highest, the title of *perpetuall Dictator* (then which the state of *Rome* could affoord nothing greater) sufficed him not, but *a King hee will be, and sole gouernour* ouer all, though contrarie to the Law and liking of the *Romans*; whereof in short time grew such heart-burning and hatred, that *seuenty principall men conspired his death*, and after his many dangers of enemies in battels abroad, was *in the Senate-house* amongst his supposed friends, and in peace, *cruelly murdered*, receiuing in his body *three and twenty wounds*, whereof he died, after he had sate *Emperour* only *fiue moneths*.

Tacitus in vita Agricolæ.

Eutrop. Plin.

Cæsars Ambition.

Cæsars death.

British Writers vary from *Cæsar*.

That *Cassibelan.* repulsed *Cæsar* twice.

Nenion won *Cæsars* sword.

Beda hist. li. 1. c. 2.

(12) I am not ignorant that the *British writers* doe varie from *Cæsar* in relating these his proceedings, and speake more honorably of their owne resistance then him-selfe hath set downe, namely, that by the valour of *Cassibelan* their King, in his first attempts hee was twice driuen backe without his purpose, and forced to take the *Seas*, to the great hazard of his ships and men, yea and with the losse of his owne *sword*, which with great prowesse was wonne from him in a single encounter by *Nenion*, *Cassibelans* brother. And surely howsoeuer *Polydore* accounteth their *Story* new, and *Cæsar* carrieth himselfe gloriouslie in his owne affaires; yet by sundry other renowned *writers* it seemeth, that the currant of his *Conquest* went nothing so smooth and vntroubled, or with so little losse of the *Romans*, nor the *Britaines* liberties forgone by so easie resistãce: which may be collected euen out of some *couert passages* of *Cæsars* own words, where it appeareth, that hee *durst not* at sundry times *giue the Britaines battell*, though *they* were only harnessed *in leather*, and his Souldiers were all *old Legionaries* of long seruice, called for their huge armour, *Milites grauis armaturæ*, as hauing helmet, corslet and boots, all of massy brasse or iron, with a large target, a strong two edged sword, and a great staffe or clubbe headed with an iron pike; which oddes notwithstanding had not *Casibelan* been vndermined by *Mandubrace*, and traiterously forsaken (which *Cæsar* himselfe confesseth) by the Princes which promised him assistance, perhaps *Cæsar* might haue missed this parcell of his glory: for all these helps, *Lucan* saith expressly of him,

Territa quæsitis ostendit terga Britannis:
He Britains found, but left them soone by flight.

Lucan.

Eutropius saith, *He was wearied out and quelled both with the fierce battels of the enemie, and crosses of tempests.* *Tacitus* saith, *Hee found out Britannie for the Romans, but could not winne it for them*: which was the very cause why (as *Dion* witnesseth) for *twenty yeeres after Cæsars* entrance, *Britannie kept* their *owne Kings* and their *owne lawes*, & had no forraine Prefects to command them. Aud *Beda* sheweth, that *Cæsar* in this Land was both receiued with sharpe and sore fight, and weakened by the losse of his ships, and with the most part of his men at armes. *Tacitus* also, vsing the speech of *Caractacus* to his Souldiers, hath these words: *He called* (saith he) *vpon the names of his Ancestors, which chased Cæsar the Dictator out of the Ile, by whom and by whose valour they were deliuered from Hatchets and Tributes, and enioyed freely their wiues and childrens bodies vndefiled.* Againe, in the cosultations of the *Britaines* intending a reuolt, hee allegeth their arguments, whereof one was *the sudden departure of Cæsar out of this Iland, little better then a flight.* With whom *Dion Cassius* also agreeth, affirming that *Cæsar got nothing in Britaine besides the honour and renowne of that voiage, & sight of that Country, vntill then vnknowne to the Romans.* And againe (saith hee) *Cæsar departed thence hauing done no memorable act, which caused the Britaines to be secure and careless to prouide themselues against his second arriuage.* Whereby is apparant (euen by *Romane writers*) both the bold resistance that the *Britaines* made, and the deare subiection that the *Romans* bought. But in matters so farre past, it is hard for mee to auouch any thing resoluedly, vnlesse I could meete with that *aged Britaine* whom *M. Aper* conferred with heere in *Britanny* (as *Quintilian* writeth) *who* auowed that hee *was in the British Campe when they did beat Cæsar from the shore.*

Tacitus.

Tacit. lib. 12. ca. 8.

In vita Agric.

Dio. li. 39. *Cæsar* got nothing in *Britaine*, saue the sight of the Country.

Quintilian.

(13) Neither will I vrge that for truth, which *Authours* haue left vs in their reports, concerning the many *prodigies before* going, and forewarning *his death*: things rather to be accounted the superfluities of their owne pens, & *vaine imageries*, euer working vpon accidentall euents, and ascribing issued successe to a supernaturall cause. Such conceit had *Cæsar* of himselfe, that for his fortunes hee *would be stiled amongst the Gods*: and *his deitie* to that credulous generation was further *strengthned* by the appearance of *a blazing starre*, which mooued (no doubt) an ouer-large opinion of his humane power, and caused his glory much to surmount it selfe. And therefore lest ignorance should any way blemish his immortality, they haue fained the manner of his dying best pleasing to himselfe, and many ominous signes to foreshew the same: all which he either lightly despised, or carelesly neglected, as they would haue their Readers beleeue.

Cæsar would bee stiled amongst the Gods.

Sueton. *Plutarch.*

(14) Such was that of *Spurina* his diuiner, that forewarned him of great *danger*, which should not passe the *Ides of March*. And *Suetonius* out of *Cornelius Balbus* reporteth, that *in the ancient Monuments of Capua, discouered but few moneths before, was found a Table of brasse, wherein was written the manner of his murder, and the reuenge that should follow: his owne dreames the night before, wherein he seemed to flie in the clouds, and to shake hands with Iupiter: as also his wiues, that thought him stabbed in her armes, and to lie all bloody in her bosome.* Besides many other obseruances both of beasts and birds, and that in such plenty, as it yeelded sufficient matter for *Ouid the Poet* to furnish and fill vp the latter part of his last booke of *Metamorphosis*. His feature, qualities, and fortunes, are by them thus described: Of personage to be tall, strong, and well limmed, faire, and full faced, with blacke eies,

Cæsar forewarned to take heed of the Ides of March.
In vita Cæsar.

His dreames.

His wiues dream

Ouid Meta. li. 15.

His personage.

eies, and bald headed, to couer which he vsually wore the *Triumphant Lawrell Garland.* He was well learned, and therewithall very eloquent: and although so great a warriour, *thirsting after fame*, yet would he be *easily reconciled* to his enemies, yea and often times seeke the meanes first himselfe. And hee held it no lesse valour to subdue his *wrath*, then his *enemy*; as likewise in his *disasters* hee was of great temper and *moderation*, insomuch that *Seneca* writeth of him, that *whiles he was in Britaine, hearing newes of his daughters death (which was lamented as a great losse to the whole State) hee conquered that sorrow as easily and as quickly as hee subdued all things where euer he came.* And of his other moderateness, *Cotas* (who then held the second place of honour and command in the Army) writeth, that though *Cæsar* was then so great and glorious a Commander, yet he was so *farre from outward pompe*, as that *when he came into Britaine hee had onely three seruants to attend him.*

Easie to be reconciled.

Seneca.

Cotas apud Athenæum.

(15) In his *enterprises* hee was both valiant and *fortunate*, and is therefore singled out for an *Idea* or *Paterne of an absolute Generall*, especially for *foure military properties* very resplendent in him: *first, laboriousnesse* in his affaires: *secondly, courage* in his dangers: *thirdly, industrious contriuing* of what he vndertooke: *fourthly, quicke dispatch* in accomplishing what hee had once begun: In all which he proceeded with such successe, that in *fifty seuerall battels by him fought, he alwaies preuailed, one only excepted*, as both *Pliny, Solinus*, and others haue recorded. *Foure times* hee was created *Consul*, and *fiue times entred Rome in triumph*, bearing still the stile of *Perpetual Dictator.* And therefore with lesse dishonour did *nations subiect* themselues vnto him; and this of *Britaine* with them, whose *lot* being cast among the hazards of the world, was drawen with an equall chance, *as the rest*, and yeelded their *freedomes* with as hard conditions, as did Countries of more extent, and Kingdomes of greater account. *But most especially the decree of God could not bee gaine-stood, who had foreshewed by his Prophets the rising of these* Chittims, *and them a meanes to make the metalline image dust.*

His successe in warre, and number of battels.

His Offices.

Num. 24. 24. Dan. 11. 30. Dan. 2. 35.

OCTAVIVS AVGVSTVS.

Chapter III.

After the death of *Cæsar*, thus slaine in the *Senate*, *Octauian* (the grand-childe of *Iulia, Cæsars sister*) whom hee had adopted, and declared his haire, returned vnto *Rome* from **Apollonia*, where he studied *Philosophy*, intending to prosecute the reuenge of *Cæsars death*; where falling at oddes with *Marcus Antonius*, a man of great *spirit* and *power*, and setting himselfe against *Brutus* and *Cassius*, with their Complices, for the murder of his vncle, secretly wrought the friendship of the *Citizens*, before whose eies also *Cæsars wounds* seemed yet to bleed.

* From *Macedonia*, say some.

Cæsar against *Antony.* *Sueton. in vita August.*

(2) These factions thus begun, grew to such height, that in the *Senate-house* their causes were pleaded, and by the instigation and eloquence of *Marcus Tullius Cicero*, *Antonius* was proclaimed enemie to the *State*: against whom *Octauian* was sent, with *Ensignes of Consul*, & *title of Proprætor*, being yet not twenty yeeres of age; which duty and office he so well discharged in the parts of *a valiant Captaine*, that *Antony* was forced out of the field, albeit in this battle the *one Consul* was slaine, and *the other* deadly wounded. For which seruice so effected, he *entred Rome in Triumph*; though the glory thereof was much blemished, being obtained but in an intestine and *ciuill warre.* *Marcus Antonius*, to recouer himselfe, and to make good his cause, ioined friendship with *Marcus Aemilius Lepidus*, Captaine of the horse, who together interposed themselues against *Octauians proceedings*; but by mediation of friends *all three* were *reconciled*, and iointly erected that forme of gouernment which thence was named the *Triumuirat*: for the establishment whereof they had seuerall iurisdictions assigned them: to *Lepidus Africa*, whereof he was present Gouernour: to *Antony*, the Countries as well of *Greece* as *Asia*, that lay betwixt the *Ionian Sea*, entring at the *gulfe of Venice*, vnto the *riuer Euphrates*: and vnto *Octauian* all these *west parts of Europe*, amongst which this *our Britaine* was one.

Cicero against *Antonius.*

Antonius discomfited.

Octauius and *Antony* reconciled.

(3) In these ciuill broiles, and *bandings of great men* (as *Tacitus* termeth it) *the State of Britaine* lay long forgotten, and stood in peaceable termes, *Augustus* thinking it wisdome (saith he) to *restraine the infinite desire of inlarging the Romane Empire*, whose extent

Tacitus in vita August.

The Empire too great.

tent was growen to that *vast greatnesse*, as it seemed euen *burdensome* vnto it selfe, whereby this remote *Iland* lay ouershadowed from their sight: whereunto may be added, that the presence of *Kimbeline the British King* (as their history recordeth) in great fauour with *Octauian*, was a great furtherance to the peace, euen without paiment of the former imposed *Tribute*. But yet the truth is (as *Dion Cassius* hath it) that *Octauian* desirous in all things *to be like vnto Cæsar*, seeing their tribute neglected, had *intended a voiage towards Britaine*; but hauing set forwards into *Gallia*, he had there tidings of the sudden reuolt of the *Pannonians*, against whom he diuerted his prepared power, and left his first designement for that time. Notwithstanding, he still retained the desire of their subiection, and foure yeeres after made *a second very great preparation thitherward*, proceeding with his power againe into *Gallia*.

Fabian out of *Guido. Columna.*

Dio Cass. lib.49.

Octauians preparation for *Britaine.*

(4) The *Britaines* that had felt the force of the *Romans*, & in regard of their own distractions at home, were hopelesse of strength to withstand them, sought the fauor of *Augustus* by their submission, and to that end sent ouer their *Ambassadours*, who presenting themselues before him in *Gallia Celtica*, appeased his wrath, with promise of obedience and full satisfaction for their *Tributes* detained: whereby *Cæsar* was again *staied*, and the *Britaines* taken into fauour and protection. Notwithstanding, the mindes of their *Magistrates* were so *vnconstant*, or else the *money* so *hardly drawen* from the people, who naturally hated all such obliged seruitudes, hauing euer liued a free Nation, (as *Ægisippus* speaketh of them) that they againe *failed their paiment*; whereat *Augustus* was sore offended, & *the third* time prepared his *voiage* that way, which yet a while was hindred by the reuolt of the *Byscayans*, and some other Prouinces.

Dio Cass. lib.53.

The Britains appease *Octauian.*

Strabo lib.4.

Augustus third preparation against *Britanny.*

(5) The *Britaines* seeing themselues thus still sought after, sent vnto *Cæsar* their excuses, with *presents* to be offered in the Capitoll *to the Romane Gods*, hauing now learned with the rest of the world to appease Princes by gifts and rewards, yeelding part of the *Iland*, and swearing him fealty in the *Temple of Mars*, and so were registred subiects to the *Romane Empire*. At which time also they agreed to pay tolles and customes for all wares which they transported into other parts, *their merchandize* chiefly consisting of *Iuory boxes, and Iron Chaines*, and other *small trifles of Amber and Glasse*. All which agreements and compositions were afterward so loyally obserued, and the Land so composed to quietnesse, that *one band of souldiers*, with *a small troope of horse* (as *Strabo* saith) or foure Legions (as *Iosephus* writeth) were sufficient to *containe* so great *a multitude* in a setled forme of *obedience*.

The Britaines excuses.

Customes first paid in *Britaine.*

(6) Ouer the *Trinobantes*, the greatest and *most potent* State of the *Britaines*, then raigned the happie *Prince Cunobeline* (for so in his Coines yet remaining wee find it) corruptly written *Kimbeline*, the sonne of *Theomantius* nephew to *Cassibelan* before spoken of, whose abode and principall seat was *Camalodunum*, as by the reuerse of the said Coines may appeare. This Prince to make his estate more respectiue, caused his *owne Image* to be stamped thereon, after the manner of the *Romans*, (who now had newly taken vp that fashion) *his paiments* before consisting for the most part *in rings of iron*, & *plates of brasse*, seized at a certaine waight, which vsually passed for currant amongst the *Britaines*, as *Cæsar* reporteth, and as those rings are yet witnesses, whereof we haue seene some.

The Britaines loyaltie.

Cunobeline Prince of the *Trinobantes.*

Malden.

The first stamped Coines in *Britaine.*

Cæsar. Com. lib. 5.

This man trained *his people* to a more *ciuill life* then formerly had been accustomed, and *enioied peace* with the rest of the *world*, which then stood *vniuersally in quiet, as waiting the comming of that Prince of peace, whose going foorth had beene from euerlasting, and of whose kingdome there shall bee no end: euen Christ the anointed Emmanuel and sonne of the liuing God: so long before expected, and now in the fulnesse of time manifested:* at whose birth *warre went downe*, as *Virgil* speaketh, or rather to vse the words of the *Prophet, when swords were made into mattocks, and speares broken into sithes: And as in the building of Salomons Temple neither noise of axe, nor the sound of hammer was heard; so his body being the true Temple, he came and was incarnate at such time, when the sound of warre did not awake the world, but a calme and quiet peace incompassed it, as by the Angels was proclaimed amongst the Iewes*, and now was more publikely made knowen amongst the *Gentiles* by the shutting of *Ianus Temple in Rome*. This *vniuersall peace* was so famous and so *admirable*, that it found *matter for the finest wits* amongst the *Heathens* to enlarge themselues: whereupon *Virgil* framing the perswasions of *Iupiter* to his daughter, foreshewth the happy successe of her seed, and in what tranquillity they should sit, when the hands of *Mars* were thus restrained from sight, as he thus expresseth:

Micah 4.3.

1. King. 6.7.

The birth of Christ like the building of *Salomons* Temple.

Ioh. 3.19.

Luk. 2.14.

Paulus Orosius.

Ianus Temple is shut.

Aspera tum positis mitescent sæcula bellis:
Cana fides, & Vesta, Remo cum fratre Quirinus
Iura dabunt: diræ ferro, & compagibus arctis
Claudentur belli portæ: furor impius intus
Sæua sedens super arma, & centum vinctus ahenis
Post tergum nodis, fremet horridus ore cruento.

Virg. Aeneid. li. 1.

Then men shall milder proue: cease shall fierce warres:
Faith, Gods, *and* Princes *all shall iustly guide:*
Warres gastly gates with bolts and iron barres
Fast shut shall stand: and Mars cashierd *shall hide*
Mongst heapes of rusty armour, where his hands
Bound fast shall be with hundred brasen bands.

The fruits of a true peace.

And yet further in his *Ecloge* (from the *Sibyls*, who in all likelihood had it from the *diuine Oracles*) hee vseth the very words of the *Prophets* in speaking of *a Maid*, and *a Child of a new progeny borne and sent down from heauen*, by whom the brassy and iron-like world should cease, and a pure *golden age* succeed. Thus he sweetly singeth:

Lactan. li. 4. ca. 6.
Duples. vera. c. 32.

Vltima Cumæi venit iam carminis ætas:
Magnus ab integro sæclorum nascitur ordo:
Iam redit & virgo: redeunt Saturnia regna:
Iam noua progenies cælo dimittitur alto.
Tu modo nascenti puero, quo ferrea primùm
Desinet, ac toto surget gens aurea mundo, &c.

Eclog 4.

Now is the time of which Sibylla *said,*
The old world doth his prime againe renew:
Now hath the world a pure vnspotted Maid:
*Now raignes the** God of Gods, *whose off-spring new*
Descends from heauen. Blest'd be the babe *whose raies*
Hath turn'd our iron age to golden daies.

Saturne (whom *Virgil* nameth) was esteemed the father of the Gods.

In which *Ecloge* are sweetly couched many other most diuine allusions to *our Sauiours*[1] *Deity*,[2] *birth and humanity*,[3] *powerty*,[4] *graces*,[5] *crosses*,[6] *kingdome*, and[7] *redemption of the world from*[8] *sinne*,[9] *death, and*[10] *hell.*

1 *Magnum Ioue incrementum, &c.*
2 *Matri longa decem, &c.*
3 *Nec Deus hunc mensa, &c.*
4 *Assyrium vulgò nascetur, &c.*
5 *Cui non risere parentes, &c.*
6 *Pacatumq; reget patriis, &c.*
7 *Soluet formidine terras, &c.*
8 *Si qua manent sceleris, &c.*
9 *Fallax herbis veneni, &c.*
10 *Occidet et serpens, &c.*
Suetor. in vit. August. Sect. 94.
Duples. veritat. Christi 3 2. fol. 518
Niceph. li. 1. ca. 17
Iuuenal. Satyr. 3.
Zephan. 2. 11.
Our Sauiour Christ borne in the fourteenth yeere of *Cunobeline.*

So likewise *Marcus Tullius Cicero saw in his dreame* (as himselfe reporteth) *a child of an ingenuous and beautifull countenance, let downe from heauen by a golden chaine.* And *Suetonius* in the life of *Augustus* from *Iulius Marathus* hath obserued, that certaine predictions in *Rome* happening, were so respected and generally expounded, *That Nature was about to bring forth a King that should raigne ouer the whole world.* And albeit these and other Heathen Writers ascribe these things either to *Augustus* himselfe, or to some of his fauorites, yet wee see them accomplished in none other but *Iesus Christ the Messiah our blessed Sauiour*, in whom only the Kingdome of *God* began, with the vtter subuersion of al their heathenish Oracles, which at his birth, or at furthest at his death, ceased all, and gaue place to HIS *eternitie*. Which time of his birth by the Scriptures most certaine account, was from the worlds creation, 3927. and is set by the *Britaines* in the fourteenth of their *Cunobelines* raigne, and by other authen icke Writers in the two and fortieth of *Augustus Cæsar*, euen in the top of that Empires greatnesse,

A generall peace thorow all the world.
Micah 5.2.
Esay 9.6.
Gen. 3.5.
Isay. 7.14.
Gal. 4.4.

neſſe, when *Rome* was with an vniuerſall ſubiection acknowledged the abſolute *Lady of the knowne earth.* For ſo in *S. Luke* wee read, that this *Auguſtus then firſt taxed the world.* A text moſt ſtrong for the full diſſolution of the foure forgone kingdomes repreſented in *Daniels Image*, by *the fall of this ſtone Chriſt, the rocke and ſtay of our eternall happineſſe.*

Luk. 2.

Dan. 2.

(7) This *Emperour* raigned in great honour the ſpace of fifty ſix yeeres, and was obeyed both by the *Eaſterne Indians*, and the *Northerne Scythians*, with the ſubiection of the *Parthians*, a fierce and vntamed people, and generally with the loue of all. Hee was a *Prince* indued with *great wiſdome, magnanimitie*, and *Iuſtice*; yet faulty in this, that he tooke from *Tiberius Nero* his wife *Liuia*, both great with child, and hauing alſo formerly borne him a ſonne. Deuout he was in the worſhip of the *Romane Gods*; amongſt whom in the *Capitoll* he built an Altar vnto the *Hebrew childe*, with this inſcription: *The Altar of the firſt begotten Sonne of God*: being thereunto mooued by the *Oracle of Apollo* that had anſwered his owne deſtruction by the birth of *this childe.* *Of Stature* he was but low, and of a good complexion; gray-eied, his haire ſomewhat yellow, and his body freckled with ſpots, which as his flatterers would haue the world beleeue, were in forme like ſtarres. Predictions foreſhewing his gouernment and death are alleged, the which I willingly ouerpaſſe, holding moſt of them rather fantaſies then truth. At his death hee demanded of the ſtanders by, whether he *had well acted the enterlude of his life vpon the ſtage of this world*: and died fourteene yeeres after *Chriſt* his incarnation; leauing after him ſo honorable an eſtimation of his glory, that as the ſucceeding *Emperours* in remembrance of *Iulius Cæſar* gloried to be called *Cæſars*, ſo they euer held the name of *Auguſti* to be *ſacred*, and only befitting perſons deſtinated to imperiall Maieſty. And both *their* names were inſerted in the yeers moneths, that the honour of them both might *neuer periſh while Times euiternitie indured.*

Auguſtus deſcribed. His raigne.

Tacit Annal. li. 5. cap. 1.

His deuotion to Chriſt. *Niceph. li. 1. ca. 17. Suidas.*

His endowments of qodie.

Sueton. in vita Auguſti.

The moneths of *Iuly* and *Auguſt.*

TIBERIVS.

Chapter IV.

AVguſtus *Cæſar* thus glorioufly raigning, and peaceably dying, had ordained for his ſucceſſour *Tiberius Nero*, the ſonne of *Tiberius* the *Patritian*, and of *Liuia* his wife, whom (as we ſaid before) he had taken for his *Empreſſe*, and by whoſe incitements and continuall inſtigations it was procured: though *Suetonius* attributeth it vnto *Auguſtus* his owne ambitions, to make himſelfe the ſooner miſſed, and the more lamented, in leauing his vnlike to ſucceed, whoſe conditions as they ſtood vpon their owne baſis, hee knew to bee reproueable, and contemptible.

Tiberius Nero his parents.

Sueton in vit. Tiber.

(2) But before the death of *Cæſar* could be diuulged, to write his imperiall ſtile as it were in blood, he began with the murder of young *Agrippa*, the ſonne of *Iulia*, daughter to *Octauian*, and once his owne wife, and continued his raigne with ſuch *tyranny* and murther, that many he ſlaughtred, without reſpect of perſon or cauſe; & in his looſeſt laſciuiouſneſſe, thought of nothing but how to ſubuert the *Nobility*; for rare it was in his daies that any ſuch died a naturall death: and maintaining a race of *men (Promoters*, as *Tacitus* tearmes them, found out for *a common ouerthrow* and deſtruction of *others*) *allured* them by rewards *to accuſe* the rich, though *guiltleſſe*; only this fauour granted to the condemned, that if they ſlew themſelues before the day of execution, their *bodies* ſhould haue buriall, their *goods* at their owne diſpoſe, and their *teſtament* ſtand good in law.

His actions and conditions.

Tacit. Annal. li. 1. cap. 2.

Tacit. Annal. li. 6. cap. 3.

His plotting againſt his Nobles. *Tacit. Annal. li. 4. cap. 7.*

Tacit. Annal. li. 6. cap. 7.

(3) A great *diſſembler* he was, *ſeeming* euer *to hate* thoſe *vices* which in truth he loued, and *to loue* thoſe *vertues* which he did moſt deadly hate: and *for life* and libidinous filthineſſe ſo extreme, that a Chriſtians pen may not expreſſe, when the *Heathen* themſelues doe *bluſh to name* ſuch *things* as *hee ſhamed not* openly *to commit*: his publike drunkenneſſe, and continuall *banquettings*, whereat hee ſpent *whole daies and nights* together without intermiſſion, cauſed exchange of names from *Tiberius Nero* to * *Biberius Mero.*

Tiberius his hypocriſie;

His libidiouſneſſe.

Tacit. Annal. li. 6. cap. 1.

His Epicuriſme.

* A wine-biber

Careleſſe in gouernmet. The prouinces vndefended.

Mero, Diſſolute and careleſſe he was in gouernment, though ſome haue accounted him a wiſe and politicke Prince: for the *Prouinces* he left to defend themſelues, and yet daily *charged* them *with larger Tributes*, to their great impoueriſhment, and almoſt vtter ruine.

Britaine without forraine garriſon or gouernment.

(4) In this ſtate, amongſt others neglected, *Britaine* ſtood, wherein *Tiberius* neither maintained garriſon, nor attempted alteration, and whereby (as it may bee thought) their owne Lawes and Princes bare ſway among themſelues, howſoeuer the cauſe for *Tribute* was ballized betwixt them. And moſt certaine it is, the *Britaines*, if not in ſubiection, yet were well affected to the *Romans*, as appeareth by *Tacitus* in the kinde entertainments, and in releeuing their ſhipwracked ſouldiers, that in croſſing the *Seas* were by tempeſt driuen vpon their Coaſts, and courteouſly ſent thence by their *petty Kings* vnto *Germanicus* their Generall. Notwithſtanding, *Ieffrey Monmouth* ſeemeth to affirme the contrary, that bringeth the raign of one *Guiderius*, and the valour of *Aruiragus*, the ſonnes of *Cunobeline* (of whom more heereafter) to withſtand the *Romiſh Command*, and vtterly to refuſe the paiment of *Tribute*, banding both againſt *Tiberius*, as alſo againſt *Caligula* and *Claudius* the Emperours ſucceeding.

Tacit. Annal. li. 2. cap. 3.

Ieffrey Monm.

(5) Other remembrances of theſe times concerning vs, finde we none, beſides that which is common to all, namely the death of our *Sauiour Chriſt*, which vnder this Tyrant, and in his eighteenth yeere was accompliſhed by the proceeding of his (as wicked) Deputy *Pontius Pilate*, who *both adiudged him to die, and to bee guiltleſſe of deſeruing death*: whereby was wrought the myſtery of our *Redemption*, with ſuch ſignes and euidences of his *Deitie*, that the wicked Iudge himſelfe wrote thereof to *Tiberius*, and hee to the *Senate*, to haue him conſecrated among the *Roman Gods*. Which they refuſed to doe, that the wiſdome and diuine *power of God* in the doctrine of *Saluation* ſhould *not need* the allowance and commendation *of men*, as *Euſebius* hath well obſerued.

Our Sauiour Chriſts death.

Tertul. in Apolog. aduerſ. gentes, c. 5

Euſeb. Eccleſ. hiſt. li. 2. ca. 2.

(6) Finally, when hee had raigned (hated of all men) the ſpace of three and twenty yeeres, with no better liking then is read of *Ioram* King of *Iudah*, that liued without being deſired, hee was ſmothered to death (as is thought) by *Caligula*, the ſeuenteenth Kalends of *April*, the yeere from *Chriſts Natiuitie* thirty nine, and the ſeuenty eight of his owne age. He was of *perſonage* tall, and of *body* ſtrong, broad cheſted, and vſed both his *hands* alike, faire of *complexion*; but great and goggle-eied, whereby he ſaw ſo cleerly, as is incredible to report.

Tiberius his raigne, age, and death. *Tacit. Annal. lib. 6 cap. 7.* 2. Chr. 21, 20 *Tacit. lib. 6. ca. 12.*

CAIVS CALIGVLA.

Chapter V.

Caius Caligula his parents. *Tacit. Annal. li. 1. cap. 9.*

NExt vnto *Tiberius* ſucceeded his nephew *Caius Caligula*, the ſonne of *Germanicus* the ſonne of *Druſus*. His mother was *Agrippina*, the daughter of *Iulia*, *Cæſars* wife; and his coines as thou ſeeſt aboue, being rather liked for his fathers vertues, (who was for *learning*, *vertue*, *valor* & *courteſie*, the moſt admired man of that age (then for any parts of his owne anſwerable to ſo high a place, as being neither naturally framed for good preſence in Throne, nor qualified in minde for an Imperiall Command. Euer in condition oppoſite to all, and (which is more) moſt times to himſelfe. One while laſciuiouſly *prodigall*, in exceſſiue *banquets*, and admirable *Sea-workes*, with needleſſe *leuelling of mountaines*, and filling vp their vallies: Another while extremely *couetous*, *impoſing taxes* vpon the Prouinces, & exacting gaines out of the baſe earnings of pollutions of harlots: Alwaies cruell and libidinous. His owne *mother* he defamed to bee inceſtuouſly begotten; his *grand-mother* he poiſoned; his *brother Tiberius* he murdered; his *three naturall ſiſters* hee polluted inceſtuouſly, and vpon *Druſilla* the ſecond ſo *incredibly doted*, that he vſed to ſweare by her ſacred name, *& deified* her for a *Goddeſſe* by the name of *Panthea*, cõmanding diuine honors to be done vnto her. The like *deity* conceited he *of himſelfe*, cauſing his *Statue* to be worſhipped, & placed in his vſuall roabes amongſt the *Romane Gods*, and would haue ſet it in *Ieruſalems Temple* (as *Ioſephus* recordeth) had not that *great God* cut him off by death. His *Imperiall gouernment* was without either inlargement of circuit, or inforcing by armes a dutifull ſubiection, rather ſeeking to make

His prodigality.

His couetouſnes:

His vile actions.

Philo. Iude. Euſeb. lib. 2. ca. 6.

Ioſeph. Antiq. lib. 18. cap. 11.

himselfe feared by *Tyranny* at home, then any waies famous by *Acts abroad*.

(2) How the other *Prouinces* stood affected, I leaue to themselues; but by *Tacitus* it should seeme the *Britaines* and *Germans* were not his best subiects: for these are his words, that *Caius had a meaning to inuade Britaine, it is certainly knowen: but his rash running head, and hasty repentance in his attempts against Germany, turned all to nothing.* And *Suetonius* ascribes the foolish erection of that admirable bridge ouer a creeke of the *Sea* in *Campania* (whereof *Dion* writeth at large) to his vaine-glorious conceit, that by a brute blazed abroad of so huge and monstrous a worke, he might terrifie *Germanie* and *Britaine*, vpon which Countries he meant to make warre. The issue whereof was as fruitlesse as his great cost was ridiculous. For hauing set forward for the conquest of *Britaine* with no small preparation, hee proceeded no further then to those parts of *Holland* that confront against *Northfolke*, where hee suddenly pitched his tents and staied.

Tacit. in vita Agric.

Caligula intendeth to inuade *Britaine.*

Dion Cass. lib. 59.

Suetonius in vita Caligulæ.

(3) At which time, *Adminius* the sonne of *Cunobelin* King of *Britaine* being banished by his father, fled ouer *Sea* with a small power, and submitted himselfe vnto *Cæsars* protection: wherupon *Caligula* wrote vaunting letters to the *Senate*, as if the whole *Iland* had beene yeelded into his hands: commanding the messenger that his letters should be carried in a Chariot into the *Curia*, and not deliuered but in the Temple of *Mars*, and that in a frequent and full assembly of the *Senate*. And hauing no further matter to worke vpon, hee caused certaine *German prisoners* secretly to bee conueied into a wood, and word to bee brought him in great feare and amazement of the sudden approch of the enemie; against whom with shew of great manhood & noble resolution in all haste and warlike manner he marched, and in chaines openly shewed them as his captiues taken in warre, forbidding the *Senators* the wonted celebration of their *Feasts*, or enter their *Theaters* to take solace, seeing their *Cæsar* exposed himselfe to so many perils, and fought so great battels with hazard of his life. Last of all, as if he had meant to make a finall dispatch for euer of the warre, hee drew his forces downe to the Sea-coast of *Belgia*, and embattailed his army vpon the *Ocean shoare*, planting his *balists* and other *Engines* of artillery in their seuerall places, no man witting what hee meant: which done, himselfe in a *Galley* launched into the *Sea*, and immediately returning, caused the *Trumpets* to sound the battle, and commanded his *Souldiers* forthwith to fall a gathering of cockles and muscles into their helmets, terming them the *Spoiles of the conquered Ocean*: Against which hee also built a Tower, as a Trophey of his victory, the ruines whereof as yet remaine in *Holland* to this day, and is called *The Britons house*, in memory of that fantasticall seruice: vpon which exploit he made a glorious Oration to his souldiers, commending and requiting their valours with rewards, and auowing their *shell-spoiles* worthy offrings to be presented in the *Capitoll*, writing letters to *Rome* of this his great *Conquest*, and demanding *Triumph*, and diuine honours to be assigned him: which when the *Senatours* made some question of, hee threatned them with death. But this *Sea-seruice* (as it seemeth) so ran euer after in his minde, that one night hee dreampt that the *Sea* in dreadfull shape came and expostulated with him, which cast him into an incredible horrour and affright.

Adminius banished, flieth to *Cæsar.*

Caligula his vaine ambition.

His deluding of the Senate.

His warring with the Sea.

Caligula his great victory.

Ortelius Geograp.

His ambition.

Affrighted in his sleepe.

(4) In his last yeere of life and raigne, *Pontius Pilate*, vnder whom *Christ Iesus* suffered, was apprehended and accused at *Rome*, deposed and banished to the Towne of *Lions* in *France*, where, in despaire he slew himselfe in the yeere from *Christ* his incarnation, forty one, and from his death, the seuenth, as *Eusebius* hath noted.

Pontius Pilate banished killeth himselfe.

Euseb. lib. 2. cap. 7.

(5) And now both the *Ambition* and cruelty of *Caius* was growen so intolerably sauage, as that he often *lamented that some* rare and vnusuall disaster (as either some *horrible slaughter* of huge Armies, or some vniuersall *plague*, or *famine*, or *fire*, or *opening of the earth*, or *ouer-flowing of the Sea*) *happened not in his time*, whereby his raigne might be made memorable to posterity. And *hee wished* that all the people of *Rome* had but *one necke*, that he might haue the glory of giuing the braueste blow that euer was giuen, *whereby* so *infinite multitudes* of men *might be killed* by him *at one stroke*. But this his wish was preuented by a blow on himselfe, his death and downefall being complotted and executed by certain *Tribunes*, whereof *Cherea* was chiefe; who following him from the *Theater* with resolution of the fact, tooke the time when *Caligula* turning suddenly aside into a narrow Cloister to see certaine boies sent him out of *Asia*, lost the defense of his fore-warders, and the straitnesse of the place permitted not his gard to follow, on which aduantage *Cherea* demanded his watch-word, which he (according to his vsuall manner) gaue in great disdaine and scorne, wherunto *Cherea* replied, and with his sword wounded him in the necke, and iaw; and then the rest of the *Conspirators* comming in, with *thirty wounds* made an end of his life, after hee had most impiously raigned three yeeres and tenne moneths.

Ioseph. Antiq. lib 19. cap. 1.

Caligula slaine.

(6) He was of *stature* tall, of *complexion* pale and wan, of *body* somewhat grosse and vnfashionable, his *necke* and *legges* exceedingly slender, his *eies* sunke into the hollow temples of his *forehead*, and that also frowning and full of wrinkles: his *haire* was thin and shaggy, but bald on the crowne, though otherwise so hairy of body, that all the time of his raigne if a man did but name a *Goat*, it was held a touch and offence of *Læsæ Maiestatis* against his imperiall person, His *Countenance* naturally sterne and grimme, which by composing and gesture he purposely made more vgly and terrible. His *apparell* alwaies costly, but not alwaies Court-like, neither ciuill: his *beard* hee wore of gold like *Iupiter* or *Æsculapius*. In his *hand* for a Scepter, a Mace three-tined, as *Neptune* or *God* of the *Sea*, and vpon his *body* the *Curace* of *Alexander* the *Great*, taken from his *Sepulchre and Monument*. Hee died aged twenty nine yeeres, whose *memory* was so *hatefull* vnto all, that all the Copper Coines or Modals stamped with *his picture* were *melted* downe by decree of the *Senate*, whereby (if it were possible) *his name* and feature might be *forgotten* vnto future ages.

His personage.

Sabellic. Aeneid 7. lib. 2.

Dion lib. 60.

His hatred after death.

CLAVDIVS DRVSVS.

Chapter VI.

Claudius Druſus Emp.

Aulus Plautius Lieut.

Claudius Druſius choſen by the Pretorian Souldiers.

Ioſeph antiquit. l. 19. ca. 3.

VT *Claudius Druſus* a man of better ſpirit and temperature, immediately vpon the death of *Caligula*, and euē in the height of thoſe diſturbances, by the *Pretorian Souldiers* (who were encamped neer the walles of *Rome*) was nominated, and choſen *Emperor*; whereas the *Senate* had *decreed* and determined to *reduce* the *Citie* into her *ancient libertie*, *without* admiſſion of any *Caſar*, or *ſubiection to* ſuch abſolute and *ſole authoritie*; notwithſtanding, the power of this *Army* ſo *preuailed*, that the election was confirmed, and the Imperiall dignity by him aſſumed, as the next, and onely man to whom it muſt of right belong: whoſe father *Druſus* was the ſonne of *Liuia*, wife to *Octauius*, from whom the *Emperours* ſucceeding held it a glory to bē any waies allied.

Claudius his parentage.

(2) In his firſt proceedings with the *Prouinces affaires*, hee determined warre againſt the *Britaines*, whoſe *Tribute* had been a long time *neglected*, and whoſe *ſubiection* was now to bee *feared*: all of them being raiſed in a tumultuous vprore. The cauſe pretended was certaine fugitiues, (the betraiers of their *State and liberties*) lately departed, and by the *Romans* receiued with protection of the *Emperour*: a matter that moued them to great diſcontents, and ſerued as a ſhew for their iuſt reuolt.

The *Britaines* detaine their Tribute.

Dion. Caſſ. lib. 60. Anno Dom. 45.

(3) *Claudius*, as ready to preuent the worſt, being thereto further incited by *Bericus* one of thoſe Britiſh fugitiues as *Dion* reporteth, in the ſecond yeare of his Empire, and from *Chriſts Natiuitie* forty fiue, ſent *Aulus Plautius* a *Romane Senator*, well experienced in the affaires of warre, to take charge of the *Armie* remaining in *Gallia*, and with thoſe old trained Souldiers to make ouer into *Britaine* to retaine their obedience. Which ſeruice vpon them thus impoſed, was generally diſtaſted, as apparantly was ſhewed by their vnwillingneſſe thitherward, muttering and complaining, *that they muſt now be inforced to make warre out of the world*, and protracting time, could hardly bee drawne forward, though the *Emperour* ſent his ſecond command.

Aulus Plautius ſent againſt the Britaines.

His Souldiers vnwilling. Dio lib. 60.

(4) But being at laſt embarked and croſſing the *Seas*, their ſhippes were beaten with contrary winds, which ſtill added diſcouragements vnto their proceedings, and had not an accident the ſame time happened, the edge of their courage had beene more abated: for euen in this diſtraction ſuddenly *a fiery leame* ſhot it ſelfe *from Eaſt to Weſt*, the ſame way that their ſhippes made ſaile: which preſently gaue hopes to their deſpairing hearts, being *heatheniſhly* interpreted for *a ſigne of good lucke*, and ſo ſent from their *Gods*, whereupon without any reſiſtance, they came to ſhoare and tooke land.

Inconraged by a ſigne from heauen.

(5) The *Britaines* that miſtruſted no ſuch ſudden inuaſion, and now thus *ſurpriſed vnawares*, diſperſedly ſecured themſelues in woods and mariſhes, thereby to detract time, and the more to weary the Enemy by delaies: which thing *Plautius* well perceiued, and with much labour, and hazard followed ſo extreamly, that many he ſlew, and tooke *priſoner Cataratus* their Captaine, the ſon of *Cunobeline* but lately deceaſed, which brought ſuch terrour amongſt the *Britains*, that thereupon the Bodvni, the inhabitants of *Oxford* and *Gloceſterſhires*, yeelded themſelues to *Plautius* deuotion: for which ſeruice thus effected, the *Senate* decreed his Triumphs; & it is probable that this defeat of the *Britaine* forces, and ſurpriſe of their King, fell out in the ſixt yeare of this *Emperours* raigne, by the reuerſe of his money then minted

Cataeratus taken priſoner.

with a triumphall arch and inſcription. *De Brittan:* as aboue is ſeene.

Tacitus in vita Agric.

(6) But he following ſtill the Enemy, being ſeconded by *Flauius Veſpaſian* (afterward Emperour) the leader of the ſecond legion (the foundation of whoſe ſucceeding fortunes was firſt laid here in *Britaine*) gaue them againe another ouerthrow. The chiefeſt meanes whereof was a *politie* they had gotten to gall the Chariot horſes, whereby their riders were maiſtered, and their whole powers diſordered: many *Britaines* in this battaile were *ſlaine*, and more in danger, had not the night ended the ſkirmiſh.

C. Sidius Geta his valour.

(7) The next day the *battaile* was againe begun and *maintained* on both parts with equall aduantage, till *C. Sidius Geta* enforced the *Britaines* to *retire*, whereby the victory reſted in the *Romans*: for which exploit *Triumphall honours* were aſſigned him, although he had not yet attained to the *Conſular degree*. In this Conflict *Veſpaſian* hardly eſcaped, being ſore oppreſſed by the Enemy, and in ſuch ſort, that had not *Titus* (his renowned ſonne) come to reſcue, he had beene ſlaine, whoſe *valour afterwards was tried in one & thirtie battailes, & in the Conqueſt of the Ile of Wight.*

The *Britaines* retire to places of aduantage.

(8) After this conflict, the *Britaines* withdrew themſelues into places of more aduantage, and in the mouth of *Thamiſis* neere her fall into the Sea, paſſed the ſhallowes and firme grounds in ſafetie, whereas the *Romans* ignorant of both, brought many into danger, and in their diſtreſſed paſſage, were ſharpely aſſailed by the Enemie, in which turmoile, a bloody battaile was begunne, wherein *Togodumnus a Britiſh Prince*, brother to *Caractatus*, and ſonne to *Cunobeline*, was ſlaine: Notwithſtanding, the courage of the *Britaines* was nothing abated, but rather *exaſperated* to a further reuenge: for effecting whereof, *new forces* were *gathered*, and confluence of people aſſembled *from each part of the Ile. Plautius* the *Leiutenant ſeing* daily the increaſe of *their power, Veſpaſian imploied* in other parts, and *himſelfe* ſtreitned *in a place of danger*, proceeded no further, but ſent word to the *Emperour* of the doubtfull eſtate of their affaires,

Togodumnus ſlaine.

Claudius the *Emperor*, commeth into *Britaine* with a great Army.

(9) At that time (ſaith *Suetonius*,) the *Senate* had by decree *allowed Claudius* his *Triumphall ornaments*. But *he ſuppoſing* that *ſuch* a bare title of *honour* was *inferiour* to the Maieſtie of *an Emperour*, and *willing* of himſelfe alſo to enterpriſe ſome exploit whereby he might winne *the glory of a compleat Triumph, made choice* before all other Prouinces, *of Britaine*, attempted by none ſince *Iulius Caſar* of famous Memory. And with great ſtrength entred into the iourney, hauing with him a mightie *Armie* both of horſe and foote, as alſo *Elephants*, a beaſt of great bigneſſe and burthen, whoſe ſtrangeneſſe then amazed the *Britaines*, and whoſe Carcaſes falling in this Land, their late found bones (no doubt) haue bred our [illegible], beeing ſuppoſed to be of men, and not of beaſtes.

Dio Caſſius. lib. 60.
Elephants firſt brought into *Britaine.*

Claudius entreth *Britaine.*

(10) With very great danger he paſſed the *Seas*, and ioining ſtrength with his *Lieutenant* and *Veſpaſian*, they all together croſſed the *Riuer Thamiſis*, where preſently they were encountred by the *Britaines*, who a while maintained the battaile very deſperately, but in the end gaue place & fled, whom the *Romanes* purſued euen to their ſtrong *Camulodunum*, then the ſeate of *Adminius*, *Cunobelins* ſonne, as may [illegible] be coniectured by the Medul of *Britannicus* the Emperours darling, figured in the front of this Chapter. This City they ſurpriſed and fortified with their owne Garriſons, & the *Emperour* afterwards in the eleuenth of his raigne (as appeareth by the other coine) turned to a Colony of *Romane* Citizens. *Claudius* now diſarming the *Britaines*, remitted further puniſhment either vpon their bodies or confiſcation of their goods: The which his fauorable clemencie moued thoſe diſtreſſed *Britaines* to ſuch liking and loue, as they *erected a Temple* and *Alter in his name*, and gaue him diuine honour, as a God: The reſt, as vnable to reſiſt, proffered their ſubmiſſions, and promiſed a peaceable ſubiection vnder the *Romans* gouernment.

He ſurpriſeth *Camulodunum.*

His clemencie maketh him to be honoured for a God.

(11) Theſe things thus atchieued, at the end of ſixe moneths *Claudius* in his ninth yeare returned and *entred Rome in triumph* with more then vſuall manner, ſtamping againe vpon his monies his arch of victory, as appeareth in the face of this Chapter, a perpetuall trophie of his victories and memory of our ſeruitude. After whoſe *Triumphant Chariot* rode *Meſſalina* his wife, the *Monſter* of her ſexe *for impudencie* & laſciuious life: and vpon the top of his *Palace* he placed a *Nauall Coronet* in memoriall of the *Ocean* by him ſailed ouer, & therefore by his flatterers ſaid to be ſubdued; withall aſſuming to himſelfe, & ſonne, the *Sirname Britannicus*: And honoured *Plautius* with his preſence in his Triumphs for *Britaine*, giuing him the right hand, aſcending the *Capitoll*, & beſides graced diuers Captaines that ſerued vnder him in that warre with *Triumphall ornaments*. So great an eſteeme was held of the Conqueſt of ſo ſmall a part of this *Iland*.

Claudius returneth to *Rome*, and entreth in Triumph.
Sueton. in vita Claud. Sect. 17.

(12) The *Britiſh Hiſtorians* relate theſe things farre otherwiſe, reporting that their King *Aruiragus*, the youngeſt ſonne of *Kymbeline*, withſtood *Claudius* in his enterpriſe, with whom (ſay they) he came to compoſition by giuing him his daughter *Genuſſa* in mariage, in memorie whereof, he built the Citie *Glauceſter*, according to his name; which now is called *Gloceſter*: But *Suetonius* writing the life of *Claudius*, his wiues and children, nameth his daughters onely to be *Claudia*, *Antonia*, and *Octauia*, without mention of *Geniſſa* at all, and therefore not likely to haue any ſuch. And *Dion Caſſius* reporteth, that *Claudius* himſelfe ſtaied not aboue ſixteene daies in *Britaine*, a time too ſhort for the ſending to *Rome*, and thence for the returne with his daughter, or for the building of ſo great a Citie as *Gloceſter* is. Neither indeede was *Aruiragus* knowne in the daies of *Claudius*: But rather liued in the time of *Domitian* the ſeuenth in ſucceſſion after him, as plainely appeareth by *Iuuenal the Poet*, in thoſe his verſes ſpoke to *Domitian*, which elſwhere we cited. Whereby appeareth that the ſtirres of this King could not accord with *Claudius* raigne, and that the trueth of this report is much weakned from more ſufficient authorities. But to proceede, *Aulus Plautius* (the firſt *Lieutenant* authoriſed ouer the *Britaines*, vpon ſome occaſion was thence reuoked, the warres not quieted, and with a ſmall Triumph (as *Tacitus* ſaith) entred *Rome*. Vnto him ſucceeded *P. Oſtorius Scapula*, for reputation in martiall affaires nothing his inferiour, who at his firſt landing found all in an vprore: Of whoſe proceedings let vs heare *Tacitus* ſpeake: The *Britaines* (ſaith he) *that were yet vnconquered, ranged the countries of the confederates, preſuming both vpon the approach of the winter, and the Propretors vnacquaintance with his Army*: *But he knowing that the firſt ſucceſſe breedeth either feare or confidence, gathered the Cohorts, and made towards the Enemy, ſlaying all that made head againſt him, and diſarming thoſe whom hee moſt ſuſpected.* And to retaine *Cogidunus* the King in ſtricter aſſurance and fidelity to the *Emperour*, granted diuers Cities and States to him by way of Donation.

The British Hiſtorians varie in relating *Claudius* doings in *Britain*

Dion Caſſ. lib. 60.

Lib. 5 cap. 3. ſect. 13

Aulus Plautius firſt Lord Deputie.

Tacit. in vita Agric.
Tacit. Annal. li. 13 cap. 7.

Tacit. Annal. li. 12 cap. 8.

The firſt that beganne to ſtirre were the *Icenians*, the Inhabitants of *Norfolke, Suffolke, Cambridge, and Huntington-ſhires*, a ſtrong people vnſhaken with warres: And with them (at their inſtigation) their neighbours adioining. Theſe together choſe a fit place for fight, compaſſed in with a rude, but defencible trench, which had only one narrow entrance whereby the *Horſemen* muſt be much impeached. This Rampire, notwithſtanding the *Romane Captaine*, with the onely aide of the * *Allies*, brake downe, and diſordered the Enemy euen in this their owne fortreſſe, who ſeeing all paſſages for eſcape to bee ſtopped vp, *Oſtorius* hauing hemmed them in with Garriſons betweene the *Riuers* * *Antonia* and *Sabrina*) ſhewed great valour in defending themſelues and

Confederates perchance is meant.

Nen in Northamptonſhiere, ſaith *Cambden*,

and by their deaths gaue place to the *Romanes*. This ouerthrow and ſlaughter of the *Iceni* wrought a more ſtaied reſolution in thoſe that before were wauering betweene warre and peace. And the *Army* led againſt the *Cangi*, with waſte and ſpoile conſumed the Country, the inhabitants not daring to bee ſeene in field. Whereupon the *Romanes* pierced thorow the Land euen vnto the *Sea-coaſt* that lookes towards *Ireland*.

A ſmall *reſiſtance* was made *by the Brigantes*, but without much trouble *ſoone quieted*, by the execution of ſome few, and pardoning of the reſt.

(13) But the *Silures* (that is, thoſe of *South-wales*) could not be brought to beare the *Romiſh yoke* of ſubiection, who beſides their owne courage relied much vpon the ſtrength and valour of their *Prince Caractacus* (whoſe Coine we haue here expreſſed) a man which had waded thorow many dangers, and in many aduentures both proſperous and luckie, had gotten ſuch reputation, that hee was preferred before all the *Britiſh Captaines*. This *Generall* knowing his owne ſtrength vnable to match the enemie, by policy thought to ſupply that want, and hauing aduantage of the Countrey, remooued the warre vnto the *Ordouices*, which is now *North-wales*, where all ioined to him that either feared or diſdained to hold peace with the *Romans*. Heere he choſe a place to encampe his *hoſt*, euen on the top of a hill naturally defenſed from acceſſe: and where any doubt was, there he ſtopped vp all paſſage with heapes of ſtones in maner of a *Rampire*; neere the foot whereof ran a *Riuer* with a foord ſomewhat dangerous, and not eaſily found, where a troope of his beſt ſouldiers were ſet in order to receiue the *Enemy*.

His manner of encamping.

His animating of his ſouldiers.

His reſolution.

Tacitus lib.12.c.8.

The more to animate their mindes, the *Leaders* went about exhorting and encouraging the Souldiers, taking all occaſions of feare from them, and putting them in hope, with all inducements of reſolution: eſpecially *Caractacus*, who courſing hither and thither, proteſted that day and that battle ſhould bee the beginning either of a recouered liberty, or elſe a perpetuall ſeruitude and bondage: and euer hee called vpon the names of his valiant *Anceſtors*, who formerly had chaſed *Ceſar* the *Dictator* out of the *Ile*, by whoſe valour they were deliuered from *Hatchets* and *Tributes*, and enioied freely their wiues and childrens bodies vndefiled. The *Souldiers* alſo themſelues *ſhewed* as great *forwardneſſe*, and as *Echoes* redoubled his words, *vowing* acccording to the *Religion* of their Country, *neuer to yeeld* for wounds or life, which they all were ready to ſacrifice in the cauſe of their liberties. This their apparant reſolution much appalled the *Romans* cheerfulneſſe, and moſt of all the *Captaines* and *Leaders*, who before their faces ſaw the *Riuer* on both ſides of them had the hanging hils, and the Port commodious for the enemie, but deadly vnto them: all which nothwithſtanding the common Souldiers deſpiſed, and demanded the battle. *Oſtorius*, whoſe ſtudy was chiefly to performe the parts of a *Generall*, paſſed the *Riuer* with ſome little difficulty, and leading his *Army* vp to the *Rampire*, was met with ſuch a ſhowre of darts, that many therewith were wounded and ſlaine. Yet at length breaking downe thoſe rude compacted ſtones, ioined battle with the enemy, and afront came cloſe to handy ſtrokes; wherein the *Britaines* hauing better courage then armour (for they had neither headpeece nor coat of defēce) were ſore galled with their Iauelings and two-handed ſwords, and ſo diſordered, that they betooke themſelues to flight.

Oſtorius his care.

The Britaines put to flight.

(14) This victory as it was almoſt vnexpected, ſo was it made famous by the taking of *Caractacus* wife, daughter, and brethren, and himſelfe flying for ſuccor and protection to the *Brigantes*, was (as we haue before ſhewed) by *Cartiſmandua* their *Queene* betraied and deliuered into the hands of the Conquerours after his nine yeeres moſt generous reſiſtance. Whereupon his fame being carried ouer the *Ilands*, and ſpread abroad thorow the Prouinces, was alſo renowned in *Italie*, and they deſired to ſee him that ſo many yeeres had contemned their forces. Neither was his name meanly eſteemed of at *Rome*; for whileſt *Ceſars* worth and power was there commended, a more glorious conceit was held of the conquered *Caractacus*: and againſt his comming to the City the people from all parts were aſſembled, as to behold ſome notable and moſt rare ſpectacle. The *Emperours Guard* in armes and good order were placed in the field before the Campe, thorow whom the Captiues and Trophies were carried, and preſented after this manner: firſt the vaſſals of *Caractacus* going formoſt bowed their bodies to the people as they paſſed, and ſeemed by their ruefull countenances to diſcouer the ſenſe of their calamity. The capariſons, his chaines, and other ſpoiles gotten in the warres, were carried after them. Then *Caractacus* his brethren, wife, and daughter followed, and laſt of all himſelfe, whoſe attire and ſtout behauiour filled the peoples eies with wonder and delight. His *bodie*, for the moſt part, was *naked*, and *painted* with figures of diuers beaſts. Hee ware a chaine of iron about his *necke*, and another about his *middle*: the haire of his *head* hanging downe in curled lockes, couered his *backe* and *ſhoulders*, and the *haire of his vpper lip* parted on both ſides, lay vpon his *breaſt*. Neither was his behauiour leſſe noted then the ſtrangeneſſe of his habit: for he neither hung downe his head as daunted with baſe feare, nor craued mercie, as the reſt; but with a confident ſpirit, and bold countenance, held on till he came before the *Imperiall Seat*, where making his ſtand, and a while beholding *Ceſars Maieſty*, at laſt with great courage ſpake to this purpoſe.

Hee reſiſted the *Romans* nine yeeres. *Tacit. Annal.* 12. *cap.* 8.

Caractacus led in triumph.

His habit and attire.

Ex hiſtor. magn. Britan.

" (15) If my *moderation* in proſperity had beene " anſwerable to the greatnes of my birth and eſtate, " or the *ſucceſſe* of my late attempts to the reſolution " of my minde, I might haue come to this *Citie* ra- " ther as a friend to be entertained, then as a Cap- " tiue to be gazed vpon; neither wouldſt thou diſ- " daine to haue receiued me on termes of *amitie and* " *peace*, being a man of roiall deſcent; and a Com- " mander of many warlike Nations. But what cloud " ſoeuer hath darkened *my preſent lot*, yet haue the " *Heauens* and *Nature* giuen mee that in birth and " minde, which none can vanquiſh, or depriue mee " of. I well ſee, that you make *other mens miſeries* the " ſubiect and matter of *your triumphs*; and in this *my* " *calamitie*, as in a mirror, you now contemplate *your* " *owne glory*. Yet know that I am, and was a *Prince* " furniſhed with ſtrength of men and abiliments of " warre; and what maruell is it if all bee loſt, ſeeing " experience teacheth, that the euents of *warre* are " *variable*, and the *ſucceſſe* of policies *guided* by vn- " certaine *fates*? As it is with me, who thought that " the *deepe waters* like a wall incloſing our Land, and " it ſo ſituated by heauenly prouidence, as in ano- " ther world, might haue beene a ſufficient priuilege " and defence for vs againſt forraine inuaſions: but " I now perceiue that the deſire of *ſouereignty* admits " no *limitation*; and if you *Romans* muſt command " all, then all muſt obey. For mine owne part, while " I was free I made *reſiſtance*, and vnwilling I was to " ſubmit my neck to a ſeruile yoke, ſo farre the law " of *Nature* alloweth euery man, that he may defend " himſelfe being aſſailed, and to withſtand force, by " force. Had I at firſt yeelded, thy glory and my ru- " ine had not beene ſo renowned. *Fortune* hath now " done her worſt: wee haue nothing left vs but our " liues, which if thou take from vs, *our miſeries* end; " and if thou ſpare vs, wee are but the obiects of *thy* " *Clemency*.

His Oration to *Claudius Ceſar*.

Euents of warre variable.

Britaines wall.

Ambition hath no bounds.

Nature diſdaineth ſeruitude.

(16) *Ceſar* wondering to ſee ſuch reſolutions and ſo free a minde in a Captiue eſtate, pardoned *Caractacus*, his wife and brethren, who being vnbound, did their reuerence to *Agrippina* the *Empreſſe*, that ſate aloft *on a Throne Roiall*. This Conqueſt and Triumph

Caractacus wife, daughter, and brethren taken priſoners.

Himſelfe betrayed by *Cartiſmandua*.

umph ouer *Caractacus*, miniſtred matter of diſcourſe and admiration thorough out all *Rome*, and the *Lords* of the *Senate* held it no leſſe honourable, then that of *P. Scipio*, who triumphed ouer *Syphax* the *Numidian King*, or that of *Perſes*, whom *Paulus Aemilius* vanquiſhed, or then any other King that had beene taken in warre, or exhibited to the view of the people. Then were alſo publike *Triumphall honours* decreed for *Oſtorius*; whoſe fortunes vntill then had beene very proſperous, but now began to be doubtfull, or rather to decline, either becauſe *Caractacus* (the foile of his glory) was remoued, and therevpon (as though all had beene ſubdued) a more careleſſe ſeruice entertained, or elſe the courage of the *Britaines* was more inflamed to reuenge through the feruent compaſſion of the fall of ſo mighty a King.

Tacit Annal. li. 12. cap. 8.

Oſtorius and his fortunes decline.

The *Britaines* take heart again.

(17) For immediatly they enuironed the *Campmaſter*, and the *Legionary Cohorts*, which were left to build fortreſſes in the Country of the *Silures*, whom with *eight Centurions*, and the *forwardeſt Souldiers*, they ſlew, and had put all the reſt to the ſword, if reſcue had not ſpeedily come from the villages and forts adioining. The *Forragers* alſo and troope of horſe that were ſent to aid them, they *put to flight*. Theſe affronts touched *Oſtorius* to the quick, and leſt their aids ſhould grow to a greater head, he ſent forth certaine light-harneſſed companions, which with the *Legionary Souldiers* vndertooke the *battle*, and with ſmall oddes was it continued till the night came, and parted them: diuers other *skirmiſhes* afterwards the *Britaines* made, though for the moſt part *in woods and mariſhes*, whence taking their aduantage in ſayling forth, they many times preuailed, ſometimes by *ſtrength*, ſometimes by meere *courage*, and ſometimes by *chance*; neither were they alwaies commanded by their Captaines, but many times fought voluntary & without preſſe.

Their victory.

(18) The principall motiue that induced the reſt to take Armes, was the example of the *Silures*, who were moſt reſolutely bent, as beeing *exaſperated* by certaine *ſpeeches* that the *Romane Emperour* himſelfe had *vſed*, which was, that as the name of the *Sugambri* was deſtroied, and the people tranſported into *Gallia*, ſo the memorie of *Silures* ſhould vtterly bee extinguiſhed: And in this heate, as men deſperate (whoſe diſtinies were read and lots caſt already) they intercepted the ſcattered troopes of the *Romanes* that vncircumſpectly waſted and ſpoiled the Country, taking of them many priſoners and recouering rich booties, which they ſent and diſtributed amongſt their neighbours; whereby many other were drawn to reuolt: Theſe proceedings ſate ſo neere *Oſtorius* his heart, who with long cares and trauels had wearied his ſpirits, ſpent the ſtrength of his bodie, and thereunto had now added the diſcontentment of his minde, that in theſe vexations hee gaue vp the *Ghoſt*, the *Silures* reioicing that ſo worthy and victorious a Captaine was fallen in their warres.

Caeſars threats make the *Britains* more reſolute.

Oſtorius dieth.

(19) But *Claudius Caeſar*, leſt the Prouince ſhould make head, preſently ſent *Aulus Didius* for his Lieutenent into *Britaine*; where notwithſtanding all his haſte he found all out of frame. For *Manlius Valens* with his Legion had encountred the *Britaines* with ill ſucceſſe, yet not ſo bad as the *Ilanders* gaue foorth, thinking thereby to terrifie their new eſtabliſhed *Gouernour*: which report himſelfe alſo in policie was contented to augment; *Thereby to purchaſe more praiſe in appeaſing ſo dangerous ſtirres*; or if hee could not, to retaine his own credit without his valours impeachment. Theſe reſiſters had made many inroads into the ſubdued Countries; againſt whom vpon his firſt arriuall, *Didius* entred the field, and for a while kept them in awe.

Aulus Didius ſent Lieutenant into *Britaine*.

Tacit Annal. 12. c. 8. *Manlius Valens* encountered the *Britaines* with ill ſucceſſe.

Didius for a while keepeth them in awe.

(20) But *Venutus* a very expert man in Militarie affaires (truſty to the *Romanes*, and defended by their power ſo long as the mariage betwixt him and *Cartiſmandua* continued) began a new rebellion: for *Cartiſmandua* (in ſpeciall fauour with the *Romans* for the deliuery of *Caractacus*) abounding in wealth, peace, & pleaſures (which commonly are the Nurſes of licentious liuing) fell in loue (as before was touched) with [illegible] her huſbands ſeruant, and harneſſe-bearer, and forgetting her owne honour, preferred him before *Venutius*, and laboured to make him *King*. The good-will of the Country notwithſtanding went generally vpon the lawfull husband: who being deepely touched with this open iniurie, raiſed a power againſt her and her *Paramour*. At the firſt this quarrell was onely betwixt them, vntill that *Cartiſmandua* by policie had taken her husbands brother, and ſome of his neereſt kindred, priſoners. Whereupon the next Inhabitants fearing her purpoſes, and diſdaining to be brought vnder the yoake of a woman ſo defamed, declared themſelues for *Venutius*, and with a choice bond of youthfull Soldiers inuaded her Territories: whereof *Didius* hauing intelligence, ſent certain *Cohorts* to ſecond her and encounter them. In which conflict, the *Romans* for *Cartiſmandua* did preuaile; yet the kingdome remained to *Venutius*, and the warres ſtill vnto them.

Tacit hiſt. li. 3 c. 9.

(21) For the *Silures* were not altogether quieted, & a Legion commanded by *Caeſius Naſica*, fought luckily againſt the *Britaines*. In all which ſtirres *Didius* in perſon was abſent, as being ſtricken in yeares, and hauing receiued many honours, held it ſufficient to execute his charge by the aſſiſtance of others. The State of *Britain* thus ſtanding, let vs ſo leaue it during this *Emperours* raigne, which now began to draw towards his laſt period, by the working of *Agrippina* his wife, and by her vpon this occaſion.

Tacit. Annal. 12.8

(22) It chanced, *Claudius* in his wine, to caſt forth a word of great ſuſpicion, in ſaying: *That it was fatall vnto him firſt to beare the leaudnes of his * wiues; & then to puniſh them.* She knowing her ſelfe guiltie in diſinheriting of *Britannicus*, who was *Claudius* his owne ſonne, for the adoption of *Nero* who was hers, beſides other inſolencies wherewith ſhee might bee taxed, ſought therefore to cleere her owne way by taking him out of the way: and with *Locuſta* a woman skilfull in poiſoning, and *Xenophon* a Phyſition, as large of conſcience, conferred for the manner of his death: who in fine, concluded that poiſon was the ſureſt and the leaſt in ſuſpect, or at leaſtwiſe the moſt difficult to be proued againſt her.

Claudius his own words the occaſion of his death. * *Meſſalina* was his firſt wife, a woman of vnſatiable lechery, who was put to death.

Tacit. Annal. lib. 12. cap. 13.

(23) This then reſolued, they temper poiſon in a Muſhrom, whereof he greedily did eate, and ſhortly after ended his life the thirteenth day of *October*, when he had raigned thirteen yeares, eight moneths, and twenty daies, the yeare of *Chriſt his incarnation* fiftie ſixe, and of his owne age ſixtie foure. He was of *ſtature* tall, and of a [illegible] *Countenance*, full of Maieſty and comely gray haires, his *Head* continually ſhaking, ſomewhat ſtammering in his ſpeech, very learned, but therewithall very forgetfull, and altogether ruled by his wiues, and domeſticall Seruants, the two ordinary banes of moſt men who are aduanced to any eminent place of gouernment & cõmand.

Ioſeph. Anti lib. 20. ca. 5.

The continuance of his raigne.

ANNO DO. 56.

His indowments of bodie.

His imperfections.

Wiues and ſeruants moſt miſleade great perſonages.

(24) *This Emperour* (ſaith *Seneca*) *might make his boaſt that he was the firſt conquerour of the Britaines, for Iulius Caeſar did but ſhew their Iland vnto the Romans, whereas Claudius made their necks yeeld to the chaines of their captiuities.* And *Aegiſippus* ſaith thus of *Claudius*, *His witneſſe is Britain, which liued without the world, but now by him reduced vnder the Romans Empire, and thoſe whom the former ages knew not, neither themſelues any ſeruitude, are now by him both made knowen, and ſeruants to the Romans.* And againe: *As great a matter it was to paſſe thoſe Seas, as to haue triumphed ouer thoſe Britaines*, wherein (ſaith he) *euen the elements haue done homage vnto Claudius.* In ioy wherof, and reuerence to the *Gods*, in his triumh he mounted the *ſtaires* of the *Capitoll* vpon his aged knees, being ſupported and lifted vp by his ſons in Law on etheir ſide, the glory of this *Ilands* conqueſt had ſo poſſeſſed this old *Emperours* mind.

NERO

NERO.

CHAPTER VII.

THis violent and vnexpected death of *Claudius*, gaue breath and life vnto *Neroes* further hopes: for whileſt the *Conſuls* were aſſembled to make ſupplications for their *Prince*, (not knowing him already dead) *Nero* ſuddenly ſet open the *Palace* gates, and accompanied with ſhouts and acclamations, entred the *Cohorts* that kept the watch, where of them and the reſt of the ſouldiers he was ſaluted *Emperour*, the *Senate* as men affrighted with amazement, not once contradicting the ſame.

Nero aſſumeth the Empire.

(2) He was the ſonne of *Domitius Nero*, and of *Iulia Agrippina* the daughter of *Germanicus* brother to *Claudius* the precedent *Emperour*, vitious by nature, as ſprung of thoſe parents from whom (as his owne father *Domitius* ſaid) *no goodneſſe could proceede*: and the ſame vile diſpoſition was perfected and augmented by his owne affected ſtudy, and purſuit of all poſſible leaudneſſe, as one who could well fit his wanton and laſciuious humours to the vnripeneſſe of his yeeres, being not paſſing ſeuenteene when he aſſumed the *Empire*. All religion he had in contempt, and all lawes violated, letting looſe the reine to all vnnaturall luſts, and licentiouſneſſe of life.

His parents.

Suetonius in vita Neronis.

(3) For blood and *libidinouſneſſe* hee was held a moſt vnſatiate fury, and amongſt men a very monſter of nature. His father he poiſoned: vpon his mother he committed both inceſt and murder; vpon males, pollutions againſt nature: deflowred the *Veſtals* (a matter ſacrilegious & impious) ſlew his brother *Germanicus* (Britannicus), and his ſiſter *Antonia*, his wiues, *Poppæa* and *Octauia*, his aunt *Domitia*, his ſonne in law *Rufinus*, and his *renowned Tutor Seneca*; With ſuch ſauage ſlaughter of the *Romane* Nobility, that *Tacitus* (their beſt Remembrancer) was wearied to record their names, *whileſt with a ſeruile patience* (as he termeth it) *they died honourably*.

His exceſſiue luſt and bloodſhed.

Suetonius in vita Neronis.

Tacit. Annal. 16. cap. 3.

(4) The City *Rome* hee ſet on fire, charging the Chriſtians with the fact, and inflicted ſuch torments and death vpon them, that they were pitied of their enemies, and his owne cruelties thereby made more notorious. Whoſe *Religion*, though *Suetonius* tearmed *new*, and *a wicked ſuperſtition*; and *Tacitus* (as it were in contempt) nameth the Author thereof to be *Chriſt*, who in *Tiberius* raigne (as he with the *Euangeliſts* agre) was put to death vnder *Pontius Pilate* Procurator of *Iudea*, where that religion firſt began; yet by the ſaid authour it is cõfeſſed, that theſe men were innocent of the fact, and their doctrine to burſt forth further into many other parts, inſomuch that *Rome* it ſelfe did affect the ſame. Yea and in *Neroes* Court alſo ſome embraced that faith, as by the words of the *Apoſtle* is manifeſt, who from the *Saints* in *Cæſars* houſe ſent ſalutations to the Brethren. *Phil. 4. 22.*

Rome ſet on fire by Nero.

Suet. in vita Nero.

Tacit. Anal. 15. cap. 10.

Chriſtians in *Neroes* Court.

(5) And laſtly, to fill vp the meaſure of his bloudy cruelty, he crucified *Peter* vpon the *Croſſe*, and beheaded *Paul* with the ſword, two principall *Apoſtles* of *Ieſus Chriſt*, and worthy inſtruments of the *worlds ſaluation*; and forgetting the Maieſty of his *eſtate*, fell into the ſinke of contempt and all *ſinnes*, giuing his *minde* leaue to digeſt all vncleanneſſe, and his *bodie* ouer to worke any *baſe exerciſes*, attending nothing beſides is *Harpes* and *Harlots*, whereby a careleſſe (but yet a cruell) gouernment was intertained, and the *Senate* faſhioning themſelues to feed his *looſe humors*, ſtroue each to outſtrip other in their *baſe flatteries*.

Peter and *Paul* put to death. *Euſeb. li. 2. ca. 25. Tertul. Apol. ca. 5.*

(6) In this ſtate the *Prouinces* ſubiections began to ſtand doubtfull, and the greatneſſe of the *Empire* to ouercharge the foundation; for the *Parthians* vnder *Vologeſes* gaue *Petus* the *Roman* a great *ouerthrow*, and that in ſuch wiſe, that thoſe which eſcaped were tearmed the *vnfortunate army*. And in *Britaine* their affaires proceeded with no good ſucceſſe; for aged *Didius* could doe no more then *keepe* that which he had already *gotten*: and *Verannius* his ſucceſſor, only with ſmall inroades *aſſailing* the *Silures*, was in his firſt yeere *cut off by death*, inſomuch that *Noro* hauing neither wil, motion, nor hope to propagate & enlarge the *Empire*, minded once to haue with-drawen the *Romane* forces out of *Britaine*, had it not beene for very ſhame.

A great ouerthrow of the *Romans*. *Tacit. Annal. 15. cap. 2.*

Tacitus in vita Agric. *Suet. in vit. Nero.*

(7) But *Paulinus Suetonius* attaining the gouernment of that *Prouince*, in skill for ſeruice, and opinion of people comparable to any, *ſought to match* his concurrent *Corbulo*, who with daily *victories* proſpered in *Armenia*, himſelfe wanting neither courage nor diſcretion to atchieue the like, only matter and occaſion *the Iland* affoorded none. Therefore determining an *expedition* into further parts, he made preparation to inuade the *Ile of Mona*, now *Angleſey*, ſeparated from the *Continent* by the *Riuer Menai*, and fronted vpon the midſt of *Ireland*, both ſtrong with *inhabitants*, and a receptacle of *Fugitiues*.

Angleſey inuaded

(8) Againſt his approch the *Ilanders* had gathered their powers, which *ſtood* thicke vpon the ſhoare ready

ready *armed* to make reſiſtance, their *women*-running among in mourning weedes, their *haire* looſe, and firebrands in their *hands*, like furies of hell, together with their *Druides* (men of religion) who with *hands* and *eies* lifted vp towards *heauen*, cried for vengeance, and powred out curſes as thicke as haile. With *the ſtrangeneſſe* of which ſight, the *Romans* ſtood *amazed*, not offering one ſtroke; *ſeeming* rather to preſent themſelues for a *pray* vpon their enemies weapons, then for the *Conqueſt* of their land or liues: which ſudden and vnexpected diſcouragement, their *Captaine* ſoone redreſſed, by putting them in remembrance of their wonted *valours*, which now was farre ouermatchable vnto a fearefull flocke of weake *women*, or a company of rude and franticke men: wherupon their *Enſignes* were diſplaid, and the *Enemy* preſently diſperſed and ſlaine, themſelues becomming maſters both of the *field*, and whole *Ile*: which no ſooner was thus obtained, but ſudden *newes* came to recall their powers, the *Prouinces* being raiſed to a preſent *reuolt*.

Romans amazed at ſight of the *Britiſh*.

(9) For the *Britaines* in abſence of the *Generall*, laid open their publique *greeuances*, growne now both common and intolerable by the oppreſſions of the *Romanes*, who from the diſeaſes of their *Head*, had ſucked and diſperſed their corruptions throughout the *Prouinces* of the Empire: and *Catus Decianus* the *Procurator* here in *Britaine*, renewed the confiſcation of their goods, which *Claudius* had formerly remitted. The *Romane Colonie* at *Camulodunum*, thruſt out the ancient *Inhabitants*, ſeating themſelues in their *poſſeſſions* without any other recompence, ſauing reproachfull *termes*, calling them their drudges, ſlaues and *vaſſalls*: beſides, the *Temple* there erected in honour of *Claudius*, was now become an eie-ſore vnto them, as an *Altar* of their perpetuall ſubiection, while the *Auguſtall Prieſts* there attending, waſted all their wealth vnder pretext of *Religion*. But the very *ſpring* or *head*, from whence the cauſe of this ſudden *Rebellion* iſſued, was the preſent abuſe offered to * *Boduo*, *Queene* of the *Icenians*, late wife to *Praſutagus*, deceaſed vpon the inſuing occaſion.

The receiuer of tribute his oppreſſion. *Dion Caſſ. lib. 62.*

Tacit. Annal. 14. cap. 10.

* *Boudicea.*
* *Voadica.*

(10) This *Praſutagus* King of the *Icenians*, famous for his riches, which along time hee had beene gathering, *made Ceſar* with his two daughters his *heire*, by Will, thinking by that flatterie, his *kingdome* and *houſe* had beene ſufficiently *warranted* from future iniuries: which fell out cleane otherwiſe, for *his kingdome* of the *Centurions*, and his *houſe* by ſlaues were *ſpoiled* as lawfull booties; his *wife* whipped, and his *daughters* defloured, & the chiefeſt perſons in that *Prouince* diſpoſſeſſed of their rightfull inheritance, and the *Kings kindred* reputed and vſed as *Slaues*.

Praſutagus his Teſtament.

(11) Whereupon the *Icenians* began ſeriouſly to diſcourſe of their preſent *miſeries* and bondage, made ſubiect not onely to a *Lieutenent* that ſucked their blood, but likewiſe to a *Procurator*, that ſought their ſubſtance, while with a *ſeruile feare* they yeelded to pleaſe the meaneſt *Souldier*; As though the *Heauens* had framed them onely for *ſeruitude*, and the *Earth* appointed to beare their *iniuries* vnreuenged, whereas contrariwiſe, they ſaw both *heauen* & *earth* flexible to their deliuerance: For (whether by policie or chance) the Image of victory at *Camulodunum* fell downe reuerſed without any apparant cauſe knowne: the *women* diſtempered with furie, ranne in the ſtreets, *ſinging*, and prophecying *deſtructions*: ſtrange *noiſes* were heard in the Court, and *howlings* in the Theater, and ſtrange *apparitions* and *Edifices* ſeene in the Riuer *Thamiſis*: the *Ocean* it ſelfe betweene *Gallia* and them ſeemed all *bloody*, and the prints of *dead bodies* left in the *ſands* at the *Ebbe*. Againe, weighing the preſent eſtate, they ſaw *Suetonius* abſent, and buſied to enlarge the *Confines*, the midſt but ſlenderly *guarded*, and by thoſe who were readier for *priuate gaine*, then diligent to diſcharge the *offices* of warre. The examples of other *Prouinces* alſo whetted the edge of their *encouragements*: for *Germany* (they ſaw) had well ſhaken off the yoke of *ſubiection*: The *Parthians* had reuolted, and *Armenia* held play with *Corbulo*, as famous as *Paulinus*: Their cauſe was as iuſt, their land as well defenſed, their *anceſtors* as valiant in reſiſting the firſt *Ring-leader Ceſar*; and themſelues better experienced of their *aduerſaries* powers, and their owne *abiliments*. So now hauing attained the *hardeſt point*, which was their aſſembled *Conſultations* (a matter of as great *danger* to be taken with, as in acting their *intendments*) in fine this was reſolued, that *libertie* was to be preferred, though *bought* with their *liues*; and *bondage* to be *auoided*, if not otherwiſe, then *by* their *deaths*.

Other Prouinces ſhake off the yoke.
In the battaile againſt *Quintilius Varus*. *Tacit. in vit. Agric.*

Tacit. in vita Agric. pag. 190.

Prodigies daily ſeene.

Dio. lib. 62.

Their reſolution.

(12) Theſe their often and noted *aſſemblies* brought ſuſpitions of ſome *deſignements*, and the prodigies daily happening, as they were motiues of *encouragements* vnto the *Britaines*: So were they ominous ſignes to the *Romanes*, of either part, framed in their owne *imaginations*, and conſtrued according to their hoped or feared euents.

(13) The *Confederates* in this buſineſſe were not to ſeeke their *Leader*: their Queenes *diſhonours* ſo apparantly knowne, (and for matter of *gouernment* they made no difference of *Sexe*) her birth extracted from their *Roiall blood*, her hearts affection approued to her *Countrie*, her indignities receiued of the proud *oppreſſors*, and her haughtie ſpirit threatning *reuenge*, aſſured them of her vttermoſt *endeuours*: which accordingly ſhe effected to her dying day, and to her neuer dying *fame*.

Queene *Boudica* choſen Leader.

(14) The *Romanes* likewiſe prouided themſelues, and in the abſence of *Suetonius*, craued aide of *Catus Dicianus* the *Procurator*, who ſent them not aboue two hundred men, and thoſe but badly armed. Theſe ioining with the reſt made no great power, al of them relying more to the *franchiſe* of the place, then ſecuring themſelues with *Trench* or *Bulwark*. Being giuen ouer to pleaſure, and *play*, as in the time of a publike *peace*. Which aduantages by the *Enemy* were wiſely *eſpied*, and by *Boduo* comming on as nobly *purſued*, when with ſword and fire ſhe *waſted all* in her way, the *Temple* onely *excepted*, whereinto part of the *Souldiers* were fled, but after two daies *ſiege* it was battered and taken.

She ſurpriſeth the *Romans*.

(15) In this heate of furie, the *Britaines* proceede, and meeting *Petilius Cerealis* Lieutenant of the *ninth Legion*, on a haſty March to *reſcue* that which was already *loſt*, they encounter his forces, and *ſlew* all his footemen, himſelfe with his troope of *Horſe* hardly eſcaping to his *Campe*, where in great *feare* he entrenched, not daring to *attempt* any further matter: At notice of theſe miſhaps, *Catus* like a tall man, *tooke to* his heeles, and ſailed into *Gallia*: by whoſe cruelty and couetouſnes the *Britaines* were thus inraged to take Armes and *reuolt*, and their entrance thus fortunately proceeding, gaue *heart* and hope to further *ſucceſſe*.

She putteth *Petilius Cerealis* to flight.

She forceth *Catus* to flie into *Gallia*.

(16) For in this heat of blood and furie they ſet vpon, and ſacked the free-towne *Verolanium*, both ſtrong for garriſon, and rich in *Inhabitants*: which Citie (as alſo *Camulodunum* had) felt the rage of their *mercileſſe hands*, from whence great booties were carried, and no leſſe then *ſeuentie thouſand* Citizens and Confederates *ſlaine*. This commotion in *Britaine* by *Suetonius Tranquillius* is accounted one of the moſt infortunate loſſes to the *Empire*, happening vnder *Nero*, and the *more ignominious* to the *Romanes* (as *Dion* obſerueth) in that it was *performed* vnder the command *of a woman*, neither experienced in the feates of *warre*, nor vſing the *victory* according to the Law of *Armes*: for not any *priſoner* taken, in regard of ranſome was *ſaued*, nor intercourſe of exchange *admitted*, but kill, hang, burne, and crucifie, as though the meaſure of their *reuenge* could neuer be ſufficiently *heaped*, or the wrath of their *Gods* ſatisfied with the blood of their *Enemies*.

She ſacketh *Verolanium*.

Seuenty thouſand ſlaine by her Army. *Sueton in vit. Nero. cap. 39.*

Dio. Caſſ. lib. 62.

(17) By this time *Suetonius* the *Lieutenent* was returned, and taking muſter of his forces in *London* (a Citie euen then famous for concourſe of *Merchants*, and of great renowne for prouiſion of all *things neceſſarie*)

London long ſince renowned.

sary) stood yet doubtfull whether he should chuse that place for the *seate of warre*, or no. But better aduising, dislodged his *Host*, and with the *fourteenth Legion*, the *Standerd-bearers* of the *twelfth*, and other aids from places adioining, incamped vpon a plaine, *enclosed* with woods, hauing a narrow entrance, and free from *Ambush* or enemie at his backe.

Boudicea surueieth her troopes.

(18) The *Britaines* likewise, inferior neither in number nor courage, *triumphed* abroad by such troupes and multitudes, as the like had not beene seene, yea and so fierce of *courage*, and with such assurance of *hope*, that they brought their *wiues* to the place to be witnesses of their *valours*. *Bodua* in her Chariot doing the parts of a most noble *Generall* droue from troope to troope to see and commend their *forwardnesse*; and dismounting attended with her two daughters, and *two hundred and thirty thousand* resolute *Britaines*, gat her to a seat made of marish turfes, after the manner of the *Romans*, apparelled in a loose gowne of changeable colours, wearing a *kirtle* thereunder very thick *pleited*, the tresses of her yellow haire hanging downe to the *skirts*. About her necke shee had a *chaine of gold*, and in her hand held a light *speare*, being of personage tall, and of a comely, cheerefull, and modest *countenance*, and so a while she stood pawsing, in viewing her *Armie*, and being regarded with a *reuerend silence*, at length to this effect she spake vnto them.

Her attire.

Her Oration to her Armie.

Tacit. Annal. l. 11

" (19) My *Friends* and *Companions* of equall fortunes, there needeth no excuse of this my present " authority or place, in regard of my *Sex*, seeing it is " not vnknowen vnto you all, that the wonted manner of our *Nation* hath beene to warre vnder the " conduct of a woman; and not onely ours but also of " the greatest Monarchies swaied vpon this vniuersall " Globe: for the *Empire* of the *Assyrians* (the first and " most famous that euer was) vnder the command " of *Semiamis* trumphed ouer the fierce *Aethiopians*; " and the gold-veined *India*, *Babylon* for strength and " beauty was both defended and inriched by *Nitocris* " her sole Empresse. The *Scythians* vnder *Tomyris* " ouercame, and slew the great Conquerour *Cyrus*. " *Aegypt* gouerned by *Cleopatra*: yea and *Romes* Mo" narkes themselues ruled, if not ouer-ruled, by *Mes*" *salina* and *Agrippina* the monsters of our Sexe. My " blood and birth might challenge some prehemi" nence, as sprung from the roots of most *royall de*" *scents*: but my breath receiued from the same aire, " my body sustained by the same soile, and my glorie " clouded with impoised ignominies; I disclaime all " superioritie, and as a fellow in *bondage* beare the " yoke of *oppressions*, with as heauie waight and pres" sure, if not more. Had I with *Caesars* mother beene " suspected of *Treason*, or with *false Certismandus* de" filed my *Bed*, to the disturbance of their peace; my " gods might haue gone vnder the title of *Confisca*" *tion*, and these prints of the whip vnder pretext of " iustice. But why name I *Iustice* in these grand Ca" talogues of oppresions, whose *Actors* respect nei" ther *person*, *age*, *sexe*, nor *cause*? For what *Abuse* can " be so vile, that we haue not suffered; or *indignitie* " so contemptible, that we haue not borne? My " stripes, yet felt and seene against their owne *lawes*, " and the violent rapes of these my harmlesse daugh" ters, against the *Lawes* of *God* and *Man*, doe witnesse " well what gouernment they intend: and your " *wealths* consumed by their wastefull *wantonnesse*, " your painfull trauels vpholding their *idlenesse*, doe " seale the issues of our succeeding *miseries*, if not " timely preuented by one ioint endeuour. You that " haue known the *freedome* of life, will with me con" fesse (I am sure) that *libertie* (though in a poore e" state) is better then *bondage* with fetters of gold: " and yet this *Comparison* hath no correspondencie in " vs: for we now enioy no *estate* at all, nothing now " being ours but what they will *leaue* vs; and nothing " left vs, that they can *take away*, hauing not so much " as our very heads toll-free. Other subdued *Nations* " by death are quit from *bondage*; but we after *death* " must liue seruile, and pay *tribute* euen in our *graues*. " Haue the *Heauens* made vs the ends of the *world*, " and haue not assigned the end of our *wrongs*? Or " hath *Nature* among all her *free workes* created vs " onely *Britaines* for *bondage*? Why, what are the *Ro*" *mans*? Are they more then men, or immortall? " Their slaine carcases sacrificed by vs, and their pu" trified *blood* corrupting our *Aire*, doth tell vs they " are no *Gods*. Our *personages* are more *tall*, our *bo*" *dies* more *strong*, and our ioints *better knit*, and (to " say as it is) euery part of vs framed more fit for the " *speare* then for the *spade*. But you will say, they are " our *Conquerours*. Indeed ouercome we are, but by " our selues, our *owne factions* still giuing way to *their* " *intrusions*: For had not the *Dictator* a *Mandubrate*? " *Caligula* an *Adminius*? *Claudius* a *Bericus*, and *Co*" *gidunus*? *Nero* (that strumpet, and our still-liuing " shame) *Cartismandua*? *Romes* instruments, and *Bri*" *taines* vipers? without which, you shall see *Caesar* in " single fight, lose his *sword*, and after flie the Coun" try (*a dishonour indelible*:) *Tiberius* forgoe his *Tribute* " though extremely couetous; *Claudius* glad to make " peace, and be quiet: and *Nero* might still haue fol" lowed his *fiddling trade* at home; had not our *dis*" *cords* made vp his *Musick* here abroad. Our *Dissen*" *sions* therefore haue beene their only rising, and our " designes still weakened by home-bred *Conspirators*. " Neither hath our *noble resistance* euer beene with" out desert and *note of honour*: their publike *triumphs* " being made more *admirable* by one *Britaines* Con" quest, then vsually hath beene solemnized ouer " whole Kingdomes. *Caligula* for beholding our " cliffes only would haue diuine honours: and for" getfull *Claudius* remembred vnto posterities (in his " *Britannicus*) a glorious surname from vs. *Our* " *strengths* haue beene acknowledged the maine *sup*" *port* of *other States*, and shall it not bee supplied to " maintaine our owne? We haue as much to keepe " as *Birth-right* hath giuen vs, that is, our *Iland* pos" sessed by our *Auncestors* from all *antiquitie*: *Ours* " by *inheritance*; *theirs* by *intrusions*, claimes so diffe" rent in the scale of *Iustice*, that the *Gods* themselues " must needs redresse, & set the *ballance* in their *equal* " *poise*. We haue seene their *propitious beginnings*, in " making vs instruments ouer seuenty thousand of " *our enemies*; and yet in their reuenge *our forces* not " *diminished* but much *increased* in number and pow" er: which thing, as it serues to *our encouragements*; " so is it to *their feare*. For *Catus* hath set the *Seas* (a " sure defence) betwixt him and vs; yet not a *Britaine* " pursuing: for surely if any had, he would haue hid " himselfe in the waues. *Petilius* the *field-mouse* doth " keepe his hole, and with the *Moale* works the earth " for his safest refuge: And *Posthumus* their *Campe*" *master* is too wise to venture all at a cast. Only *Plau*" *tius* fleshed by his late victorie ouer a company of " vnarmed *Priests*, whose resistance consisted only in " praiers, and a few weake *women*, whose weapons " were only fire-brands, builds the hopes of his aspi" ring *minde*, as *Caligula* did his *Trophey* of *Cockle*" *shels*. For see we not him encamped rather to *de*" *fend* his owne, then to *offend* others? His *Armie* " crouched together, as fowles flocked against a " *storme*, or rather like to fearefull *Hares* squatted in " their bushes, who no sooner shall heare the cry of " their pursuit, but their *Muise* or *Fortresse* will bee " left: and for their last refuge, as *Hares* trust to the " swiftnesse of their speedy feet. Suddenly, as shee was thus speaking, she let slip a *Hare* which she had secretly couched in her lappe, which with a great shout *escaped* thorow the Campe, and gaue occasion to the *Armie* (who litle suspected it was done by her of purpose) to *construe* it as an ominous and lucky *signe* of *victory*.

Tacit. Annal. lib. 14. cap. 11.

Caesar. com. lib. 5.

Britannish vipers.

Tacitus in vita Agric.

Domesticke conspirators most dangerous.

Caesar. Com. li. 2.

Motiues inciting to pursue the *Romans*.

Her deuice at concluding her speech.

(20) And thereupon with great force they *assaile* their enemies, whiles *Suetonius* was likewise encouraging his *Souldiers* to the like resolution. The *fourteenth Legion* by his direction kept the strait as a sure place of *defence*, till the *Britaines* in the fury of their first

Her reioiceth in her innocencie.

Shee disclaimeth all superioritie.

The indignities offered by the *Romans*.

Dion. Cass. lib. 62.

Nitocris.

Tomyris.

Iustin. lib. 1.

Cleopatra.

Messalina and *Agrippina.*

Semiramis.

The *Britaines* vnquiſhed.

Eightie thouſand *Britaines* ſlaine.

Boudicea poiſoneth her ſelfe.

Tacit. Annal. lib. 14. cap. 11.

Pœnius ſlew himſelfe. *Tacitus hiſt. lib. 2. cap. 4.*

The *Britaines* miſeries.

Iulius Claſſicianus a receiuer.

Promiſeth Clemencie.

Tranquillus in vit. Nero. Sect. 40.

Polycletus ſent to reconcile *Claſſicianus* and *Suetonius*.

first onſet had ſpent all their *darts* which with good ſucceſſe they had *beſtowed*: but then failing and wearied in their firſt comming on too hotly, the *Romanes* ſallied out vpon the plaine, the *Auxiliaries* and *Horſemen* with long launces making their way, and beating downe all that ſtood before them. The *Britaines* vnable to endure or withſtand ſuch fierce *aſſaults*, were forced to giue backe, and at length ſought to ſaue themſelues by *flight*, but were hindred by their owne *Waggons* placed in the *rere-ward* of the Army, which gaue the more *impediment* to their *retrait*, in that they were then *full of their women who in confidence of the victory came thither* to behold the fight, which were among the reſt all ſlaine, without regard of ſexe or mercie. This *day* was famous and comparable in renowne for *victorie* to any other of former times, for therein were ſlaine of the *Britaines* to the number of *eightie thouſand men*: And the Land brought vnder an vnrecouerable ſubiection.

(21) *Boduo* ſeeing the ouerthrow of her *Army*, was notwithſtanding *vnuanquiſhed* in her owne *Noble ſpirit*; and ſcorning to be a ſpectacle in their *Triumphs* or a vaſſall to their willes, after the example of *Cleopatra*, ſhee made an end of her miſeries and life, by poiſon. And *Pœnius Poſthumus*, *Camp-maſter* of the ſecond *Legion*, ſeeing the good ſucceſſe of the *fourteenth* and *twentieth*: for that diſobaying the *Generall* (contrary to the diſcipline of warre) he had *defrauded* himſelfe and followers of their parts of *glorie* in that ſeruice, for very griefe *ſlew himſelfe*: and for their good ſeruice there performed, *Nero* greatly honoured the *eleuenth*, *thirteenth* and *fourteenth Legions*, repoſing a moſt ſure truſt in their *valour and fidelitie*, euer afterward.

(22) *Suetonius* animated with this victorie, gathered his Army, & *encamped* again; purpoſing *to end* the reſidue of the *warre*, if any reſiſters ſhould remaine. And at that preſent were ſent him out of *Germanie* two thouſand *Legionary Souldiers*, eight *Cohorts of Auxiliaries*, & a thouſand *Horſe*, whereby his ſtrength was augmented, & the *ninth Legion* which had beene much weakened by the raſhnes of *Petilius*, fully ſupplied: So that bootleſſe it was for the poore *Britaines* to make any further reſiſtance, and ſuch as did, or ſtood *doubtfully affected*, were daily put to the ſword But nothing diſtreſſed them ſo much, as did *famine*, and want of *Corne*, being a people in all ages more giuen to warre then *Good huſbandry*, and rather relying vpon the prouiſions of others, than by *the plough* to prouide for themſelues; fierce of nature, and ſlowlie lending eare to peace, or their mind to ſuch *Arts* as either nouriſh, or are nouriſhed by peace.

(23) In theſe ſtirres *Iulius Claſſicianus*, ſent from *Nero* to ſucceede *Catus* in his office of *receipts*, an enemie, and at variance with *Suetonius*, the more to cloud *his renowne*, gaue it forth for certaine, that a new *Lieutenant* was to be expected, who without either hoſtile rancour, or pride of a *Conquerour*, would intreat the yeelders with all *Clemencie*: And likewiſe by letters ſent to *Rome*, he ſignified that no end of warre was to be expected, ſo long as *Suetonius* remained *Generall*; attributing euery aduerſe luck to his intollerable pride, and euery proſperous ſucceſſe onely to the good fortunes of *Cæſar* and *State of Rome*. Theſe Great mens diſſenſions awaked *Nero*, fearing leſt the *Britaines*, thereby would be more forward to *aduantage*, with whom experience had ſhewed there was no *dallying*; and his former loſſes among them being againe *recouered*; he thought himſelfe diſcharged and *quit* from all fatall *Calamities*, as *Tranquillus* doth affirme. Therefore he ſent *Polycletus*, one of his freed ſeruitors, with *Commiſſion* to examine the differences, and to interpoſe his *authoritie* to worke a *reconciliation*; at whoſe greatnes it was alſo thought that the *Britaines* would haue quaked, and come in vnder *feete*. Which thing fell out otherwiſe: for howſoeuer the *Captaine* and *Souldiers* regarded him for his place, vnto whom he ſhewed himſelfe both arrogant & terrible, yet the *Britaines* made him but their laughing ſtocke, as being themſelues borne free, and knew not what the power of freed-men was; much admired that ſuch Commanders and *Armies* which had atchieued ſo great exploites, could be brought to obay, and yeeld account of their actions to ſo baſe a bond-ſlaue, as they termed him.

Liberti or Freemen, were ſuch, as being firſt bond ſlaues, by their ſeruice obtained freedome, and many of them about the *Emperour* came to be of great ſway.

Suetonius deliuereth vp his charge.

Petronius his diſpoſition.

(24) But *Suetonius* growne great by his fortunes in theſe warres, and as it ſhould ſeeme both ſuſpected and feared of *Nero*, was by him commanded (the warres yet continuing) to deliuer vp his Army to *Petronius Turpilianus*, who had lately giuen ouer his *Conſulſhip in Rome*, a man of a ſofter, and more *intreatable condition*; and as a ſtranger to the *faults* before committed was the readier to forgiue; and hauing *compoſed* the former *troubles*, dares not any further, neither egging nor prouoking the *Enemie*, but gaue himſelfe to a quiet, or rather *idle life*, which he thought might paſſe vnder the title of an *honourable peace*. In which eſtate hee gaue vp his charge to *Trebellius Maximus*, and was after ſlaine by *Galba*, nothing obiected againſt him, but his faithfulneſſe to *Nero*, in that he would not betray him, as the reſt had done. For *Nero* now growne *odious to God and Man*, Conſpiracies were continually attempted, though not in act effected, vntill that *Iulius Vindex* Lieutenant of *Gallia* oppoſed his proceeding, being the firſt ſtirrer, and rowling ſtone that (as *Tacitus* tearmes it) tumbled *Nero* out of his *Seate*.

Petronius Turpilianus giueth vp his charge to *Trebell. Max.*

Petronius Turpilianus ſlaine, becauſe true to *Nero*.

Iulius Vindex oppoſeth *Nero*. *Tacit. hiſtor. in vit. Nero.*

(25) For hauing proclaimed *Galba Emperour*, an old and weake man, at that time *Gouernor* of *Arragon*; neither priuie to the conſpiracie, nor aſſenting to the title, he ſet vp daily many bitter and *biting Edicts* againſt *Nero*, wherby he was rowſed from his *laſciuious reſt*, and began to feare the fatall end, whereunto his *impious life* and bloody reigne had now laſtly brought him; who deſtitute of all *power* of reſiſtance, did now ſet his whole *hope* and refuge, vpon that *meanes*, to which the cõpaſſe of his time had euer pointed; for relying onely vpon his *skill in Muſique*, he intended his flight into *Ægypt*, there to teach the inſtructions of that *Art*: into ſuch ſudden *baſenes* was his minde deiected, that formerly had laſhed out beyond all meaſure in *luxurie*, *pride*, and *prodigalitie*. Vnto this conſpiracie ioined *Virginius Rufus* Lieutenant of high *Germanie*, with *Nymphidius*, *Sabinus*, and *Sophonius Tigellinus*, Captaine of the *Guard*, who after *Vindex* his death, (which happened vpon an accident euen in his entrance to *Armes*) maintained the election of *Galba*: and the *Senate* as forward to *Neroes* deſtruction, proclaimed him *Enemie* to the *State*, and pronounced his puniſhment *more maiorum*, ſending out each way to apprehend him aliue.

Proclaimeth *Galba Emperour*.

Nero ſeeketh to fly into Egypt.

The *Senate* ſend to apprehend him.

(26) In this feare *Nero* attended with foure ſeruants onely, had hid himſelfe in a Country *Cottage*, not paſſing foure miles from *Rome*; whence hearing his decreed *iudgement*, and demanding what was meant by that *ſentence*, it was anſwered, that his *necke* ſhould be locked in the forke of a tree, and his *bodie* all naked, whipped to death; whereupon lamenting that ſo good a *Miniſtrell* ſhould be made away, he ran himſelfe through on his ſword, and ſo rid the world of a *Monſter*.

Nero hideth himſelfe.

He killeth himſelfe.

(27) Of *ſtature* he was indifferent, his *body* full of freckles, his *haire* ſomewhat yellow, his *countenance* rather faire then louely, his *eies* gray and dimme, his *necke* fatte, his *bellie* bearing out, and his *legges* ſlender and ſmall; A moſt skilfull *Muſitian* he was, and in that *Art* ſought to excell others, and to equalize *Apollo* himſelfe, as alſo in his *Chariot-riding* to imitate the *ſwiftnes* of the *Sunne*. So prodigall in apparell, that he neuer wore one *Garment* twice, & ſo ſumptuous in *buildings*, as is incredible. He *raigned* thirteen *yeares* and eight *daies*, and *died* the eight of *Iune*, in the one and thirtieth of his age, and after the birth of our *Sauiour Chriſt* the threeſcore and tenth: as *Euſebius* doth account.

His lineaments. *Suet. in vita. Nero.*

His qualities

Ioſeph. Bell. Iud. lib. 5. cap. 6. Euſeb. lib. 3. cap. 5

His raigne and age.

GALBA.

CHAPTER VIII.

Nero the last of the *Cæsars*.

WIth the death of this *Tyrant*, ended the progeny of the *Cæsars*, and the *Emperours* succeeding were afterwards elected, either for the opinion of their owne worths, or els, (and that oftner) by the faction and *voice* of the *Souldiers*, whose violence the *Senate euer feared* to contradict, and whose *Colonies* in euery *Prouince* sought to raise their owne *Generall* to that high *estate*. In which time of Combustion, though litle be recorded of the *British affaires*, yet because the *Monarchy* of this *Iland* was then and long after inuested in the *Imperiall dignitie*, we may not omit to speake somewhat of the ensuing *Emperours*, as the chiefe Gouernours of this Kingdome. Vpon *Neroes* declining, diuers there were (as *Vindex* and *Virginius*, *Nymphidius* and *Sophonius*) set vp against him, but *Galba* for his reputed integritie got the *Garland* from them all: who little dreaming of the *Imperiall Diademe*, fortune set it vpon his head before his hand had toucht the same: for *Vindex* in *Gallia* hauing proclamed him *Emperour*, and himselfe in *Arragon* not free from *Neroes* hatred, hee sought rather to hazard his life with the glory of a Crowne, then depend vpon his mercy, who had sent secretly the *sentence* of his death. And therefore mounting the *Tribunall*, the more to impresse a fresh remembrance of former cruelties, he *placed* before his throne, the *Images* of certaine *Nobles executed* by *Nero*, with some personages sent for out of *exile*, whose presence might prouoke a deeper edge of hatred; and his *Army* about him ready for mutation, these, or the like words he spake.

Suet. in vit. Galb. Sect. 2.

The manner of chooſing the ſucceding *Emperours*.

Galba got the Empire ere hee looked for it.

Galba his policy to make *Nero* odious.

His Oration to his ſouldiers.

" (2) *My fellow Souldiers and friends*, wee at this " time are assembled, to bestow that vpon others, " which wee our selues haue smally enioied, I meane, " *liberty* from bondage, and *freedome* from feares of " a Tyrant. The life that I haue hitherto ledde, will " sufficiently discharge me from any aspiring con- " ceit, and my owne *Conscience* doth witnesse that " I speake not vpon malice or priuate respects: It " greeueth me to say, but it bootes not to hide, that, " which euery man seeth. Hath euer *Bond-man* vn- " der a cruell master passed a yeere of harder seruice, " then we haue done fourteene vnder *Nero*? what " kind of *exaction* hath he not proued, to supply with " *extortion*, that which with shame hee hath spent? " what kinde of crueltie hath he not practised? If we " would conceale or seeke to suppresse it, these dumb " stones would declare them: For behold, he poi- " soned his *Father* and *brother*, abused and slew his " owne *mother*, murdered his *wife*, his *Tutor*, and " what els so euer valiant or vertuous in *Senate*, in *Ci-* " *tie*, in *Prouince*, without any difference of *Sexe* or " *Age*. I neede not to speake of the sorrowfull *sighes*, " and bitter *teares* of so many yong gentlemen bereft " of their *fathers*, so many *wiues* robbed of their hus- " bands, so many great men depriued of their Coun- " try, all which cry vengeance vpon such a *Prince*: A " *Prince*? nay an Incendiary, a Singer, a Fidler, a " Stage-plaier, a Cart-driuer, a Cryer; no Prince, nay " no man; that hath a man to his husband, and a man " to his wife, but *a monster of mankinde*: And in trueth " a subiect, vpon whom, *vice* hath made her full ex- " perience, and raised her triumphs from the base of " *Cæsars throne*. Against whom, what *Vindex* in *France* " hath already intended, I am sure you doe know, " and I, for my part, am most sorry to heare. The " whole course of my former life hath been hitherto " remoued from *Ambition* in Court, or from aiming " too high abroad, and this little that remaines of " my daies, I could hartily wish were to be spent in " more ease: But sith I know not by what my *mis-* " *fortune*, some haue imposed vpon me a *Part* which " I neuer meant to sustaine, and least of all at this *age*, " I will not refuse, if you will also approue it, to sa- " crifice this old *Carcase* of mine for the wealth of " my Country, not as *Emperour* or *Augustus* (which " *sacred names* I adore afarre off, not daring to " approch them) but as ——— And no fur- ther heard, was with great acclamations saluted *Emperour*.

Nero described.

Nero solemnely maried one of his youths called *Doriphorus*, and kept him as his wife: so likewise did he with *Sporus*, whom he endeauoured to transforme into a woman.

(3) But such is the height of *glory*, which is raised by the *blasts* of the multitude, that it fals againe as the *bubble* burst in the swelling, which leaues neither circle nor signe of his former pride. And so is the state of *Galba* with one breath applauded, and placed vpon the *Imperiall Throne*; and that scarce cold, ere they dislike of their owne hasty *election*: for newes being brought that the State stood firme for *Nero*, and for certaine that *Vindex* was slaine, euen in his first enterprise of reuolt; that *Virginius* was sided by his *Germane Legions*, and his name inscribed in their banners; and that *Nymphidius* was the man whose deserts could not be sufficiently honoured with lesse recompence then the princely *Diademe*: These distractions so much ouer-swaied his aged and passionate heart, that he retired to *Clunia* in great deiection, repenting himselfe of that which hee had done, and wished againe his priuate estate.

Glory like a Bubble.

(4) But the death of *Nero* commonly diuulged, and *Virginius* his refusals of the *Imperiall Title*, gaue strength and life to his former election, now further ratified by the full resolutions of the *Armie*: who the more to seeme both strong and valorous, though in deed a weake, sickly, and silly old man, Souldier-like in his coat of Armes shewed himselfe, and in that array passed the vast mountaines for *Rome*. With whose entrance, entred the dislike of his person, as one vnfit to support the state of others, that by age and imbecillity was not able to sustaine his owne; aud the *imperfections* of his *gouernment* caried euery waye farre vnder *expectation*, dayly added their further *dislikes*; which assaying himselfe to redresse, he soone shooke the foundation of his owne fabricke: for in a blunt &

ſhort oration by him made vnto the *Senate* and ſouldiers, he declared *Piſo Licinianus* his *Caſar*: ioining him in preſent power with himſelfe, and after his deceaſe, his ſucceſſor in the *Empire*.

Tacit hiſt. 1. * *Siluius.* *Saluius Otho* conſpireth *Galbaes* death.

(5) Whereat howſoeuer others ſtood affected, yet *Marcus* * *Saluius Otho* (one, who for cõmerce in leaudnes was very deare to *Nero*, & whoſe hope depended vpon the common diſturbance, for that his exceſſe in riot had now brought him to the brinke of beggery) much enuied the rat; the rather becauſe himſelfe had entertained a hope that *Galba* would haue adopted him; but therein deceiued, as his concurrent ſet his own aſpiring mind for the *Crown*. And euen now this time beſt fitted his attempts, being the wane of *Galbaes* authority, and before the full of *Piſoes* power; his *Aſtrologers & ſtarre-gazers* forwarding him with their vaine predictions; a kinde of people euer to *Princes* vnfaihtfull, to hopers deceithfull, and in a commonwealth alwaies forbidden, yet alwaies retained. And *Otho* preuailing with the Pretorian ſouldiers, by great gifts, and faire promiſes, practiſed, and wrought (within eight daies following) *Galbaes* death: which his treaſon he ſo cunningly carried, that ſtill he accompanied the *Emperour* with great obſeruances, as his priuate, and eſpeciall friend: But the conſpiracy ripened ready for the blanche, *Otho* ſtole ſecretly from the Palace, vnto the Pretorian Cohorts, purpoſely ſo appointed: where no ſooner come and ſeen, but they ſaluted him *Emperour*, and vpon their ſhoulders bare him towards their Campe.

Aſtrologers and Starre-gazers.

The rumor ariſing of this ſuddain reuolt, ſore affrighted *Galba*, then ready to do ſacrifice vnto his gods, & ſo diſtracted his followers, that there were as many aduices, as there were men, and meſſengers poſting from Campe vnto Court, brought as diuerſe relations, as their owne ſuſpitions conceiued: in which diſtraction, the weake and wauering old man was ſo wrapped, that beſides throngings from place to place, nothing was effected, till laſtly abandoned by his owne followers, a troupe of horſe men ſent from the Campe, tumultuouſly ſlew him, and preſented his head vpon the point of a lance, to *Otho*. With him died *Piſo* his elected *Caſar*, whom *Sulpitius Florus* one of the *Britiſh Cohorts* ſlew, and *Titus Iunius* a *Conſull*, with others that had bene deere vnto *Galba* whilſt he was *Emperour*.

His deſcription.

(6) He was of a good *ſtature*; his *head* bald, his *eies* gray, and his *noſe* hooked, his *hands* and *feet* crooked by reaſon of the gout, and a bunch of fleſh or wen vpon his right ſide. A great feeder and *Sodomite* hee was, ſeuere in iuſtice, and ouer-ruled by his ſeruants. Hee died aged ſeuenty three yeeres, hauing out-liued fiue Princes. In proſperity happier vnder the *Empire* of others, then in his owne; for hee ſate only ſeuen moneths, and them with ſmall content. In his flouriſhing age with great renowne he had ſerued in *Germany*: *Africke* he ruled as *Proconſul*, and the neerer *Spaine* vprightly and well; ſeeming more then a priuate man whileſt he was priuate, and held capable of the *Empire*, had he neuer beene *Emperour*.

His vices.

His age.

And reigne.

THE FIRST PLANTING OF RELIGION IN BRITAINE.

Chapter IX.

Britaine in quiet repoſe. *Tacit.hiſt.1. ca.3.*

THis ſhort time of *Galbaes* gouernement, with the conſpiracies againſt his *Predeceſſour*, admitteth ſmall remembrances of our *Britiſh* affaires: which *Prouince* (ſaith *Tacitus*) among all other ſtirres againſt both *Nero* and *Galba*, held amity, and ſtood in quiet; whether it was the farre diſtance of place, ſeuered by *Sea* from the ſeditions of the *Reuolters*; or that by continuall ſeruice againſt the *Enemie* the malice of their humours were ſpent, it is vncertaine. Therefore a while to digreſſe from the *Succeſſion* of our *Britiſh Monarkes*, and to fill vp the emptineſſe of thoſe *Times* with matters incident to our ſelues, let it not ſeeme either tedious or ſuperfluous, to ſpeake of the planting of his *Kingdome* in this *Iland*, whoſe *Rule* in ſhort time extended to the *Ends* of the Earth; and whoſe Ambaſſadours (as ſome haue written) about the midſt of *Neroes Reigne*, and in the yeere of *Chriſts Incarnation* ſixty three, approched for the Inhabitants ſaluation, *Aruiragus* then ſwaying the *Scepter* of this Kingdome.

Chriſtianity ſuppoſed to bee brought into *Britaine* in *Neroes* time. *Ex Antiq. Manuſcript. Freculphus Lexouienſis, Tom 2. lib.2.cap.4. William of Malmesbury.* *Bale Centur. lib.1. Harding* ſaith fourteene, *cap.47*

(2) At which time (ſay they) were ſent certaine Diſciples out of *France* into *Britaine* by *Philip* the Apoſtle, whereof *Ioſeph of Arimathea*, that buried the body of *Chriſt*, was chiefe; who firſt laid the foundation of our faith in the Weſt parts of this *Iland*, at the place then called *Aualon*, (afterwards *Inis Witrin*, now *Glaſtenburie*) where he with twelue Diſciples his Aſſiſtants preached the Goſpell of life vnto the *Ilanders*, and there left their bodies to remaine for a ioifull *Reſurrection*. This doth *Gildas* affirme, and *Malmesburie* in his *Booke* of the Antiquity of *Glaſtenburie* written to *Henry de Bloys*, brother to King *Stephen*, and *Abbat* of the ſame place, reports, and is conſented vnto (for the *matter*, though all agree not touching the *time*) by the learned *Antiquaries* of later times, grounded on the *Teſtimonies* of the beſt approued ancient writers: who account the moſt happy influence of *Chriſtianitie*, to haue beene by thoſe *glorious conduits* conuaied into the remote parts of the world: that ſo (according to the promiſe of *God* by *Eſaiah*) *The Iles afarre off which had not heard of his fame, ſhould be conuerted, and haue his glorie to them declared among the Gentiles.*

Ioſeph of Arimathea buried at *Glaſtenbury.* *Gildas in vit. Aurel. Ambroſij.* *Malmesburie.*

Cambden.in Brit. *Bale, Cent. 1.* *Matth. Park. Antiq. Eccl. Brit.* *Polydor. Virg.* *& alij.*

Eſay.66.19.

(3) And if the credit of *Dorotheus* Biſhop of *Tyre*, (who liued to ſee the apoſtacie of *Iulian*) weigh any thing with vs, in his tract of the Liues and Deaths of the *Prophets*, *Apoſtles*, and *Diſciples*, he bringeth *Simon Zelotes* (an *Apoſtle* of *Ieſus Chriſt*) to preach the word, and to ſuffer Martyrdome on the *Croſſe* here in *Britaine*: with whom *Nicephorus*, and after him *Iohn Capgraue* (in his Catalogue of Engliſh Saints) agree, ſaying, that the ſame *Simon* ſpread the *Goſpell* to the weſt *Ocean*, and brought the word of life into the *Iles* of *Britaine*: and, in the conuerſion of Countries wrought by the *Apoſtles*, the ſame *Nicephorus*, with *Egypt* and *Lybia* aſſigneth *Britaine* alſo to be one. And the foreſaid *Dorotheus*, as alſo *Mirmanus*, nameth *Ariſtobulus* one of the ſeuenty Diſciples (the ſame whom *Saint Paul* in his Epiſtle to the *Romans* among others

Dorotheus in the liues of Saints.

Luk.6.15.

Simon Zelotes martyred in *Britaine.* *Nicephor. lib.2. cap.40.* *Iohn Capgraue.*

Nicephor. lib.3. cap.1.

Rom.16.10.

others ſaluteth) to haue taught the doctrine of *Saluation*, and to haue executed the office of a *Biſhop* heere in *Britaine*.

Baronius in hiſtor Eccleſ. Mary Magdalen, Lazarus, and Martha in England.

(4) To theſe firſt *Planters* and *Sowers* of this heauenly *Seed*, *Cæſar Baronius*, that voluminous Hiſtorian, ioineth *Mary Magdalen*, *Lazarus*, and *Martha*, who (by his relation) being baniſhed *Ieruſalem*, in a maſterleſſe ſhip without tackling arriued in *Gallia*, and with them *Ioſeph* of *Arimathea*, who afterward landed in *Britaine* (*vt tradunt*, as he ſaith, out of an old *Manuſcript* which he ſaw in the Vatican *Library*:) yea and with them alſo *Eurgain* the ſiſter of *Ioſeph*, who afterwards married a *Britaine* named *Siarklots*, if the authoritie whereon *George Owen-Harry* doth ground that report, be of any credit.

Eurgain the ſiſter of *Ioſeph* maried *Siarklots* a Britain *Georg. owen* in his Pettigrees.

(5) But yet there are others, who vpon a very good ground, from the words of *Gildas* (the moſt ancient of our *Britiſh Hiſtorians*) will haue the *Sunne* of the *Goſpell* long before to haue riſen in this our *Weſt*; and this *Iland* of *Britaine* to haue enioied the very *morning* of his *Aſcent*, the brightneſſe thereof piercing thorow the miſtie clouds of errour, ſhined heere in *Britaine* euen in the daies of *Tiberius*, towards whoſe end *Chriſt* ſuffered his death. Which aſſertion the ſaid *Gildas* doth not deliuer coldly or doubtingly, but with great *confidence*, & relying vpon good grounds, as it appeareth when he ſaith, *Scimus, &c. wee know for certainty, that this was in the latter time of Tiberius.* Which was immediately after our bleſſed *Sauiours Paſſion.*

Gildas de Conqueſt. Brit.

To which *vncontroleable teſtimonie* ſome others haue added (though not perhaps on ſo vndoubted warrant) that *S. Peter* the *Apoſtle* preached the word of life in this *Iland*, as to other *Gentiles* he did, for whom *God* had choſen him, that from his mouth they might heare the *Goſpell* and beleeue, (as himſelfe alledgeth) and that hee heere founded Churches and ordained *Prieſts* and *Deacons*, which is reported by *Simon Metaphraſtes* out of the Greeke Antiquities, and *Guilielmus Eiſingrenius* in the firſt of his *Centurie*, who ſaith that *Peter* was here in *Neroes* time; whereas *Baronius* thinketh it was in the reigne of *Claudius*, when the *Iewes* were baniſhed *Rome*, and that therefore *Paul* in his *Epiſtle* to the *Romans* mentioneth him not. Indeed *Baronius* and ſome others plead very hotly for *S. Peters* preaching heere; but I ſee not well how it can ſtand either with *Euſebius* his account, which keeps him ſo long at *Rome* after he was *Biſhop* there, or with *Onuphrius*, who denieth that he went weſt-ward (being expulſed by *Claudius*) but to *Ieruſalem*, and thence to *Antioch*, where he liued till the death of *Claudius*: whence it muſt follow, that if *Peter* were heere at all, it was before euer he went to *Rome*, and that the *Goſpell* was preached heere before it was in *Rome*, if *Peter* were the firſt (as ſome hold) that preached there: both which may be the more probable, if we conſider the huge multitudes of Chriſtians (fifteene thouſand, ſaith *Baronius*) which diſperſed themſelues into all parts of the world vpon the martyring of *S. Steuen* at *Ieruſalem*, (which was preſently vpon the death of *Chriſt*) and that *Ioſeph* of *Arimathea* was one of that number, *Baronius* doth confeſſe. I am heere contented to ſtep ouer that Monkiſh tale reported by *Aluredus Riuallenſis* (the writer of *King Edward* the Confeſſors life) that a holy man (forſooth) ſtudious and carefull for a Gouernour to ſucceed, was in his ſleepe told by *S. Peter*, that the kingdome of *England* was his, wherein himſelfe had firſt preached, and would alſo prouide him *Succeſſors*. For ſeeing it was a dreame, for a dreame we leaue it; and *Peter* among the other *Elders* to attend his Throne, that now ſitteth in glorious *Maieſtie*, and who in this life minded no ſuch earthly *preheminence*, no not to diuide betwixt brethren, though the *Kingdome* and rule of all things was his alone.

Baronius.

Euſebius.

Onuphrius.

A Monkiſh tale of S. Peter.

Apoc. 4.

Luk. 12. 13.

(6) Certes *Peter* was principally the *Apoſtle* of the *Circumciſion*, and therefore more likely to haue ſpent his *endeuours* on them: but for *Paule* (the *Doctor* of the *Gentiles*) his arriuall heere may ſeeme more warrantable, who doubtleſſe (after his firſt releaſement from *Rome*) confirmed the doctrine of *Chriſt* to theſe *weſterne parts* of the world, and among them, as may appeare, to this *Iland* of *Britaine*, as both *Sophronius* Patriarke of *Ieruſalem*, and *Theodoret* an ancient Doctor of the Church, doe affirme and approue, ſaying that *Fiſhers*, *Publicans*, and the *Tent-Maker* (meaning *S. Paul*) which brought the *Euangelicall light* vnto all Nations, reuealed the ſame vnto the *Britaines*. That *Paul* came into *Illyricum*, *Gallia*, and *Spaine*, and filled all thoſe parts with his doctrine, both *Euſebius*, *Dorotheus*, and *Epiphanius* doe teſtifie: and of this generall Ambaſſage the Apoſtle himſelfe ſaith, that *the ſound of the Goſpell went thorow the earth, and was heard vnto the ends of the world:* which his ſayings cannot more fitly bee applied to any other *Nation* then vnto vs of *Britaine*, whoſe land by the *Almightie* is ſo placed in the terreſtriall globe, that thereby it is termed of the ancient, *The Ends of the Earth*, and deemed to be ſituated in another *world*; for ſo in an Oration that *Agrippa* made to the *Iewes*, and *Agricola* to his *Romans*, it is called: which made *Solinus* write that the coaſt of *France* had beene the *End of the earth*, had it not beene for *Britaine*, which was as *another world*. And in *Dion* we reade, that the old Souldiers of *Gallia* whom *Claudius* commanded for *Britaine*, complained that they muſt bee inforced to make warre out of the *world*. And of this Land and latter *Apoſtle* (if credit may be giuen to a *Poet*) *Venantius Fortunatus* thus recordeth:

Sophr. in his Sermon of the nativitie of the Apoſtles.
Theodoret. de curandis Græcorum affectionibus, li. 9.

Euſeb. lib. 3. ca. 1.
Doroth. liues of Saints.
Epiphan. lib. 1. Tom. 2.
Rom. 10, 18.

Amian. lib. 27. c. 7
Ioſeph bell. Iuda lib. 2. cap. 16.
Tacit. in vit. Agr.
Solinus.

Dion Caſſ. lib. 60.

Transijt Oceanum, & quà facit Inſula Portum,
Quaſq; Britannus habet terras, quaſq; vltima Thule.

He croſt the ſeas vnto the land, and vtmoſt coaſts of Thule,
Ariuing at the Ports and Iles where Britains bare the rule.

(7) Thus for *Paul*: well knowne in *Rome* by his long impriſonments, and (at that time) in reuerend regard for his *doctrine* with many there: among whom alſo there were ſome *Britaines* that embraced the faith, whereof *Claudia Ruſina* (remembred by *Martial* another Poet) was one, whom he thus extols:

Martial. lib. 2 Epig. 54.

Claudia cæruleis cùm ſit Ruſina Britannis
Edita, cur Latia pectora plebis habet?
Quale decus formæ? Romanam credere matres
Italides poſſunt, Atthides eſſe ſuam.

How hath dame Claudia, borne of Britains blew,
Won fame for wiſdome with our ſages graue?
Her comely forme and learning, as their due
Rome claimes for hers, and hers would Athens haue.

Matth. Park Archb in Antiq. Eccl. Britan. Bale, &c.

This *Claudia* is by the learned commended to haue beene moſt skilfull in the *Greeke* and *Latine tongues*; of whom heare them (not me) ſpeake. At the commandement of the *Tyrant Nero* (ſay they from *Tacitus*) many Noble *Britains* were brought to *Rome*, who there remaining their *Confederates*, they held it an honour to haue their *children* named after the Nobilitie of the *Romans*: and from *Claudius Ceſar* was this Ladie *Claudia* named, who according to her worth was matched in marriage to *Rufus* a gentleman of *Rome*, then a *Coronell*, after a *Senator*, a man of a milde *diſpoſition*, naturally modeſt, a great *Philoſopher* in the Sect of the *Stoickes*, for his ſweetneſſe of behauiour called *Pudens*, who by his graue perſwaſions cauſed *Martial* (the wittie but wanton *Poet*) to reforme many things in his writings; and by him is cõmended for his *humanitie*, *pietie*, *learning*, and *eloquence*: as alſo his wife *Claudia* the *Britaine*, for her *beautie*, *faith*, *fruitfulneſſe*, *learning*, and *languages*. In proofe whereof, *Bale* hath mentioned three ſeuerall Treatiſes, beſides others by her compiled both in the *Greeke* and *Latine* tongues. *Dorotheus* nameth *Pudens* to be one of the ſeuentie two, and *Volaterranus* affirmeth them both *Paules* diſciples, from whom he ſendeth greeting to *Timotheus* in theſe words: *Eubulus* and

Claudia here learned writings.
Doroth. of the liues of the Diſciples
Volaterranus lib. 18.
2 Tim. 4. 21.

S. Paul preached in Britaine.

and Pudens, and Linus, and Claudia, and all the brethren ſalute thee. But ſome may obiect, that *Martials Claudia* could not be that *Ladie*, who liuing in *Neroes* time gaue hoſpitalitie vnto *Peter* and *Paul* at their being in *Rome*; for that ſhe could not retaine ſuch beauty and perfection as the *Poet* to her doth aſcribe in the reigne of *Domitian*, the ſeuenth in ſucceſſion from *Nero*, the time being too long (ſaith *Ado*, *Biſhop* of *Treuers*, *Vſuardus* and others) for beauty to be ſo freſhly preſerued. But howſoeuer theſe account her age then to be ſixty, yet if we reckon according to *Euſebius*, we ſhal ſee that he ſets the laſt of *Claudius* in the yeare of grace *fiftie ſixe*, and the firſt of *Domitian* in *eightie three*, betwixt which, are but *twenty ſeauen* yeares; and yet *Paul* came not to *Rome* till the tenth of *Nero*, and in his thirteenth yeare, from the priſon wrote his Epiſtle to *Timothy*, as the ſame *Euſebius* declareth: ſo that from hence vnto *Domitian*, is left but fourteene yeeres, a time no whit vnpoſſible to retaine *Beautie*, though twenty yeares and many moe of her age had beene formerly ſpent; ſeeing that in thoſe times *Plutarch* praiſeth *Alcibiades* to be paſſingly faire when he was threeſcore yeares of age.

The ſame *Claudia* that *Paul* and *Martial* ſpeaketh

Euſeb. Eccle. hiſt. lib. 2. cap. 22.

Alcibiades his beautie in old age.

This *Claudia* then with *Pauls* ſpirituall *Manna*, is ſaid to ſend likewiſe the choiſeſt and chaſteſt of the Poeſies of *Martial* for new-yeares gifts vnto her friends in *Britaine*, both for to feed their *Soules* with the bread of life, and to inſtruct their *mindes* with leſſons beſt fitting vnto ciuill behauiour; which thing moued the *Poet* himſelfe with no ſmall ſelfe-glory in his verſe thus to write:

Claudia ſedns both *Paules* and *Martialls* writings into *Britaine.*

Dicitur & noſtros cantare Britannia verſus.
And Britaine now (they ſay) our verſes learns to ſing.

Martial. lib. 7. Epig. 10.

(8) It hath alſo paſſed with allowance among the learned *Senate* of our *Antiquaries*, that when *Claudius* and *Nero* began to baniſh and perſecute the Chriſtians in *Rome*, (whoſe ſuperſtitions, as *Tacitus* pleaſeth to tearme them, from *Iudea* had infected the *Citie* it ſelfe) many *Romans* and *Britaines* being conuerted to the *Faith*, fled thence vnto theſe remote parts of the earth, where they might and did more freely enioy the liberty of their *Profeſſions*, vntill the ſearch of *Tyrants* by the flame-light of *Perſecutions*, had found out all ſecret places for the ſafeties and aſſemblies of *Gods Saints*: as after in the daies of *Diocleſian* we ſhall finde: And from this *Sanctuarie* of *Saluation* the ſad lamenting Lady * *Pomponia Gracina*, the wife of *Aulus Plautius* (the firſt *Lord Lieutenant* of *Britaine*) brought that *Religion*, whereof ſhe was accuſed and ſtood indited vpon life and death, which was none other, then the *Chriſtian* Profeſſion, ſeeing the ſame both by *Tacitus* and *Sueitonius*, is euerie where termed the ſtrange ſuperſtitions and new kinde of Sect that the *Chriſtians* imbraced, and for which they were accounted vnworthy to liue.

Tacit. Annal. lib. 15. cap. 10.

Aulus Plautius his wife became a Chriſtian in *Britaine.*

Tacit. Annal. l. 13 7. & lib 15. 10. Suetonius in vita Nero. Sect. 16.

(9) And much about theſe time (as *Beatus Rhenanus* in his *Hiſtory of Germanie*, *Pantaleon* and others doe report) one *Suetonius* a Noble mans ſonne in *Britaine* conuerted to the Faith by the firſt *Planters* of the *Goſpell* in this *Iland*, and after his *Baptiſme* called *Beatus*, was ſent by the *Brethren* from hence vnto *Rome*, to be better inſtructed, and further directed by *Saint Peter* himſelfe; and returning thorow *Switzerland*, found ſuch willingneſſe and flocking of the *people* to heare and receiue the *Doctrine of Chriſt*, that he there ſtaied and built an *Oratorie* not farre from the lake *Thun*, and neare the Towne called *Vnderſewen*, where in preaching and praiers he imploied his time to the day of his death, which happened in the yeare of grace 110.

B. Rhenan. in his Hiſt. of *Germany.* *Pantaleon.*

And that there were Chriſtians in *Britain* at theſe times I make no queſtiō, thogh ſome exceptions may be taken againſt the *Monk* of *Burton* the reporter therof, who ſaith in the 141 *yeare; and raigne of Hadrian, nine maſters of Grantceſter were baptized themſelues, & preached to others the Goſpell in Britain*; howſoeuer he faileth in the Emperours name, which yeare was the ſecond of *Antonimus Pius* his ſucceſſor, and aſcribeth to theſe men Schoole-degrees, altogether vnknowne for nine hundred yeares after, yet theſe do not hinder the truth of the thing, though that *Monke* was none of the beſt *Hiſtorians*. It is reported alſo that *Patrick* the Iriſh *Apoſtle*, and Canonized *Saint*, long *before the Raigne of* King *Ethelbert preached* the *Goſpell* in many places of *Wales*: As alſo that *Ninianus Bernicius* of the race of the Britiſh Princes *conuerted the Picts* to the Religion of *Chriſt*. Vnto theſe aforeſaid authorities and teſtimonies howſoeuer we ſtand affected: yet it is certaine by *Chemnitius* citing *Sabellicus*, that the *Britaines* were with the *firſt Conuerts*: And *Tertullian* who liued within two hundred yeares of *Chriſts Natiuitie*, ſheweth no leſſe: Who the more to *prouoke* the *Iewes* againſt whom he wrote, *calleth to witneſſe* the fruitfull *increaſe* of the *Goſpell of ſaluation*, through many Countries and Nations, and *among them* nameth *the Britaines* to haue receiued the Word of life, the power whereof (ſaith he) hath pierced into thoſe parts whither the *Romanes* could not come. Whence *Petrus Cluniacenſis* ſuppoſeth the *Scottiſh men the more ancient Chriſtians*, as *not* being *in* the like *ſubiection to* the *Romans*, as other then were.

Patrick the Iriſh Apoſtle preached in *Wales.*

Chemnitius (in exam. in Concil. Triden.) ex Sabel. lico.

Tertullian cont. Iudæos, cap. 7.

Petrus Cluni. ad Bernard.

(10) *Origen*, who flouriſhed not much aboue two hundred yeares after *Chriſt*, in his Homilies *vpon Ezechiel ſheweth*, that the firſt fruits of *Gods harueſt* was *gathered* in the Iland of *Britaine*: who conſented to the Chriſtian faith by the doctrine of their *Druides*: that taught *one onely God*: with whom *Hector Boetius* agreeth, ſaying, that ſome of theſe *Druides* condemned the worſhip of God in Images, and *allowed not* the applicatiō of the *Godhead* vnto any viſible forme: which might be the cauſe why *Claudius* the *Emperour* forbad their Religion, as ſauouring in theſe things too much of *Chriſtianitie*; whom likewiſe he baniſhed *Rome*, as ſome from *Suetonius* coniecture. Of theſe *Druides* we ſhewed before, that their offices were moſt imploied *about holy things*, and that their doctrine chiefly conſiſted *in teaching* the *immortalitie of the ſoule*, the *motions of the heauens*, the *nature of things*, and *the power of the Gods*: yea and *Poſtellus* from others *will inforce*, that they *prophecied* likewiſe of a *Virgins conception.* Theſe were the helps, ſaith *Tertullian*, that cauſed the *Britaines* ſo ſoone to imbrace the Doctrine of *Chriſt*, and thereupon immediatly after his death doth *Gyldas* faſten our conuerſion, where he writeth,

Origen. in Eze. homil. 4.

Hector Boet. Chro. Scot. lib. 2. The *Druides* allowed not Images nor any viſible forme of the God-head.

Suetonius in vita Claud. Sect. 25.

Tacit. Annal. l. 14 cap. 10. Cæſar. Com. lib. 6.

Poſtellus.

That *the Glorious Goſpell of Ieſus Chriſt, which firſt appeared to the world in the later time of Tiberius Cæſar, did euen then ſpread his bright beames vpon this froſen Iland of Britaine.*

Gyldas de Exidio Brit.

(11) Whereby we ſee the waters of life, flowing from *Ieruſalems* Temple, into theſe farre ſet Countries and vttermoſt *Seas*, to be made both fruitfull & wholeſome, according to the ſayings of the *Prophet*, that *in that day the waters of life ſhould iſſue from Ieruſalem, halfe of them toward the Eaſt Sea, and halfe of them towards the vttermoſt Sea, and ſhall remaine fruitfull both in Sommer and winter*: and euen in the infancie of *Chriſtianitie*, both the *Apoſtles* themſelues, & alſo the *Proſelytes* their *Diſciples* to become fiſhers therein for the Soules of Men, as *Chriſt* in chuſing of them ſaid they ſhould bee; whereby his kingdome was ſoone enlarged vnto theſe *Ends of the Earth*, and his Throne eſtabliſhed among thoſe *Heathen*, whom God his Father had giuen to be his. So fruitfull and famous was this ſpreading of the *Goſpell*, that *Baptiſta Mantuan*, a *Chriſtian Poet*, compares the increaſe thereof with that of *Noah*, thus alluding vnto it:

Ezech. 47. 8.

Zachar. 14. 8.

Matt. 4. 19.

Pſal. 2. 8.

Holinſhed deſcript. Brit. cap. 9.

Baptiſt. Mant.

Sicut aquis quondam Noe ſua miſit in orbem
Pignora ſedatis, vt Gens humana per omnes
Debita Cœlitum Patri daret orgia terras,
Sic ſua cum vellet Deus alta in regna reuerti,
Diſcipulos quoſdam tranſmiſit ad Vltima Mundi
Littora, docturos Gentes quo numina ritu
Sint oranda, quibus Cœlum placabile Sacris.

In Engliſh thus:

As Noah ſent from the Arke his ſonnes, to teach

The

The Lamps of God vnto the World aright;
So Christ his Seruants sent abroad to preach
The Word of life, and Gospell to each Wight:
No place lay shadowed from that glorious Light,
The farthest Iles, and Earths remotest bounds,
Embrac'd their Faith, & ioi'd as their sweet sounds.

Chrysost. in serm. de Pentecost.

(12) To which effect also the sayings of S. *Iohn Chrysostome*, Bishop of *Constantinople* do enforce, who shewing the increase of *Christianity*, and the successe of the *Gospell* preached, sheweth the power thereof to haue extended, not only to the Countries farre iacent in the continent, but also to the *Ilands* situated in the *Ocean* it selfe, amongst them expresly nameth this our *Britaine*; *whose Inhabitants* (saith hee) *haue also consented to the word which is planted in euery heart, in honour whereof they haue erected their Temples and Altars.* And againe: Those *Britaines* (saith hee which had formerly *fed vpon humane flesh*, making no difference betwixt the blood of man and beasts, *now through* the power of *the word* by them embraced, *haue learned* the law of *true pietie*, and giue themselues to a religious *abstinence, and holy fasts.* Of which Barbarisme S. *Ierome* also complained, that some of those *Nations* vsed to eat the buttocks of boies, and Paps of Virgins, which in their *Feasts* were serued for the daintiest dishes. But elsewhere speaking of the *Britaines* conuersion, he saith, that *they had turned themselues from their westerne Paganisme, and now had directed their faces towards Ierusalem in the East, whose beautie shined in the word of God.*

Aduers. Iouin. li. 2

Epitaph. Marcellæ Viduæ.

Psal. 2. 8.

(13) And thus wee see by the planting of the *Gospell* in this *Iland*, the saying of the *Psalmist* accomplished, that *God would giue his sonne Christ the Heathen for his inheritance, and the Ends of the Earth* (the proper attribute of this our *Britaine*) *to be his possession.* And the successe in *Historie* most apparently sheweth *these parts* (by an especiall prerogatiue) *to bee Christs Kingdome.* For albeit that *Ierusalem* and *Antioch* may rightly claime the precedencie of all other places, *the one* being as it were the *chamber* where *Christians* were first *borne*, and *the other* the *font* where they were first *Christened* with that most sacred name: yet *Britaine* in *some* other *graces* hath *outstript* them *all*, hauing the glory to be *graced* with the *first Christian King* that euer raigned in the world, which was our renowned *Lucius*, the *first fruits* of all the Kings that euer laid their Crownes at the foot of our Sauiours Crosse: as also for producing the first *Christian Emperour* that by publike authority established the *Gospell* thorow the world, which was *Constantine* the Great, borne and brought vp heere in *Britaine* by Queene *Helena*, a most vertuous and *religious British Lady*: vnto whose daies the succession of *Christianity* did heere continue, as by the martyrdomes of many *Saints* vnder *Diocletian* is apparant. Herein also raigned *the King that first vncrowned* the head of the vsurping Roman Beast, and *freed the land from* his deuouring *Locusts*: putting downe *Idolatrie* with *Hezekiah that brake the brasen Serpent*: and with *Isaack* new *digged the Wels that those Philistines had stopped.* And lastly hath this *Iland* produced that most royall and *Christian Monarke*, whose learned pen hath first depainted *Antichrist*, and pierced the heart of all *Papall supremacie*, as the sword of *Gedeon* did *Zalmunna* (* *the Image of trouble*) *King of Madian.* And as a Lion hath he met that *crooked*[a] *Serpent* in the way of his vsurped authority; whereby in short time vndoubtedly the [b] *Kall* of his heart will be broken, if other *Potentates* likewise by his most godly example, cast off the yoke of *vassallage*, and in their seuerall Dominions gouerne (as *free Princes* ought) the people that God hath committed to their charge. So that in those and many other the like Princes of this happy *Iland*, most properly is performed that *prophetical promise* made vnto the *Church of Christ: that Kings should become her nursing Fathers, and Queenes should be her nursing Mothers*: Of both which may be truly said to *Britaine*, in imitation of that of *Salomon*; *Many kingdomes haue done gloriously, but thou hast surmounted them all.*

Pro. 31, 29.

(14) And of such power hath *Christ* beene in these His Possessions, that euen the *Hostile Kings* and *Conquerours* thereof, were they neuer so sauage and *Idolatrous* at their first entrance, yet when they *here* had *seated* for a time, they became milde and *religious*, and gladly *submitted* their hearts to the *Religion* of those, whose necks themselues held vnder the yoke of *subiection.*

Britaine conuerted her Conquerors to the faith of Christ.

(15) Such were the *Romans* in this *Iland*, whose *Deputies* at the day-spring almost of *Christianitie* were *conuerted*; as *Trebellius, Pertinax*, and others, which submitted themselues to that profession, and were motiues to *King Lucius* more publikely to maintaine the same: as also *Constantius* the father of Great *Constantine*, that here in *Britaine* permitted the profession of the *Gospell*, with the erections of *Churches* for the true seruice of God, and prohibited the superstitious worships of the *Gentiles.*

Hollinsh. li. 4. c. 9.

(16) The *Saxons* after them (in time, but not in Idolatrie) had neuer tasted the liuing waters of *Siloh*, till they were here seated in *Christs* Possession, where the y changed their *affections* as farre from their wonted manners; as did the *Messengers* to *Iehu*, which turned after his Chariot to destroy the *Altars* of *Baal*: or as *Saul* and his seruants, who no sooner had entred *Naioth* in *Ramah*, but that their spirits were ioined to the Prophets, and the heat of their furie, with their garments, cast downe at *Samuels* feet.

2. King. 9. 18.

1. Sam. 19. 20.

(17) The *Danes* likewise, their *Conquerours*, and Successors in this *Royall Throne*, euer vntill then were both bloudy and barbarous, and therefore of all *our Writers* commonly called the *Pagan Danes*, whose many desolations and ruines remaine as records of their *cruelties* in many places euen vnto this day: yet being a while in this Land, *King Guthurn*, with thirtie of his chiefe *Princes* and *people* were drawn by the valour & vertue of *King Alured* to receiue the *Christian Faith*, by whose bounty thereupon they enioied the *possession* of a faire portion of this Kingdome. And afterward *Canutus*, their greatest *King*, no sooner almost had this *Imperiall Diademe* set vpon his head, but that he held it his chiefe *Maiestie* to be the vassall of Christ, confessing him only to be *King of Kings*: and with such religious deuotion as then was taught, crowned the *Crucifix* at *Winchester* with the Crowne he wore: and neuer after thorow all his raigne, by any meanes would weare the same: and the *Danes* his Souldiers remaining in *England*, began by litle and litle to embrace *Christianity*, and in short time were all conuerted to the Faith. Thus then we see the happy increase of these holy seeds springing from the furrowes of this blessed ground: and the *Tents* of *Sem* to be spread vpon the *Mountaines* of *Britaine*, wherein God (according to his promise) perswaded vs who are of *Iapheth*, to dwell.

Or *Gurmo.*

Caunutus crowned the *Crucifix* with the Crewne hee wore. *Hen. Hunt. lib. 6. Polychr. li. 6. c. 10. Bale votar. li. 1. Acts and Mon. lib. 3. p. 212.*

(18) As hitherto we haue searched the first foundation of our *Faith*, so neither want we testimonies concerning the continuance of the same in this *Land* vnto following Posterities; although the iniurie of *Time* and *Warre* haue consumed many *Records.* For the *Britaines* that were daily strengthned in their receiued faith, by the Doctrine of many learned and godly men, left not their first loue with the Church of *Ephesus*, but rather tooke hold of their skirts, as the *Prophet* speaketh, vntill the tortures of *Martyrdome* cut them off by death. And those Fathers euen from the *Disciples* themselues, held a succession in *Doctrine* (notwithstanding some repugnancie was made by the *Pagans*,) and preached the *Gospell* with good successe, euen till the same at length went forth with a bolder countenance, by the fauourable *Edicts* of *Adrian, Antoninus Pius*, and *Marcus Aurelius* Emperors of *Rome* (as *Eusebius* hath noted:) and in *Britaine* was established by the authoritie of *Lucius* their King: whereby this was the first of all the Prouinces (saith *Marcus Sabellicus*) that receiued the *Faith* by publike ordinance: Of the teachers of those times *Bale* -from

Gen. 9. 27. *Origen. vpon Iosh. hom. 2.*

Apoc. 2, 4.

Zecha. 8. 23.

Radulph Niger.

Zeland.

Euseb. lib. 4. c. 9. & c. 13. & lib. 5. cap. 5.

Marcus Sabell. in Ennead. 7. lib. 5. Ex. Bale. vot. li. 2.

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[a] For so the word *Zalmunna* signifieth, Iudg. 7. 20.
* Isa. 27. 1.
[b] Hos. 13. 8.

Isa. 49. 23.

Britaine had the first Christian King. *Ex Archiu. Ciuit. London.*

Britaine had the first Christian Emperour.

Helena mother of *Constantine* a Britaine.

King *Henry* the Eighth the first that quailed the Pope. Apoc. 9. 2. King. 18. 4. Gen. 26. 18

King. Iames.

from some other hath these verses.

Sicut erat celebris cultu numeroq́, Deorum
Cum Iouis imperium staret, Britannica tellus:
Sic vbi terrestres cælo descendit ad oras
Expectata salus, patribus fuit inclyta sanctis.
Qui Neptunicolûm campos, & Cambrica rura,
Coryneasq; casas, loca desolata colebant.

As were the Britaines *famous for their zeale*
To Gentyle Gods, while such they did adore;
So, when the Heau'ns to Earth did Trueth reueale,
Blest'd was that Land with Truth and Learnings store:
Whence British Plaines, and Cambri'as desart ground,
And Cornewalls *Crags, with glorious Saints abound.*

Floren. Wigorn. Two learned Diuines sent to the Bishop of *Rome.*

In which number were *Eluanus & Meduinus*, those two learned Diuines, which were sent by *King Lucius* vnto *Eleutherius* Bishop of *Rome*, with whom returned two other famous Clerkes, whose names were *Faganus* and *Damianus*; these together, both preached and baptized amongst the *Britaines*, whereby many daily were drawne to the Faith: And as a worthy and ancient * Histo rian saith: *The Temples which had beene founded to the Honour of their many Gods, were then dedicated to the one and only true God: For there were in* Britaine *eight and twenty Flamins, and three Arch-flamins, in stead of which, so many Bishops and Archbishops were appointed: vnder the Archbishop of* London *were the Prouinces of* Loegria *and* Cornubia: *vnder* Yorke, Deira, *and* Albania: *vnder Vrbs Legionum,* Cambria: By which meanes, *this happy Kingdome* vnder that *godly King*, was *nobly beautified* with so many *Cathedrall Churches*, and *Christian Bishops Sees*, before any other kingdome of the world.

Alij Fagatius vel Fugatius & Diuianus.

* *Dicetus* Deane of London: a *Manuscript* in the Kings Librarie, *ad An.* 178.

That this *Lucius* should bee the *Apostle* to the *Bauarians*, or that his sister *Emerita* was crowned with the flames of Martyrdome fifteene yeeres after his death, I leaue to the credit of *Aegidius Scudus*, and *Hermanus Schedelius* the reporters, and to the best liking of the readers. But most certaine it is, that the *Christian faith* was still professed *in this Iland*, sound and vndefiled, as *Beda* witnesseth, notwithstanding the cruel persecutions of the bloody *Emperours*.

Saint *Dauids* in Wales.

King *Lucius* the Apostle to the *Bauarians*. *Aegidius Scudus de Prisca Rhætia. Hermanus Schedelius, cap.* 3.

Beda. Hist. Anglic lib. 1. *cap.* 4.

19 For, all this time (saith the said *Dicetus*) Christian Religiō flourished quietly in *Britanny*, till in *Diocletians* time, their Churches were demolished, their holy Bibles cast into Bone-fires, & the Priests with their faithfull flocke bloodily murdered. In which number, about the yeare two hundred ninety three, as we reade (in *Beda*, *Malmesbury*, *Randulphus*, and others) *Albane* with his teacher *Amphibalus* were both of thē martyred for the profession of the *Gospell* at the old Towne *Verolanium*: as also in *Leicester*, those two Noble Citizens, *Aaron*, and *Iulius*, with multitudes both of *men* and *women* in sundrie places (*saith Beda*) as shortly after no lesse then a *Thousād Saints* suffered death at *Liechfield*, whereupon the place was *called* another *Golgotha*, *or field of blood*: In memory whereof, the City beareth for Armes to this day, in an *Escheucheon* of Landskip, sundry persons diuersly Martyred. And yet after these times also the *Britaines* continued constant in *Christianity*, and the censures of their *Bishops* (for the great estimation of their *Constancie*, *piety*, and *learning*) required, and *approued* in great points of *Doctrine* among the assemblies of some *Generall Councels*; as that of *Sardis* and *Nice*, in the time of great *Constantine* (the first *Christian Emperour*, and this our Country man, whose blessed daies gaue free way to that *Profession*, to the Councels *Authority*, and to the whole world *Peace*) had wee our *Bishops* present; whose forwardnesse against the *Arrian Heresie*, afterward *Athanasius* aduanceth in his *Apology* vnto *Iouinian* the *Emperor*, among three hundred *Bishops* assembled at the Councell of *Sardice*, in *Anno* three huudred and fiftie: whose words (as *Nicephorus* reports them) are these. *Know most Christian Emperour* (saith he) *that this faith hath beene alwaies preached and professed, and that all Churches of* Spaine, Britain, France *and* Germany *at this day with one voyce doe approoue the same.* As also at that of *Ariminum*, in the yeare three hundred fiftie nine, and in the raigne of *Constantius*, who caused foure hundred westerne Bishops to be there summoned in fauour of the *Arrians*, whereof three were out of *Britaine*, (as *Sulpitius Seuerus* the good *Bishop* of *Burges* hath reported) that gaue their suffrages *against that Heresie.* These doth *Hilarie* tearme the Bishops of the Prouinces of *Britaine*, by whom they were somwhat derided, because beeing farre from their owne Countrie they liued vpon the *Emperours* charge. And *Beda* testifieth, that from *Diocletians* time they both reedified their former *Temples*, and founded new also in memorie of their then fresh-bleeding *Martyrs*, and enioyed a generall and ioifull peace in their religious profession, till that *Arrian Heresie* hauing first filled the Continent, sought and found *passage* ouer the Seas into our *Iland.*

Sulpitius Seuerus lib. 2.

Hilarie in an Epist. to the Bishops.

Bed. lib. 1. *cap.* 8.

Gennadius in his Catalogues *Illustrium Diuorum* tels vs of an other learned Bishop of *Britaine*, *Fastidius*, who in the time of *Cestius* Bishop of *Rome*, wrote vnto one *Fatalis* a booke *de vita Christiana*, and another *de viduitate seruanda*; of much diuine learning and comfort. *Chrysanthus* likewise is recorded by *Nicephorus*, to be sonne of *Bishop Martian*, who hauing beene a *Consular Deputie* in *Italie* vnder *Theodosius*, and made *Lieutenant* of *Britaine*, where with great praise he managed the common wealth, was against his will afterward made Bishop at *Constantinople* of the *Nouatians*, that called themselues *Cathari*, that is *pure*; making a schisme in the *Church*, by their deniall of *Salvation*, to such as fell into relapse of sinne after *Baptisme* once receiued. This is that *Bishop* of whom we read, that of all his *Ecclesiasticall reuenewes* he reserued only for himselfe two loaues of bread vpon the *Lords* day. And in the first *Tome* of *Councels* is mention of *Restitutus* Bishop of *London*, whom (because that, as is most probable, *Christian Religion* had in those primitiue times taken *more firme* footing in *Britaine* then in *France*) the *French Bishops* called to their Nationall *Councell*, the *second at Arles*, in *Anno* 335, that he might with his *Suffrage* approoue their *Decrees.* About the yeer foure hundred seuenty, was a *Prouinciall Councell* held in *Britaine* for the *reforming* of *Religion*, and *repairing* of the *ruined Churches*, which the Pagan mariage of *Vortiger* had decaied, to the great griefe and discontent of the people, a pregnant signe of the continuing zeale, which vnto those dayes had left a glorious memorie.

Gennadius in Catal. Illus. Diu.

Nicephorus in Eccles. Hist.

Tripart. Histor.

(20) And the Ensigne of *Arthur*, wherein the *Virgin Mary with her sonne in her armes* (as is noted by *Vincentius*) was portraied, so often displaied for Christ, and his Countries libertie, against the *Pagan Saxons*, is as a seale to confirme vs of their *Profession*, and doth shew the badge of that ages *Christianitie.* But the famous Monasterie of *Bangor*, as a *Colledge of diuine Philosophers*, and by *Clariuallensis* truly acknowledged to be the *Mother of all other in the world*, and her *Monkes* distributed into seuen seuerall parts, euery part numbring three hundred soules, and earning their bread by their daily labours, doth notably witnesse to all succeeding ages, that *Christian Religion* was then both *planted* and preached *in this Iland.* And in the *Synod* held at *Austins Oake* were *seuen* old *Britaine Bishops*, besides other *Doctours*, who met with that Romane Legate; and *not in* points of *doctrine*, but rather in their seuerall *rites* and *ceremonies* did *varie*, by any thing that in that Assemblie appeared. For as it is most vndoubted, that (if we speake properly) *Ierusalem is the Mother of vs all, and of all Churches*; and our former allegations doe euince, that the first Plantation of the *British Faith* was altogether by *Iewes* and others of the *Easterne Church*: so the very rites of this *Religious Colledge* of *Bangor* doe euidently prooue, that their first *institution* in Religion came from the *East*, *Beda* shewing that in all of them they dissented from the *Romane* Church; yea, and that they neuer did, nor then would *acknowledge* any authoritie of the *Bi-*

Arthurs Ensigne. *Vincentius* in his *speculo Historiali.*

Clariuallensis.

Bangor in Wales the first Monastery in the word. *Beda hist. Eccles. l.* 2. *c.* 2.

Beda lib. 2. *cap.* 2.

Malmesburie. Randulphus.

Beda lib. 1. *ca.* 7. At *Liechfield* 1000 Saints suffered death. Matth. 27. *Liechfields* Armes.

The Bishops of *Britaine* withstood the *Arrian* Heresie.

Nicephorus Eccles. Hist. Athanasius Apole. 2.

Bishop

ſhop of Rome ouer them in matters of the Church and ſeruice of God. All which accordeth right well with that before cited out of *Zachary, that the waters of life ſhould iſſue from Ieruſalem.* And *that S. Hierome* ſpake moſt properly, in ſaying, *the Britaines leauing Paganiſme, had turned their faces to Ieruſalem in the Eaſt.*

The foundation of the ſaid Colledge is aſcribed to *King Lucius*, from whoſe time vnto the entrance of this *Auſten the Monke*, foure hundred thirty eight yeeres were expired: in which ſpace we haue ſeene that the *Chriſtian Faith* was both taught and *embraced in this land*, notwithſtanding the continuall perſecutions of the *Romans, Huns, Picts*, and *Saxons*: which laſt made ſuch deſolations in the outward face of the *Church*, that they droue the *Chriſtian Biſhops* into the deſerts of *Cornwall* and *Wales*. In which number were *Theomis* and *Thadioceus* Biſhops of *London* and *Yorke*. *chuſing rather to ſuffer aduerſity with the people of God, then to enioy the pleaſures of ſinne for a ſeaſon.*

The Biſhops of *Yorke* and *London* driuen into the Deſerts. Acts and Mounments *lib.2.* Heb.11.25.

By whoſe labours the Goſpell was plentifully propagated among thoſe vaſt mountaines, and thoſe parts eſpecially aboue all other made very glorious, by the multitudes of their holy Saints and learned Teachers.

(21) Laſtly, (for the cloſe of all) that theſe teſtimonies are ſincerely by vs produced, for the firſt preaching and planting of the Goſpell, and by ſuch meanes and men as we haue declared, and particularly by *Ioſeph of Arimathea* and his aſſociates, the conſent of all Writers, both forraine and home-bred, doth ſufficiently *approue*: and the reuerend regard had of the *place*, with the many *Charters* thereof to this day remaining, are ſtrong *inducements* for thoſe our firſt *Apoſtles Reſidencie* and *Burials*: whereof one, exemplified vnder the *Seale* of *King Edward* the third, is to bee ſeene at this day, reciting that the *Abbey of Glaſtenbury* being burned in the time of *King Henry* the ſecond while it was in his hands, at the requeſt of the *Patriarke of Ieruſalem* (then preſent in *England*) inſtigated further both by the *Biſhops* and *Nobility*, hee did reedifie the ſame, cauſing diligent ſearch to bee made for the *ancient Charters* of that foundation, and among many recited in that exemplification, in one of them it is called, *Origo Religionis in Anglia*: in another, *Tumulum Sanctorum, ab ipſis diſcipulis Domini ædificatum, fuiſſe venerabilem.* Alſo in the ſame *Charter* amongſt many other *Kings*, there is mention made of *King Arthur*, to be a great *Benefactor* vnto that *Abbey*; whoſe *Armes* vpon the ſtone walles, both in the *Chappell* (called *S. Ioſeph*) and in diuers other places of the *Abbey*, are cut: which is an *Eſchucheon*, wheron a Croſſe with the *Virgin Mary* in the firſt quarter is ſet, and is yet to this day remaining ouer the *Gate* of entrance, which is held to be alſo the *Arms* of that *Abbey*. This place is ſaid to haue beene giuen to *Ioſeph* and his brethren by *Aruiragus* then King of *Britaine*: and from hence were thoſe two diuine Doctors ſent to *Eleutherius* by King *Lucius*, as by their Epithets doth appeare: the one of them called *Eluanus Aualonus*, or of *Glaſtenbury*; and the other, *Meduuinus* of *Belga*, that is, *Welles* neere vnto this place. And to theſe perſons and place, *Polydore Virgil*, that dwelled among vs, and had peruſed moſt of our *Antiquities*, aſcribeth the originall and precedencie of our *Chriſtian Faith*, in theſe words: *Hæc omnia Chriſtianæ pietatis in Britannia extitere primordia, quam deinde Lucius Rex accendit & adauxit, &c.* And our other latter *Writers* likewiſe with him agree of this place, further affirming, that at firſt but poore, and without all pompe, it was their *Oratory*, built onely of *wrethen wands*, as both [a] *Capgraue*, [b] *Bale*, [c] *Maior*, [d] *Scroope*; [e] *Harding*, [f] *Thorne*, and others affirme: Afterwards by diuers *Princes* raiſed vnto greater glory, with many large *priuiledges* & *Charters* granted; to wit, of *Edgar, Edmund, Elfred, Edward, Bringwalthius, Kentwin, Baldred, Ina, Kenwall, the Conquerour, Rufus*, and others: all which were diligently peruſed by *King Henry* the ſecond, as we haue ſaid, & that *Rectory* in theſe Charters continually termed *The Graue of Saints: The mother Church: The Diſciples foundation, and dedicated vnto Chriſt, as the firſt place in this Land, wherein his Goſpell was firſt preached and embraced.*

Glaſtenbury Abbey burne.

Glaſtenbury Abbey new built by *Henry* the ſecond

King *Arthur* a great benefactor to *Glaſtenbury* Abbey. The Armes of King *Arthur* at *Glaſtenbury*.

Glaſtenbury Abbey giuen to *Ioſeph* by *Aruiragus*

Two diuines ſent by *Lucius* to *Rome* from *Glaſtenbury*.

Welles called *Belga*.

Angl. biſt. lib.2.

Many Kings benefactors to *Glaſtenbury* Abbey.

(22) To conclude this *digreſſion*, grown much greater then was intended, we ſee it is moſt apparant, that the *Britaines* had a ſettled opinion in *Chriſtianity* before the ſound therof was heard from *Rome*; and that the Lord had heere ſet vp *his ſtandard*, whereunto theſe *Ilanders* reſorted as to the *Tower of their ſtrength*, and was the *firſt Kingdome* of the *Gentiles*, that are ſaid to *bring their ſonnes* thus in their armes, *and their daughters* thus vpon their ſhoulders, *vnto the Lords Sanctuary*: whoſe knowledge continually increaſing, hath hitherto, to *Englands* great ioy and fame, beene ſtill continued, though the ſpirituall ſparkes thereof for a ſeaſon haue ſometimes beene couered in the cinders of the *Pagans deſolations*, or with the ſuperſtitious worſhips of *mans inuentions*; both which now *diſperſed* as clouds before the Sunne, *the light appeareth* in his full ſtrength, and the moſt pure vvaters of *the word* run vntroubled. This *Iland* then, in this thing made happy before the moſt, the *Inhabitants* became *Inſtructers of others*, and in their *earthly veſſels* bare this *heauenly liquor*, which thorow their *golden Conduits* ran into many other Countries, and filled their Ceſternes with this *water of life*. For from hence was *Netherland* conuerted to Chriſtianity, as teſtifieth the ſtory of *Swithbertus: Switzerland* by *Beatus*, as witneſſeth *Rhenanus*: *Burgundy* by our *Columbanus*, as ſaith *Sigebertus: Scotland* by *Brandadus*, as *Bernard* the French Monke affirmeth: *Swedia* by *Gallus*, as ſaith *Petrus de Natalibus*: *Friſia* by *Wilfred*, as is recorded by *Beda* and *Matthew of Weſtminſter*: and the *Franconians, Heſſians*, and *Thuringians*, by *Winifred* our Deuonſhire man: the *Norwegians* by *Nicolas Brekſpere* of *Middleſex*: the *Lithuanians* by *Thomas Waldē* of *Eſſex*, the *Iriſh* by *Patrik*, the *Picts* by *Nianus Bernicus*; and by *Chriſts* aſſiſtance the naked *Virginians* by vs *Engliſh* ſhalbe. Againe, if wee caſt our eie on all the *reformed Churches* in *Chriſtendome*, and with them on *Luther, Huſſe*, and *Ierome of Prage*; they will all confeſſe, they firſt tooke their light from the *learned Wickleffe* of *Oxford*; the *Lampe* of whoſe ſacred *knowledge* hath illumined not onely all the corners of this *Kingdome*, but alſo all thoſe forraigne *States*, whom it hath pleaſed *God* to deliuer from the thraldome and *vengeance of Babylon*: ſo that with the *German Poet*, to *Gods glory*, and *Britaines praiſe*, the *Engliſh* thus may ſing:

Britaines profeſſed Chriſtianity before it came from *Rome*. Eſay.29.22. Dan.11.31. Micah 4.8. Eſay.2.

Quin ſe Relligio multùm debere Britannis
Seruata, & latè circùm diſperſa, fatetur.
Religion doth confeſſe, to Britaine deepe ſhe ſtands
In debt, by whom preſerù'd, ſhe now ſils forraine Lands.

In which regard, *Polydore Virgil* doth rightly call *England* the Parent or *Mother-Monaſtery* of all *Europe*. As likewiſe *Peter Ramus* termeth *Britaine* to bee twice *Schoole-miſtreſſe* vnto the Kingdome of *France*. And the *Annals of Flanders* teſtifie, that no Nation had ſo many *diuine Nobles* (they might likewiſe haue ſaid, ſo many *Noble diuines*) as *England* hath had; neither any more *bountifull to Gods Saines*. Our *Kings* for ſanctity ranked before all other *Potentates* of the earth, as *Vincentius* recordeth: Our *Nobles* truly honourable, and the ſonnes of Princes: Our *diuines*, for doctrine ſhyning as Nazarites whiter then the ſnow: And all of vs claiming our *ſpirituall* lots of *Inheritance* in the midſt of the Tribes of *Iſrael.*

Polydor. *Virgil.*

Peter Ramus.

Annals of *Flanders.*

Vincentius. Eccleſ.10.17. Ier.Lam.4.7, Ezech.47.22. *Lamen.4.7.*

[a] In his catalogue of Saints. [b] *Vota. lib.1.* [c] In his preface. [d] *De Antiq. cat. cap.7.* [e] *Chap.47.* [f] *Throne.*

OTHO.

CHAPTER X.

An. Do. 70.

BVt leauing *Chriſts* proceedings to the diſpoſe of himſelfe, let vs returne to the *ſubiect* from whence wee haue wandered, and continue the ſucceſſions of *Great Britaines Monarches*, vnto them that haue held it, whether by chance of *warre*, or voice of *Election*: In which ſort (as is ſaid) *Galba* got it, and but a ſhort time kept it: And from him *Otho* tooke it, and a ſhorter time enioied it.

Otho his original. *Tacit. Hiſt. 2. c. 17*

(2) Whoſe Originall (ſaith *Tacitus*) was from *Ferrentium*, his Father a *Conſull*, his mothers blood ſomewhat diſparaged, but yet not baſe; his *youth* run ouer with voluptuous *wantonneſſe* and prodigall *expences*, more ready for *diſturbances*, then depending vpon preferment or dignity of *State*; and hauing gone thorough all his *wealth*, retained onely the hearty affections of the *Souldiers*, which *Galba* had vtterly alienated. Neither did *Otho* himſelfe bandy againſt *Galba*, but *Vitellius* in Germany was fauoured againſt both; Two perſons ſo vile and ambitious, as was much feared, would proue the ſcourge of the *Empire*, and the ruine of *Rome*.

Vitellius much fauoured.

(3) Vnto *Vitellius* ſided the *Britaines*, vnder the Conduct of *Trebellius Maximus*, (remembred before) a man vnfit for *warre*, and vnexperienced of ſeruice, compounded altogether of *couetouſneſſe*, and for his niggardly ſparings, and vnmercifull pollings, exceedingly hated of his *Armie*: which was further aggrauated by *Roſcius Celius*, Lieutenant of the *twentieth Legion*, his ancient Enemy, betwixt whom the ſparks of *enuie* ſhortly burſt forth into flames of reciprocall accuſations. *Trebellius* being charged of inſufficiency for command, with the beggering of the *Prouince*, and *Legions*; and he againe accuſing *Celius* of factious behauiours, & diſſoluing of *diſcipline*: through which diſſenſions a negligent regard was held of the *Souldiers*, who carried themſelues arrogantly, euen againſt both; and as men that had rather be doing ill, then doing nothing, grew daily into mutinies. In theſe ſtirres *Maximus* finding himſelf vnable to withſtand *Roſcius*, (the common affection ſwaying on his ſide,) with his friends and followers entred *Germanie* in the quarrell of *Vitellius*, and ioined thoſe Britiſh forces to maintaine his cauſe, who now preſuming vpon his owne ſtrength, and others his *Confederates*, ambitiouſly plaied the Prince, growne to that height euen of nothing.

In Chap. 7. ſect. 24.

Roſcius Celius & *Trebellius* accuſe each other.

The Souldiers thereby diſordered.

(4) *Otho* his Concurrent (in this thing only commendable) ſought by all meanes to ſtay the effuſion of more ciuill blood; and that already ſpent, ſo poſſeſt his thoughts, that his minde was ſtill diſtracted and nightly affrighted with the ſeeming appearance of *Galbaes* ghoſt: for which cauſes hee ſent conditions of peace to *Vitellius*, offering him an equall part in the *Empire*, and to giue him alſo his daughter in mariage. But *Vitellius* diſdaining any *competition*, refuſeth all Capitulations, and prepares himſelfe for the *warre*. *Otho* thus conſtrained, ſets forth his forces, and in three ſeuerall skirmiſhes had the victory, but in the fourth at *Brixellum* loſt the day; yet not ſo much weakened or vnrecouerable, (his *Armie* in number and courage ſurmounting the other) as himſelfe was vnwilling to try the chance of *warre* any more; for being importunated by his *Captaines* and *Leaders*, to reenforce the *Battaile*, with many reaſons, and probabilities of an aſſured *victory*, in a thankfull and ſhort *Oration*, anſwered thus their *Petitions*.

Otho affrighted in the night.

Sueton in vit. Otho. ſect. 7.

His offer to *Vitellius*

Hath the victory in three skirmiſhes.

Loſt the day in the fourth.

Importuned by his Souldiers to renew the battell, is vnwilling.

His Oration to his Souldiers.

" (5) To hazard your *vertues* and *valours* for one " *Mans* eſtate, I hold it dangerous, and needleſſe it is, " that my *life* ſhould be prized at ſo deere a rate; al- " ready *fortune* & I haue had ſufficient *experience* each " of others, and not the leaſt in this my ſhort time of " glory, wherein I haue learned, It is harder to mo- " derate *affections* in the exceſſe of *felicity*, then ei- " ther induſtry or hazard for attaining the ſame. " Theſe ciuill warres *Vitellius* beganne; which I for " my part purpoſe not to continue; and hereby let " *Poſterity* eſteeme of *Otho*, that others haue kept the " *Empire* longer, but neuer any that left it more vali- " antly. Let this minde therefore accompany me to " the *Graue*, that you for your parts would haue died " for my ſake, and I to ſaue your liues, die voluntary " and vnuanquiſhed. I blame not the *Gods*, nor enuy " your *Emperors* riſing glory: it is ſufficient that my " houſe hath touched the higheſt ſtraine of *Honour*, " and my ſelfe to be left in records, *The ſoueraign Mo-* " *narch of the world.*

(6) And thereupon ſolemnely taking his leaue of the whole Army, went to his *Tent*, and with his dagger wounded himſelfe vnder the left pappe, whereof immediately he died, in the yeare of his age thirty ſeuen, and daies of his raigne ninety fiue. He was of *ſtature* but lowe, feeble in his *feete*, and vnto ſo great a *minde*, his *bodie* not any waies proportionable; his face without *haire* and woman-like, his *attire* nice and delicate, and his *life* and *death* nothing at all conſonant or agreeable.

He killeth himſelfe.

His age and raigne.

His lineaments and habite.

Vitellius

VITELLIVS.

CHAPTER XI.

Ann. Do. 70.

WHen certaine newes of *Othoes* death was brought *Vitellius*, he presently assumed the name of *Caesar*, and administred the affairs of the *Empire*, with no lesse authority then the absolute *Commander* of the *World*. And of such acceptance was the accident, that he dedicated the dagger wherewith it was done, vnto *Mars* in his *Temple* at *Coleyn*, as the lucky instrument of his aduanced *Estate*.

Vitellius glad of *Othoes* death.

(2) Naturally *ambitious* hee was, and now the same the more inhaunced by his strengths of the *German* Souldiers, and the flatteries of the *Senate*, which euer bare saile with the fairest winde. His entrance into *Rome* was aboue measure magnificall, hauing the naked sword of *Iulius Caesar* borne before him, with sound of Trumpettes, Ensignes, Standards, Banners, and Flags, accompanied with an Army worthy of a better Prince then *Vitellius* was.

Suetan. in vit. Vitell. cap. 10. Ioseph. bell. Iud. lib. 5. cap. 8.

Otho magnificall aboue measure.

(3) His originall is diuersly reported: either framed according to the affections of his flatterers, or blasted with the tongues of deprauing backe-biters; & both in extremes, extremly disagreeing. For *Q. Eulogius*, as *Suetonius* writeth, deduced his descent from *Faunus* King of *Aborigines*, and Lady *Vitellia* his wife, worshipped in many places for a *goddesse*. But *Cassius Seuerus* affirmeth him to bee sprung from no better roote then a Cobler, and a common naughty-packe the daughter of a Baker. Howsoeuer, true it is, that *Lucius* his father bare thrice the *Consulship* in *Rome*, was *Prouost of Syria*, and in such credit with the Emperour *Claudius*, that in his absence and expedition into *Britaine*, he had the whole charge of the *Empire* committed vnto him: himselfe in speciall fauour with *Tiberius*, and in vse for his strumpets: with *Caius*, for his Chariot-running: with *Claudius*, for his dice-plaiing: and with *Nero*, for his flatterie: vnto whose Ghost in publike shew hee sacrificed, and disposed the Emperiall affaires at the discretion of *base Stage-Plaiers*

His descent diuersly reported.

Cap. 1.

Tacit. hist. 3. c. 13

Vitellius in fauor with diuers former Emperours.

(4) His vnmeasurable gluttony was such, that the whole imploiments of his Captaines were to prouide him Cates, and that in such excesse, that *two thousand dishes of fish*, and *seuen thousand of fowle*, were *serued* to his Table *at one supper*; and yet vvas he not ashamed to commend his owne Temperance, in a set Oration before the *Senate* and *People*, vvho vvell knew him to be guiltlesse of that vertue: insomuch that *Tacitus* reporteth, in those few moneths wherein hee raigned, he had vvasted *nine hundred millions of sesterces*, vvhich amounteth to *seuen millions, thirty one thousand, two hundred fiftie pounds sterling*. And *Iosephus* thinketh if he had liued longer, the whole reuenues of the *Empire* had not beene sufficient to maintaine his *Gluttony*. A *Prince* otherwise no way memorable, as being indeed without skill in profession of *Armes*, without *counsell* in matters of the greatest *importance*, commonly drowned in *surfet*, and farre vnmeet to weild weighty affaires.

His excessiue gluttony. *Sueton. in vit. Vitell. cap. 13.*

Tacit. hist. 2. 27. His huge expence of treasure. *Ioseph. bell. Iud. lib. 5. c. 13.*

(5) These *defects* found ready vent to his *Opposites*, and gaue liberty of speech in the *Assemblies* of their *Estates*: amongst whom *Vespasian* was held the only *Morning-Starre* worthy to ascend on the setting of this darkned *Sunne*; vnto whom *Licinius Mutianus*, Gouernour of *Syria*, was auerse, *Marcus Clunius Rufus* of *Spaine* stood very well affected, and *Tiberius Alexander* of *Egypt* for him the foremost. Also with him sided the Kings *Sohemus*, *Antiochus*, and *Agrippa*, with the beautifull *Queene Berenice*: vnto whom *Vespasian* and his sonne *Titus* were well knowne Gouernours together in the Prouinces of *Syria* and *Iudaa*.

Vespasian his Abettors for the Empire.

Tacit. hist. 2. c. 43.

(6) The first that did reuolt were the *Illyrian* Bands: to suppresse which *Vitellius* sent vnto *Vectius Bolanus* Lieutenant of *Britaine*, for aid of that *Prouince*, hauing had good experience of their seruice in his warres before: As when *Hordeonius Flaccus* brought eight thousand *Britaines* to his quarrell against *Otho*: As also when *Trebellius Maximus* (formerly mentioned) ioined them to the *German* forces. Which last man had now againe resumed his former place in *Britannie*, without either Maiestie or *Authoritie*, but rather ruled by way of intreatie, and at the discretion of the Souldiers.

The first reuolters from *Vitellius*.

Tacit. hist. 2. c. 80.

Tacit. in vit. Agric.

(7) Vnto whom, this *Vectius Bolanus* succeeded for Deputie: a man of no great parts in warre, but more temperate, and not odious for any crime. His answer vnto *Vitellius* was, that the Country of *Britaine* stood not so quiet, that he might spare any numbers thence, the *Souldiers* and *Confederates* hauing their hands full, to hold all vpright. Neither (in truth) were they fast to his side, but rather affected *Vespasian*, whose reputation in warlike affaires was first gotten amongst them in *Britaine*, in the raigne of *Claudius*: though we find in *Tacitus*; that the *Vexillaries* of three British Legions followed *Vitellius* in his expedition against the *Illyiran* Army, wherein the flower and strength of all the *Britaines* are reported to haue been, and that their *fourteenth Legion* came to his aide, in whom notwithstanding he had no good confidence: but hearing the daily reuolts of the *Prouinces*, and the approach of *Vespasian*, was minded to resigne his dignitie vnto him, had not the out-cries of the people beene against it.

Hist. 3. ca. 9.

Hist. 2. cap. 29. Hist. 3. cap. 1.

(8) Finally, when he had raigned onely eight moneths, and fiue daies, as *Iosephus* accounteth, he was slaine in most ignominious maner: for his hands were bound behinde his backe, a halter fast about his necke, his clothes rent and torne, a sword point set vnder his chinne, and head held backward by a

His raigne.

His death. *Ioseph. bell. Iud. cap. 23.*

bush of haire, as condemned malefactors were vsed, to the end, that he might see and bee seene of all, to satisfie their malice, and augment his miseries. Hee died aged fifty seuen; and as hee is set in the Table after *Malmesbury*, *Huntington*, and others our English writers, the ninth Calends of *Ianuarie*: But yet it should seeme by his edicts set out against *Astrologers*, that commanded all of that profession to depart out of *Rome* and *Italy* before the first day of *October*; that much about that time he shoult die: for *Suetonius* recordeth, that the said *Astrologers* set another against him in the words as follow. WEE GIVE WARNING BY THESE PRESENTS VNTO VITELLIVS GERMANICVS; THAT BY THE CALENDS OF THE SAID OCTOBER HEE BEE NOT SEENE IN ANY PLACE WHERESOEVER.

His age.

Suet. in vit. Vitel. sect. 14.

(9) Of stature he was exceedingly tall, his face red, and a fat paunch, and somwhat limping vpon one legge, by a hurt formerly receiued.

FLAVIVS VESPASIAN.

CHAPTER XII.

Vespasian.

Petilius.

An. Do. 72.

SO acceptable was the fall of this Prince, and such hopes reuiued at the entrance of his *Successour*, as that all mens mindes were raised to an expectation, that the glorie of the *Empire*, so much Eclipsed through the ciuill broiles of *Galba*, *Otho*, and this last *Vitellius*, should now shine againe in the beautie of her former liberty by the *desired gouernment* of aged *Vespasian*; whose *integritie*, *valour*, and *seruice*, had beene sufficiently *approued by* his many *Expeditions*, in all the *Prouinces* wherein he had to doe.

Vespasians worth and estimation.

His originall. *Sueton. in vit. Vespas. sect. 1.*

(2) His descent was from the *Flauian* family, and that but base and obscure: his *Father* called *Titus Flauius*; his *Mother Polla Vespasia*, his *Wife Domilia*, and his *Sonnes Titus*, and *Domitian*, both *Emperours* succeeding after him.

His imployments in former times. *Tacit. in vita Agric. fo. 189.*

(3) In his yong yeares, hee serued as a *Militarie Tribune* in the Country of *Thracia*, and as *Questor* in the Prouinces of *Crete*, and *Cyrene*: Vnder *Claudius* the *Emperour*, he went forth into *Germanie*, as *Lieutenant* of a Band, and from thence was sent into *Britaine*, to be *Leader* of the second *Legion*, where the foundation of that greatnes whereunto after hee attained, was first laid: for as *Suetonius* hath written, therein with victory he fought *thirty set Battailes*, and was also *Conquerour* of the *Ile of wight*: whereby two mighty Nations were subdued to the *Romanes*; and twentie Townes wonne from the *Britaines*: for which exploits he had *Triumphall ornaments*, worthily assigned him by *Claudius*, whose owne Triumph, (as *Iosephus* saith) was gotten without any paines of his, but by the only prowesse of *Vespasian*. After this, hee gouerned *Africke* with singular integritie and much honour, and was lastly sent by *Nero* for his Vice-roy into *Syria* vpon this occasion.

Ioseph. Bel. Iud. lib. 3. cap. 1.

Sueton. in vit. Vespas. sect. 4.

(4) There had beene spread thorow all the *East-parts*, an old *Prophecie* and setled *opinion* constantly *beleeued*, that it was appointed by the *Destinies*, *there should come out of of Iurie him that should be Lord of the whole world*: which how it serued for the *Iewes* to reuolt, or for the *Romanes* to apply onely vnto *Vespasian*, the euent sheweth, which cannot agree to any other, then to the person and power of *Christ Iesus*, *there borne, and throughout the whole world still raigning*: Yet vpon the confidence of such an accomplishment, the *Iewes* reuolted from the *Romanes* obedience, and slew their President *Sabinus* by name, putting to flight *Gallus*, Lieutenant Generall of *Syria*, that came to his aide, and got from him the maine *Standard*, or *Ensigne* of the Eagle. This *Nation* was so populous and strong, that none was thought fitter to stay their attempts, then was *Vespasian*, who with great honour and approbation, reduced that *Prouince* vnto their former subiection, and there remained the short time of *Galba*, *Otho*, and *Vitellius* their raignes; of whose proceedings there * *Iosephus* writeth at large, vnto whom I must referre the vnsatisfied Reader.

An ancient prophecie in all the East parts.

The cause of the Iewes reuolt.

Ioseph. de Bello Iud.

(5) All which times, the ciuill stirres amongst the *Romanes*, gaue the Prouinces occasion to attempt their former liberties; as did the *Batauians*, *Germanes*, and *French*, with whom the *Britaines* also tooke hart to reuolt: But the first that sided with *Vespasian*, were two thousand expert Souldiers, drawne out of the *Mesian* Legions, and sent to aide *Otho* against *Vitellius*; who marching as farre as *Aquileia*, they heard there of the certaine death of *Otho*, and thereupon taking the aduantage of the offered opportunity, with an *vncontrolled liberty*, committed many robberies and *outragious villanies*: In so much, that fearing *condigne punishment*, they held it their best policy, to combine some speciall man by their *fauours* vnto them, whereby their *facts* might bee either quite smoothered, or lightly *reprehended*; neither in their opinion was any so gracious for desert or power, as was *Vespasian*, and therfore with one assent they proclaimed him *Emperour*, and wrote his name in their *Banners*, thinking themselues as worthy to make an *Emperour*, as were the *Legions* either of *Spaine*, or *Germany*.

Tacit. Hist. 3. c. 9.

Vespasian chosen Emperour by the *Mesian* Souldiers.

(6) Of the like minde were his owne *Legions* in *Syria* and *Iurie*, growne now so famous by the prosecution of those warres, that they highly conceited his

his *valour*, and their owne *sufficiencie* to bee inferiour to none: And therefore all on the sudden at *Cæsarea*, both *Captaine* and *Souldier* salute him *Emperour*; which title when he resolutely gainsaid and refused, with drawne swords they threatned his death. Thus then being brought into danger euery way, he sent his letters vnto *Tiberius Alexander*, Lieutenant of *Aegypt*, who likewise at *Alexandria*, presently proclaimed him *Emperour*.

By his owne. *Ioseph. bell. Iud. lib. 5. cap. 10.*

(7) At this time *Vectius Bolanus* sent by *Vitellius* was Lieutenant of *Britaine*, there ruling in a gentler and milder manner then was fit for so fierce a *Nation*: for the *Souldiers* hauing gotten head, by the remisse Gouernment of *Trebellius Maximus*, continued the same looseneſse in discipline still: and *Bolanus* in stead of awe and *Obedience*, retained onely their affections and *good wils*. But most especially the short Raignes of these last *Emperours* (whose beginnings were altogether imploied to satisfie their licentious pleasures, and latter times spent for the defence of their *Liues* from violent *Deaths*) gaue way to many imperfections of the *Gouernours*, and misdemeanours of the common *Souldiers*.

Tacit. in. vita Agric. fol. 187.

(8) But when *Vespasian* had assumed the *Empire*, great Captaines and good *Souldiers* were sent into the *Prouinces*, and into *Britaine*, *Petilius Cerealis* that had formerly there made proofe of his seruice vnder *Nero*, in the warres against *Bodno*, and afterwards in other parts, as against the *Gaules* and *Batauians*, with prosperous victories, The fame of this man strooke great terror into the hearts of the wauering *Britaines*, and amongst them of the * *Brigantes*, the most populous *State* of the whole *Prouince*: against whom at his first approach the warred, & in many *battles*, and some of them bloudy, the greatest part of these *people* were wasted, and their Country came into the Romish *subiection*.

Petilius Cerealis Deputy in *Britaine*.

(9) Whereby the glory of *Cerealis* might well haue dimmed the fame of his *Successor*, had not *Iulius Frontinus* a great Souldier also sustained the charge with reputation and credit, in subduing the strong and Warlike nation the* *Silures*: where he had, beside the force of the enemie to struggle with, the straits, and difficult places of rockes and mountaines, for accesse.

Yorkeshire, Lancashire, Westmerland, and the Bishopricke of *Durham*.

Iulius Frontinus subdueth the *Britaines*.

* *South-wales.*

(10) After whose *gouernment* (no further Acts being mentioned,) *Iulius Agricola*, who in *Rome* had beene *Questor*, *Tribune*, and *Pretor*, and *Lieutenant* in *Aquitania*, was sent Generall into *Britaine* by *Vespasian* the *Emperour*, the yeere before his death. This man formerly had there serued vnder the command of *Petilius Cerealis*, whereby he had gained experience both of the *People* and *Prouince*; and at his first approach gathered the *Ensignes* of the *Legions*, and other aids of the *Auxiliaries* (who for that yeere attended an end of their trauels, because the Summer was almost spent) lest by protracting time, the violence of the *Ordouices* should further burst forth, who a little before his entrance, had vtterly almost cut off a *wing* which lay on their *Borders*, the rest of the Country, as men desirous of *warre*, allowing their example.

Iulius Agricola Lieutenant in *Britaine*.

Against these *Agricola* addressed, who kept themselues in places of aduantage, and durst not descend into indifferent ground. He therefore being himselfe foremost, led vp his *Armie* to their encounter, and seconded with the courage of his trained *Souldiers*, put them all to sword and flight, whereby the whole nation was almost quite destroied.

He ouercōmeth the *Ordouices*.

(11) And now that his fame began to ascend, he knew well that with instance it must be followed, and as the first affaires had issue, the rest would succeede; he therefore deliberated to conquer the *Iland Mona* from the possession whereof *Paulinus Snetonius* was reuoked, by the generall Rebellion vnder *Boduo*. But in a purpose not purposed before, and ships wanting, the policie of the Captaine deuised a passage; for hee commanded the most choice of the Aids, to whom the shallowes were well known (and without whom the *Romans* did almost attempt nothing) to put ouer at once; and suddenly to inuade them. These *Britaines*, after the vse of their Country manner, were most *Skilfull swimmers*, and in swimming *armed*, able to gouerne themselues and horses. The *Monaans* thinking themselues secure, for that no Ships were seene in their *Riuer*, now thus suddenly surprized, as men amazed, firmly thought that nothing could be inuincible to them, who came with such resolutions to *warre*, and therefore they humbly desired *Peace*, and yeelded the *Iland* vnto *Agricolaes* deuotion.

He winneth the Iland of *Mona*.

(12) Who now in these prosperous proceedings of his *fortunes*, sought not with any glorious relations or letters of aduertisements, to improue and augment the greatnesse of his honour; but rather in seeking to suppresse his fame, made it shine more bright; and addressing himselfe for ciuill gouernment, reformed many abuses in his House, his *Campe*, and in the whole *Prouince*, and those especially that most touched the poorer sort, as by moderating the increase of *Tribute* and Corne, wherewith the *Britains* were daily burdened: by the suppressing of which enormities (and the like) an honourable opinion of him was euery where entertained, and a generall inclination vnto *Peace*, which partly by the negligence, partly by the auarice of former *Gouernours*, had beene no lesse feared then *Warre* it selfe.

Agricola good to the poore.

(13) And whereas the *Britaines* hitherto still harried with Oppressions and *Warres*, had little leisure or will to apply themselues to things which accompany *Peace*, and are the ornaments of Ciuil and settled *Societies*, and therefore were prone vpon euery occasion to reuolt and stirre: to induce them by pleasures to quietnesse and rest, he exhorted them in priuate, and helpt them in publike, to build *Temples*, *Houses*, and *Places of Assemblies*, and common resort; and likewise prouided that the *sonnes* of their *Nobles* should be instructed in the liberall Arts and Sciences, commending the industrie, and preferring the wits of the *Britaines* before the *Students* of *France*, as being now growne curious to attaine the Eloquence of the *Romane Gentrie*, (yea euen the *Gowne* the *habit of peace* and peaceable *Arts*) and to delight in gorgeous *Buildings*, *Banquets*, and *Baths*.

His good course in winning the people from wildnesse.

The *Britaines*, ciuilized.

(14) And thus farre had *Agricola* proceeded before the death of *Vespasian*, whose managing of the *Imperiall dignitie* was euery way answerable to so high a place, and whose *death* was as much *lamented*, as his Vertues did surmount his *Predecessours*. But as touching his *miraculous cures* of the *Blind* and the *Lame*, as they serue not either to be vrged or inserted in this our present *Historie*; so yet may they *conuince* the indurate *Atheist*, whose conscience is seared with the sinne of incredulitie of the *Miracels* wrought by our blessed *Sauiour Iesus Christ*. For if the wisest *Historians* of those times haue beleeued themselues, and left *Records* vpon their credit to *following posteritie*, that by his touch onely he cured a *Lame-man*, and with his spittle opened the eies of the *Blind*, being a mortall and sinfull man; shall it then be doubted, that hee which *knew no sinne*, neither receiued the *gift by measure*, either in power could not, or in act did not worke such *Miracles* as were the witnesses of his *Godhead*, and for such are recorded, to confirme our *faith*? But to our purpose.

Vespasian cureth the blinde and the lame, and that miraculously.

Suet. in vita Vespas. sect. 7.

Tacit. hist. 4. c. 35.

Vespasians miracles conuince Atheists that deny our Sauiours miracles.

(15) When *Vespasian* had liued threescore and nine yeeres, seuen moneths, and seuen daies, and had raigned ten yeeres, as *Eusebius* saith, he died peaceably in his *Bed*; which no *Emperour* since *Augustus* euer did; hauing beene a great *Scourge* and Instrument of *God* against the miserable *Iewes*; whose kingly race from *Dauids* line he sought by all meanes to extirpate, that so all their hopes and expectations might for euer be cut off.

Vespasian dieth peaceably. *Euseb. Eccles. Hist. lib. 3. cap 12. & 13*

A great scourge of God against the *Iewes*.

(16) He was of a middle stature, well set, and strongly compact: his countenance not altogether amiable; neither any waies deformed: a *great fauourer of Learning, very Liberall, a Iust, Wise, and most Valiant Prince*.

His endowments of body. *Sueton in vit. Vespas. sect. 23.* His vertues.

TITVS

TITVS FLAVIVS VESPASIAN.

CHAPTER XIII.

Titus Emp.

Agricola Lieut.

An. Do. 81.

PResently vpon the death of this Emperour, *Titus* his eldeſt ſonne, ſirnamed *Flauius Veſpaſian*, without any contradictiō was receiued and obeyed for his *rightful ſucceſſor*: aſwell for that his father in his life-time had made him his Partner in the *Empire*, and at his death by Teſtament declared him his *Heire*; as alſo for the generall opinion conceiued of him who for his inbred goodnes and noble conditions, was called & eſteemed *the louely darling and delight of mankind.* Indeed of a moſt comely *preſence* he was, & fitted therunto with all heroicall *vertues*, a great *Souldier*, learned in the Arts, a good *Oratour*, a skilfull *Muſitian*, and could by artificiall characters write both very faſt and very faire.

Titus made *Emperour* without all contradictiō,

Called the delight of mankind

Sueton. in vit. Tit. Sect. 1.

Fitted with all heroicall vertues.

(2) His youth he ſpent in Militarie qualities, and ſerued in *Germanie* and *Britaine* with exceeding commendations, and in *Iury* warred with the like glorie, which is nothing impaired by the learned ſtile of his Recorder *Ioſephus*, vnto whom againe for theſe affaires I muſt referre the curious Reader.

His imploiment in former times.

Ioſeph. bell. Iud. lib. 6. & 7.

(4) *Ieruſalem*, with the ſlaughter of eleuen thouſand *Iewes*, cuen on the birth day of his daughter, with ſuch honour he wonne, that thereupon preſently he was ſaluted *Emperour*, euen in the life time of *Veſpaſian* his Father: and from that day carried himſelfe as his Aſſociate in the *Empire*; for with him hee Triumphed, and with him he iointly adminiſtred the *Cenſorſhip*, his *Colleague* he was in the *Tribunes authoritie*; and his companion alſo in ſeauen *Conſullſhips*: In all which, though the *Edicts* went forth in his fathers name: yet were they penned by himſelfe. Of this his victory ouer the *Iewes*, he left the remembrance to poſteritie by ſtamping vpon the reuerſe of his coines IVD. CAP. with pictures expreſſing his Triumph and the *Iewes* ouerthrow, vvhich in the front of this Chapter we haue alſo placed.

He wonne *Ieruſalem* in the life-time of his father.

His faults.

(4) Somewhat he was blemiſhed with the loue of *Berenice*, the beautifull Queene of *Iewry*, and much more with the murther of *Aulus Cinna*, only through iealouſie conceiued of her; and whether that was the ſinne whereof at his death he repented is vncertaine, when lifting vp his eies to *Heauen*, hee complained why his *Life* ſhould be taken from him, that excepting one offence deſerued not to die. As himſelfe in glorie vveilded the *Emperiall Scepter*, ſo did his Subſtitutes goueme the *Prouinces*; at which time in *Britaine*, *Agricola* was Preſident, and therein had ſpent almoſt two yeares vnder the raigne of *Veſpaſian*, in ſuch manner as we haue declared.

His repentance at his death.

(5) In his third yeare, he diſcouered new Countries and parts of this *Iland*, yet vntouched, or at leaſtwiſe not thoroughly ſubdued, as altogether vnſatiate of that which was gotten; & ſought to draw the confines of the *Empire* with a larger compaſſe: therefore marching Northward to the *Frith* of * *Taus*, waſted all as he went, and without any reſiſtance fortified the places with *Caſtles* and *Bulwarkes*, which hee ſtored with ſufficient prouiſion; where euery *Garriſon* wintring, garded it ſelfe, & with the Summers ſeruice, euer repaired the Winters euents, whereby euermore the Enemy went to the worſe, and his deſignes proſpered as himſelfe wiſhed.

Tacit in vit. Agric. *Agricola* enlargeth the Empire.

TVVEEDE, as is thought.

(6) The fourth Summer was ſpent in peruſing and ordering that which he had ouer-runne. And if the glory of the *Romane* name could haue permitted, or ſo beene ſatisfied, it needed not to haue ſought other limits of *Britaine*: for [a] *Glota* and [b] *Bodotria*, two armes of two oppoſite *Seas*, ſhooting farre into the *Land*, and onely deuided aſunder by a narrow partition of ground, the ſame was both garded and fortified with Caſtles and Garriſons: ſo that the *Romans* were abſolute *Lords* of all the South-ſide, and had caſt the Enemie as it were into another *Iland*.

a The frith of *Dunbrettor.*
b *Edenborough* frith.

(7) In this ſtate ſtood this *Prouince* of *Britaine* at the death of *Titus*, vvhoſe ſhort raign hath left no long matters of *diſcourſe*, and his *Acts* greater vnder other *Emperours*, then vvhen he vvas *Emperour* himſelfe; yet that little time wherein he gouerned, was vvith *Iuſtice*, *Liberalitie*, and *Loue* of all. A great Enemie he was to *Promoters*, *Pettifoggers* and *Extortours* of pennall lawes, which *Cancker-wormes* of *Common-wealths*, and *Caterpillers* to Courts of *Iuſtice*, he cauſed to bee whipped and baniſhed out of *Rome*. Louing and familiar hee was to all his *Subiects*, and ſo deſirous to giue them ſatisfaction, that his vſuall ſaying was, *No man ought to goe ſad from the ſpeech of a Prince*. Mer cifull he vvas to the poore, and ſo ready to doe them good, that one day being ſpent by him vvithout any notable action, in ſorrovv he ſaid: *I haue quite loſt a day*. He died the thirteenth of *September*, the yeare from *Chriſts Natiuitie* eighty three, vvhen he had *raigned* tvvo yeares and tvvo moneths, and in the tvvo and fortieth yeare of his age, beeing poiſoned by *Domitian* his Brother and *Succeſſor*.

Titus gouerned with loue of all.

His propenſitie to do good. *Euſeb. li. 3. ca. 15.*

His age & raigne *Euagrius l. 3. c. 31.*

FLAVIVS DOMITIAN.

CHAPTER XIV.

Domitian. Emp.

Agricola. Lieut.

DOmitian attaining the *Empire* by the death of *Titus*, (wrought by himselfe,) as farre differed from him in vertuous conditions, as he was linked neere him in consanguinitie of blood: His youth not spent in *Armes*, with his *Father* and *Brother*, but inertiously consumed in lasciuiousnesse and penurie.

Ann. Dom. 83.

Sueton. in vit. Domit. sect. 1.

(2) At *Rome* hee was in the *Vitellian* troubles, where, with *Sabinus* his Vncle, he had beene murdered, had not the Sexton of the Capitoll hid him in his house, and in the habit of a Minister vnknowen, thence escaped: which place afterwards, when hee came to be *Emperour*, he gorgeously built for a *Temple to Iupiter* his supposed Preseruer, and consecrated himselfe in the lap of that heathenish *Idoll*. Hee very speedily apprehended the hope of an *Empire*, for no sooner was his Father made *Emperour*, but that he assumed the name of *Cæsar*, and in *Rome* carried himself with such prodigalitie, and so liberally made promises of the *Imperiall Offices*, that his father hearing thereof, said, *he maruelled why his sonne sent not one to succeed him in his place*. But to dissemble and cloake his idle conceits, he gaue himselfe to the study of *Poesie*, (although with little affection, as the end prooued) for which notwithstanding both *Pliny* and *Martial* doe highly commend him, as it is the manner of men to admire the *very shadow* of a good quality in Princes and great ones: and so doth *Iuuenal* and *Suetonius* praise his braue minde, for his shewes in the *Amphitheater*, wherein not onely men, but women also were brought, and forced to fight for their liues with wild beasts: a cruell spectacle neuertheless, and vnbeseeming to humanity.

His escaping killing.

Tacit. hist. 3. c. 13. He dedicateth a Temple to Iupiter.

Pliny in his Proeme of naturall historie. Martial. in his Epigram. Ro. Emp. fol. 134. Sueton. in vit. Domit. sect. 4.

(3) His first entrance into state and dignitie was neither greatly applauded nor gainsaid, hee seeming to carrie an equall mixture, and his vertues to hold leuell with his vices But ambition now supported with Soueraignty, did quickly set the scale onely for the worse side. The affaires of the *Empire* he altogether neglected; and impatient of labour, or affection to Armes, daily retired into a priuate chamber or Gallery, wherein he vsually applyed himselfe onely to catch *Flies*, and with the point of a bodkin to pricke them thorow: whereupon one being asked what company was with the *Emperour*, replied, *Not so much as a flie* In which princely exercise let vs a while leaue him, and returne to his better emploied Lieutenant *Agricola*.

His vaine misspending of the time.

Tacit. in vit. Agric.

(4) Who now in the fifth yeere of his gouernment tooke the seas, and with many prosperous conflicts subdued some adiacent places and people, before that time vnknowen; and furnished with forces those parts of *Britaine*, which lay coasted against *Ireland*: to which *Countrey* also he had a minde, and would often say, that if the *Romans* were therin planted, the *Liberty* of the *Britaines* would soone be banished quite out of sight, and out of hope.

Agricola his opinion of Ireland.

(5) Now in the sixth yeere of his Prefecture, because a general rising of al the farther *Nations* beyond *Bodotria* was feared, and passages were all beset with power of the Enemies, hee manned a Fleet to search the creekes and harboroughs of the ample Region beyond it, and with his Army marched further North. The *Britaines* heereat (especially at sight of their ships) much amazed and troubled, knowing now that the secrets of their Seas were al discouered, and no refuge left if they were ouercome; armed themselues with great preparation; and the *Caledonians* (a most puissant and strong Nation in those parts) the formost; who, as challengers, braued the *Romans* so boldly, and in such manner, that some counselled the *Generall* to retire his forces on this side *Bodotria*, and rather of his owne accord to depart, then to bee repelled with shame,

He searcheth the creekes and harboroughs.

Caledonians most puissant.

(6) *Agricola*, whose courage could not be clouded with any dastardly feare, held on his intents; and hearing by prisoners taken, the manner of his Enemies proceedings, ordered his host accordingly, diuiding his armie into three battles, and so lay entrenched; the weakest whereof, containing the *Ninth Legion*, the *Britaines* by Night assailed, and hauing slaine the Watch, brake into their *Campe* with a furious noyse: to whose rescue, *Agricola* sent his Light horsemen, and a Band of foot, whose *Ensignes* and *Armour* glittering in the appearance of day, so rebated the edge and further purposes of the *Britaines*, that they gaue backe to the gates of the Trench; where, in the straites the conflict was sharpe and cruell, till in the end they were forced to quit the field. Vpon this battle so manfully fought, and so famously won, the *Romans* presuming that to their prowesse all things were now easie & open, cryed to leade into *Caledonia*, and to finde out the limits of *Britaine*, with a course of continued conquests: and those which erewhile were so wary and wise, waxt forward and bold after the euent, and grew to speake bigly: such being the hard condition of Warres, that if ought fall out well, all challenge a part; misfortunes are onely imputed to one. Contrariwise, the *Britaines* presupposing that not valour, but skill in the *Generall* by vsing the occasion, had carried it away, abated no whit their wonted courage, but armed their youth, transported their Children and Wiues into places of safety, and sought by Assemblies & Religious rites to establish an *Association* of the *Cities* together. And so for that yeare both partyes did depart, incensed to further preparations.

Agricola searcheth out the limits of Britaine.

(7) In the beginning of the next, *Agricola* sending his Nauy before, which by vnexpected spoiling in

in ſeuerall places, ſhould induce a greater and more vncertain terrour; followed himſelfe with his *Army* by Land: hauing drawne to his party ſome of the valianteſt *Britaines*, whom by long experience in Peace, he had found moſt faithfull for his Warres: and ſo arriued at the Mount * *Grampius*, where the *Britaines* had lodged themſelues before, and as men nothing deiected by the vnfortunate chance of the former battaile, had now prepared themſelues, attending only for *Reuenge* or *Seruitude*. And being taught, that common danger muſt be repelled with mutuall Concord, by Leagues and Embaſſages they aſſembled the power of all their *Cities* together, aboue thirtie thouſand armed men, as by view was taken, beſides an endles number of youth which thither daily flocked vnto them, and many luſty Old men renowned in the former warres, bearing the Badges due to their honour: at what time *Galgacus*, for vertue and birth, of all the *Leaders* the Principall man, ſeeing the multitude hotly demaund the *Battell*, is ſaid to haue vſed this, or the like ſpeech.

* *Grantzbaine.*

The *Britaines* gather a great power.

Galgacus their General.

His Oration to the *Britaines*. *Tacit. in vita Agric.*

" (8) When I behold this preſent Aſſembly, and
" conſider the cauſe of this inſtant neceſsitie, I haue
" reaſon to preſume, that this day, and this our agree-
" ment in conſent, will giue a happie beginning to
" our freedome, and an ende of troubles vnto our *I-*
" *land*. For, we which inhabite theſe furtheſt pro-
" montories, know no Land beyond vs whereunto
" we may fly, nor no Seas left vs now for ſafetie, the
" *Romane* Nauy thus (as you ſee) ſurueying our
" Coaſts: So that combat and armes, which men of
" valour deſire for honour, the very daſtard for force
" muſt now vſe for his ſecuritie. Wee that are the
" flower of the *Britiſh Nobilitie*, and are ſeated here
" in the vttermoſt part of the *Ile*, ſaw neuer yet the
" borders of thoſe Countries which ſerued in ſlaue-
" ry, our eyes being vnpolluted and free from al con-
" tagion of Tyranny. Our former *Battailes* fought
" with the *Romanes* had their euents, yet ſo, that re-
" fuge and hope reſted ſtill in our hands; We haue
" hitherto liued in liberty, whereas none beſide vs
" are free; vs hitherto this corner and ſecret receſſe
" hath defended, now the vttermoſt point of our
" Land is laid open: and things the leſſe they haue
" beene within knowledge, the greater the glory is
" to atchieue them. But what nation is there now
" beyond vs? what elſe ſee we but water and *Rocks*,
" and the *Romanes* within, *Land-lords* of all, nay ra-
" ther *Robbers* of all, both on Land and Sea? Whoſe
" intollerable pride by humble ſubiection in vaine
" ſhall we ſeeke to auoid. If the Country bee rich,
" they ſeeke to winne wealth; if poore, to gaine glo-
" ry: but neither *Eaſt* nor *weſt*, can ſatisfie their gree-
" dy affection, much leſſe this cold *North* can ſet an
" end to their deſires. To kill, to ſpoile, and take a-
" way by force, that falſly they terme *Empire* and
" *Gouernment*: and when all is made a waſte wilder-
" neſſe, that they call *Peace*. Moſt deare vnto man
" are his Children and blood; but thoſe are preſſed
" for their warres, and ſerue as their ſlaues, we know
" not vvhere; our goods are their tributes, our Corne
" their prouiſion; our Wiues, ſiſters and daughters
" in *Warre* violently forced, in *Peace* vnder title of
" friends and gueſts, ſhamefully abuſed, and our
" ovvn Bodies vvorne & conſumed in pauing of Bogs
" and other ſeruile drudgeryes, vvith thouſands of
" ſtripes, and many indignities more. Slaues vvhich
" are borne to bondage are ſold but once, and after
" are fed at their ovvners expences; but *Britainy* dai-
" ly buyeth, daily feedeth, and is at charges vvith her
" ovvne Bondage. We are the laſt to be conquered,
" and therefore is our deſtruction moſt ſought, as be-
" ing the moſt vile in account: No Fields vve haue to
" manure, no Mines to be digged, no Ports to trade
" in, and to vvhat purpoſe then ſhould they reſerue
" vs aliue? Beſides, the Manhood and fierce cou-
" rage of the ſubiect, pleaſeth not much the iealous
" *Soueraigne*: and this Corner being ſo ſecret, and out
" of the vvay, the more ſecurity it yeldeth vs, in them
" it workes the greater ſuſpition. Then, ſeeing all
" hope of fauour is paſt, let vs take courage to de-
" fend and maintaine our owne ſafety as well as our
" honour. The *Icenians* led by a *Woman*: fired the
" *Colony*, forced the Caſtles; and if that lucky be-
" ginning had not beene ended in a careleſſe ſecurity,
" the *Southerne Britaines* might with eaſe haue ſhaken
" off the yoake. We as yet neuer touched, neuer ſub-
" dued, and borne to bee free, not ſlaues to the *Ro-*
" *mans*; wee (I ſay) now are to make proofe of our
" valour, and to ſhew in this encounter, what men
" *Caledonia* hath reſerued for her ſelfe. And do you
" thinke, that the *Romans* are as valiant in Warre as
" they are wanton in Peace? I aſſure you, nothing
" leſſe: for not by their Vertues, but by our Iarrings
" they are growne into fame: and of the Enemies
" faults they make vſe to the glory of their owne *Ar-*
" *my*, compoſed (we know) moſt of diuers *Nations*;
" and therefore as in proſperity they hold not al-
" alwaies together, ſo doubtleſſe, if fortune turne a-
" ſide, their ſeruices will appeare: vnleſſe you ſup-
" poſe the *Gaules* and *Germanes*, and (to our ſhame be
" it ſpoken) many of our owne *Nation*, (which now
" lend their liues to eſtabliſh a *forraine Vſurper*) bee
" led with hearts affection; whereas contrariwiſe it
" is apparant, that *Terrour* and *Diſtruſt*, (weake wor-
" kers to conſerue loue) are the onely cauſe; which
" once remoued, then thoſe that haue made an end
" to feare, will ſoone begin to hate. All things that
" may incite vnto victory are for vs: the *Romanes*
" haue no *Wiues* to harten them on, if they faint; no
" *Parents* to vpbraid them, if they flie; moſt of them
" haue no Country at all, or if they haue, it is by in-
" truſion taken from other: A few fearefull perſons
" ſtand here before vs, trembling and gazing at the
" ſtrangeneſſe of the heauen it ſelfe, at the Sea, and at
" the Woods, whom the gods haue deliuered, mew-
" ed vp and fettered into our hands. Let not their
" braue ſhewes of gliſtering *Gold* or *ſiluer*, any way
" diſmay you, which of themſelues neither offend
" nor defend. And be you well aſſured, amongſt our
" enemies wee ſhall finde many on our ſide; The
" *Britaines* will agnize their owne Cauſe; the *Gaules*
" will remember their wonted liberty and former e-
" ſtate; And the reſt of the *Germans* will leaue and
" forſake them, as of late the *Vſipians* did. What then
" ſhall we feare? The *Caſtles* are emptie; the *Colonies*
" peopled with aged and impotent perſons; the free
" Cities diſcontent, and in factions, whileſt thoſe
" which are vnder, obey with ill will, & they which
" doe gouerne, rule againſt right. Here you ſee be-
" fore vs is the *Generall* and the *Army*; on each ſide
" Tributes, Seruitudes and other miſeries inſepara-
" ble: which whether we ſhall continue for euer, or
" caſt off ſubiection as free-borne *Britaines*, it lyeth
" this day in this *Field* and your approued manhoods.
" Wherefore I beſeech you in ioyning Battell, beare
" in your Minds your worthy *Anceſtors*, your Selues,
" and following Poſterities, which if you faile, ſhall
" for euer liue in ſubiection and ſlauery,

Womans valour ought to ſhame mens cowardize.

This time the fitteſt to prooue our valour.

The *Romanes* wanton in peace

Their Army compoſed of diuers nations.

They are deſtitute of many encouragements.

Many Cities in factions.

(6) This ſpeech was ſo vehemently deliuered, & ſo cheerefully of them all receiued, that with Songs and confuſed acclamations (after their accuſtomed faſhion) they cluſtered together on heaps, and ſome of the bold'ſt aduanced forward, whileſt *Agricola* likewiſe was incouraging his men, who ſtraightwaies ranne to their weapons, and ruſhed on furiouſly toward the Enemy.

(10) The *Britaines* were marſhalled in the higher ground, fitly both to the ſhew, and to terrifie: the firſt Battalion ſtanding on the plaine, the reſt on the aſcent of the hill, knit and riſing as it were one ouer another; the middle of the field was filled with clattering and running of Chariots & horſemen. *Agricola* ſeeing their number to exceede his, drew his battaile in length, and leauing his horſe, aduanced himſelfe before the *Enſignes* on foote.

The number of *Britaine* exceded the *Romanes*.

The firſt encounter.

(11) In the firſt aſſault before the ioyning, both ſides encountred, diſcharging of their darts; wherin the

A Diſhonour for the chiefe of a Nation to be daſtards.

Former battailes not vnfortunate.

Subiection will not auaile.

The *Romans* gouernment and peace.

The laſt to bee conquered ought moſt to reſiſt.

Manhood and fitneſſe of place more ſuſpected of a iealous Soueraigne.

the *Britaines*, employing both art and valour, with their great ſwords and little Targets, auoided the volue of the *Romans*, ſhowring downe withall great ſtore of theirs vpon them, wherewith they were both galled and ſore wounded. *Agricola* ſeeing his men thus ſtoutly reſiſted, tooke another courſe: for, ſpying the aduantage, he commanded three [a] *Batauian Cohorts*, and two of the [b] *Tungrians*, to preſſe forward, and bring the matter to handy ſtrokes and dint of ſword, a thing which (in reſpect of their long ſeruice) they were very expert in, but contrariwiſe to the *Britains* very preiudiciall, by reaſon of their litle Bucklers, and huge ſwords, being blunt pointed, and no waies fit for the cloſe in fight. This command aduantaged the *Romans* much; for theſe with the pikes of their Bucklers, when they came to deale blowes, ſo mangled the faces of the *Britaines*, that they were not able to ſtand before them; and the reſt, gathering courage vpon emulation of theſe, aſcended the hill, bearing downe all that was in their way, ſo that many halfe dead and ſome wholy vntouched, were ouer-paſſed and left for haſte of winning the field. In the meane while the *Chariots* mingled themſelues with the battle of footmen, and the troopes of horſemen began for to fly: who albeit they had lately terrified others, were now diſtreſſed themſelues, by the vneuenneſſe of the ground, and thicke rankes of the enemy, and were forced to fight ſtanding ſtill, and by the maine weight of horſes to beare downe one another. The wandring Wagons alſo, and maſterleſſe horſes, as chance or feare did guide them, ouer-bare many times their friends, and thwarted their way that met them.

(12) The other *Britaines* that kept the hill, and had leiſure to behold the manner of fight, beganne to come downe by little and little, and ſought to compaſſe the backe of the enemy, which intent *Agricola* ſoone preuented, by ſending foure wings of *Horſemen* retained purpoſely about him for ſudden diſpatches and chances of warre. Theſe ſo fiercly aſſailed them, that a moſt ſharpe and bloody battle enſued, wherein the *Britaines* on each ſide were beaten downe and ſlaine, notwithſtanding many of them ſhewed both valour and reuenge euen to the end: the reſt disbanded, turned their backes, and fled toward the deſert: whoſe purſuit was followed vntill Night, and fulneſſe of blood made an end of the chaſe.

(13) Of the *Romans* ſide were ſlaine (if we muſt credit their owne friends) onely three hundred and forty perſons, and of them, one of extraordinary note and account, *Aulus* [a] *Articus*, *Captaine* of a *Cohort*, who vpon a youthfull heate, and fierceneſſe of his horſe, was carried amidſt his enemies. Of the *Britaines* fell ten thouſand, and their deſignes ſo defeated and broken, that as deſperate men, they forſake their houſes, and in deſpight ſet fire on them themſelues: the hurt perſons they carry and draw with them, and call them that are vnhurt, hoping to be releeued by them. One while they chuſe out holes to lurke in, for their liues ſafety; eftſoones in great haſte forſake them, as doubting therein their owne ſecurity. Diſperſed aſunder, they lament and attend death: aſſembled together, they expoſtulate of their meanes and life: one while conceiuing a glimmering of ſome ſmall hope, another while deiected with vtter deſpaire: Sometimes at the ſight of their deareſt beloued, mooued to pity; but much oftner ſtirred to rage, for reuenge; and many of them, euen by way of compaſſion, ſlew their deareſt *Wiues* & *Children*, to rid them from their future miſeries.

(14) *Agricola* hauing made euery where a deſolation and ſilence, withdrew his Army towards the [a] *Horreſtians*, where taking hoſtages for their fidelity, ſent the *Admirall* of his *Nauy* to ſaile about the *North Coaſts* of *Britaine*, who with ſtrength and ſtore tooke the Seas; their terrour gone already before, himſelfe with eaſie and gentle iournies diſpoſed his foot and horſemen in their Wintring places, and planted Garriſons vpon the Borders betweene *Glota* and *Bodotria*. And his Nauy with proſperous winde and ſucceſſe arriued at the port [a] *Trutulenſis*.

(15) Thus, after many conflicts, about the ſpace of one hundred thirty ſix yeeres from *Iulius Cæſars* firſt entrance, the vtmoſt limits of *Britanny*, and the *Iles* of the *Orcades* lying on the North ſide of it, were by the valour and induſtry of *Iulius Agricola* firſt diſcouered, and made knowne vnto the *Romans*: and the *South* part of the *Ile*, in the fourth yeare of the raigne of *Domitian*, (being the year of our Sauiour eighty ſix) reduced into a ſubiected Prouince, the gouernment whereof was euer annexed and appropriate to the *Romane Emperours* themſelues, and not at the diſpoſition of the *Senate*, as other prouinces were

(16) This State affaires in *Britanny*, *Agricola* ſignified by letter, without any amplifying termes to *Domitian* the *Emperour*, who (after his manner) with *a cheerefull countenance and grieued heart*, receiued the Newes, being inwardly pricked with feare and diſdaine, that his late counterfet *Triumph* of *Germany* (wherein certaine ſlaues bought for money, were attired, and their haire dreſſed as *Captiues* of that *Country*) was had in deriſion, and iuſtly skorned abroad; whereas now a true and imperiall victory of ſo many thouſand enemies ſubdued and ſlaine, was currant and famous in euery mans mouth: as being indeed a thing dangerous, that a priuate mans name ſhould be exalted aboue his Prince. In vaine then had hee ſuppreſſed the ſtudy of *Oratory*, and other worthy politick Artes, thereby to keepe downe other mens reputation, if he ſhould in *Military* glory be diſſeiſed by another. And to be a good Commander of an *Army*, was to be aboue priuate eſtate, that being a Vertue peculiar for a *Prince*, and therefore not lightly to bee paſſed ouer. With theſe and the like incentiues his minde was tormented; yet thought he it beſt to diſſemble his malice, vntill the heat of his glory, and loue of his ſouldiers were ſomewhat abated. And forthwith he commanded for *Agricola*, *Triumphall* ornaments, ſtatue, honours, and what elſe vſually conferred in lieu of *Triumph*; hee yet remaining in charge, from whence, with the like policy alſo, hee was ſhortly diſplaced. For *Syria*, by the death of *Atilius Rufus*, lay deſtitute of a *Lieutenant*, and that place reſerued for men of great quality, *Domitian* gaue forth, was purpoſed for *Agricola*, and ſent him both his *Patent*, and *Succeſſor* into *Britaine*; who thereupon deliuered vp the Prouince in a peaceable eſtate vnto *Saluſtius Lucullus*, and returned to *Rome*.

(17) Where the life of *Domitian* was now grown vnmeaſurable vaine. The ſurname *Germanicus* he aſſumed to himſelfe, for ſome ſmall ſeruice therein done. The Moneths *September* and *October* he changed into the names of *Germanicus* and *Domitianus*, becauſe that in the one he entred his *Empire*, and in the other was borne. He cauſed his Statue to be made in gold, and commanded, himſelfe to be called GOD. His cruelty euery way matchable to his pride. The *Senatours* and *Nobles* vpon ſmall ſurmiſes he murdered: many new tortures hee inuented: *Confiſcations* and *Baniſhments*, were fauours, not puniſhments. Amongſt all which, the *Chriſtians* bare a part, whoſe *Second Perſecution* this *Tyrant* raiſed and began. The great *Euangeliſt Iohn* hee baniſhed into the *Ile* of *Patmos*, where hee receiued his *Reuelations* from *Ieſus Chriſt*, appearing vnto him in no leſſe Maieſty then *Daniel* before time had ſeene him in his *viſions*, and both (after a ſort) in one and the ſame manner: their *Viſions* alike, and almoſt to the like end: For as *Daniel* ſaw a *Lion*, *Beare* *Leopard*, and *Monſter* with *Ten horns* perſecute the *Iewes* Gods people, and to fall before the *Stone cut without hands*, which brake into powder the *Image* of their Tyrannicall Gouernment, to giue place to the peaceable *Birth* and *Kingdome* of *Chriſt*; ſo *Iohn* ſaw one *Beaſt* compacted of theſe foure, mouthed like a *Lion*, footed like a *Beare*, ſpotted as the *Leopard*, and horned for number and power with the *Monſter*, retaining their *Tyranny* in raiſing *Perſecutions* in the *Church* of *Chriſt*, and clouding with *Idolatry*

[a] Hollanders. [b] Liege in the Low Countries.

The Britains Chariots diſorder the horſemen.

The fight fierce on both ſides.

The Britaines diſcomfited.

The Romans loſſe. [a] Atticus perchance.

The Britaines that died.

[a] Anguſe in Scotland. Agricola ſendeth to diſcouer the North coaſts.

*Ricborow.

Hiſtor. magn. Br. lib. 2. cap. 17.

Britanny wholly diſcouered by Agricola.

Ann. dom. 86.

Dio lib. 55.

Agricola writeth to Domitian.

Agricola receiueth Triumphall ornaments.

Sueton. in vita Domitiani. Domitian his vices.

He baniſhed S. Iohn. Euſeb. Eccl. hiſt. lib. 3 cap. 15. Apocal. 1. 9. Dan. 10.

Apocal. 13. 2.

2 Theſſ. 2. 8: the brightneſſe of his *Word*: which beaſt ſhall be caſt into the Lake of fire and brimſtone, when *Chriſt* ſhall binde vp *Satan*, and by his appearance aboliſh the *Man of Sinne*.

Saluſtius Lucullus put to death. *Sueton. in vit. Domit. ſect. 10.* His offence.

(18) Among many others ſlaine by *Domitian*, *Saluſtius Lucullus* whom he had made *Lieutenant Generall* of *Britaine* was one, and the onely cauſe is reported to bee, that he had deuiſed and made certaine Speares or Launces for ſeruice, which he cauſed to be called *Lucullians* after his owne name; which was a matter held very ſuſpitious by *Domitian*, who thought euery memorable act done by another, did plucke a feather from his owne plume. And in theſe courſes continued ſo long that laſtly he grew odious to all euen to his neareſt friends and followers which himſelfe had raiſed, who together with his *Wife*, conſpired his death.

(19) The chiefeſt in the Action was *Stephen*, a Procurator and Steward to *Domicilla* his *Empreſſe*, who faining himſelfe lame of the left arme, in deliuering him a ſcroll containing the names of the conſpirators, ſtrooke him in the *belly* with his ſword, & the reſt coming in, with ſeuen wounds made an end of his life; whoſe death was ſo acceptable to the *Senate*, that they diſgracefully abuſed his carcaſe, caſt downe his ſcutcheons and Images, and forbad all maner remembrance of him; albeit ſome of the Souldiers as much ſtormed, ſeeking to reuenge his death, and canonized him for a God.

The actors of his death, and their treachery.

The *Senate* glad

the *Souldiers* enraged.

(20) Of ſtature he was tall, his complexion faire, his countenance modeſt, his head very bald, his eies red, full, great and dimme; of a comely forme, onely his belly bearing out, his legges ſmall, and his foote ſomewhat ſhort. He died the eighteenth day of *September*, aged forty fiue, when he had raigned fiftene yeares, the yeare of our Lords incarnation ninety eight, with whom both *Tacitus* & *Suetonius* end their Hiſtory.

His perſonage.

His death, age & raigne. *Euſeb. Eccleſ. li. 3. cap. 18.*

The Reſiſters of the *Romans* proceedings in this our Iland of *Britaine*, in the daies of this Emperour *Domitian*, for theſe *Southerne* parts, was *Aruiragus*, as from *Iuuenal* we haue ſaid; and in the *Northerne Caledonia*, was *Galgacus* their Captaine; whoſe Coines as Remaines and Monuments of their neuerdying fame, we haue here againe inſerted.

NERVA.

Chapter XV.

Nerua Emp.

Ann. Do. 98.

HItherto haue we purſued the ſucceſsion in the Britiſh monarchy, together with the Inuaſions, attempts, and ſucceſſe of affaires for the *Conqueſt* of this *Iland*, vnder the firſt twelue *Emperours* of *Rome*: And that from ſuch writers, who though they were moſt fauourable *Regiſters* of things done by the *Romans*, yet had they beſt meanes to know, and publiſh their *Hiſtories* with warrantize of truth. But after the death of *Domitian*, died many Records, and the *Prouinces* proceedings (eſpecially thoſe that moſt concerne *Britaine*) left vncertaine; and therefore are neither with the like largeneſſe proſecuted, nor with the like authority auouched. And were it not that theſe *Romane Emperours* ſucceeding, did onely continue the ſucceſſion of our *Britiſh Monarches*, many of them might be quite omitted; as neither themſelues, nor deputies, allies, or enemies once ſpoken of concerning our affaires; and the *Gouernment* of this *Prouince*, during thoſe times, ſo maimed and defectiue (in reſpect of any warrantable relations) that hardly a method can bee obſerued to the fitting of a continuall *Hiſtory*. Yet as we finde it, let vs haue liberty to deliuer it, and rather to expoſe *Truth* in the meane attire that time hath left her, then by diſguiſing her in richer roabes to abuſe the World, and make her ſeeme nought elſe but a conterfeit, as *Plutarch* in the life of *Pericles* hath complained.

Hiſt. magn. Brit. lib. 3. cap. 1.

Plutarch in the life of *Pericles*.

Domitian being dead, ſoone after many Records were loſt.

(2) *Domitian*

Cocceius Nerua aged & prudent.

(2) *Domitian* therefore thus made away, *Cocceius Nerua*, a prudent, honourable, and aged perſon, was elected *Emperour* by the *Senate*, aſsiſted by *Petronius Secundus*, Captaine of the *Pretorian Army*, and *Parthenius* chiefe *Chamberlaine*, and one of the Murtherers of *Domitian*. His birth was noble, and of *Italy* in the City *Narnia*, and of the *Prouince Vmbria*: ruling ſo wel as he may be eſteemed too good a Prince, long to continue in ſo bad an age.

Gaulfe. Mommouthenſis.

(3) What *Lieutenants* vnder him were in *Britain*, or vnder his Succeſſor *Traian*, I find not in Record: but our *Engliſh writers* from the *Arch-Deacon* of *Monmouth*, bring a ſucceſſion of *Britiſh Kings*, and amongſt them *Marius*, who conquered *Roderick*, King of the *Picts* accompanied with the *Scots*, whoſe *Trophie* erected neere vnto *Carleill*, remained a long time after, bearing the inſcription of his victory: and after him his ſonne *Coilus* brought vp in *Rome* all the time of his youth, retained their fauours, and paid them tribute without conſtraint. Albeit by *Iuuenal*, it ſeemeth that *Aruiragus* the father of *Marius*, a great reſiſter of the *Romanes*, liued in the raigne of *Domitian*, as hath beene touched, vnleſſe you will ſay, that *Meurigus* and *Aruiragus* was the ſame *Marius*, as a worthy *Antiquary* affirmeth. But through theſe vncertainties and diſagreements occaſioned by the ſilence of better Authors, our *Hiſtories* reſt doubtfull, and ſo muſt we leaue them, returning to finiſh vp briefly the Raigne and Life of this good *Emperour Nerua*.

Flores Hiſtoriar. Wil. of Malam. aſcribeth this memorial to be erected for Marcus a Conſul of Rome. Polychr. lib. 4. c. 12.

Humfrey Lhoyd in the Breuiary of *Brit.*

(4) Who hauing reformed many enormities, and remitted many greeuous Tributes and exactions, as that of Carriages mentioned on the reuerſe of the prefixed Coine, minted by authority of the Senate, in eternall memory of his goodnes; recalled from baniſhment the *Chriſtians* ſeuerally diſperſed, & ſuffered them to enioy the freedome of their profeſſion. At which time *Iohn* the Euangeliſt returned from *Pathmos*, (wherein he had beene confined) vnto *Epheſus*, a City in *Aſia* the leſſe. And *Nerua* raigning onely one yeare foure moneths and nine dayes, died of a paſſionate anger conceiued againſt a *Senator*, the yeare of Chriſt his incarnation ninety nine, the twenty ſeuenth day of *Ianuary*, & ſeuenty ſixth of his own age.

Aruiragus the father of Marius. Chap. 6. ſect. 12.

Alſo in an old Manuſcript is called *Weſtmer. cap.* 43. *Cocceius Nerua* recalled from baniſhment the Chriſtians. *Dion Caſſ. lib.* 68. *Iohn* the Euangeliſt returned from *Pathmos*. *Euſeb lib.* 2. *ca.* 18. *Eutropius.*

TRAIAN.

Chapter XVI.

Traian. Emp.

An. Do. 99.

NTo *Nerua* ſucceeded *Vulpius Traian* in the *Romane Empire*; borne neere vnto *Siuill* in the Territories of *Spaine*: of a noble family, but was much more ennobled in himſelfe for his princely endowments, which moued *Nerua* in his life time to adopt him into ſo high a calling, and the whole *Senate* after his death ioifully to confirme his *Election*; and ſo often to honour him with the title of the *Moſt Excellent Prince* in publike dedications, as on the Coine aboue.

Sextus Aurelius.

Traian raiſed the Romans to the higheſt glory.

(2) Hee raiſed the *Romane Empire* vnto the very higheſt pitch of glory, and ſpread the power of their Command into the largeſt circuit that euer before or ſince had or hath beene poſſeſſed. For the Kingdome of *Dacia* he ſubdued; *Armenia*, *Parthia*, & *Meſopotamia* made ſubiect; *Aſſyria*, *Perſia*, and *Babylon* conquered; paſſed *Tigris*, and ſtretched the confines of the *Roman Empire*, vnto the remoteſt dominions of the *Indies* which neuer before that time had heard of the *Roman Name*. And indeed, if we looke vpon his politicke managing of the gouernment, he may ſeeme (in compariſon of others) a right worthy, memorable and *louely Prince*, of much *affability*, and *Familiarity* euen with his inferiours, and of ſuch cariage towards his *Subiects*, as he himſelfe would wiſh his *Prince* (he ſaid) to vſe towards him, if he were a *Subiect*. A great obſeruer alſo of Iuſtice, inſomuch that when he inueſted any *Pretor*, in giuing him the *Sword*, he commanded him to vſe the ſame euen againſt his owne perſon, if he violated Law or Equity. But yet againſt the good *Chriſtians* he vſed neither of both: nay hee ſtirred vp their *Third Perſecution*, wherein *Ignatius* and many other worthy *Saints* of God, receiued the Crowne of Martyrdome, in ſuch cruell manner, as that his other vertues are much clouded by that taxation: for mollification whereof, he was compaſsionately intreated by *Plinius Secundus* his Tutor; whoſe Epiſtles to that purpoſe are yet extant.

Dion Caſſius. The third perſecution of the Chriſtians. *Euſeb. Eccl. hiſt. lib.* 3 *cap.* 30.

(3) The *Iewes* in his time roſe vp in armes againſt the *Gentiles*, and in *Cyrene*, *Aegypt*, and *Cyprus*, ſlew a great number: againſt whom *Traian* ſent his Captaines with forces ſufficient, and in diuers parts of the *Empire* put the *Iewes* to death, in ſuch infinite numbers, as that Maſſacre is accounted the *greateſt Execution* that euer had beene in the world, God ſuffering this their puniſhment to light vpon them for their infidelity and obſtinacie againſt his *Chriſt*.

Iewes made war againſt the *Gentiles*;

Traian his ſlaughter vpon the *Iewes* the greateſt that euer was.

(4) Finally, after his *Conqueſts* in the *Eaſt*, returning towards *Rome*, at *Seleucia* in *Aſia the leſſe*, himſelfe was conquered by the ſtroke of death, by a fluxe, the ſeuenth day of *Auguſt*, after he had raigned nineteene yeeres, ſix moneths, and fifteene daies, the yeare of our redemption one hundred and eighteene and, of his age ſixty foure: whoſe aſhes brought to *Rome*, were incloſed within the Crowne of a goodly *Pillar* wrought of one intire ſtone, containing one hundred forty foot in height.

Dion Caſſius. Polychr. lib. 4. cap. 13.

(5) Of ſtature he was bigge, of complexion ſwarthy; thinne of haire both head and beard, a hooked noſe, broade ſhoulders, long hands and a pleaſant eye, whoſe liuely *Image* was borne in *Triumph* after his death, and that in moſt glorious and pompous manner, in celebration of his great renowne and fame attained in his life.

Traians portraiture.

Dion Caſſius. Eutropius

Indians neuer heard of the Romans till Traianes time.

Traians affability and moderation towards his ſubiects.

(6) How ſilent ſoeuer writers haue beene for this *Emperours* affaires in this our *Iland*, yet it is to be thought that vnto this, as well as vnto other *Prouinces* both *Propretors*, *Lieutenants*, *Preſidents*, *Pretors*, and *Proconſuls* were ſent, and euery *City* to haue their municipall Magiſtrates. The *Pretor* that yearely proclaimed ſolemne Seſsions, wherin himſelf ſate aloft vpon a high tribunall ſeate, and guarded with his lictors about him in great eſtate, did execute his authority throughout his owne iuriſdiction, and determined all cauſes brought before him, where rods and axes were prepared for the common people, that were enforced to receiue a new Ruler euery yeere. And ſurely as this yoke of bondage was grieuouſly borne of euery *Prouince*, vpon whoſe necke, it was impoſed and laid: So the *Britaines* vnderwent the weight of that ſubiection with ſuch vnwillingnes, that in the time of this *Traian*, they reuolted and rebelled, though preſently ſurpriſed, as it is euident out of *Spartianus*.

Rowardus in Pro. tribunal.

(7) The care that this good *Emperour* had for the weale of his ſubiects is proiected by his prouidence in making wayes paſſageable from place to place, whereof remaine many teſtimonies by thoſe his *Cauſeies* drawne with wonderfull diligence, euen thorow the whole *Iland*; which now, though diſmembred and cut in peeces by the Country people, where-thorow they paſſed, yet doe many remnants thereof remaine, eſpecially in paſtures, or by-grounds out of the rode way, with bankes ſo high, that euidently they ſhew themſelues. Of theſe *Cauſeis* *Galen* writeth as followeth: *The waies* (ſaith hee) *Traian repaired by pauing with ſtone, or raiſing with bankes caſt vp ſuch peeces of them as were moiſt and miry: by ſtocking vp and ridding ſuch as were rough and ouergrowne with buſhes and briers: by making bridges ouer Riuers that could not bee waded thorow: where the way ſeemed longer then needed, by cutting out another ſhorter: if any where by reaſon of ſome ſteepe hill, the paſſage were hard and vneaſie, by turning it aſide thorow eaſier places: now in caſe it was haunted with wilde beaſts, or lie waſte and deſert, by drawing it thence thorow places inhabited, and withall laying leuell all vneuen and rugged grounds.*

Galen lib. 9. cap. 8. Metho.

Along theſe *Cauſeies* the *Emperour* cauſed to bee ſet little pillars or Columnes, with numerall Characters cut in thē, to ſignifie how many miles was from place to place. Of theſe *Sidonius Apollinaris* writeth thus:

Antiquus tibi nec teratur agger;
Cuius per ſpatium ſatis vetuſtis
Nomen Cæſareum viret columnis.

Breake not the ancient Cauſeies ſtrong,
Whereon the Columnes ſtand along,
Nor names of Cæſars doe not wrong.

HADRIAN.

Chapter XVII.

Hardian Emp.

Cneus Trebel Lieut.

After the deceaſe of *Traiane*, his Nephew *Ælius Hadrianus*, by the conſent of the Army, who ſwore to him obedience, was proclaimed *Emperour*; the *Senate* likewiſe confirming their choice, as beeing a man indued with gifts both of Art and Nature; anſwerable to the fortunes of his *Eſtate*.

An. Do: 119.

Polych. Lib. 4. c. 14

His birth was of *Spaine*; in the City *Italica*, neere vnto *Siuill*, where *Traian* was born; his father Noble and his mother in *Cales* deſcended of an honourable ſtocke.

(2) A great *Mathematician* he was, ſkilfull in *Arithmeticke*, *Geometrie*, *Aſtronomie*, and *Iudicious Aſtrologie*; learned in the *Greeke*, and *Latine* Tongues; in which languages he wrote both Poeſie & Proſe: well ſeene in *Phyſicke*, and knew the Vertues of *Hearbes*, *Rootes*, and *Stones*: A ſingular Muſitian both for *Theorie* and *Practiſe*; and could both limme & carue with approbation of the skilfull: but aboue all, is the admirable report of his Memory, who neuer forgot any thing that he either read or heard.

Spartianus. Hadrianus of an admirable memory.

(3) His firſt buſineſſe for the *Empire*, was rather a care to hold ſecurely what was gotten, then by enlarging the bounds to endanger the beſt: and therefore leſſening the Compaſſe, and bettering the ſtrength, he planted his forces along the Riuer *Euphrates*, and aſſigned that for the *Eaſterne* limits, leauing out *India*, *Armenia*, *Media*, *Aſſyria*, *Perſia*, and *Meſopotamia*, as Countries too remote for the *Romanes* to hold to their profit. By which his doings other *Prouinces* tooke occaſion to reuolt, thirſting after *Liberty*, and among others the *Britaines* (as euer moſt impatient of Seruitude) attempted alterations, whoſe *Lieutenant Cneus Trebellius* (Succeſſor to *Iulius Agricola*) could not ſo gouerne his *Souldiers* which were growne out of diſcipline, and by long reſt farre out of Order, but that they fell at variance among themſelues, and diſquieted the moſt peaceable of the *Britaines* by their licentious maners.

Hadrianus policy

Britaines attempt alteration.

Holingſhed lib. 4. cap. 20. Cneus Trebellius. Lieutenant of the *Britaines.*

(4) The *Northerne Inhabitants*, that were more at liberty, and imboldned by their Bogs and Rocks vnacceſſable, ſet themſelues to withſtand their wrōgs, to whom alſo many others ioined their affections and forces, whereupon ſome bickering inſued with loſſe and blood; to repreſſe which *Iulius Seuerus* was ſent by *Hadrian*: but ere hee could ſettle the Commotion, was againe recalled and imployed iu *Syria*, to ſuppreſſe the *Iewiſh* rebellion.

Iulius Seuerus ſent to ſuppreſſe the Commotions of the *Britaines.*

(5) Theſe ſtirres here ſtill continuing, the *Emperour* tooke it to be of ſuch importance, that he reſolued in *Perſon* to addreſſe for *Britanie*, which he performed in his third Conſulſhip; the yeare of Chriſt one

Hadrian himſelfe came into *Britain* to ſuppreſſe rebellion.

One hundred twenty foure, attended on by three *Legions*: of which, his *Army* for this exploit was then compoſed, as appeareth by his money in the entrance of his life, fixed in memory of this vndertaking: With theſe hee encountred the Northerne Riders, recouered ſuch Holds as they had taken, and forced them into the *Woods* and *Mountaines*, whither the *Romane Horſemen* without danger could not purſue them. But perceiuing the Aire too ſharpe for the *Romanes* conſtitution, and the Soile rough and of leſſe profit then the reſt, hee made a *Fortification* or ſtrong *Wall* of *Earth*; which (as *Lampridius* ſaith) did continue on the *weſt* from *Ituna*, (that is, the Riuer *Eden* in *Cumberland* neere *Carleil*) vnto the Riuer *Tina*, or *Tine* at *Newcaſtle* in *Northumberland*, in the Eaſt; and was no leſſe then *Eighty miles* in lengh. This Wall (ſaith he) was made of ſtakes driuen deepe into the ground, and bound together in the manner of an hedge; and with Turfe and Earth intermured as a *Rampire* or *Bulwarke*, to defend the Incurſions of the wilder *Britaines* and ill Neighbours, that daily moleſted the peace of the *Romanes*. *Hadrian* his worke finiſhed, and the *Prouince* reduced to the obedience of the fatall Gouerneſſe *Rome*, at whoſe feet he laid againe the name of *Britaine*, (as appeareth in the firſt Reuerſe of his *Coine*, placed in the fronture of this Chapter) triumphantly returned to *Rome*, and for his honourable aduenture and Expedition had his name inſcribed vpon his *Coine* with this addition: THE RESTORER OF BRITANNIE.

Adrians wall. Aeli. Lampri.

Adrians Coines.

(6) Neither after this ſeemed the *Southerne Britaines* greatly to contend, but patiently bore the yoke of ſubiection, which *Time* and *Cuſtome* had made leſſe painfull, the rather for that they ſay themſelues to ſtand in neede of the *Romanes* helpe againſt the inroades of their owne *Countrimen*, whoſe cruelty was now as much feared, as in former times the Inuaſion of *Strangers*: whereupon they conformed themſelues more willingly to the *Romane* Lawes, both in *Martiall* and *Ciuill* affaires: which were then principally directed by *Licincius Priſcus*, who had beene not long before imploied by *Hadrian* in the ſeruice of *Iewry*, and was at this preſent *Lieutenant* of *Britaine*.

Licinius Priſcus Lieutenant of Britaine. Hiſt. magn. Brit. lib. 3. cap. 1.

(7) This *Iewiſh* warre happned in the eighteenth yeere of the Raigne of *Hadrian*, who ſuddenly aſſailed and ſlew where they came, both *Romaines* & *Chriſtians*: for reuenge whereof, beſides an infinite number of them ſlaine and tortured, their City *Ieruſalem* was alſo raced euen to the ground, and another built, but not altogether in the ſame place, and the name therof changed to AELIA: the *Iewes* vtterly baniſhed thence, and as *Ariſtion Pelleus* writeth) not lawfull for them to looke towards that *City* nor *Soile*, no not through the Chink or Creuice of a dore: And vpon the Gate that leadeth towards *Beth-lehem*, hee cauſed a *Swine* to be ingrauen; a Beaſt by their Law accounted moſt vncleane, and by them abhominable.

Dion. Caſſ.

Ieruſalem raced to the ground.

Euſeb. lib. 4. cap. 6.

Iewes not permitted to looke to *Ieruſalem*.

A ſwine ſet on the Gate of *Ieruſalem*.

(8) But as this *Emperour* was exaſperated againſt the *Iewes*, ſo was hee gracious and fauourable to the *Chriſtians*, and the rather at the requeſt of *Quatratus*, a Diſciple (as is ſuppoſed) of the Apoſtles, who wrote vnto him concerning them; and of *Ariſtides* a learned *Philoſopher* of *Athens*, who made an *Apologie* for their defence; ſo that the *Perſecution* then in practiſe was forbidden by *Hadrian* in a publicke *Edict*; who (as *Lampridius* writeth) was minded to haue built a *Temple* to the ſeruice of *Chriſt*, had not ſome diſſwaded him therefrom. In extremity of ſicknes hee deſigned *Caſar*, *Lucius Ælius*, whoſe Coyne wee haue hereunder expreſſed: A man deare to his *Emperour*, if we conſider at how great a rate hee bought for him the acceptation of the Commons and Military men: And how ſhort a time the blaze of that Honour continued: for hee died ſo ſoone, that *Hadrian* himſelfe had wont to ſay,

Oſtendent terris hunc tantùm fata, nec vltra
Eſſe ſinent. ——

Adrian fauorable to the Chriſtians

Lampridius in vit. Seueri.

(9) When hee had raigned in great honour and loue the ſpace of one and twenty yeeres, fiue moneths, and fifteene daies, hee died, the eighth or tenth of *Iulie*, of a *dropſie*: which maladie ſo tormented him, that willingly he refuſed all ſuſtenance, and languiſhed away through faintneſſe. Hee was of perſonage tall, and very ſtrong, of a good complexion and amiable countenance, wearing the haire of his head and beard long, and died aged ſixty two, the yeere of our Lord God, One hundred thirty nine.

Spartianus. Dion. Caſſius. Polychr.

Vnder this Emperour M.F. CL. PRISCVS LICINIVS, was the Propraetor of Britannie, and imploied in the Iourney of Iurie with Hadrian; as appeareth by this antique Inſcription in a broken Marble, found in the Picts wall.

M.F. CL. PRISCO,
ICINIO. ITALICO. LEGATO. AVGVSTORVM
PR. PR. PROV. CAPPADOCIÆ
PR. PR. PROV. BRITANNIÆ.

.....
.....
.....

LEG. IIII. GALLICIÆ. PRAEF. COH. IIII. LINGONVM. VEXILLO. MIL.
ORNATO. A. DIVO. HADRIANO. IN EXPEDITIONE IVDAIC.

Q. CASSIVS. DOMITIVS. PALVMBVS:

ANTONINVS

ANTONINVS PIVS.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Antonin. Pius Emp.

Lollius Vrbicus Lieut.

An. Do. 139.

NExt vnto whom succeeded *Antoninus*, (for his many vertues) surnamed the *Pious*: and by the *Senate*, *Father of his Country*. This man did not onely equall his *Adopter* and *Predecessours*, in wisdome and other princely qualities, but was also compared, for his peace and policie, vnto *Numa Pompilius* the second *King* of *Rome*, who for his renowned gouernment, is so famously in their Histories recorded. His birth was in *Lombardy*, the son of *Aurelius Fuluius*, and *Nephew* to *Titus Aurelius Fuluius*, that had beene *Consul*, and held other Offices of dignity and *State*. The whole time of whose *Raigne* was so spent in peace, that small remembrances remaine of any martiall affaires: yet such as we finde in *Brstannie* we will deliuer.

Antoninus raigned in peace.

(2) At his first entrance into the *Empire*, about the yeere of Christ, One hundred thirtie nine (as appeareth by the money minted in memorie of the reduction of *Britaine*) the *Northerne Britaines* in that part of this *Ile* began to stirre, and made inroads into the *Prouince*, notwithstanding the *Rampire* or *Wall* that *Adrian* had made. Against whom *Lollius Vrbicus Lieutenant* heere vnder *Antoninus*, brought his power, and with some skirmishes put them backe: taking from the *Brigantes* part of their Land, as a *Mulct*, for the waste they had done to the *Genounians*, a Prouince adioining vnto the *Brigantes*, whose people had put themselues vnder the Emperours protection. Which done, he repaired the *Wall* with stronger *Fortifications*; or (which is more probable) raised vp another not farre from the same, to double the defence: for (saith *Iulius Capitolinus*) *Lollius the Legate to Antoninus, ouercomming the Britaines, built another turfe Wall to diuide the Prouince, and to impeach the incursions of the barbarous.* Notwithstanding the honour of this seruice (as is testified by the ancient Panegyricke) was (by one *Fronto*) attributed wholly to *Antoninus* the Emperour himselfe: who, *although absent and in his Palace at* Rome, *yet sitting as it were at the Helme of a Ship, did command and direct the enterprise*, and therefore had right to the glory thereof. This *wall* also (as *Clarenceaux* coniectureth, hauing seene it so tracted in an ancient Chorographicall Chart) was drawen from the Riuer *Tine* vnto *Carleil*: but *Time* and *warre* haue worne it now away.

The Northerne Britaines rebell in the beginning of *Antoninus* raigne

Adrians Wall fortified.

Iulius Capitolinus

Mamertinus in a Panegyricke Oration in praise of *Maximian.*

Cambden. Brit.

(3) In the meane while a new insurrection was kindled among the [a] *Brigantes*, that annoied some of the *Romane* Confederates. But by the discretion of the *Generall*, it was quenched before it came to flame: for vpon the first rumour of the Reuolt, *Lollius* marched thither with part of his Armie, commanding *Seius Saturnius*, Admirall of the *British Fleet*, to waffe vpon the *North* of the *Iland*, both to defend the *Coast* from danger, and also vpon occasions to further the Land-seruice, if need were: by which meanes, the *Brigantes* were easily reduced to obedience, euen by the presence onely of the *Lieutenant*, who for his good seruice done in *Britaine*, during the short time of his imploiment there, obtained the surname *Britannicus*. This may, by the first figure in the face of this Chapter (being in the third Consulship of this *Emperour*) be coniectured to haue hapned in the yeere of *Christ* one hundred forty one; and by inscription of the last *Coine* in that ranke, it is manifest that there was some other expedition against *Britaine* the yeere following.

[a] *Yorkshire, Lancashire, Westmerland, Northumberland. Hist. Mugn. Brit. lib. 3. cap. 11.*

Seius Saturnius Admirall of the British Fleet.

(4) I cannot omit, though not directly pertinent to our purpose, the care that this good *Emperour* generally had for the distressed and persecuted *Christians* (who, no doubt by his bounty, enioied much tranquillity heere in *Britaine* also) in whose defence hee wrote to his *Deputies* in *Asia*, and published an *Edict* against their Accusers, the effect whereof (from *Eusebius*) is this:

Antoninus Pius a great defender of the Christians

Eusеb. Eccles. hist. lib. 4. cap. 13.

The Edict of *Antoninus* for protection of the Christians.

" (5) The Emperour *Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus, Armenicus, Pontifex Maximus*, " fifteene times *Tribune*, thrice *Consul*, vnto the *Commons of Asia* sendeth greeting. I doubt not but the " *Gods* themselues haue a care that wicked persons " shall be brought to light: for it much more doth " appertaine vnto them, then it doth vnto you, to " punish such as refuse to yeeld them worship. But " this course which you take, doth confirme them " whom you persecute, in this their opinion of you, " that you are impious men, and meere *Atheists*; " whereby it commeth to passe, that they desire in " the quarrell of their *God* rather to die, then to yeeld " to the wils of such as you are, and to embrace your " forme of *Religion*. Let it not seeme vnseasonable to " call to your remembrance the *Earth-quakes*, which " lately happened, and which yet are to your great " terrour and griefe; because I vnderstand that in " such like accidents you cast the enuy of such com- " mon misfortunes vpon their shoulders, whereby " their confidence and trust in their *God* is much the " more increased: whereas you being still ignorant of " the true causes of such things, doe both neglect the " worship of the other *Gods*, and also banish and per- " secute the seruice of the *Immortall God*, whom the " *Christians* doe worship; and you persecute to the " death all the embracers of that *Profession*. In the " behalfe of these men many of the *Prouinciall Presi-* " *dents* haue written before vnto our *Father of famous* " *memory*: to whom he answered, that they should not " bee molested, vnlesse they were proued to haue " practised *Treason* against the *Emperiall State*: and " touching the same matter some haue giuen notice

" vnto

"vnto me; to whom I haue answered with like moderation as my *Father* did before: And by this our *Edict* doe we ordaine, that if any hereafter bee found thus busie in molesting these kinde of men without any their offence, we command that hee that is accused vpon this point, be absolued, albeit he be proued to be such a man as he is charged to be, that is, a *Christian*: and he that is his Accuser shall suffer the same punishment, which he sought to procure vpon the other.

Iulius Capirol. *Antoninus* person and vertues.

This *Edict* was promulged at *Ephesus* in the *Generall Councell* of all *Asia*: so fauourable was this good *Emperour* to the true *Professours*, and (indeed) to all sorts of men, hauing that *Apothegme* of *Scipio Africanus* rife in his mouth: *That he had rather saue one Subiects life, then kill a thousand Enemies.*

(6) He was of Stature tall, of a seemly presence, in countenance Maiesticall, in maners milde, of a singular wit, very learned and eloquent, a great louer of *Husbandry*, peaceable, mercifull and bounteous; in the last of which vertues, he so much exceeded, that therby he set going wholly his owne priuate estate & demaines. whereat when his *Empresse* much repined, he told her, that when hee vndertooke the Title and State of an *Emperour*, he then did forgoe the interest and proprieties of a priuate Person: meaning that a Prince is not much to respect his priuate wealth, so as the publike wealth and welfare of the State may bee aduanced. In fine, this large *Eulogie* and praise is fastened on him, that neither in his youth he did any thing rashly, nor in his age any thing negligently: In which honourable course, hauing raigned twenty and two yeares, (some say twenty three) seeen moneths, and twenty sixe daies, he died of a feuer at *Lorium* the seuenth of *March*, the yeare of his life seuenty fiue, and of *Christ* one hundred sixty two.

MARCVS AVRELIVS.

CHAPTER XIX.

Marcus Aurelius Emp.

Calphurnius Agric. Lieut.

An. Do. 162.

FRom the vertuous exampie of the good *Emperour Pius*, proceeded a *branch* of no lesse towardlinesse and fruitfulnesse, *Marcus Aurelius*, *Antoninus*, *Verus*, *Philosophus*, (for by so many honourable names is he remembred:) and although hee sprung not from *Pius*, as from his natiue roote, yet was hee his *adopted Sonne*, and graffed into his Stocke and alliance by the Marriage of his daughter *Faustina*: Hee was the Sonne of *Elius Verus* who died *Prætor*, and whose Pedegree is brought from *Numa Pompilius*, the second King of *Rome*; and his Mother was *Domitia Camilla*, daughter of *Claudius Tullus*.

Iulius Capitol. *Lucius Verus* chosen *Cæsar.*

(2) This man chose to him for his *Associate* in the *Empire*, *Lucius Verus*, the sonne of *Lucius Ceionius Commodus*, whom *Pius* had adopted (but died before him,) and therefore this *Verus* was respectiuely commended vnto *Aurelius*; *betwixt* whose natures and conditions was as much oddes, as betwixt *Day* and *Night*; The one very moderate, louing, and industrious; the other proud, careless and cruell: the fruits whereof, the poore *Christians* felt, whose chiefest pillars, *Polycarpus*, *Bishop* of *Smyrna*, and *Iustinus Martyr*, an excellent *Philosopher*, with infinite more, were put to most cruell deaths; and by him the *fourth persecutiō* of *Gods Saints* was begun: whose licentious and bloody life, lasting in Authority the space of nine yeares, was cut off by an *Apoplexy* in the presence of *Aurelius* being then in expedition towards *Germany*, whose Coine we haue here expressed as we finde it minted with his face and reuerse.

(3) *Aurelius* the *Emperour* following the warres against those, who there reuolted, was inclosed about with his enemies, called the *Quadi*, and suffered great mortality both by Pestilence, and much more by want of *water*, whereby himselfe and Host were almost consumed: At which time many Christian Souldiers being in his *Campe*, and commanded (as *Ionas* was) to call vpon their *God*; they fell prostrate on the ground in prayers, and obtained of him so plenteous a shower of raine; as therewith after fiue daies extreamest drouth and thirst, the whole *Army* was refreshed, and the *Quadi* contrariwise by *Thunder* & *Lightning* were quite dispersed and ouerthrowne.

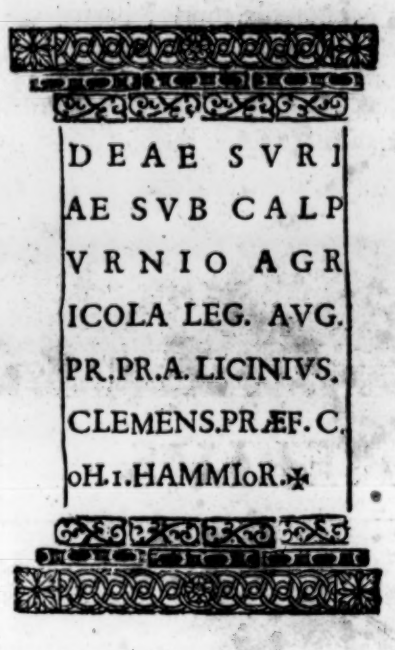
Aurelius obtaineth raine by the Christians praier. *Eutropius.* *Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 5.* Acts and Monuments.

(4) This *wonder* (saith *Eusebius*) is reported euen by those *Historians*, who fauoured not *Christianity*: and the prudent *Epistle* of the *Emperour* himselfe, (which hee wrote to the *Senate* for confirmation of this miracle, yet extant) doth warrant the same: wher upon he both mitigated the rage against *Christs Professours*, and (by testimony of *Apollinaris*) named that *Legion* of the *Christians*, for an euerlasting remembrance, *The Lightning Legion.*

Capitolinus. *P. Orosius.* *Tertullian.*

(5) In his Raigne *Calphurnius Agricola* was sent *Lieutenant* into *Britaine*, where the inhabitants sought some alterations of the *State*, sore repining at the oppressions of the *Romanes*. But the *Surname Agricola* reuiuing the remembrances of their former ouerthrowes, so daunted their Courages, that at the presence of the *Generall*, who came amongst them to preuent all occasions, they gaue ouer their intended enterprise: for which, and for many other his policies there vsed, he worthily deserued great commendations, but for the most part) the glory of all such seruices

seruices was attributed to the *Emperours* themselues; and the paines in attemping, and perils in obtaining, did commonly breed nothing but disgrace and enuy after victory, to those by whom it was atchieued. Yet besides the stories, the memory of his being heere Lieutenant, is deliuered to posterity, by this inscription, once erected in the *Picts wall*, an Altar to the *Gaddesse Suria*, and now preserued by Sr. *Robert Cotton* of *Connington*, Knight barronet, amongst other Monuments of like quality.



So also *Lucius Verus*, (whom this excellent Emperour had in the yeere 162. as appeareth by his Coine of *Concord*, set in the entrance of his life, elected his *College* in the Empire) who to supply the defect of merit in himselfe, tooke from the Conquest of *Auidius Cassius*, & other his Captaines in *Armenia*, *Parthia* and *Media*, the *Trophies* of their victories, with which he filled vp his Title, and adorned his Money, expressed in the beginning of this Chapter.

(6) About these times, albeit other things went not so happily with *Britaine*, as might haue beene wished, yet one felicity then befell her, which did both counteruaile her owne calamities; and ouerpoize the good fortunes of all other Nations: and that was the blessed rest of the *Gospell* of peace in this warring and vnpeaceable Kingdome, a great part thereof being gouerned at that time by King *Lucius*, surnamed *Leuer-Maur*. For that was the policie and ancient custome of the *Romans* (as *Tacitus* saith) to vse euen *Kings* themselues for their instruments, to bring the people into bondage. And *Antoninus Pius* ending warre, permitted Kingdomes to be gouerned by their owne Kings, and Prouinces by their owne *Comites* (as saith *Capitolinus*.) This King disliking the Paganisme and Idolatry of his people, (though, as wee haue shewed, among many of them the truth of *Christs Doctrine* was both taught and embraced, euen from the first planting thereof) and being incited both by the exemplary life and piety of the *Christians*, and also by the manifest miracles wrought amongst them, and encouraged moreouer by the fauourable Edicts of the *Emperours* in their behalfe, and by the good affections and forwardnesse of their Deputies heere, *Trebellius* and *Pertinax*; he gaue leaue to their Religion by publike warrant, and was the first *Christian King* in the world, and *Britaine* the first prouince that embraced the *Gospell* by publike authority, as *Sabellicus* saith.

(7) This *Lucius* (as before we haue touched) to be better furnished with Christian Laws for himselfe and subiects, *Missa legatione ab Imperatore Romanorum & à Papa Romano Eleutherio*, (as *Nennius* saith) for in this purer age the Church was so humble, to vaile (as farre as might be) her actions in the Imperiall licence, sent two learned *Clerkes*, whose names were *Eluanus* and *Meduuinus*, skilfull in the Scriptures, to *Eleutherius* Bishop of *Rome*: whose Reply to his most godly Demand (because the fauourers of the *Papall Authoritie* either doe doubt it, or altogether deny it) I haue thought good heere *verbatim* to insert, as my selfe haue found it, in a most ancient Manuscript, amongst the authenticke *Records* and *Constitutions* of the Citie of LONDON.

Nennius: *Lucius* & *Leuer-Maur* doe both signifie *Great Brightnes*.

Tacit in vit. Agric.

Capitolinus.

Monument. Hæresis Martyrolog. Sanctorum.

Lucius the first Christian King.

Aennead. 7. lib. 5.

Nennius.

Liber Landauensis Eccles. Florentius Vigorn. Beda lib. 1. Cap. 4. Flores historiarum

This Record is now in the hand of the right worthy Antiquarie, Sir Robert Cotton Knight.

The originall Epistle of *Eleutherius* Bishop of ROME vnto *Lucius* the first Christian King of BRITAINE.

(8) *Scripsit Dominus Eleutherius Papa Lucio Regi Britanniæ ad correctionem Regis & Procerum Regni Britanniæ. Petistis à nobis Leges Romanas, & Cæsaris vobis transmitti, quibus in Regno Britanniæ vti voluistis. Leges Romanas, & Cæsaris semper reprobare possumus, Legem Dei nequaquam. Suscepistis enim nuper (miseratione diuina) in regno Britanniæ, Legem & Fidem Christi. Habetis penes vos in Regno vtramque Paginam: ex illis (Dei gratia) per Consilium Regni vestri sume Legem, & per illam,* * *de patientia vestrum rege Britanniæ Regnum. Vicarius verò Dei estis in Regno, iuxta Prophetam Regem; Domini est terra, & plenitudo eius; orbis terrarum, & vniuersi qui habitant in eo. Et rursum, iuxta Prophetam Regem: Dilexisti iustitiam, &* * *o. ĩ. pp̃. u. te Deus Deus tuus o. l. p. cõ. ca. Et rursum, iuxta Prophetam Regem: Deus iudicium tuum, &c. Non enim dixit iudicium, neque iustitiam Cæsaris. Filij enim Regis, gentes Christiana & populi Regni sunt, qui sub vestra protectione & pace in Regno degunt & consistunt, iuxta Euangelium: Quemadmodum gallina congregat pullos sub alis. Gentes verò Regni Britannia & populi vestri sunt; quos diuisos, debetis in vnum, ad concordiam, & pacem, & ad fidem, & legem Christi, ad sanctam Ecclesiam congregare, reuocare, fouere, manutenere, protegere, regere, & ab iniurioſis & malitiosis, & ab inimicis semper defendere. Væ Regno cuius Rex puer est, & cuius Principes manè comedunt: non voco Regem propter paruam & nimiam ætatem, sed propter stultitiam, & iniquitatem, & insanitatem: iuxta Prophetam Regem: Viri sanguinum & dolosi non dimidiabunt dies suos, &c. Per comestionem, intelligimus gulam: per gulam, luxuriam: per luxuriam, omnia turpia & peruersa, & mala: iuxta Salomonem Regem: In maleuolam animam non introibit sapientia, nec habitabit in corpore subdito peccatis. Rex dicitur à regendo, non à Regno: Rex eris dum bene regis: quod nisi feceris, nomen Regis non in te constabit, & nomen Regis perdes, quod absit. Det vobis Omnipotens Deus, Regnum Britanniæ sic regere, vt possitis cum eo regnare in æternum, cuius Vicarius estis in Regno prædicto. Cui cum Patre, &c.*

* *Lege Dei patiencia.*

* *Odistiinquitatem propterea vnxit te Deus Deus tuus oleo letitiæ præ consortibus ceteris.*

Forte propter paruam nimiam ætatem.

The same in English.

POpe Eleutherius *thus wrote to* Lucius *King of* Britannie, *for the reformation of the King and the Nobility of the Kingdome of* Britaine: *You desired vs to send vnto you the* Romane *and Imperiall Lawes, which you would vse in your Kingdome of* Britannie. *The* Romane Lawes *and the* Emperours *wee may at all time mislike, but the law of* God *by no meanes. By the diuine Clemency you haue of late receiued in your Kingdome of* Britanny *the law and Faith of* Christ: *you haue with you in your Kingdome*

Kingdome both the Old *and* New Teſtament: *out of them (in* Gods *name) by the Counſell of your State, take you a Law, and therwith by* Gods *permiſſion, gouerne your kingdome of* Britanny: *For you are* Gods Vicar *in your Kingdome, as the kingly Prophet ſaith,* The earth is the
Pſal. 89. 11. Lords, and the plenty thereof, the whole world and they that dwell therein. *And againe in the ſame Prophetical King;* Thou haſt loued righteouſneſſe and
Pſal. 45. 7. hated iniquity, wherefore, God, euen thy God, hath anointed the with the oyle of gladneſſe aboue thy followes. *And againe:* Lord giue thy iudgements vnto
Pſal. 72. 1. the king, and thy Iuſtice vnto the kings ſonne. *He ſaith not,* The iudgement or iuſtice of the Emperor. *And the* Kings ſonnes *are the* Chriſtian Nations, *and* Peo-
ple *of the kingdome, ſuch as liue and abide together in your* Kingdome, *vnder your Protection and peace; according*
Matth. 23. 37. *to that in the Goſpell:* As the Hen gathereth her Chickens vnder her wings. *The* Nations *of the* Kingdome *of* Britanny *are your* People, *who being now ſeuered, you ought to gather them vnto* Vnity, Concord *and* Peace, *and reclaime them to the* Faith *and Law of* Chriſt, *and to the* holy Church, *to foſter them, cheriſh them, protect, and rule them, and alwaies to defend them from all iniurious, malicious, and hoſtile attempts. For,* Woe be to the kingdome, whoſe King is a childe, and whoſe Princes riſe early to banquetting: *Neither doe I call a King a child, for the tenderneſſe of his Age, but for the folly and wickedneſſe and madneſſe of his diſpoſition: As that royall*
Pſal. 55. 23. *Prophet ſaith:* Wicked and blood-thirſty attaine not to halfe their Age, *And by banqueting I meane gluttony; by gluttony, luxury; by Luxury all filthineſſe, peruerſity, and lewdneſſe: according to that of King* Salomon: Wiſedome ſhal not enter into the wicked ſoule, nor ſhall it dwell in a Body enthrald to Sinne, *A King hath his name from* Ruling, *and not from his* Kingdome: *and ſo long ſhall you be indeed a King while you rule well, which if you doe not, the name of a King will not continue with you, but you ſhall loſe that royall title; which* God *forbid. Almighty* God *grant you ſo to rule your* Kingdome *of* Britanny, *that with him, whoſe* Vicar *you are in your ſaid Kingdome, you may raigne eternally: To whom with the Father, &c.*

Cambden. (9) The date of this *Epiſtle* (as by ſome other Copies it appeareth) being the yeare of the *ſecond Conſulſhip of Commodus and Veſpronius*, may giue great light and ſatisfaction to ſuch as are curious to know the truth, and to reconcile the differences of our *Hiſtorians*, touching the time: That *Conſulſhip* being about the yeare of *Chriſt* one hundred and eyghty: which was at the beginning (if not a litle before) of *Commodus* his raigne; and therefore whereas ſom refer it to the one hundred ſixty ninth yeer after *Chriſts Paſſion*, it is apparant to be the only error of tranſcribers, who ſo writ in ſtead of one hundred ſeuenty nine after his birth; which was *anno currente*, the very time of *Commodus* being *Conſul* the ſecond time: and on this yeere agree both forrain and domeſtick writers of this matter. And albeit the very texture of this *Epiſtle* carrieth with it the true Character of Antiquity, yet becauſe our worthy writers, mentioning this *Epiſtle*, are charged of flat forgery (by ſuch who challenge to be Maſters in all ancient knowledge) we will adde ſomewhat, to waſh off thoſe falſe aſperſions, both from the *Record*, and from the *mentioners thereof.*

Sabellicus. Iewell. Fox.

Parſons 3. Conuerſions. Part. 1. c. 4. Their *firſt exception* is, that *the Latine Copy would doubtleſſe haue beene produced by them, if it had not been counterfeit.* Whereto what need we anſwer, ſith now we haue produced it, and can produce as many, as there are Copies of King *William* the Conquerours Lawes, wherein it is expreſly repeated? The *next* is, *that the Engliſh tranſlation of it differ each from others.* A reaſon more childiſh then the former, ſith euery man hath a ſeuerall conceit of that he tranſlateth, and ſome times the very Originals, (by tranſcribers ignorance or omiſſion) cauſe variety of tranſlatiō, as may appeare in the *variæ lectiones* of this Coppy prefixed. The *laſt*, but moſt ſaucy and ignorant *exception* is, that

Ibidem. *the places of Scriptures* mentioned in the letter, are ſo *ſottiſhly* and *ſenſeleſly applied*, as is vnworthy to be fathered on the learned *Eleutherius*. Let vs therefore in a word; bring the diuinity of this *Grand-cenſurer* to the touchſtone: For *Eleutherius* proueth, firſt, that *Kings* are *Gods Vicars* in their kingdome, becauſe the *whole Earth* is properly *Gods*, & therefore *Kings* haue it not as their owne, but as his Lieutenants: next that as *Dauid typically*, and *Chriſt impliedly*, was by *God annointed King*, for the execution *of Righteouſneſſe* and *Iuſtice, ſo* euery *godly King* ought to make that the only end of his *high honor*, that being by God aduanced he might likewiſe aduance *Righteouſneſſe, Iuſtice*, and the ſeruice of *God* whoſe vaſſall he is: and that therefore *Gods iudgements* and *Lawes* are *to be preferred* by *them, before all* humane *Lawes: with which they ſhould* rule and *cheriſh* their *godly ſubiects as their children*: and protect them and *gather them vnder one faith* as *Chriſt* (their maſter) doth, who therefore compareth himſelfe, to a *Hen gathering her Chickens vnder her wings.*

The defects of which Princely duties *Eleutherius* moſt liuely expreſſeth afterward, in ſo proper applications, as if the learnedſt fathers on theſe places be duly examined, they wil be found no whit to exceed the apprehenſions of this *Godly Biſhop*. But if *Robert Cowbucke*, would haue caſt his eye on the moderne Popes, and their Cardinals applications of Scriptures, what would he then ſay? *God made a greater light and a leſſe*: therefore *the Pope* is as much *greater then* the *Emperour*, as the *Sunne* is *bigger* then the *Moone*. Chriſt ſaid to *Peter, Kill and eat*: therefore the *Pope* may *excommunicate* and *depoſe Kings* (yea and *Kill them too for a need.*) *Peter* ſaid, *Behold two ſwords*; therefore *the Pope* hath both *temporall* and *Spirituall Iuriſdiction* ouer the world. So *God* ſaid to *Ieremy*, he ſhould *plant and tranſplant*: therefore *the Pope* may *diſpoſe* and *tranſpoſe* all *Kingdomes* at his pleaſure. *Chriſt* to *Peter, thou art Cephas*, and *Cephas* is a *head*; therefore the *Pope is head of the Church. Domini ſunt Cardines Terræ. The earth is the Lords:* therefore the *Cardinals are the Lords of the Earth.* On ſuch pillers and applications of Scriptures, is the whole Papal greatneſſe founded, and yet thoſe *late Scribes* can ſcoffingly cauill at the godly applications of *ancient Eleutherius*. But to our purpoſe.

Cephas is a ſtone but all ſerues their turne.

Capgraue. Marianus. (10) This Epiſtle with two other Preachers, *Faganus* and *Damianus*, ſent vnto King *Lucius*, did not a little encourage him in this godly purpoſe, in ſomuch that receiuing *Baptiſme*, the Temples of the Heatheniſh *Flamins* and *Arch-Flamins* euen thirty one in number, were conuerted into ſo many Chriſtian *Biſhops Sees*, whereof *London, Yorke*, and *Carlein*, now *Saint Dauids*, were made the *Metropolitants* of the prouince.

Lucius his reformation of matters vpon the Biſhops letter. Records of Saint Aſaphs church. Cheſter as ſaith an old Manuſcript. Chap. 34. S. Peters Church in Cornhill builded by Lucius. (11) A table remaining in the Pariſh Church of *Saint Peter* in *Cornhill London*, recordeth that the foundation thereof was by this *King Lucius*, and that Church to haue been the Cathedrall to that *Archi-Biſhops ſee.* There be that aſcribe the foundation of *Saint Peters* Chnrch at *Weſtminſter* vnto him; vnleſſe the places are miſtaken. Others affirme that this *King Lucius* likewiſe built a Church within *Doner-Caſtle*, to the ſeruice of *Chriſt*, endowing it with the *Toll* or cuſtomes of that *Hauen.* Differences there are about the time of his *Raigne*, but none at all for his conuerſion and eſtabliſhing of the Chriſtian *Faith*. As for thoſe who would haue this *Lucius* after his *Baptiſme* to ſaile into *Gallia* and other forren parts, where ſubduing many Pagans, he became the Apoſtle to the *Bauarians*, and that his ſiſter *Emerita* ſiftene yeeres after was martyred in the City *Auguſta*: I find thereof no warrant in any ſufficient writer; but in this all others agree, that he raigned twelue yeeres, and lieth buried in *Glouceſter*.

Polydor. Virgil. Wil. Harriſon. W. Lamb. Peramb.

Fabian. Emerita a Martyr in the City Auguſta. (12) This good *Emperour* poſſeſſed the Seate of *Maieſty*, nineteene yeares and eleuen daies; wherein he alwaies approued himſelfe, in wit excellent, in life vertuous, very learned and eloquent; full of *Clemency, Iuſtice* and *temperance*, nothing inferiour to

moſt of the worthieſt *Emperours* before him, nor matchable in qualities by many of the *Monarchs* that followed him: He died the ſeuenteenth day of *Aprill*, the yeare of our Sauiour one hundred eighty one, & of his owne age fifty nine: leauing to the world a miſſe for the preſent, and to poſterities a perpetuall memory of his vertues; & happy had he been, ſaith *Capitolinus*, had he not left behind him a Sonne.

Tertull. by Onuphr. Dion. Caſſius.

Valerianus li.

LIVIVS AELIVS AVRELIVS COMMODVS ANTONINVS.

Chapter XXI.

Ann. Dom. 181:

THe prudent life, and loue conceiued of ſo good a *Father*, gaue hopefull ſignes and ioyfull entrance vnto the *Raigne* of young *Commodus*, his ſoone degenerating Sonne; who had nothing from him but Nature, and that alſo much ſuſpected: The knowne Adulteries of *Fauſtina*, his *Mother*, ſtrongly confirming the opinion of *Baſtardy*.

Eutropius.

Commodus his qualities.

(2) At nineteen yeeres of age, he was inueſted Emperor, his raigne not long, but life as looſe & impious as the worſt: in ſottiſh pride equalling *Caligula*, for intemperance another *Vitellius*, and in cruelties a ſecond *Domitian*. Three hundred *Concubins* continually he kept, and vpon one of them, named *Martia*, ſo doted, that he wore her painted *Picture* vpon the outſide of his Garment; and inſtiling his money *Herculi Commodiano* or *Romano*, which was ſtamped about the yeere 193. Sometimes (*Hercules*-like) would he ſhew himſelfe roabed in a Lions skinne, bearing a Club in his hand in ſtead of a Scepter: other whiles wantonly clad in the habit of an *Amazon* woman; alwaies coſtly, but ſeldome ciuill.

Caſſiodor.

Commodus altered the Months.

(3) The Month *Auguſt*, he named *Commodus*, September, *Herculeus*, and December, *Amazonius*, according to his owne or his Concubins names. Commendable in nothing but for his skill in darting; and for ſome ſmall breathing of the perſecuted *Chriſtians*; which came not of himſelfe, but (as *Xiphilinus* writeth) by the mediation of *Martia* his beloued *Concubine*, who was found very fauourable to their doctrine: But the outragious wickedneſſe of his life made him ſo hatefull to all, as that his death was often plotted; and once by ſome of the Nobleſt, with whom *Lucilla* his owne *Siſter* conſpired; for which fact he put her, with the reſt of the conſpirators, to death. The Empire and all things els he weilded at the diſcretion of others; attending only his voluptuous pleaſures, howſoeuer the *State* or *Prouinces* fared vnder him.

Euſeb. lib. 5. cap. 19. Acts and Monuments.

(4) In *Britanny* the *Northren Borderers* brake thorow the *Wall*, and finding the Frontiers but weakly guarded, entred the *Prouince*, where ſuddenly they ſurprized the *Roman Generall*; and killing many of the *Souldiers*, ranged the Country, waſting (without reſiſtance) all where they went. *Commodus* at *Rome*, hearing theſe ſtirres in *Britaine*, rouzed vp his ſpirits, and ſent one *Vlpius Marcellus* to ſtay their fury; who with great difficulty forced them back beyond the *Wall*: and ſeeing the careleſſe ſeruice of the *Souldiers*, reuiued againe the ancient *diſcipline* of *War*; that by long eaſe had been left off by the *Romans*. The repreſſing of this incurſion (as it ſeemeth by ſome reuolt of the prouince) was about the yere of Chriſt one hundred eighty ſix, as appeareth by the monies of this Emperor ſet in the entrance of his life, at which time in memory of ſome worthy expedition and victory againſt the *Britaines*, he ſtamped them.

Vlpius Marcellus ſent Lieutenant into Britaine.

(5) This Lieutenant *Marcellus* is reported to be of a marueilous great temperance and ſtrange diet; for all the time of his aboade here he would eat no *Bread*, but ſuch as was baked in *Rome*, neither ſlept he more then would maintaine nature, whereby both his priuate buſineſſe and proiects for publike ſeruices were commonly diſpatched by *night*. Seuere he was in the execution of his place, not led by fauor of the perſon, nor ſtaid frō iuſtice by corrupted bribes, eſteeming *Money* only for neceſſity, & riches no further then made for publike good: But thoſe his vertues though now with vs they get him honour, yet then did purchaſe him *Enuy* with the Emperor. *Who liued* (ſaith *Lampridius*) *for his ſubiects miſchiefe, and his owne ſhame*: For *Commodus* hearing *Marcellus* daily commended, conſtrued his Praiſe to be his own Reproch; and doubting leſt he ſhould grow too high, thought good to crop him off betimes, and ſo ſent him Letters of diſcharge.

Dion. Caſſ. lib. 72. Vlpius Marcellus a man of great vertues.

Lamprid.

(6) The Army then feeling the raines looſe that ere-whiles had been borne with a ſtiffer hand, fell ſtraight to a diſordered mutiny, and therein proceeded with ſuch boldneſſe as they openly refuſed any longer to acknowledge *Commodus* for their Soueraigne: At which time *Perennius* was a chiefe Agent and ſo ruled all in *Rome* for the *Emperor*, as that he entertained a hope to be himſelfe (in time) an abſolute and ſole-ruling Emperor; and hauing now fit occaſion offered to ſpread his power further, he toke vpon him to redreſſe theſe diſorders (whilſt *Commodus* wallowed in his laſciuious idleneſſe) & diſplacing ſome worthy *Captaines* at his owne pleaſure, ſent other perſons of meane reſpect or parts, to command thoſe Legions in *Britaine*, that formerly had been led by Noble Senators and men of *Conſular* dignity; whereby greater miſchiefe began to accrew and ciuill diſſenſions daily to burſt forth; the *Army* ſcorning their vpſtart

Perennius the greateſt ſubſtitute vnder Commodus.

ypstart Commanders: and the *Captaines* insulting ouer the *Souldiers*, (of all sides) the *Aides* so disquieted, that had the *Britaines* followed the aduantage, the whole Prouince at that time had been in hazard to be lost: vpon which distractions no lesse then fifteene hundred Souldiers at once went out of the Land to *Rome* to complaine their wrongs vnto *Commodus*: where charging *Perennius* to bee the stirrer of these troubles, with an intent thereby to raise himselfe or his sonne to the Emperial Maiesty (a string that cannot be touched without sound in a Soueraigns eare) they were so farre heard and beleeued that *Perennius* was to them deliuered to be put to death, which accordingly they accomplished with all extremity.

Perennius deliuered to the British Souldiers to be put to death.

(7) Then was sent for Lieutenant into *Britaine* *Heluius Pertinax*, a man of low birth, but high Fortunes, being risen from the state of a common souldier, to the dignity of a Consull, and had been Commander before that time ouer many Prouinces. Him had *Perennius* discharged from *Britaine*, and with disgrace sent and confined into *Liguria* where hee was born, whose credit *Commodus* again with such fauors repaired, that he gaue him the Sirname *Britannicus*, which glorious title also himself had take about the yeere 184. At his first entrance and ariuage, he assaied by rough hand to suppresse the rebellions of the Army, & aduentured his person so farre in some tumults that he was stricken downe and left for dead, but afterwards proceeding with better aduice he composed those troubles with most seuere punishments of the principall offenders: wherby notwithstanding he presently grew odious to all, and thereupon so far feared his owne safety, that he made suit to the *Emperor* to be discharged of his Lieutenātship

Lamprid. Heluius Pertinax sent Lieutenant into Britaine.

(8) Vnto him succeeded *Clodius Albinus* in the Gouernment of *Britain*, a man of great birth, forward enough, & fortunate: for which the *Emperor Commodus* either vpon fauour or feare, did honour him with the title of *Cæsar*, though *Albinus* semed vnwilling to accept of the same, & afterwards discouered his disposition more openly in approuing the Ancient and free state of the *Romans*. For vpon a false report of the death of *Commodus*, he made an Oration to the *Legions* in *Brittany* in fauour of the Senate, whose kind of Gouernment he much commended and preferred before the rule of the Emperors: Of which his affection when *Commodus* vnderstood; he sent *Iulius Seuerus* in all hast, to take charge of the Army: and *Albinus* retired himselfe from all publike affaires, vntill the death of *Commodus*, which not long after followed, & was wrought vpon this occasion: He hauing assigned many to die, and to that end had inrolled their names in a scrol, it chanced *Martia* his Concubine to light one the same, wherein she saw her selfe allotted for one: and reuealing this his purpose to others that stood in the same list, and in the like danger; they together thought best to secure their own liues by his death: and with poison, stabs and strangling made him away, when he had liued one and thirty yeeres, foure moneths, & viciously raigned thirteen yeeres, eight moneths, and fifteen daies, the yere of Christs natiuity one hundred ninety and three: the night before the Kalends of *January*.

Clodius Albinus more affecting Senators then Emperours.

Iulius Seuerus Deputy.

Commodus purpose discouered by his Concubine.

Eutrop. Lampri. Maximus.

(9) Of stature he was indifferently tall, of a fine constitution of body, very faire of complexiō, with cleere eyes & golden locks, neither in person nor in Princly parts resembling his Father. How ioifull the death of this *Tyrant* was both to *People* and *Senate*, their execrations pronounced against him, and their assemblies in the *Temples* to giue thanks for their deliuerance, do manifest, as is at large reported by *Lampridius*, who wrote his life, & is stiled by all, *Hostis humani Generis*, *The enemy of Mankind*: The very name of the Diuell.

Commodus his portraiture.

Lampridius Maximus.

PVBLIVS HELVIVS PERTINAX.

Chapter XXI.

VPON the person of this *Heluius Pertinax* (of whom we are now to speake) *Fortune* (as it seemeth) meant to make the full experience of her power, and from a very slender foundation to raise the building of her owne *Pride*: His birth was but poore, and parents as meane, whose Father from a seruile condition got to be free, and traded in *Mercery* wares for his liuing: himselfe educated according to his birth, rose by degrees to mount the Chaire of all worldly glory, and to be the *Monarch* of the whole world.

An. Dom. 194.

Dion. Cassi. lib. 37.

(2) At first a *Schoole-Master*, and taught the *Grammar*; next a *Ciuill-Lawyer*, and pleaded causes in *Courts*; and lastly, a *Martiall-man*, and serued in *Campe*: where *Fortune* attended him with such fauourable successe, that within fiue daies, out of the ranck of a common Souldier he was preferred to bee Captaine of a *Cohort*, in the *Syrian* warres against the *Parthians*; which ended, he was imploied into *Britaine*, *Misia*; and *Germany*, and also had charge in chiefe of a Fleet vpon the *Flemish Seas*: he serued likewise in *Dacia* with such honourable proofe of his valour; as that wise *Emperour Marcus Aurelius* held him in high esteeme, and afterward made him *Senator* of *Rome*. Then was he assigned Gouernour of all *Syria* and *Asia*, the greatest place of Credit and reputation that might bee; and from thence sent againe into *Britaine*, chosen out as the principall man of note for to stay the Commotions there raised against *Cōmodus*; where in the Field he was left for dead: but thence also returning after he had gouerned foure seuerall *Consular Prouinces*, was created *Proconsull* of *Africa*, and immediately after *Prefect* of *Rome*. Nei-

ther yet made he his ſtand there, (though the greateſt of any ſubiectiue degree,) till he had mounted the *Throne of Maieſty*, and obtained the command ouer *All*: which fell to his lot by the death of *Commodus*; and by the meanes of *Martia*, *Ælius Latus*, and other conſpirers of his end.

(3) For the Murther being done in the dead of the night, *Latus* in great haſte repaired to *Pertinax* his lodging; at whoſe ſight the Old man in bed, expected nothing but Death, as ſuppoſing him ſent from *Commodus* to no other end. But *Latus* ſalutes him by the vnexpected name of *Emperour*, carrying him with acclamations vnto the *Army*, and in the morning to the *Senate*, where, of them all with great ioy, he was confirmed *Auguſtus*.

Heluius Pertinax made Emperour.

(4) His firſt buſineſſe was to bridle the licencious liues of the *Pretorian Cohorts* & iniuries done by them vnto the *Romane Citizens*, which gained him ſuch hatred, that it was cauſe of his death: For theſe men growne diſordered and lawleſſe in the raigne of *Commodus*, held themſelus wronged, to be now locked vnder the conſtraint of *Lawes* ciuill Gouernment: and theſe only enuied the peace & proſperity of *Pertinax*, whereas all the *Prouinces* abroad at the very hearing of his Election, and fame of his *Imperiall* vertues, laid aſide their weapons, and deſired to imbrace peace with a *Prince* ſo nobly qualified.

Heluius Pertinax enuied by the *Pretorian coborts*.

Sabellicus.

(5) The firſt that conſpired againſt his life, was one *Falco*; whom notwithſtanding he freely forgaue, yet puniſhed certaine *Souldiers* thereto acceſſary: whereupon the reſt aſſembling themſelues in tumultuous and furious manner, with their drawn ſwords inuaded his *Palace*. Hee ſeeing their purpoſes ſought no eſcapes, but deſcending the *Palace*, met them in the baſe Court: At whoſe preſence and Maieſty they were much amazed, and a while made a ſtand: vnto whom with great grauity, and without ſhew of any feare, he thus ſpake vnto them.

Heluius Pertinax aſſaulted by his Souldiers.

Heluius Pertinax his ſpeech to his Souldiers.

" (6) *Souldiers* and *Companions*, if you come to " kill me, (as I thinke you doe) you ſhall therein per- " forme an act neither valorous nor otherwiſe very " commendable for you, no, nor any way grieuous " vnto my ſelfe; for euery mans life hath his limit, & " to mine, by *Natures* courſe, the laſt period cannot " be farre: Or thinke you that I feare *death*, who now " am ſo ripened for it, and haue already gotten the " very height of all renowne vpon my name? Surely " you are deceiued: but at this I grieue; that my life " and ſhort time of Gouernment; which I had deuo- " ted to the good of all; ſhould ſeem ſo diſguſtfull vn- " to any, as to deſerue a violent and haſtned death, e- " ſpecially by you, who are by office, the Guarders of " my Perſon: you (I ſay) whoſe charge and Oath is, " to ſecure your *Soueraigne* from perill, and now ſeeke " to ſheath your Swords in his breaſt, ſhall either " leaue a Teſtimony of my bad life deſeruing it, or " brand your places with ſuch ſtaines of Treaſon, as " *Time* ſhall neuer weare away. And what I pray is " mine offence? for maintaining your *Lawes*? Why, it " was the charge your ſelues impoſed vpon me. Are " *Lawes* too ſtrait? Surely, not to the vertuous, who " are euen a *Law* vnto themſelues: Are they need- " leſſe? why then were they made? and being made, " why ſhould they not be executed? If the death of " *Commodus* grieue you, was I the cauſe? If hee were " made away by *Treaſon*, your ſelues are conſcious of " my innocency. And this I aſſure you, in the word " of a *Prince*, that his death ſhall depriue you of no- " thing, which you require, if you require nothing " but that which is honeſt and iuſt. My life, whilſt I " was a *Subiect*, was ſpent with you in *Warre*, now (be- " ing your *Soueraigne*) is conſumed with cares for " your Peace: which if you free me of, by taking it a- " way, my troubles ſhall thereby end, but your con- " ſcience ſhal begin to grone vnder the guilt of blood, " and perchance bee touched with *too late Repen-* " *tance*.

(7) His words were ſpoken with ſuch a mouing grauity, and vnmoued reſolution, that the formoſt in the attempt gaue backe, and were aſhamed of their audacious enterpiſe; but the reſt furiouſly driuing forward, one *Truſius* with a *Lance* ran him into the *Breaſt*, whereupon *Pertinax* couering his *Head* with his robe, quietly yeelded his body to the traiterous ſtrokes of them all, and ſo died that poore, old, and innocent *Emperour*. The yeeres of his life, ſaith *Iulius Capitolinus*, were ſixty, ſeuen moneths, and twenty fiue daies: But *Dio*, *Spartianus* and *Herodian* accounteth them to extend to ſixty eight; *Euſebius* to aboue ſeuenty: The like diſagreement there is for the ſhort time of his *Gouernment*: for *Euſebius* ſaith that hee raigned not fully ſix *Moneths*: *Eutropius* ſaith but three; *Iulius Capitolinus* and *Aurelius Victor*, eighty fiue daies: *Dio*, *Herodian* and *Spartianus*, two Moneths and twenty eight daies: how long ſo euer, thus he liued, and thus he died, the fifth *Calends* of *Aprill*.

Pertinax killed by his Souldiers.

Pertinax his raigne.

Euſeb. li. 5. c. 24. Eutrop. l. 8.

(8) He was of an honor able and maieſticall preſence, ſtrong of body, large and full breaſted, long bearded, curle-headed, ſmooth of Speech, and indifferently eloquent.

DIDIVS IVLIANVS.

CHAPTER XXII.

An. Do. 194.

THE ſtate of man continually attended with vncertaine chance, apparantly doth ſhew, the weake condition that nature enioyeth, and with what vnſureneſſe the ſeat of maieſty is poſſeſt, as is ſeene by the precedent *Emperour*, who ſitting at peace in his *Palace* at *Rome*, renowned, beloued, and guarded with the ſtrengths of *Europe*, *Aſia*, *Africa*, *Aegypt*, and *Greece*, was notwithſtanding ſurpriſed and ſlaine at noone day, by a *Band of Souldiers*, not much exceeding the number of three hundred, and all eſcaping vnpuniſhed; the deed was ſo ſuddaine, and mens minds ſo diſtracted, that it could not be fully beleeued, though witneſſed by ſight.

(2) The *Senators* miſtruſting each others, abandoned the *City*, and the *Citizens* in ſecret ſecured them-

themſelues, all in an vprore: but none for reuenge of the treaſon: The *murtherers*, in as great feare as any, fortified their *Campe*, and with weapons in hand ſtood vpon their guard: But ſeeing all in a maze, and nothing againſt them attempted, a further boldneſſe (the like before neuer heard of) enſued: for by a *Common Crier* they made *Proclamation* for the ſale of the *Empire*, to any man that would giue them moſt: which offer was readily accepted by *Didius Iulianus* (a man of much more wealth then honeſty of life, and a Lawyer, ſaith *Euſebius*) who with larger promiſes then euer were performed, obtained the Imperial Diadem.

Aelius Spartianus Proclamation for the ſale of the Empire.

Didius Iulianus buieth the Empire of the Romane Souldiers.

(3) His birth was in *Millan*, the ſonne of *Petronius Didius Seuerus*, his mother *Clara Emilia*, and himſelfe brought vp in ſeruice vnder *Domitia Lucilla*, the mother of *Marcus Aurelius*, by whoſe fauours, he was firſt made *Queſtor*, next *Edile*, and then *Pretor* in *Rome*. In *Germanny* as a Captaine he ſerued vnder *Aurelius*, then was he appointed Gouernour of *Dalmatia*, *Bithynia*, and of the *Lower Germany*, and was *Conſul* with *Pertinax*, and afterwards *Proconſull* in *Africa*. Theſe were his riſings and meanes to that *Maieſty*, which not long he kept: for hated in *Rome*, and not approoued abroad, *Syria* choſe for Emperor their owne *Generall, Peſcenius Niger, Germanie, Septimius Seuerus*: By whoſe conſent *Clodius Albinus* leader of the *Britaine* Army was firſt elected *Ceſar*, and then his fellow in the Empire; whereby the *Ægle* the faireſt of Birds became monſtrous, and in one *Body* bore three *Heads*.

Didius Iulianus his imploiments in State before he was Emperor

Syria chuſeth their Generall *Germany* chuſeth theirs.

(4) For *Albinus* at that time hauing gotten againe the gouernment of *Britaine*, where erecting his owne *Statues* and ſtamping his picture in his *Coynes*, as thou ſeeſt heere vnder inſerted, gaue great ſuſpition that he intended to be a Competitor, and with his Army afoot meant to haue gained the Emperiall ſeat it ſelfe, by aduantage of *Septimius* forces abſent in ſuppreſſing of *Peſcenius*; which to diuert, inforced *Seuerus* vntill better opportunity to declare *Albinus* his Companion, for he much more feared him then either of the former: becauſe *Didius*, in *Rome*, and *Peſcenius* in *Antioch* conſumed their times in banquetting, and vnmartiall diſports, whiles *Albinus* managed his office moſt ſouldierlike, and was highly eſteemed and honoured of them.

Albinus Gouernour of *Britaine*, a Competitor for the Empire.

(5) *Seuerus* haſting toward *Rome*, was met in *Italy* by Ambaſſadours from *Didius* with faire offers of peace, and poſſeſſion of halfe the *Empire*: but refuſing compoſition, & making ſtill forward, the *Senate* that ſo lately declared him a traytor, now proclaimed him an Emperour: And the *Souldiers* vnſatisfied of the couenanted promiſes, and in hope to purchaſe fauour with *Seuerus*, ſlew their Chapman *Didius* in his Palace, the Calends of *Iuly*, being but fiue daies after he had done himſelfe as much for *Pertinax*, when hee had raigned, as *Eutropius* ſaith, ſeuen months: *Spartianus* ſaith but two, and *Dio* ſixty ſix daies: the yeere of his age fifty ſeuen, and of our *Sauiours* appearing in our fleſh, one hundred ninety and foure.

Seuerus wageth watre for the Empire.

Refuſeth compoſition.

He is proclaimed Emperour.

Iulianus ſlaine; His raignes continuance. *Eutropius. Spartianus, Dio.*

SEPTIMIVS SEVERVS.

Chapter XXIII.

Sept. Seuerus.

An. Do. 194.

Euerus hauing by this bloudy accident of the giddy multitude, gained with more facility then he expected, the fatal ſeat of gouernment, it was his next care to ſuppreſſe *Peſcenius* by force, and *Albinus* by falſhood; whoſe actions and liues ſince they happened with this Emperour, and ended with his ſword, I will record together, beginning with *Caius Peſcenius* firſt, ſince firſt he fell vnder the fortune of this man.

This olde man in the yeere of *Chriſt* one hundred ninety foure, was elected Emperor by Acclamation of the *Syrian Army*, of which (though begun but by a handful in reſpect of all the other imperiall forces) he had good hope, ſince to the honor of that *Goddeſſe* he dedicated the firſt marke of his Soueraignty; the minting of his money, as in the entrance of this Chapter is ſeen.

A perſons he was of ſeemely ſtature, louely feature and faire skinne, except his Neck, which differing ſo far from the reſt gaue him the ſirname of *Niger*: his complexion was ruddy, his Body fat, his voyce ſo piercing, that it would be heard a mile off: and his haire for more ornament long hee wore in reflected curles vpon his ſhoulders. A commendable ſouldier and well bearing himſelfe in the military offices he vnderwent. In his *Lieutenancy* abroad he was ſeuere, and at home he ſo well acted his part when he was Conſul, as in his Clemency and Iuſtice hee ſeemed emulous of *Pertinax*. Thus all his life he enioied the goodneſſe of his merit and fortune, and had not his ambition begun, where his yeeres were ending, had ſo parted: For no ſooner had he put on the Robe Emperiall, but *Seuerus*. defeated *Peſcenius* his Army at *Cizicum*, purſued him to *Antioch*, & tooke him at

Euphrates

Euphrates, ſending to *Bizantium* his head a Trophy of the Conqueſt; and to his wife, children, and followers (vnto whom at firſt this *Victor* granted baniſhment) in the end denied life.

(1) Now as ſoon as *Seuerus* made his approach neer *Rome*, he gaue command that the *Pretorian Cohorts* ſhould attend him diſarmed; which done, he vehemently checkt them for their proditorious trechery againſt *Pertinax*, and pronouncing ſentence, depriued them both of name, honour, and armes of *Souldiers*, and baniſhed them from *Rome*, and the circuit thereof for one hundred miles diſtance: which act of his wonne him ſuch reputation, that in *Rome* the whole Story of *Pertinax* his ruine, and *Seuerus* his aſpiring to his Throne, was at large portraited in an excellent peece of worke, of ſolide molten braſſe, as *Herodian* relateth, though he aſcribeth the occaſion of it, to a dreame of *Seuerus*.

(2) Thoſe two obiects *Didius* and *Niger*, who gaue ſome hinderance to *Seuerus* his beginning, being thus defeated of their high hopes; the third, which was *Albinus*, ſeemed now a more dangerous cloud, which would altogether ouer-caſt his brightneſſe & glory, if it were not diſperſed or blown back in time: and therefore to make faire weather with him, hee created him *Cæſar* and his *Succeſſor* in the *Empire*, but afterwards his good fortunes thus ſwelling in the *Eaſt*, and himſelfe ſtill courted by *Ambaſſadors* from all parts, with their tender of ſubiection, hee began to grow proud, and to diſdaine any Copartner in *State*: and thereupon firſt ſecretly ſought the deſtruction of his *Cæſar*; which failing, he then proclaimed him Traitor and *Enemy* to *Rome*.

Albinus made Succeſſor in the Empire.

His death practiſed.

Proclaimed Traitor. He wageth warre againſt *Seuerus*.

(3) *Clodius Albinus* brought into theſe vnexſpected dangers, prepared his ſtrengths, and with the choice of all *Britaine* entred *France*, and neere vnto *Lions* tooke the field againſt the Emperour; but with no better ſucceſſe, then *Peſcenius* hand done in *Aſia* the leſſe, in the ſame place (as *Herodian*, *Eutropius* and *Spartianus* affirme) where *Darius* was firſt ouerthrowne by *Alexander*. The *Armies* ioining, a bloody *Battaile* was fought, which through the great proweſſe of the *Britains* went at firſt ſo ſore againſt *Seuerus*, that being beaten off his Horſe, deſpairing of *Victorie*, and almoſt of *Life*, caſt off his Imperiall *Robe*, and flying, ignobly hid himſelfe. *Latus* one of *Seuerus* his Captaines, kept alooſe all this while, of purpoſe as was thought, to bring the Emperour to ruine; and now vpon report that *hee* was ſlaine, came on moſt furiouſly with his forces, in hope of winning both the day, and the Empire to himſelfe: whereupon the *Emperour* drawne againe into the field, the day was his by the meanes, but not the meaning, of *Latus*: whom on attainder of his Treaſon he afterward put to the ſword. That day a great part of the flower of *Britaine* was ſlaine, together with their valiant Leader *Albinus*, a Captaine of exemplary Seuerity and Martiall diſcipline, a great admirer of *Hannibal* and *Marius*; for the *Scipio's* he thought them rather fortunate then valiant: and in the time of his ſeruice in this *Iland*, there was no toile which hee commanded his ſouldiers, but himſelfe would beare therein a part, euen in carrying of burdens on his Backe: and yet ſo farre from vaunting of his valour, as that when an Hiſtorian would haue recorded his noble Acts, he willed him to write of theirs who were already dead, whom he need not to flatter; holding it a foppery to write of thoſe, of whoſe fauour or wrath the Inditers ſtood in hope or feare. Being ſuch a one, no maruaile if *Seuerus* ſo feared him, as he did, which he ſhewed euen after hee was ſlaine, by putting incredible numbers of great Perſonages both in the City and Prouinces to death, with this one Pretence, for all, *that they wiſhed well to Albinus*.

Albinus vanquiſhed by *Seuerus*.

After this ouerthrow *Seuerus* forthwith ſent *Heraclianus* hither, to keepe the reſt of the *Britaines* in quiet, and to be *Lieutenant* in *Albinus* his roome, as *Spartianus* writeth: Of whoſe affaires therein little remembrance is left, onely it ſeemeth by a Coine of *Seuerus* minted in his ſecond Conſulſhip, which fell in the yeere of our Sauiour one hundred ninety eight, and about the period of this his laſt Competitor, that the *Britaines* gaue not at firſt their ſeruice and ſeruitude to this man, vntill he had made the purchaſe of it by his ſword; the brand of which he hath left to poſterity in figuring the goddeſſe Victory ſeated vpon ſpoiles, and writing in a ſhield, *Victoria Britan.*

Spartianus.

Vnto this Lieutenant, *Virius Lupus* ſucceeded Preſident of *Britaine*, as *Vlpian* the Lawyer termes him, and was about the yeere of Chriſt one hundred ninety ſeuen, as appeareth by this Inſcription erected at *Olinaca* amongſt the *Brigantes*, in memory of the reedifying of that place by this Emperor and his eldeſt Son, then firſt deſigned *Cæſar*, by which the time is diſcouered, and in this ſtone inſerted.

Virius Lupus made Preſident of *Britaine*.

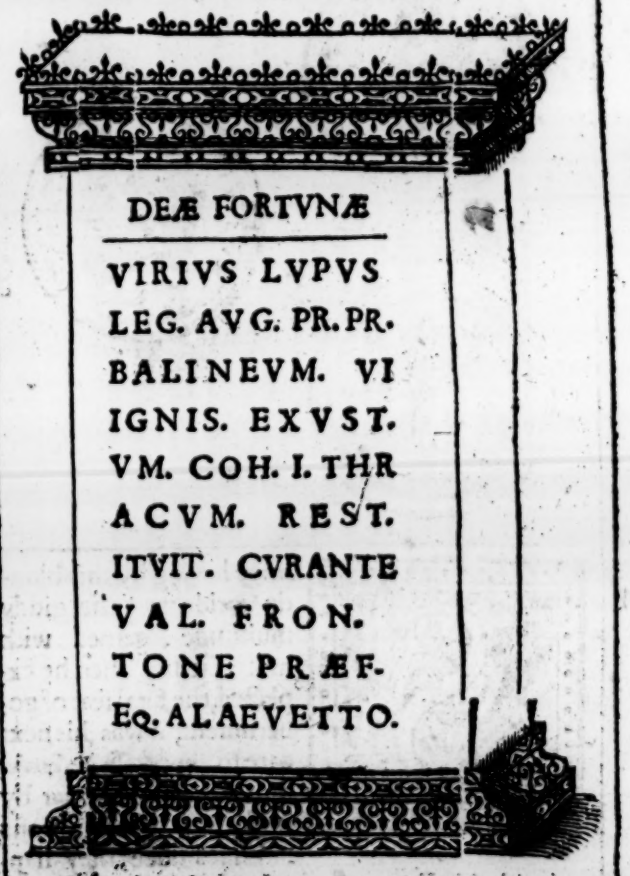
Hekely in *Yorkſhiere*.

Legatus.

Pro Prætore.

(4) This man ſtrengthned the Prouince eſpecially in the North, with many ſtrong Caſtles, repairing many places ruined either by fire or fury of the bordering ſwords: Of which **Lauat Ræ*, where the firſt Cohort of the *Thracians* lay, was one, as appeareth by this altar there erected to the goddeſſe *Fortune*, and ſince remoued to *Coningtun* the houſe of Sir *Robert Cotton* Kinght Baronet in *Huntingdonſhire*.

* *Bowes vnder Stanmore in Richmondſhire.*



He warred againſt the *Meats* and North *Britaines* with ſuch bad ſucceſſe, that he was forced to redeeme his peace with mony, and was ſo much weakened by loſſe of his men, that he ſent to *Rome* for preſent ſupply, with relation of his great danger, and the Enemies ſtrength: which newes touched *Seuerus* to the quick; and notwithſtanding his yeeres (ſixty at the leaſt) and gout wherewith hee was continually grieued, yet would he vndergoe that iourney in perſon him-

himselfe, aswell to satisfie his owne vaine glorious humours, as to traine his Sonne *Bassianus* from his licentious life, wherein he wallowed idly in *Rome*; who together with his brother *Geta*, accompanied their Father into *Britaine*.

Bassianus why brought into *Britaine*.

(5) The *Britaines* then hearing of the *Emperors* approach, sent him their Embassage for intreaty of peace, wherby the *Iland* might haue been setled and secured without blood; but the old man (saith *Sabellicus*) had so vnsatiable a desire to beare the glorious Sirname of *Britannicus*, that he preferred warre, and accepted not their proffered subiection.

(6) *Seuerus* thus entred *Britaine*, *Geta* was appointed to remaine in the *South* of that *Prouince*, & to gouerne those parts that stood in quiet, assisted by *Aemilius Papinianus* the famous *Lawyer*, whose *Tribunall* seat was held in *Yorke*; himselfe & *Bassianus* marching further into the North against the *Meatæ* and *Caledonians* their neighbours, both which bare themselues boldly vpon the aduantage of their Countries, their waters brackish, & vnholsome drinke for their Enemies, the aire sharpe & contagious to their constitutions, and the soile it selfe so pestred with Loughs, Bogs, Meares, and Mountaines, that the *Romans* were forced to make way by continuall labour, in cutting downe Woods, in building of bridges, and in draining of Meares, so that by distemperature of diet, cõtinuall labour, contagiousnesse of Aire, and afflictions by sickenesse, fifty thousand of them perished, & that without Battaile, saith *Dio*: many Souldiers also, whose spirits were spent, and through feebleneſse could not keepe ranke in their march, were for meere pitty slaine by their fellowes, lest they should fall into the hands of their Enemies.

Aemilius Papinianus a famous Lawyer.

Fifty thousand of *Seuerus* army dead through toylesome labor and sickneſse.

(7) These miseries, notwithstanding old *Seuerus* indured and fought many Battailes, but (as *Sabellicus* confesseth) *euer with more difficulties to the Romans then to the Britaines*, and yet in some small skirmishes he went away *Victor*, and continued his courses with such resolution, that lastly the *Caledonians* thought good to intreate their peace; which vpon these cõditions was granted: first, that they should forthwith lay aside all hostile Armes, without any further resistãce: next, that they should deliuer into the *Romans* Possession, those Countries that were next abutting on their Prouince: and lastly, that thence-forth they should liue in quiet, attempting nothing against the *publike Peace*.

Sabellicus.

Herodian.

Caledonians desire peace.

(8) The State thus setled, *Seuerus* bethought himselfe of some further meanes to secure the Prouince, by building many In-land strengths anew, and repairing those with Stone and Cement which formerly were but of Turfe and earth, as appeareth by this Inscription found in the Ruines of one of his workes neere vnto the Riuer VRE, in the County of *Richmond* erected.

IMP. CAES. L. SEPTIMIO
PIO PERTINACI AVGV-
IMP. CAESARI. M. AVRELIO
APIO FELICI AVGVSTO-

BRACCHIO CAEMEN—
TICIVM VI NERVIO—
RVM SVB CVRALA SE-
NECINON AMPLISSI-
MIO PERIL. VISPIVS—
---- PRAELEGIO ----

And neglecting the vttermost and vast Northerne parts of this *Iland*, drew a *Wall* or *Fortification*, which might serue as a *Rampire* and diuision betwixt the sauage & more ciuil people, stretching it selfe thorow the whole *Iland*, euen from *Sea* to *Sea*; that is, from the *Bay* of *Itun* (otherwise *Solweyfrith*) in *Scotland*, to the doore of *Tine* or *Tinmouth*, containing in length *One hundred thirty and two Miles*, as *Sextus Aurelius Victor*, *Eutropius*, and others account them, & by * some more. This *Wall* he built of *Turfes* and *Timber*, strongly fenced with *Bulwarkes* and *Turrets*, neere vnto (if not vpon) the foundation of *Adrians wall*, the tract whereof thorow the Countries of *Westmoreland* and *Northumberland*, is more pleasing to be seene, then easy in word to be expressed. For which his *Acts* thus heere atchieued about the yeere of grace two hundred and eleuen, he assumed to himselfe his much desired Sirname *Britannicus Maximus*, causing in his owne and his sonnes *Coines* that inscription to bee stamped.

A wall from Sea to Sea.

Herodian, *Spartian*, *Polydor. Virgil. de rebus. Angl. lib. 2. Hector Boetius.*

Seuerus surnamed *Britannicus Maximus*.

(9) And recording to posterity the glory of his first atchieuement heere, vpon the reuerse of those his moneies, whereon he sometimes formed a *Trophy* erected vpon spoiles, with two *Captiues*, vndersetting the word VICT. BRIT. sometimes a winged victory: grauing a *Shield*, hung on that tree which is the meede of *Conquerours*, VICTORIAE BRITANNICAE: and sometimes in such a forme and phrase as is expressed in the entrance of this his life. And now retired to *Yorke*, he left his eldest sone to finish this worke of warre by him begun, as being rather allaied then altogether ended.

(10) *Bassianus* thus set in the one part of the *Iland* as *Geta* was in the other, sought rather to gaine the affections of his *Army*, by a loose liberty to doe what they list, then to manage the trust reposed on him, by the restraint of *Martiall Discipline*, and action of *Military duties*: hoping by such his plausibility and indulgences to purchase to himselfe their best concurrence for the obtaining of the *Empire*; which he so thirsted after, as that hee often tampered with them to raise him, by the fall of his father.

Bassianus disloyalty.

(11) The *Caledonians* vnderstanding the dissoluteneſse of his *Campe*, and the want of a better *Captaine*, suddenly assailed the *Romans*, putting many to the sword, and taking great booties, (which they dispersed among their neighbours) without any regard of the obligation of their former *Couenants*: whereat the testy old man was so much disquieted, and so farre enraged to reuenge, that he gaue an expresse charge to make a generall *Massacre*, without exception of any; vsing in his speech to his *Souldiers*, these verses bowrowed out of *Homer*:

Caledonians rebell.

A generall Massacre of them by *Seuerus*.

Nemo manus fugiat vestras, cædemq; cruentam:
Non fœtus, grauidâ Mater quem gestat in aluo;
Horrendam effugiat cædem.

Let none escape your bloudy rage; with terrour let all die:
Spare not the mother nor the child that in her womb doth ly

(12) This (which seemeth to haue beene the worke of *Seuerus* second yeere in *Britaine*, *Anno* two hundred and twelue (for so it is expressed vpon the monies of himselfe and sonnes) may (and with a fit & easie inference from the same authority) seeme to haue beene heere the fortune and effect of two encounters and *Conquests* that same yeere: for whether we obserue the two seuerall coines of victory then minted, on one of which is the Statue of that armed and winged *Goddesse*, at whose feet are two Captains prostrate bound; or the other bearing on it a double figure of that Lady, grauing the sculpture of the former, VICT. BRIT. vpon a *Shield*, it can conclude no lesse in probability.

(13) *Seuerus* remaining in *Yorke*, where the *Sixth Legion* called *Victrix* kept, (which place afterwards grew to be one of the chiefest for accoũt among the *Brigantes*, as commonly the *Stations* of the *Romanes Colonies* were the seed-plots of al our *Cities*, and principall *Townes*) grew feeble and sicke, being weakned with age, and wearied with trauell, his malady more increa-

The seed-plots of our Cities

Bassianus disloial.

increasing by the disturbances of the *Enemie*, and the daily disloialty of *Bassianus* his sonne, insomuch that despairing of life, hee called his *Councell* and *Captaines* before him, and vnderlaid with pillowes, he thus addressed his speech.

Seuerus his speech to his Counsell and Captaines.

" (14) Eighteene yeeres almost haue I weilded " the affaires of the *Empire*, and borne on my shoul- " ders the burden of her encombred estate, both at " home and abroad; at my first entrance, troubled " euery where, now at length quiet, euen here in *Bri-* " *taine*, the most vnquiet and molestious Prouince of " all: The profit of which trauels I must now leaue " for others to enioy, and with ease in peace to keepe " that which I with care and warre haue gotten. If " therfore amity and mutuall concord be imbraced " (the only sinewes of a *Common-wealth*) the glory of " the Empire shal yet shine more bright, sith by con- " cord we see that small things grow to greatnes; " whereas contrariwise, discord is the ruine of all. I " die & must leaue the succesſe of all to my Succes- " sors and Sonnes by *Nature*, though the *Elder vnna-* " *turall*: I meane *Bassianus* new made *Antoninus* and " your *Emperor*, who often ere this hath sought to " gaine that title by his sword and my death; but " knoweth not the dangers that attend a *Diadem*, nei- " ther remembreth that high places are continually " garded with Enuy and Feares. But so blind is Am- " bition, as it seeth not that a Soueraignes greatnesse " is such vnto others, but least in himselfe, and that " the things possessed are not the very things they " seemed: It is not these *Titles* therefore can make " man happy, the line of his life being drawne forth " with so many vncertainties, and the height of his " power laid vpon so weake foundations. My selfe *Spartianus.* " at this instant may serue for example, of whom this " may be said, *I was all things, yet nothing*, seeing " I must pay my debt to *Nature*, and leaue my ex- " ploits in *East* and *West* to bee registred (either at " your dispoſall) for matters of moment, and good " of the *Empire*, or blotted to the reproch of my " gouernment, with the shadowing pencile of Ob- " liuion. That therefore my care for the welfare of " this State may suruiue my selfe, and bring forth " the happy fruits thereof when I am withered, this " shall be my last and onely requeſt, that you will e- " uer assist my sonnes, both with your counsell and " aide, whereby they may rule according to *Lawe*, " and you obay according to *Right*, that so in you " both, the good of the *Empire* be aboue all things re- " spected. With which words hee ended both his " speech and his life.

(15) This *Emperor* by Historians is rancked with the best, both for his warres, wherein hee was very fortunate, & for his wisdome in gouerning the *Empire*: and yet is he taxed very sharply both by *Sabellicus* for sundry vices, & by *Eusebius* for stirring vp the fift *Persecution* of the *Christians* in the tenth yeere of his Raigne. In which *Ireneus* the learned writer, among many others, suffred Martyrdome: howbeit, towards his end, he became more milde to them, as saith Saint *Ierome*; as also that he was a diligēt reader of the excellent workes of *Tertullian*, whom vsually he termed his Master.

(16) This *Emperour* was by birth an *African*, to which Country his affection & graces were so much, that the illustrious City of those parts, recorded vpō their coyne his many fauours by this Inscription, INDVLGENTIA AVG. IN CARTH. and inshrined him amongst the Gods of that Nation. Hee was the sonne of *Geta*, his mother *Pia Fuluia*: himselfe rough, cruell, couetous, and ambitious, and his nature relishing too much of the Punick craft and simulation: otherwise a most expert Souldier, and a worthy Prince, more battels hee fought, and more victories obtained, then any other that euer had ruled before him the *Romane Empire*. In a word, of vertues and vices so equally composed, that lastly this grew into a customed speech: *It had been good that this* Emperour *had neuer beene borne, or being* Emperour, *that hee had neuer died.* *Beda.*

Seuerus his description.

(17) Of stature he was tall, and of a comely personage, his countenance seuere & representing Maiesty, his beard white and long, and the haire of his head he wore vsually curled. He was very learned in the *Mathematicks*, a good Philosopher, an eloquent Orator, and of a deep sounding voice. Hee raigned eighteene yeeres (saith *Eusebius*) by *Dion Cassius*, *Herodian*, and *Eutropius*, seuenteen yeeres, eight months, and odde daies. He died in *Yorke*, the fourth day of April, in the yeere of Christ two hundred and twelue, not so much of sicknes, as of discontent and greefe, or (if our *British* writers may bee credited) of a deadly wound giuen by *Fulgence*, Captaine of the *Picts*, who as the *Monke* of *Chester* saith, was brother to *Martia*, the first wife of *Seuerus* and mother of *Bassianus*. His second wife was *Iulia Domna* the mother of *Geta*, (though some thinke that she was mother to both) a woman of a surpassing beauty, and an earnest instigator of the two Bretherens reconciliation, had she not bin blemished with other vices, as after we shal heare.

Eusеb. Eccl. Hist. lib. 6. ca. 7.

Seuerus dieth at Yorke. The first Ides of Ianuary, saith *Sanils Table.*

Polychr. l. 4. c. 19.

MARCVS

{M. AVRE. BAS. CARA. ANTO. BRIT.
P. SEPT. ANTONI. GETA BRIT.} Brethren.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Bassianus Caracalla.

Septimius Geta.

An. Do. 212.

Asianus Caracalla, and his Brother *Septimius Geta*, together were declared *Emperours* by old *Seuerus* in his life time, and both of them by their father surnamed *Antoninus*, a name verie gracious in the esteeme of the *Romans*; the elder so stiled about the yeere of Saluation two hundred and fiue, and the yonger foure years after, (as it appeareth by the mintage of their moneys;) were approued and applauded by people and *Senate*, and of all men saluted and acknowledged for *Emperours*. *Bassianus* the Elder, stiling himselfe *Britannicus Maximus*, as it should seeme, was admitted his Fathers fellow *Emperour* at *Yorke*, at his residing there, to quiet Northern Britains; wherein also hee gaue him the name *Antoninus*; for so implieth that famous Law, bearing iointlie the names of *Seuerus* and *Antoninus*, enacted by them at *Yorke*, touching the interest and right that masters haue to the goods and possessions of their seruants. His mother, the first wife of *Seuerus*, was *Martia* a British Lady (say our British Historians, through *Sabellicus* doth iudg her to be an *African*) and himselfe better beloued of the *Britaines* for her sake, then for his owne.

Cod. l. 3. Tit. de rei vindicatione leget.

Geff. Monmouth. Sabellicus.

Geta was the sonne of the Empresse *Iulia*, a second wife, a woman of passing beautie and surpassing lust, who beeing perswaded (by some Oracle or dreame) that her husbands successour should be an *Antoninus*, lest her Sonne should lose his hope of the Empire, she importuned *Seuerus* to bestow the name of *Antoninus* also on *Geta*; who with it gaue him likewise the title of *Cæsar*, about the yeere two hundred and two.

Some say it was Seuerus his dreame. Sabellicus.

And to vnite the affections of his two sons, aswel as to eternise their memories, he minted their features vpon one Medall inscribing the one side ANTONINVS PIVS AVG. PON. TR. P. IIII. the other, P. SEPT. GETA, CAES. PONT. hauing the yeere before matched thē together vpon the reuerse of his owne mony, and incirculing their heads with this word, AETERNITAS IMPERI. as if the separation of their affections were the dissolution of his and the worlds *Empire*.

Herodian. Sabellicus.

(2 Vpon *Seuerus* his death, *Antoninus Caracalla*, hastning for *Rome*, proffered good conditions of peace to the *Britaines*, who long tired with warres accepted thereof, and hostages were giuen for conseruing the same. Whereupon the Empresse *Iulia* accompanied with both the *Cæsars*, departed hence, carying with them the funerall ashes of the deceased *Emperor* in a goldē *Vrna* to *Rome*, where they solemnly consecrated him a *God*: the ceremony whereof (because it concerneth so great an *Emperour* and *Monarch* of this kingdome) is not vnworthy the inserting.

In the Porch of his *Palace* was a bedsteed all of *Iuory*, dressed with richest bedding & furniture of gold, wherein was laid his image portratied to the life, but yet in manner of a sick man. On the left side sate all the Senators and Princes in blacke mourning weeds; on the right, all the great Ladies, cladde in white (which then was the mourning color of that Sexe.) The Physitians diligently comming to visit him, and feeling his pulse, as if he were aliue, doe signifie that his disease did still increase vpon him. This they all did seuen daies togetherr: at last, as if then hee were dead, all the prime of the Nobility carrie him in his Iuorie Bed to the * *Forum*, where all the *Patrician youth*, & Noble *Virgins*, incompassed him with most

Forum was the chiefe place of publike meetings and pleadings.

dolefull Hymnes and ruefull ditties. Thence againe he was remoued to *Mars his field*, where was erected a foure-ſquare frame of Timber, of a huge height and compaſſe, the ſtories ſtill mounting to the top with ſundry aſcents, richly beutified with ſtrange varieties of golde and purple ornaments, and images of great Art and price: On the ſecond of which aſcents, was placed the *Emperours* ſaid Bed and Statue, with infinite ſtore of ſweeteſt odours, brought thither from al parts of the City: which done, the yong Nobles brauely mounted on Horſebacke, rid round about in a kind of dance or meaſure, and another ſort likewiſe (who repreſented great Princes) in their coaches, wherupon his ſucceſſor in the Empire, firſt ſet fire to the frame, then forthwith al the people did the like on all ſides: and when the whole began to be on flame, an *Eagle* ſecretly encloſed within, was let flie out of the toppe; which ſoaring a great height, and out of ſight, the people followed it with ſhouts and praiers, ſuppoſing that therewith the *Emperours* ſoule was carried vp to heauen. And thus *Seuerus*, which before was a man of Gods making, was now become a God of mans making: and the more to preſerue the memory of his fathers glory, *Caracalla* erected a magnificent Edifice, which he inſtiled *Seuerus his Porch*, wherein with moſt exquiſite Art, and admired workmanſhip, were portraited all his Fathers warres and triumphs, atchieued here in *Britaine* or elſewhere.

Sabellicus.

(3) But preſently after, theſe two vngodly ſonnes of this new ſuppoſed *God*, ſo much emulated each others glory, that the deadly ſparkes of enuie, blowne a long time with the bellowes of their ambitious deſires, brake out into the flames of murther and blood, being brethren by one Father, but not by the ſame mother (as it is ſayd,) and in this only like, that they were both ſtarke naught, though both in contrarie kindes of *Vices*. And albeit the Empreſſe *Iulia* had ſought by all meanes to make peace betwixt them, both formerly, here in *Britaine*, and now, after their returne to *Rome*: yet the deſire of a ſole *Soueraignty*, had beene a long time ſo rooted in *Baſſianus* his heart (for which he had twice attempted his Fathers life, and ſo much haſted his death, that he ſlew his *Phyſicians*, becauſe they had diſpatched him no ſooner) could not indure an equall (much leſſe a confronter) in authority, and therfore in the Court & in the arms of the *Empreſſe*, he ſlew her ſonne *Geta*, in a time leaſt ſuſpected, when he had ſate with him in ſtate and diſdaine, the terme of one yeere and twenty two dayes.

Geta ſlaine in his mothers armes.

Herodian.

(4) And to cloak this fratricide with ſhew of conſtraint, firſt to the *Souldiers*, and then in the *Senate*, he accuſeth his brother to haue ſought his death, and that in defence of himſelfe he was forced to ſlay the other, and thereupon fled to the *Pretorian* Cohorts for ſafety of his life, as though further conſpiracies had been intended againſt him in the City; where at his return he commanded *Papinianus* the famous *Ciuilian*, to excuſe the murther in his *Pleas* at the Barre: which when he refuſed, he cauſed him to be ſlaine, as alſo al thoſe that had bin acquainted with *Geta*; wherby ſo many of the Nobility periſhed, that hee was thereby accounted another *Nero* in *Rome*: and by his fauorites, the name of *Geta* was raced out of all Monuments and Imperiall inſcriptions, as we haue ſeene ſome of them defaced vpon ſome Altar ſtones found here in *Britaine*.

Dio Spartianus.

Papinianus ſlaine for refuſing to defend a murther.

(5) Of nature he was ſubtile, and could well diſſemble with them whom hee feared, and make ſhew of loue where he deadly hated; alwaies fitting himſelfe to the humours of flatteries: Among the *Germans*, he would counterfait their gate and garments; In *Greece*, be like *Alexander*; bearing his necke ſomewhat awry; In *Troy*, would reſemble *Achilles*; alwaies ſo *Camelion like*, as the *Romans* (his followers) were therewith aſhamed. In a word, *Caracalla* (ſaith *Dio*) *neuer thought of doing good, becauſe (as himſelf confeſſed) he neuer knew any goodnes.*

Dio.

(6) And to fill vp the meaſure of all iniquitie, as one regardleſſe of humanity or ſhame, he married *Iulia* his mother in law, late wife to his owne Father (a ſinne (ſaith S. *Paul*) not to be named among the *Gentiles*) and by *Sext. Aur. Eutrop.* and *Spar.* reported vpon this occaſion. It fortuned that *Iulia* in preſence of *Caracalla*, either by chance, or of purpoſe rather, let fall the vaile which ſhe wore, diſcouering therby her naked breaſts and beauty, which was great; whereat the *Emperor* caſting his laſciuious eye and bewraying his affection, preſently ſaid, *Were it not vnlawfull, I ſhould not be vnwilliag*: to whom ſhe replied (without reſpect of modeſty) *that all things were lawfull to him that made lawes for others, but was ſubiect himſelfe to none*: forgetting at once both the murther committed vpon *Geta* her ſonne, and the ſcandals that accompanied ſo foule a ſinne, the pleaſure whereof they did not long enioy, both their deaths (by Gods vengeance) ſoone after enſuing.

1. Cor. 5. 1.

Sextus Aurelius, Eutropius. Spartianus. Sabellicus.

Iulia her wicked ſpeech.

(7) For *Caracalla* remaining in *Meſopotamia*, and carrying (as it ſeemeth) a guilty conſcience, and ſuſpition of his life, ſent to *Maternus*, whom he had left Gouernour of *Rome*, to aſſemble all the *Aſtrologers* & *Mathematicians* (vnto which learned impoſters he alwaies gaue eſpeciall credit) and of them to enquire how long he ſhould liue, and by what death he ſhould die. *Maternus* hauing ſo done, wrot for anſwere, that *Macrinus* his *Prefect* of the *Prætorium* (then with him in his expeditiõs) went about to murther him. Which is thought rather in enuy of *Macrinus* to haue beene fained, then by any *Aſtrologicall* directions ſo giuen forth. This letter and others comming to *Caracalla* his hand, at ſuch time as he was buſie about his diſport, he deliuered them to *Macrinus* to reade, and giue him the report at his return. In peruſall wherof finding himſelfe to be accuſed of Treaſon, & fearing leſt by the ſequell he might be brought into greater danger, he incenſed one *Martial* a Centurion (whoſe brother the *Emperour* had lately ſlaine) to murther him; which was ſoone performed, and occaſion in the fields offered: for *Caracalla* ſtepping aſide from his train to eaſe nature, *Martial*, as though he had bin called, ran haſtily in without hinderance or ſuſpect, and with his dagger ſtabbed him to death; but being too late perceiued, was yet ſo haſtily purſued, that hee was hewed to pieces before his tongue could reueale the principal Traitour. *Iulia* his inceſtuous wife hearing of his death, with poyſon ſlew her ſelfe at *Antioch*, leauing her ſhame to her life.

Antoninus Caracalla his raigne *Euſeb. Eccl. Hiſt. lib. 6. ca. 20.*

(8) *Antoninus Caracalla*, ſaith *Euſebius*, raigned *Emperour* ſeuen yeares and ſixe moneths, but *Herodian*, *Spartianus* and *Dio* allot him ſixe yeares and two moneths: he died the eight of April, and yeere of Chriſt two hundred eighteene. The teſtimonies of theſe many Writers notwithſtanding, together with the place and circumſtances of his death, and the perſon by whom it was committed, the *Britiſh* Hiſtorians do contradict, reporting him to be ſlaine in *Britaine*, in Battaile againſt the *Picts*, by one *Carauceus* a man of a lowe and obſcure birth. But by this it may ſeeme, ſome vvounds receiued by him in thoſe Britiſh warres, gaue occaſion to that errour. He left a ſonne not by his inceſtuous mother, nor by *Glantilla* his wife, whom he exiled into *Sicilia*; but by a miſtris, whoſe name was *Iulia Simiamira* his coſen German, and indeede no better then a common ſtrumpet: which corrupt roots brought forth as bitter fruits, euen *Heliogabalus*, of whom hereafter we ſhall haue occaſion to write.

Antoninus ſeeketh to ſorcerers.

Sabellicus.

Antoninus Caracalla kild.

Old *Manuſcr. cap.* 136.

Euſebius calls her *Seuiam*, *alij Senim*, and her monies *Iulia Soemis* that ſhe was his whore, not his wife. *Sabellicus.*

OPILIVS MACRINVS.

CHAPTER XXV.

Opilius Macrinus.

Diademenus.

An.Do.218. IN proſecuting our intended courſe, for ſetting downe the *Acts* and *Liues* of ſundrie Emperours, heereafter ſucceeding, I know I ſhal hardly ſatisfy my Readers, being no way able to giue cõtent to my ſelfe, in that, on the one ſide, finding very few remembrances concerning the ſtate of this our *Iland*, till the raigne of *Diocleſian*, the Hiſtory of that *Interim* may ſeeme impertinent to our purpoſe; and yet on the other ſide, conſidering how vnfit it is, that the Succeſſion of all our *Britiſh Monarks* ſhould be interrupted (that Royall Title being likewiſe annexed to thoſe other *Emperours*) I ſuppoſe it will be expected, that ſomwhat alſo be ſaid of them, though managing their affaires in places farre remote. It ſeemeth that the continuall ſtriuing for the *Imperiall Diademe*, and their neerer hazards at home, made them contented to giue *Britaine* ſome peaceable breathing, and ſo depriue vs of the *Romane Records* of thoſe times: which want if I ſhould ſupply out of our home-bred *Britiſh Writers*, I might be thought, not ſo much to repaire the ruines of our *Monuments*, as to heape more rubbiſh vpon them. And therefore (neceſſity ſo enforcing) I muſt craue patience, if I proceed to the reſt of our Countries *Monarkes*, though I cannot to the reſidue of our Countries *Exploits* and *Affaires* in thoſe daies.

An.Do.218. (2) *Opilius Macrinus* from obſcure and baſe Parentage, by fauour of the *Emperour*, without any notable deſert in himſelfe, firſt aſpired to the *Office* of a *Prefect*, and at laſt by the election of the *Souldiers*, to the *Dignitie Imperiall*. So farre from ſuſpicion of *Caracallaes* death; by the outward appearance of a ſeeming ſorrow, that he was held of all moſt free from the Treaſon, and the ſecond perſon worthy of their voice. For firſt, the Title was conferred vpon aged *Audentius*, a man of good ſort, much experience, and an excellent *Captaine*; whoſe wiſdome could not be drawne to aduenture his life vnder the weight of ſo vneaſie and dangerous a Crowne, but excuſing himſelfe by the priuiledge of his age, as far vnfit to weild the troubles (much leſſe to increaſe the glory) of the *Empire*, refuſed their offers, but with returne of as many thanks as they had giuen him hands or voices. Whereupon they againe conſulted and determined for *Macrinus*, which as willingly receiued, as *Audentius* refuſed: vnto whom they ſwore fealtie, but not long after failed in performance.

Audentius refuſeth the Empire.

(3) He made for his *Cæſar*, *Diadumenus* his ſonne, changing his name (a vſual cuſtome at their election) into *Antoninus*, becauſe that name was gracious among the *Romans*. The *Senate* at home confirmed all that the *Armie* had done abroad; vnto whom it ſeemed their right, as it were by preſcription, to haue the election of the *Emperours*.

Diadumenus appointed for *Cæſar*. Called *Antoninus*.

(4) His firſt expedition was againſt *Artabanus* King of the *Parthians*, that haſted againſt the *Romans*, for wrongs receiued by *Caracalla* deceaſed: but after three great and dangerous *Battles*, came to an attonement, and a peace betwixt them concluded. After this, as free from further troubles, he returned to *Antioch* in *Syria*, and there ſpent his time in *Banquets*, and other ſenſuall pleaſures, being drenched ſo farre therein, that the *Armie* began to diſlike his *Gouernment*, and to fauour young *Baſſianus* the ſonne of *Caracalla*, then preſent at *Emeſa* a Citie in *Phœnicia*, with *Mæſa* his Grandmother by his Mothers ſide, who there had built a Temple conſecrated to the *Sunne*, and therin ordained him a *Prieſt*; for which cauſe he was called *Heliogabalus*, that is to ſay in the *Phœnician Language*, *The Prieſt of the Sunne*.

Antoninus ſonne of *Caracalla*.

Antoninus called *Heliogabalus*, that is, *A Prieſt of the Sunne*.

(5) To this *Temple* in their vaine deuotions reſorted many of the *Romane Souldiers*; and ſeeing the beauty of the youth, allured *Mæſa* to bring him to their *Campe*: where knowne to be the ſonne of *Caracalla*, the *Souldiers* proclaimed him *Emperour*, and maintained his right againſt *Macrinus*; who after this reuolt, met young *Heliogabalus* in the Confines betweene *Phœnicia* and *Syria*, where he fought a bloudie *Battle*, and *Macrinus* forſaken of all, and driuen to flie; who with his ſonne haſting thorow *Aſia* and *Bithynia*, came laſtly to *Chalcedon*, where he fell ſicke, and was there, together with *Diadumenus*, put to death the ſeuenth day of *Iune*, the yeere of *Chriſts Incarnation* two hundred and nineteene, when hee had raigned one yeere, one moneth, and xxviii. dayes.

Herodian.

Iulius Capitol.

Macrinus and *Diadumenus* put to death. *Eutropius.* *Macrinus* raigne.

ANTONINVS HELIOGABALVS.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Antoninus Heliogabalus Emp.

An. Do. 219.

YOung *Bassianus*, surnamed *Heliogabalus*, the sonne of *Caracalla* before mentioned, thus elected, and prospering at his entrance, gaue hopes to his raisers, of many princely parts, and signes of those things that in sequele, by better proofe appeared to be only signes indeed: for nature had plentifully adorned him with the complements of her gifts, had his mind beene answerably furnished with vertue. But as the one was ouer-prodigall & lauish in his outward form, so was the other as sparing and defectiue in bestowing of her inward gifts: insomuch that both in mind and garment, he seemed to be that which in truth he was not. This *Emperour*, as appeareth by the reuerse of his money, tooke it no meane addition of honor to his *Imperiall Dignitie*, to be stiled, *The Priest of the Sunne*; which in the *Assyrian tongue* is called *El*, from whom he tooke the surname *Elagabal*.

(2) Assoone as hee had setled the *Empire* firme vpon himselfe, by the death of *Macrinus*, he began to discouer his own dispositions, and in wantonnesse, apparell, lightnesse and diet, to exceed any that had gone before him in *Rome*; and so farre differed from the manners of men, that modesty will not suffer vs to record his greatest vices.

Heliogabalus exceedeth in wickednesse all others before him.

(3) His apparell was rich, and most extreme costly, and yet would he neuer weare one garment twice: his *Shooes* embellished with *Pearles* and *Diamonds*; his *Seats* strewed with *Muske* and *Amber*; his *Bed* couered with *Gold* and *Purple*, and beset with most costly *Iewels*; his *way* strewed with the *Powder* of *Gold* and *Siluer*; his *Vessels* (euen of baasest vse) all *Gold*; his *Lamps* burning with no other *Oile* then the *Balmes* of *India* and *Arabia*; his *Fish-Ponds* filled with no other water then of *distilled Roses*; his *Ships* (in his *Naumachies* or *Ship-fights*) floted in a *Riuer* of *Wine*; his *Bathes* most stately built, and againe after they were once vsed, presently pluckt downe; his *Plate* of finest *Gold*, but neuer serued twice to his *Table*; his *Rings* and *Iewels* most rich, yet neuer worne twice; his *Concubines* many and chargeable, but not one laine with twice; his *Diet* so profuse, that at euery supper in his *Court*, was vsually spent a *Thousand Pound Sterling*: inuiting the chiefe Citizens to a *Feast*, he strewed all the *Roomes* with *Saffron*, as it were with *Rushes*, saying, *That such Cattle were worthy of such costly Litter*. Neere the *Sea*, with him no *Fish* was eaten: in the *Land*, no *Flesh*: whole *Meales* made of the *Tongues* of singing *Birds* and *Peacocks*, or of the *Braines* of most costly creatures, alwaies saying, *That meat was not sauourie, whose sauce was not costly*. And indeed so costly it was, that the reuenewes of *Germany*, *France*, *Britaine*, *Spaine*, *Italy*, *Sicilia*, *Græcia*, *Asia*, *Syria*, *Ægypt*, *Arabia*, and all the *Ilands*, were not sufficient to defray the charges.

(4) In his *Progresse*, six hundred *Chariots* followed him, laden with *Strumpets*, *Boyes*, and *Bawdes*, for whom he built a *Stewes* in his *Court*, wherein himselfe in the attire of an *Harlot*, made to them solemne and set *Orations*, terming them therin his *Fellow-Souldiers*, and *Companions* in *Armes*, with *Instructions* for them how to practise with most variety their filthy *Luxuries*. In regard of which kinde of actions, one doth make this doubt, whether were greater his boundlesse *Prodigality*, his stupendious *Lechery*, or his foppish *Foolery*: the last of which his *Imperiall vertues*, he gaue proof of, when he gathered in the *City ten thousand waight of Spiders*, professing that thereby he vnderstood *how great a City Rome was*: at another time, *ten thousand Mice*, and a *thousand Wezels*, which hee brought forth in a publike shew to the people, for some wise *State-purpose*, like the former. *Aelius Lamprid. Herodian.*

(5) In *Rome* he built a *Temple* consecrated to the *Sunne*, (like to that in *Phœnicia*, whereof himselfe was *Priest*) commanding the *Christians* therein to worship: as also a *Chatter-house* for women to meet and determine of their *Attires*; and brought into the *Senate-house* his mother *Semiamira*, allowing her a *Voice* among the *Senators*. In modesty I forbeare to write the particulars of his *vn-manly* libidinous filthinesse, adding only that which a iudicious *Author* speakes of him: *Kings* (saith he) *as they haue greater power to sinne then other men, so haue they lesser safety in sinning then any man*; for being set aboue others in the eye of the *World*, they are as *Markes* that are aimed at, and lie open to the shot of *Reuenge*. And so was the state of this *Superlatiue Monster*, whose owne *Conscience* still stung him, euen in the midst of his sweetest sinnes, and therefore euer expecting some violent end, hee prepared *silken halters*, richly wrought, to hang himselfe, if need were; and *Golden Kniues* to stab himselfe, or cut his throat; and built a goodly *Tower* of exceeding height, adorned with *Gemmes* and *Gold* of inualuable cost, that thence he might cast himselfe headlong, hauing these words oft in his mouth, *That howeuer he dyed, his death should be pretious in the eyes of all men*. But he failed of his hope, though not of his desert; for against him the *Prætorian Souldiers* suddenly arose, no wrong offred them, more then vnto others, but out of a *Iustice in God*, who repaieth sinne with sinne, and suffereth not such outragious wicked ones to escape vnreuenged.

(6) These breaking into his *Palace*, found him not in estate answerable to his calling, but hidde (for feare) in a homely place sutable with his dirty conditions: from whence with *Acclamations* thorow the streets of *Rome*, more like a *Dogge* then a *Man*, they dragged him with his mother saying, *The Bitch and her whelpes must goe together*: and after their fury spent, threw their bodies into the *Common sinke* of the *City*, and thence into *Tyber*, sinking them downe with great

A Priuy. *Sabellicus.*

great ſtones, leſt the carkaſes caſt vp with the waues, ſhould either find buriall, or infect the aire. The *Senate* approuing all that was done, decreed that his name ſhould be obliterated out of all monuments in *Rome*, and neuer any *Antoninus* (a name before very gracious) ſhould rule againe their *Empire*: ſo odious was the remembrance of this *Image af Ignominy*.

(7) He was aged but foureteene yeeres when he became *Emperour*; by *Herodians* computation, he raigned ſix yeeres, and died at twenty: By *Aurelius Victors* he died at ſeuenteene, & raigned not fully three yeers: *Euſebius* ſaith, that he raigned fully foure: *Onuphrius* would haue him to liue eighteen yeres, & to dy the 8 day of March, *Anno* two hundred twenty three. *Euſeb. Eccleſ. hiſt. lib. 6. cap. 20.*

ALEXANDER SEVERVS.

Chapter XXVII.

Alexander Seuerus Emp.

An. Do. 223.

Before the death of *Heliogabalus*, his Coſin German *Alexianus*, by the working of his mother *Mammea*, was made his *Ceſar*; whoſe vertues daily increaſing with his age, gaue hopes to the better ſort of ſome happier times by his meanes: but ſo farre incenſed *Heliogabalus* (who hated nothing more then vertue,) and ſo dimmed his fame, that he often aſſaied to take away his life by trechery: But ſuruiuing him whom no man wiſhed to liue, he was with publicke bleſſings, and vnſpeakeable ioy elected *Emperor*; * his name they changed from *Alexianus* to *Alexander*, and his ſurname giuen of old *Seuerus*.

Lampridius ſaith, he was borne on the day that *Alexander* the great died, and had therefore his name. *Sabellicus. Lampridius.*

(2) He was the ſonne of one *Varius*, a *Syrian* borne, and of *Mammea*, ſiſter to *Semiamira*, though there are who ſay, that both the ſiſters, attending on their Aunt *Iulia* the *Empreſſe*, were gotten with child by young *Caracalla*, and ſo he father of *Alexianus*: howſoeuer, he was brought vp in learning from his childhood, hauing a naturall propenſion to all humane vertues, and diuine pieties: He was very skilfull in the *Mathematicks*, *Geometry*, *Muſicke*, *Caruing*, and *Painting*, & compoſed ſome *Bookes* alſo of *Poetry*: ſo great a louer of the liberall Arts, that he allowed the profeſſors thereof annuall ſtipends for their further encouragement: and that which moſt is, hee much fauoured the *Chriſtians*, from whom he tooke to himſelfe examples of life, and vrged their Precepts vnto others, and this one eſpecially * NOT TO DO TO OTHERS VVHAT VVEE VVOVLD NOT HAVE DONE TO VS. Their *Chriſt* he honoured (though as a *Heathen* man) and would haue had him conſecrated among the *Romane Gods*: Vnto whom he alſo was minded to haue built a Temple, had not his *Idol-Prieſts* hindred the ſame; but a place of their holy aſſemblies he allowed them by his *Imperiall warrant*: for when certain *Vinteners* or *Victuallers* laid claime to the place whereunto the *Chriſtians* reſorted to pray, he thus decided it, *That it was much fitter that God therein ſhould be worſhipped, then belly-gods ſhould be pampered to ſurfet there.* (A good document of a Heathen for ſome *Chriſtians*, who turne places conſecrate to Gods diuine ſeruice, into Sheep-Cotes, or to the like prophane vſes.) This good inclination of *Alexander* the ſonne, was vndoubtedly ſtirred vp by the inſtigations of *Mammea* his mother, who, as *Euſebius* witneſſeth, had ſent for *Origen* (the Chriſtian Doctour) from *Alexandria* to *Antioch*: by whom ſhe was ſo wel inſtructed, that *Ierome* giues hir the honourable Title of a moſt *holy Woman*.

Herodian; *Sabellicus.*

* *Lampridius* the trueſt relator of this *Emperours* acts: (for *Herodian* ſpeakes on ſpleene) ſaith, he cauſed this Chriſtian poeſie to be written all about his Palace, and ſometimes commanded by voice of a publike Crier. *Lampridius. Sabellicus.*

Alexander Seuerus incited to Chriſtianity by his mother *Mammeaa* *Euſeb. Eccles. Hiſt. lib. 6. cap. 20. Ierome.*

(3) Himſelfe, though young, ruled the *Empire* with great *Wiſedome* and *Iuſtice*: admitting onely ſuch for his Counſellors, as were men vncorrupt, ſage and learned, skilfull in the Ciuill Law, and experienced in Antiquities of elder times, and preferring none to any office ot charge by ſuite, but only by the commendation of each mans worth and fitnes for the place: In regard whereof, he cauſed *Turinus* (one of his Courtiers, who tooke money of diuers, with promiſe to procure the *Emperours* fauour in their ſuites) to be put to death by ſmoake, the Crier proclaiming, *That hee had ſold ſmoake, and therefore with ſmoake he ſhould die*, And likewiſe to cut off, in Lawyers their continuall ſelling of *Iuſtice* (the bane of all Common wealths) for a fee, hee granted a publike & ſet reward to ſuch as ſhould plead *gratis*. By which courſes, his ciuill affaires were nobly managed, and his warres likewiſe proued as proſperous: for he triumphed with great glory ouer the *Parthians*: The *Germans* alſo, who in furious manner had paſſed the Riuers *Danuby* and the *Rhine*, in many skirmiſhes he put backe, and forced them to their former obedience.

Sabellicus.

Bountiful and liberall he was both to the people & ſoldiers, as by the reuerſe of his coine aboue prefixed is ſeene, wherein is expreſſed the fourth *Donatiuū* and *Congiarium*, beſtowed by the bounty of this *Emperour* vpon the Souldiers and common people, of which *Lampridius* maketh mention in his life.

(4) But as *Enuy* euer attends perſons of Eſtate, and a deſire of change, breeds a diſlike of the preſent, ſo the *Roman Legions* growne farre out of order by the prodigious Gouernment of the laſt *Emperour*, proued now vnnaturall to their dread Souetaigne: whoſe warres drawing him into *Germany*, and thence hither into *Britaine*, he found ſome of his Souldiers here ſo tumultuous, that he thought fit to vſe exemplary ſeuerity towards them, whereupon they, being ſecretly

Sabellicus and others.

Seuerus and his mother murthered.

secretly backt, (as is supposed) by *Maximus* (a potent man in the army, raised onely by the *Emperours* fauour) they traiterously assailed him, and together with his his mother *Mammea*, murthered him in a village then called *Scilla*, though others say he was slaine in *Germany*, in the City *Mogunce*, and some in *France*, no other cause mouing them, but onely his vertue; the eight day of March, when he had raigned (by *Lampridius*) thirteene yeeres and nine daies, aged by *Herodian*, and *Iulius Capitolinus*, twenty nine yeeres, three moneths and seuen daies, the yeere of our Sauiour, two hundred thirty sixe.

Seuerus the time of his raigne.

CAIVS·IVLIVS·VERVS·MAXI·EMP·

Chapter XXVIII.

Maximinus Emp.

CAIVS. IVLIVS. VERVS. MAXI. CÆS.

Maximus Cæsar.

An. Do. 236.

Aximinus, a man barbarous by birth and dispositon, (himselfe a *Thracian*, his father named *Nicea*, borne in *Gotland*, very obscure, his mother *Ababa* of litle better rancke) spent his youth in keeping of Cattell, the pouerty of his parents admitting no better maintenance: Yet afterwards his fortunes brought him vnto great aduancement, and that by working vpon the outward obiect of his person, being for shape and strength (if the reporter deserue credit) rather to be thought a vast *Giant*, then described for a goodly man: For *Iulius Capitolinus* affirmes his height to be eight foote and an halfe by Geometricall measure, & his body answerable in euery proportion, insomuch, as he did weare as a Ring on his thumb, the bracelet which his wife vsed to wear on her arme, a stature thought vncredible; and yet *Iosephus*, an Author of great credit, doth confidently record, that one *Eleazer* a Iew, accompanied *Darius* the Kings sonne of *Persia* vnto *Rome*, (sent by *Vitellius* to *Tiberius* for an hostage) whose height, as he saith, was fully seuen cubits, a measure surmounting this.

Iuli. Capitol. *Maximinus* of a huge stature.

Capitolinus calles it *Dextrochertum* being a broad plate of Gold set with rich Iewels, an ornament in vse amongst the *Romane* Ladies. *Ioseph. Antiq. l. 18. cap. 6.*

(2) This *Maximinus* increasing strength with growth, left his trade of Cattle-keeping, and resorted to the *Romane* Campe then in *Syria*, where for his admirall height, he was admitted by *Septimius Seuerus* into the ranke of a common Souldier, and shortly after, preferred to be one of his Guard. *Bassianus* made him a *Coronell*, and *Heliogabalus* gaue him the leading of certaine foot: but the last Emperour *Alexander*, aduanced him to be a *Captaine* of the fourth Legion, whose death notwithstanding he disloially practised, (of such force is the desire of Soueraignty which makes men forget all bonds of gratitude and loiall trust) and was thereupon by the Souldiers elected *Emperour*, with fealty sworne vnto him.

Maximinus his means of rising to preferment.

Herodian and *Aurelius* Victor say that this was done, *Alexander* yet liuing.

(3) The ignoble *Vpstart* thus borne from the dunghill, vpon the wings of *Fortune*, vnto the seat of Maiesty, thought the increase of his pride was an increase of State; and knowing he had nothing for which he might deserue to be loued, he studied in the whole managing of his estate, how by all meanes he might be feared. He therefore displaced *Senatours*, *Captaines*, *Souldiers*, and whom not? with murders, banishments, and confiscations of their goods: all such especially he did cut off, whom he supposed to haue knowledge of his base beginnings. The *Christians* likewise vnder him were martyred, (whereof *Origen* wrote a Booke, not now extant) and he is by *Writers* accounted the sixth Persecutor of Gods Saints: so that, whereas his flatterers at first called him *Milo*, *Anteus*, and *Hercules*, for his strength; now they all tearmed him, *Busiris*, *Phalaris*, and *Cyclops*, for his sauage cruelty.

Maximinus of a naughty disposition.

Euseb. Eccl. hist. lib. 6 cap. 27. Maximinus persecuteth the Christians.

(4) But his life being odious to *God* and *Man* was often attempted to be taken away; first, by *Maximus*, a man of a Consular dignity; then by *Quarcinus* (whom *Capitolinus* calleth *Ticus*) set on by the old Souldiers of *Septimius Seuerus*, that had beene disgraced by *Maximinus*; and lastly by the Army in *Africa*, who elected *Gordianus* (their *Proconsul*, a very worthy and learned man, of fourescore yeeres old) *Emperour*, and his sonne (of the same name and Princely qualities) his *Cæsar*: the Senate likewise confirming all that they had done. He tooke to himselfe the surname *Africanus*, either in respect of his Pro-Consulship which he exercised in that Prouince, or else as descēded from *Scipio* his family who bore that surname: His sonne *Gordianus* likewise was stiled *Augustus*, as appeareth by his Coines, whereon he writeth himselfe AVG. and vpon the Reuerse, PIETAS AVG. I.

His death attempted. *Herodian.*

Gordianus elected Emperour, and his sonne elected his *Cæsar*.

Maximinus then in *Hungary*, and hearing thereof, rather like a mad man raged at his misfortunes, then either by courage or wise forecast endeuoured to redeeme them.

(5) In

An Do. 238.

(5) In the meane while, aged *Gordianus* with the Enſignes and glory of an Emperor, entred *Carthage*, with bleſſings and acclamations of ioy: whereat his old enemy *Capelianus*, Gouernour of *Numidia* and *Mauritania* (Prouinces in *Africke*) much enuied; and gathering forces in *Maximinus* his name, made head againſt him, and ſhortly gaue him Battle, wherein *Gordianus* the younger was ſlaine before the walles of the City. The father ſeeing his *Cæſars* diſaſtre, himſelfe an Emperour onely nominall, his new riſen Sunne to haue paſſed the circle of his height, and now to approach to the ſetting and fall, wiſhed againe his priuate eſtate; and in deſpaire, griefe, and diſdaine of his enemies ſucceſſe, with the *Girdle* which he wore, ſtrangled himſelfe to death, when hee had beene ſtiled Emperour only twenty ſix daies: wherat *Maximinus* was not a little ioyfull, and the *Senate* no leſſe perplexed, ſeeing themſelues depriued of their hopes, and now laid open to the *Tyrants* will, who like a Lion came raging on; threatning reuenge in all their blouds.

Gordianus the younger ſlaine.

Gordianus the father ſtrangled.

(6) The State thus ſtanding, all the Peeres and Princes thereof aſſembled themſelues together at *Rome*: and in the *Temple* of *Iupiter*; after long debating of their preſent dangers, concluded, that *Maximus Pupienus* and *Clodius Balbinus* together ſhould bee Emperours; men of great account and fauour with the people: Theſe taking Oath and Imperiall Robes, leuied forces to maintaine their cauſe: and *Balbinus* taking charge of the City, *Pupienus* marched to meet *Maximinus*, who in great pride had paſſed the *Alpes*, entred *Italy*, and now laid ſiege againſt *Aquileia*; in which this was very memorable, that *The Citizens wiues cut off the haire of their heads, to make bow ſtrings for reſiſtance of ſo hateſull a Tyrant*: where after long aſſault preuailing little, his diſcontented Souldiers fell to mutiny: and entring his Pauilion, at noone day without reſiſtance, ſlew both him and his ſonne, bearing the ſame name, whom hee had created his *Cæſar*, and whoſe monies, as he minted them, we haue inſerted at the entrance of his Empire. Their heads for a *Trophy* they ſent before them to *Rome*, where with ſuch acceptations they were receiued, as that the *Senate* acknowledged themſelues to be rid of a Monſter.

Maximinus and his ſonne ſlaine

(7) Hee was, as is ſaid, exceedingly tall, his body great, and ioints proportionable, faire of face, full eies, and of ſuch ſtrength as is vncredible: and according to his limmes, ſo was his diet; for hee daily deuoured forty pound waight of fleſh, and thereto drank ſix Gallons of wine. He died aged ſixty yeeres and odde, when he had raigned three yeeres, in the yeere of our Lord two hundred thirty and eight.

Maximinus his intemperance in diet. *Iul. Capitol. Euſeb. Eccleſ. hiſt. lib. 6. cap. 27.*

{PVPIENVS MAXIMVS / CLODIVS BALBINVS} Emperours.

Chapter XXIX.

Pupienus Maximus Emp.

Clodius Balbinus Emp.

Vpienus Maximus and *Clodius Balbinus* thus elected together for *Emperors*, the one in action, and the other reſident, a great ſedition chanced betwixt the *Senate* and *Souldiers*, which grew to a bloudy iſſue among the *Citizens*, and *Rome* it ſelfe was ſet on fire in ſundry places; the *Emperours* preſence and authority little preuailing: which ſtrucke ſuch feare into their hearts, that they accounted theſe times moſt vnfortunate, and themſelues and preſent eſtate to be moſt deſperate. But the death of *Maximinus* (and his head happily brought them at the inſtant) gaue preſent life to their dying hearts. And *Pupienus* comming to *Aquileia*, as much quieted the *Army*; ſent backe the *Lieutenants* to their places of charge, and with great pompe and praiſe returned to his Fellow-Emperour.

(2) The parentage of *Balbinus* is reported to bee both

both noble and ancient, made Citizens of *Rome* by great *Pompey*, and himſelfe borne at *Cales* in *Spaine*. *Pupienus* Auncestors were much latter, yet had hee borne many Offices of Magiſtracy, and euer diſcharged them with wiſdome and valour: both of them highly accounted of in *Rome*.

Iul. Capitol.

(3) Peace thus eſtabliſhed beyond al expectation, with ſhouts and applauſes the *Emperours* enter the *Senate-houſe*, where (according to the cuſtome and their deſerts) they were ſtiled, *The Fathers of the Senat*, with thankes as to the only preſeruers of their liues and eſtates: and ſome extolling the *Senate* highly for their prouident foreſight, in electing ſuch ſapient and worthy *Emperors*, contrary to the raſh and vndiſcreet practiſe of ſuch as choſe their gouernours to fit their owne fancies, rather then the charge to which they aduance them; and whoſe bad liues brought commonly their vntimely, but deſerued deaths. The Pretorian Souldiers tooke themſelues to be taxed with thoſe aſperſions, & the rather, becauſe the *German ſtrangers* were brought in to be of the *Guard*, as if themſelues were not to bee truſted: ſo turning their ſpleene againſt the preſent *Emperours*, ſought to ſet vp a new, which ſhortly after they found opportunity to effect.

The Emperours enuy one another.

(4) For theſe *Emperours*, though aged and wiſe, were not ſo linked together in affection, as they were neere ioined in authority: and therefore the winde of emulation had the eaſier paſſage betwixt the chinkes of their owne conceits; the one prizing his wiſdome and gouernment to be more iudicious; the other, his birth and Nobility to be more honourable, and each of them hauing his owne Guard, ſtood vpon his owne Guard, though one Palace contained them both: and both their endeuours euer well conſorting for the buſineſſe of the Empire.

(5) At this time the Prouinces of *Parthia* and *Germany* grew vnquiet, and, by ciuill diſcords, endangered their ſubiections: to repreſſe which, the *Emperors* agreed to goe in perſon, the one into the *Eaſt*, the other into *Germany*. Now whileſt theſe great preparations were in making, the *Capitoline Games* were celebrated in *Rome*, whereunto all (almoſt) reſorted, but eſpecially the new-come *Guards* of the *Emperours*. The *Pretorians* finding the aduantagious time, which they had long waited for, ſuddenly in armour aſſailed the *Court*; which *Pupienus* perceiuing, ſent in all haſte for *Balbinus*, and both their guards for defence. But his Fellow-Emperour, vpon a vaine ſuſpition detracted time himſelfe, and hindred the forwardneſſe of the Guards, ſo that theſe Traitours had eaſie acceſſe into both the Emperours Chambers, where in their rage they diſpoiled them of their *Imperiall Robes*, and haled theſe poore aged and innocent Emperours, like two Theeues thorow the middeſt of the City: Laſtly, they ſlew them, and left their bodies to deſpightfull ignominy.

(6) Theſe Emperours raigned together one yeere, and ſomewhat more, and died the yeere of Chriſt two hundred thirty nine: in which yeere happened ſo great an Eclipſe of the Sun, that the noone-day thereby became as darke as the mid-night.

M. ANTONINVS GORDIANVS.

Chapter XXX.

M. Antoninus Gordianus Emp.

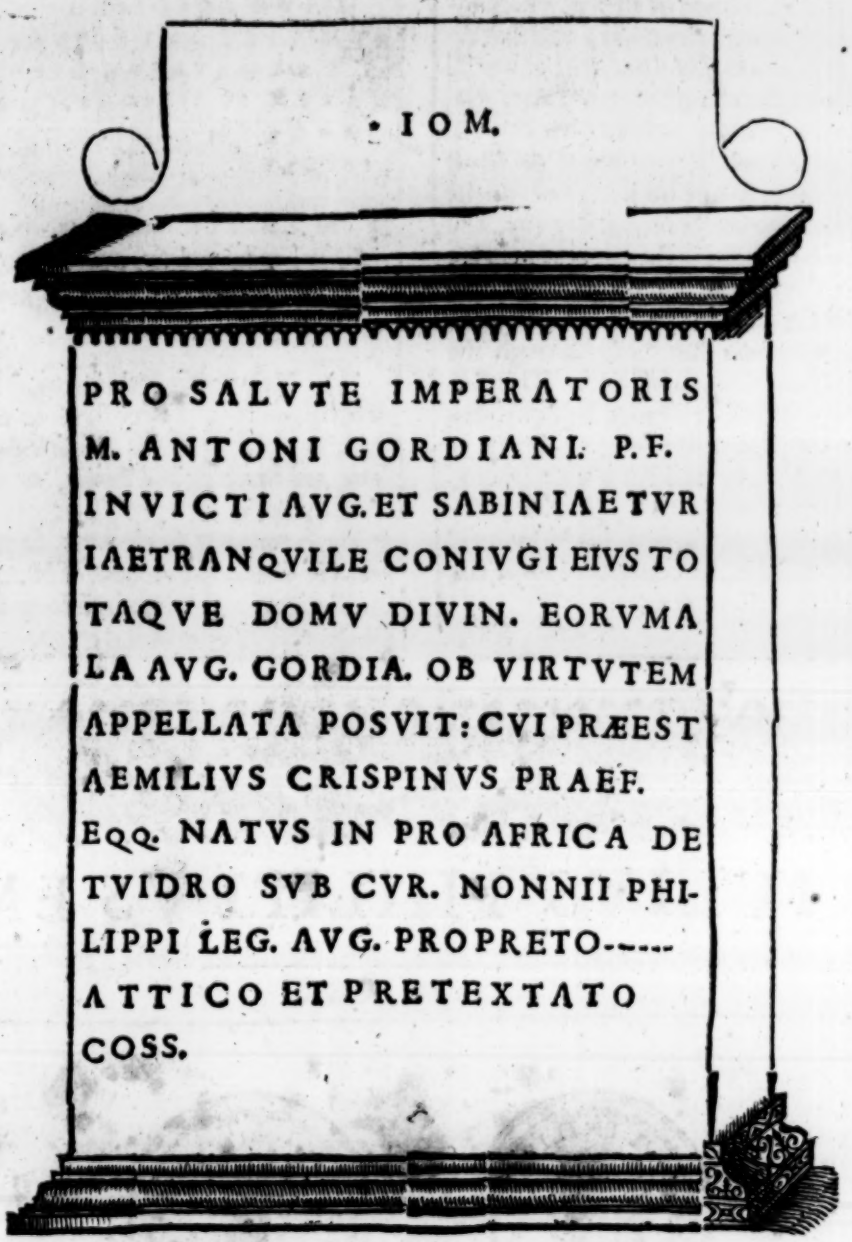
An. Do. 239.

Gordianus (for *Antoninus* he might not be called, a law formerly acted inhibiting the ſame) was the ſonne of a daughter to old *Gordianus* (that had made away himſelfe in *Carthage*, as is declared) at the age of eleuen yeeres was created *Cæſar* by the Senate, with *Pupienus* and *Balbinus*; and at their deaths by the *Pretorian Souldiers*, elected *Emperour*, not yet fully fourteene yeeres of age. Greatly was he ſtrengthned by the Alliance and Counſell of one *Miſitheus*, his Prefect and Inſtructer, whom for his great learning he ſo honoured & loued, that he tooke his daughter for his wife; and by whoſe onely direction, he proſperouſly adminiſtred his State affaires.

(2) Touching the affaires of our Prouinces proceedings, or what *Lieutenants* were imploied in *Britaine* ſince *Virius Lupus* there placed by *Seuerus* (ſince whoſe death our *Story* hath ſpent twenty ſeuen yeeres) we finde not recorded. Yet now in the raigne of young *Gordianus*, ſome glimmering light for her Gouernment appeareth by an *Altar ſtone* found in *Cumberland* at a place then called * *Caſtra Exploratorum*, with an inſcription for the happy health of the Emperour *Gordian* the third; his wife *Furia Sabina Tranquilla*, and their whole Family: which votiue *Altar* was erected by the Troupe of Horſemen ſurnamed *Auguſta Gordiana*; when *Æmilius Chriſpinus* a natiue of *Africa* gouerned the ſame vnder *Nonnius Philippus* Lieutenant Generall of *Britaine* in the yeere of *Chriſt*, two hundred forty three, as appeareth by the *Conſuls* therein ſpecified: whoſe forme and inſcription wee haue followed by the *Stone* it ſelfe, now remaining at *Connington* among many others, in the cuſtody of Sir *Robert Cotten* Knight Baronet.

* Old Carleil,

*IOM



In his fift yeere, the *Parthians* vnder the Leading of *Sapor* their King had paſſed into the confines of the *Romane* Prouinces, as far as *Antioch* in *Syria*, which Cittie they had taken, with ſpoile of the Countries adioining: againſt whom, the yong *Emperour* in warlike manner addreſſed himſelfe, and in perſon prepared to vndergo the warres.

Eutropius. Gordianus openeth the Temple of Ianus.

(3) In *Rome* the Temple of *Ianus* that long had ſtood ſhut, he cauſed to be opened, a ſure token that warres were in hand: and departing the *City*, paſſed the *Straits* of *Helleſpont*, and tooke his way thorow *Myſia*, to ſtay the *Gothes* that were come downe to inhabit *Thracia*. Thence marching to *Antioch*, recouered the *Citie*, forcing *Sapor* to forſake the *Prouince*, and to content himſelfe with his owne demaines.

Homer Iliades 4 Miſitheus poiſoned by Philip.

(4) But long this *Sunne* went not without a *Cloud*, nor his fauorable fortunes without a checke; for *Miſitheus*, his *Neſtor*, paying *Natures* debt before it was due (being poiſoned by *Philip*, as *Eutropius* affirmeth) was wanting in counſell, & miſſed for truſt: to ſupply which, *Philip* (an *Arabian* and of ignoble parentage) was made his Prefect; wiſe (I muſt needs ſay) had hee beene moderate; and valiant in Armes, had he been true. But the glory of a Diademe beheld with the falſe light of ambition, ſo dimmed the eie of his dutifull affection, and blinded the ſenſes of his aſpiring mind, that he, who from nothing was riſen to be ſomthing, thought that alſo nothing worth, whilſt it was ſhadowed with the name of a ſubiect. First therefore he ſought to winne credit with the Souldiers, to whom he was facile; to regard the poore, to whom hee was liberall; and in all things to outſtrip his Soueraigne, to whom he was trecherous. Yong *Gordianus* vnable to endure his Prefectors deſignes, or his owne diſgraces, and perceiuing the marke whereat he aimed; complained his wrongs in open aſ-

Philip his treachery.

ſemblies, and to the Soldiers after this tenor.

Gordianus his ſpeech to the Souldiers.

" (5) I got not this ſtate from my Parents by " birth, nor yet by any deſerts (I muſt confeſſe) in my " ſelfe, being the leaſt of many that did deſerue it bet- " ter: but it was you, my fellow Souldiers (vpon what " fate I know not) that haue made me what I am. If " then I haue defrauded your hopes, by carrying my " ſelfe vnder your expectations, I wiſh to bee ſet " in the place where I firſt was; or rather (if I ſo de- " ſerue) my life, and ſtate, may at one inſtant be en- " ded by your vnerring hands: For Noble mindes " cannot brooke to be curbed with the bitte of baſe " indignities, nor ſuffer their vaſſals to bee Corriuals " of their Maieſtie. It is a iealous obiect (I muſt needs " confeſſe) and many times caſts great ſuſpition whē " is ſmall occaſion: but I, for my part, haue alwaies " thought of that humour, that men cauſleſly iea- " lous, doe moſt iuſtly deſerue what they vniuſtlie " feare; and both your ſelues will bee my witneſſes, " how farre I am from the touch of that ſtaine, and " alſo the dailie occurrents of my *Caſar*, (if ſo low I " may terme him) doth make more then manifeſt. I " am but yong, yet elder by ſixe yeares then I was; " my body tender, yet expoſed to the chance of " warre; my counſell raw, yet bettered by your wiſe- " domes; and my conqueſts in my ſelfe nothing, but " yet in your valours both glorious & famous. What " then are mine errours, that I may amend them? or " your diſcontents, that I may redreſſe them? for by " the powers of heauen I proteſt, it is your loues " which I moſt eſteeme, and the good of the Empire, " for which I onely wiſh to liue; the firſt is in your " powers to beſtow at your pleaſure, but the other in " me (if it be poſsible) ſhall liue euen after death.

(6) Theſe complaints notwithſtanding, *Philip* ſo politickly, nay, rather traiterouſly, brought his owne

proiects to passe, as that the yong innocent *Emperour* was displeased, and abandaned of all: in which distresse he first sued to be made his *Cæsar*, and that denied, to be his *Pretorian Prefect*: but neither would bee had, yet at length the charge of an ordinary *Captaine*, was with some difficulty granted him. But *Philip* bethinking himselfe of the greatnes of *Gordianus* his bloud, his loue and esteeme both in *Rome* and the *Prouinces*, and his owne vertues equalising any, hee commanded him to be slaine in the twenty two yere of his age, and the sixt o f his raigne. The Senate hearing thereof, elected *M. Marcius*, and after him againe, *L. Aurel. Seuerus, Ostulianus.* But *Philip* through the giddie multitude, preuailed against both. This *Emperour* though yong, so well demeaned himselfe, that the Senate by authoritie added to his titles TVTOR REIPVBLICAE, and PARENS PRINCIPVM POPVLI ROMANI; and after his death euen by his owne murtherers, his Monument of faire Stone was raised in the confines of *Persia*, and vpon his sepulcher this inscription set:

Gordianus slaine.

DIVO GORDIANO VICTORI PERSARVM VICTORI GOTTHORVM VICTORI SARMATARVM DEPVLSORI ROMANARVM SEDITIONVM VICTORI GERMANORVM SED NON VICTORI PHILIPPORVM.

To the Sacred Gordianus vanquisher of the Persians, Gothes, and Sarmates, extinguisher of the Romane Ciuill discords, and subduer of the Germans, but not of the Philippians.

(7) He was of condition most noble and louely, of behauiour gentle, very studious and giuen much to learning; hauing in his *Librarie* no lesse then *threescore and two thousand Bookes*, as is reported. The truth is, that wicked people were not worthy long to enioy so vertuous, so clement, so peereles an *Emperour*. He died in the moneth of March, in the yeere of our Redeemer two hundred forty fiue.

Gordianus his vertues.

M. IVLIVS PHILIPPVS EMP.

CHAPTER XXXI.

M. IVLIVS PHILIPPUS CÆS.

Iulius Philip. Cæs.

Iulius Philip. Emp.

An. Do. 245.

WHat man is there, who considering those forepassed murthers, of so many, and so mighty Monarchs, would not, by the spectacle of others calamities, be induced to preferre the securitie of a moderate estate, before the desire of *Soueraignety*; whose glorious content is onely in appearance, but the cares and hazards are both reall and perpetuall? But of so attractiue vertue is the *Load-stone* of *Maiesty*, through the imagined felicity thereof, that most mens desires are drawne to that one point of the Compasse; and if a little faire winde of fortune shall blow on them, they will lanch forth with their full sailes into the *Mare incognitum, a Sea of vnknowne calamities*. And amõgst others, such were the blinde desires, and such the vnhappy euent of this *Iulius Philippus* the *Arabick Barbarian*. Of parentage obscure and ignoble, as *Victor* and others affirme, who pluckt off the imperiall robes of his *Liege-Lord*, to inuest himselfe.

(2) Being now accepted as *Emperour* by the Souldiers in *Parthia*, he wrote to the Senate of the death of *Gordianus*, as though it naturally had happened, and with faire pretensions of his good purposes, but more through the feare of his *Parthian* Soldiers, obtained their consents; whereupon shuffling vp a most dishonourable peace in those parts, and declaring his sonne *Philip* for his *Cæsar*, (whose Coines with his, we haue set in the beginning of this Chap.) hee made all speede towards *Rome*: where, the yeere insuing, his shewes & games were exceedingly magnificent, for the Celebration of the Birth-day (as we may terme it) of *Rome*, that beeing, the thousand yeere from her foundation.

An. Do. 245. *Victor. Eutropius.*

Aurelius Victor.

(3 It pleased God at length to touch this *Emperours* heart, both with such a sense of his owne forepast sinnes, and also with the light of heauenly truth, that he hath the honour of being the first *Emperour* baptized into the faith of Christ, together with his sonne *Philip*, and his wife *Seuera*: though the publike

Sabellicus. Orosius Eusebius.

like *authorizing* of the ſame *Profeſsion* was reſerued for the bleſſed times of our *Britiſh Conſtantine*. The meanes of his conuerſion from *Idolatrie*, were *Fabianus*, and *Origen*, who by letters exhorted him therunto: and for the ſame *Profeſsion*, were both himſelfe and ſonne murdered by *Decius* his Captaine, though others report, that *Decius* did rather hate *Chriſtianitie* for their ſakes, then them for their *Profeſsions* ſake. And howſoeuer *Pomponius Lætus* accuſeth him to bee a *diſſembling Prince*, yet *Euſebius* declareth the effects of his *Profeſsion* farre otherwiſe: for *Philip* (ſaith hee) *ſeeking to communicate with the Saints, could not bee admitted, till ſuch time as he had made open confeſsion of his Faith; at which time he ioined himſelfe with thoſe, who for their ſinnes were brought to examination, and was placed in the roome of the Penitents, becauſe that in many things he had beene faulty: which willingly he obeied, and declared by his workes his ſincere and religious mind towards God.* Which may the rather appeare by *Sabellicus* and *Bergomenſis*, who ſhew, that the hatred of *Decius* againſt *Philip* and his ſonne was conceiued, for that they had committed the cuſtodie of their *Treaſures* vnto *Fabianus* the *Chriſtian Biſhop* of *Rome*, who baptized them, as ſome write; though others ſay, *Pontius* the *Martyr* did it.

Pomp.Lætus.

Euſeb.Eccleſ.Hiſt. lib.6.cap.33.

Sabellic. Ennead. 7.lib.7

(4) The *Gothes* againe deſcending from *Scythia*, infeſted *Miſia* and *Thracia* with a mighty *Armie*, ſeeking their habitations in thoſe Countries as formerly they had done: againſt whoſe irruptions, the Emperour ſent one *Marinus* a moſt valiant *Captaine*, who no ſooner came into thoſe parts, but drew the *Soldiers* into a *Rebellion* and proclaimed himſelfe *Emperour*, taking (as he ſaid) his example from *Philip*, that had in like ſort raiſed his title by his *Souereignes* fall: But the *Souldiers* that had newly erected him, as ſuddenly againe threw him downe, and in their mutable affections ſlew him.

Polychron.lib.4. cap.21. Gothes infeſt *Miſia* and *Thracia.*

Marinus ſlaine.

(5) Into whoſe *Charge* was ſent *Decius*, a man of great experience, who alſo no ſooner was in the *Armie*, but they forced the *Imperiall Enſignes* vpon him, and (as ſome report) againſt his will: hee therefore ſent ſecretly to *Philip*, declaring this attempt of the *Souldiers*, and how he meant to make eſcape from them with perſiſting in his dutifull allegeance. But the *Emperour* fearing this to be but policie in *Decius*, leſt by delay he might giue him more ſtrength, omitted no time to vphold his owne, and with a mighty *Armie* vndertooke theſe affaires himſelfe, not truſting any more to the diſpoſall of his *Captaines*. And immediately departing *Rome*, with a ſterne reſolution, and ouer-hard hand, held the reine of that begun *Expedition*, whereby he preſently loſt the loue of the *Armie*, and *Decius* was accounted the more worthy of rule, whom in *Verona* they forthwith proclaimed *Emperour*, and cut off *Philips* head thorow the teeth, before they had departed *Italie*. At newes whereof, the *Pretorians* ſlew *Philip* his *Cæſar* and ſonne, a man of ſo obſeruable compoſednesſe, as that he had beene neuer ſeene to laugh in all his life. And thus the two *Philips* ended their raignes.

Decius enforced to be Emperour.

Philippus and his *Cæſar* ſlaine. *Eutrop. Capitol.*

(6) *Iulius Philippus* (ſaith *Euſebius*) raigned ſeuen yeeres: but *Eutropius* and *Victor* giue him onely fiue; whoſe death happened in the yeere of *Chriſt Ieſus*, two hundred and fiftie.

Euſeb. Eccleſ.hiſt. lib.6.cap.38.

GN. MESSIVS. QVINCTVS. TRAIAN, DECIVS.

CHAPTER XXXII.

Tra. Decius Emp.

Decius } *Cæſ.*
Hoſtil. }

DEcius elected *Emperour* by the *Perſian Legions*, proclaimed in *Verona* by the *Romane Souldiers*, and in *Rome* confirmed by the *Voice* of the *Senate*, was of them all with wonted flatteries ſtiled *Auguſtus*.

An.Do.250.

(2) His *Birth* was noble, of the City *Cabali* in the *Lower Pannonia*, now knowne by the name of *Hungarie*: himſelfe well experienced, wiſe, and valiant, and weilded the *Empire* as a worthy *Prince*, had he not blemiſhed his raigne with a ſtaine of *Tyrannie*, and perſecuted *Gods Saints* with ſuch a Heatheniſh rage, that he is rightly noted by learned *writers*, to be the ſeuenth Horne of the *Perſecuting-Imperiall Beaſt*, whoſe ſauage cruelties towards the innocent Chriſtians, is moſt lamentable to be heard, but more to their ſmart that ſuffered and felt it.

Decius his parentage.

Decius a great ſcourge of the Chriſtians.

Apocal. 13.

Paul.Oroſius.

Ambr.lib.2 de. Virgin.

Euſeb. Eccleſ.hiſt. lib.6.cap.41. Vincent. Niceph. lib.5.cap 27.

Vinc.lib.11.c.52. Sabellicus.

Euſeb. Eccleſ.hiſt. libi6.cap.38.

Pſal.2.9.

(3) The *Grid-iron* he made the *Altar*, whereupon *bleſſed Laurence* offered his body in ſacrifice; the *Stewes*, the *Temple*, wherein *Theodora* the vnſpotted *Virgin* worſhipped her *Chriſt*; the comfortleſſe *Deſerts*, the refuge of aged *Cheremon*, Biſhop of *Nilus*; and the *Cane*, the *Sanctuarie* of the *ſeuen Soldiers*, fabuled by *Nicephorus* for *ſeuen Sleepers*: and ſo barbarous was he that way, that he put to *Martyrdome* many children, as *Vincentius*, citing *Hugo*, affirmeth. *Fabianus* and *Cornelius*, both reuerend *Biſhops* of *Rome*, hee ſlew; *Alexander*, *Biſhop* of *Ieruſalem*, impriſoned to death, and *Great Origen*, after he had ſcourged him at an *Iron-ſtake*, his feet hee lockt in the *Stocks* foure paces aſunder, where he ſo continued certaine daies; inuenting ſuch tortures and ſtrange temptations againſt the guiltleſſe *Chriſtians*, as are moſt admirable to heare. But long hee raged not, ere *God* in his iuſtice tooke reuenge, and *brake him to peeces as a Potters Veſſell*.

(4) For the *Gothes* that had inuaded *Myſia* and *Thracia*, continuing their *Irruptions* into the bordering *Prouinces*, drew him into an *Expedition* for thoſe parts, where being betraied by *Trebonianus Gallus* his owne *Captaine*, he ſaw his two ſonnes, *Decius* and *Hoſtilianus*, (whom he had admitted in fellowſhip of Empire with him, and whoſe monies wee haue with his expreſſed) ſlaine before his face; and himſelfe to intombe his body, as a laſt refuge, in a deepe whirlepoole; wherein it was ſo ſwallowed vp, as it could neuer be after ſeene; hauing no other honour of *Buriall*, nor place of remembrance where his bones ſhould reſt. And according to his *Death*, ſo was his *Deſcent*: for neither hath he *Father*, *Mother*, nor *wife* mentioned (for ought I know) by any *Writer*, (for of *Saluſtia Barbia Orbiana*, it is doubtfull whether to him or his ſonne *Hoſtilian* ſhe were wedded;) nor his Acts ſo exactly regiſtred, as were thoſe of the preceding *Emperours*, his ſinnes ſo deſeruing it, and God in his reuenge ſo puniſhing it.

Pomponius Letus Iornandes

Decius and his *Cæſar* their deaths. *Caſſiodor.*

(5) *Aurelius Victor* and *Eutropius* ſay, that hee raigned two yeeres and odde moneths: but *Euſebius* affirmeth his raigne, not fully two yeeres: moſt hold him to haue died at the age of fifty, and in the yeere of Chriſt, two hundred fifty two.

Decius his raigne. *Euſeb. Eccleſ. hiſt. lib.7.cap.1.*

C. VIBIVS TREBONIANVS GALLVS, CAIVS VIBIVS VOLVSIANVS, Emperours.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Tre.Gallus Emp.

Vibius Voluſi. Emp.

An.Do.252.

THis ouerthrow of the *Romans*, and death of *Decius*, in outward ſemblance was ſo greeuouſly taken by *Trebonianus Gallus*, that no man was ſo forward for reuenge as hee, and therefore the laſt in ſuſpicion of *Treaſon*. The *Armie* hee ſtrengthened, and daily encouraged, pretending great ſeruice againſt thoſe barbarous *Scythians*, but all to gaine credit and liking of the *Souldiers*, whereby hee ſoone atchieued his deſire, and with their applauſes was proclaimed *Emperour*.

Gallus elected Emperour.

(2) By *Birth*, he was deſcended of an honourable Familie in *Rome*: but true honour cannot harbour where dwelleth treachery & falſhood, as it was with him, when appointed by *Decius* to bee *Gouernour* of *Myſia*, and to keepe the paſſages from the inuading *Gothes*, the deſire of *Rule* ſo corrupted his minde, that he plotted with them againſt the *Army*, and betraied the truſt and life of his *Soueraigne*.

His parentage.

Pomp.Letus. Blondus. Sabellicus.

(3) Neither is he ſtained with the blot of *Treaſons* only, but alſo with a careleſſe and cruell gouernment; for with the *Gothes* hee made a diſhonourable peace, whereby the *Romans* (who were *Lords* of the *world*) became *Tributarie* by a yeerly pay to thoſe vnciuill *Scythians*; who neuertheleſſe in ſhort time brake their *Truce* with him, ſacking and ſpoiling the *Prouinces* of *Thraſia*, *Myſia*, *Theſſalia*, and *Macedonia*: the *Perſians* then alſo by their example entring *Meſopotamia* and *Syria*, made ſpoile euen thorow *Armenia*.

(4) *Gallus* little regarding theſe troubles abroad, conſumed his time idly in *Rome*, rather as a *Bondman* to his owne voluptuous deſires, then a *Conquering Monarch*; taking for his companion and *Fellow-Emperour*, his ſonne *Voluſianus*, as appeareth by inſcrip-

tion

tion of Coine placed before, a very childe, whose yeeres did quit him of any Capitall Crime. But himself not perceiuing the infortunate successe of *Decius* for persecuting the innocent *Christians*, stumbled (as *Eusebius* saith) at the same stone, and banished them whose *Praiers* preserued his prosperous estate: at which time followed so vniuersall a *Pestilence*, that no *Prouince* in the world was free from the same: and his wicked Life and most vnfortunate Raigne hastned now vnto their period.

Gallus perseuteth the Christians. *Euseb. Eccles. Hist. lib. 7. cap 1.* Vniuersall pestilence thorow all the world. *Paul. Orosius.*

(5) For the *Gothes* continuing their furies begunne; his General *Aemilian Maurus* ouerthrew them with a wonderfull slaughter; whereby he grew so famous, and *Gallus* so contemptible, that the *Souldiers* (euer affecting change) proclaimed him *Emperor*, the newes whereof soone rouſed *Gallus* from the Bed of his lasciuious pleasures, and with his sonne entred the quarrell against *Aemilianus*, whose fortune wss to slay them both in fight, the yeere of Christs Incarnation, two hundred fifty three, after he had raigned not fully two yeeres, and liued (as *Victor* testifieth) forty and seuen: whereupon the *Armies* ioining their forces together, conferred the *Imperiall Title* and *Ensignes* vpon the *Conquerour*.

Gallus and his sonne slaine. *Eutrop. Euseb. Eccles. Hist. lib. 7. cap. 9.*

C. IVLIVS AEMILIANVS.

Chapter XXXIV.

Maurus Emp. Æmilianus.

Emilianus succeeding *Gallus* by the only election of the *Mysian Army*, was by birth an *African* in the Prouince *Mauritania*, of Parentage base and obscure; who being risen by the Warres from meane places of seruice, and no better then a Common Souldier, aspired to the charge and credit of a Captaine Generall.

An. Do. 253.

Aemilian. Maurus his descent.

(2) His *Election* at first was contradicted by the *Italian Bands*, in fauour of *Valerianus* their owne *Leader*, whom they sought to raise *Emperour*, the Senate also inclining thereto, the fame of the man among them was so renowned. The most voices therefore were heard on his side. Some haue rather accounted *Æmilianus* an Vsurper, then rancked him in the catalogue of lawfull *Emperours*.

Eutropius.

(3) But seeing *Eutropius* doth allow him the place, we are not to dispute his title or claim; only his short time of gouernment admitteth no matters of large discourse, being cut off in the budde, before the graft had time to spring, For his *Army* disliking what themselues had done, and hearing of the worths and election of *Valerianus*, laid down their weapons born in his defence, & tumultuously murdered him in the heat of their blouds, after hee had raigned in name, without action, the space almost of foure moneths.

Aemilian. Maurus his end, and continuance of his raigne.

(4) So vnconstant is the state of *worldly felicity*, and may be compared to a masterlesse *Shippe*, which without *Tackle* is left to the mercy of the raging *Seas*, that is one while caried with the faire windes of hope towards the *hauen* of wished desires, but straightwaies ouerwhelmed with the waues of despaire: and most especially him that is borne vpon the opinions of the giddy multitude, now carried aloft vpon the flouds of their fawning fauors, and anon left in the sands of their retiring ebbes, with a sudden shipwracke of all their fore-gone fortunes. And these aduentures too soone *Æmilianus* felt, who the same yeere that hee thus put foorth to Sea, lost all his aduenture, and therewith also his life, *Anno* 253.

P. LICINIVS VALERIANVS.

CHAPTER XXXV.

An.Do.254.

IF euer the saying of the wise *Athenian Solon* (spoken to *Cræsus* the rich king of *Lydia*) was true, *That no man can be happy before the day of his death*: then most truly may it be verified of this *Valerianus* the next succeeding *Emperor*: whose yeres were multiplied with increase of honour, vntill they came to seuenty and seuen, but then were clouded with such ignominious miseries, as the like had neuer hapned to any Romaine Emperour before him, and (I may well say) to no other Monarch in the world before liuing: such is the Ordinance of *our great God*, sometimes from the *Dunghill* to raise men of low degree, & to place them with *Princes* in the *Chaire* of *Maiesty*; then againe to bring down the *Mighty* from their *Seate* of *glory*, & to leaue them chained with the poorest *captiues*, & basest Vassals. For such was the *State* of that *Great* & *Proud King of Babel*, who from the height of *Maiesty* fel into the cõditions of an vnreasonable Beast; and so was it with *Valerianus*, though not vtterly abandoned frõ the *Society of men*, as *Babels King* was: yet was he caried *Captiue* vnto a nation whose *Society* was scarce humaine, and where his vsage was more then barbarous.

Herodot.in Clio.

Dan. 4.27.

(2) This man was both nobly descended, and of so great esteeme among the *Romans*, that being but a priuate man, and then also absent, they chose him for their *Censor*, an Office of high dignity, conferred euer vpon the Best, as *Trebellius Pollio*, who wrote the *History* of his Life, hath declared. *Eusebius* reporteth his beginning to haue beene gracious and milde towards the *Christians*, aboue any of his Ancestors whatsoeuer: yea euen those who were themselues openly accounted Christians: insomuch, that his *Clemency* was their *Protection*, and his court the *Sanctuary* of their safeties. But *Satan* (whose hatred sleepeth not) stirred vp an *Egyptian* Sorcerer against them, who so inchanted the *Emperors* heart, that with great cruelty he began the *Eighth Persecution*, & so raged that some haue appropriated the sayings of the Apocalyps in the thirteenth chapter vnto him, as to whom *power was giuen for two and forty moneths ouer the Saints of God, and a mouth to vtter great blasphemies*: Of which opinion is the ancient *Dionysius Alexandrinus*. Many indeed were the *Martyrs* that he caused with horible tortures to die, and more had done, if the iust reuenging hand of God had not cut him off.

Valerianus his descent.

Treb.Pollio.

Valerianus a protector of the Christians.

Paul.Orosius. a Necromancer seduceth *Valerian.*

Apoc.c.13.

Dionysius in Epist. ad Hermamonem apud Eusebium.

Sabellicus, Volateranus.

(3) For *Sapor* the sauage *King* of *Persia*, making great spoile in *Syria*, *Cilicia*, and *Cappadocia*, drew *Valerian* from *Rome* into *Mesopotamia*, to withstand his rage; where striking Battel with him, was left (either by *Treason* or *Chance*) without sufficient Guard to secure his Person, and was there taken *Prisoner* by the *Persians*; hauing then raigned seuen yeeres (whereof two were spent in spilling of the bloud of Saints) and thence forward, the rest of his life was inthralled to a most miserable and mercilesse seruitude: For the *Tyrannizing Persian* puft vp with this fortunate gale, to an excessiue swelling of pride; whensoeuer he was disposed to take *Horse*, made *Valerianus* his *Foot-stoole*, causing this *Greatest Monarch* of the *World* to whom all *Nations* did homage, to bow downe his neke and backe for himselfe thereon to tread, and mount vnto his *Saddle*: In which vnsufferable slauery, his old body indured without release, to the end of his most wretched life, which by some Authours account was full *seuen yeeres* more; the very time of the *Babylonian Kings* abasement.

Valerianus taken prisoner by *Sapor*

Trebel.Pollio.

Pompon.Lætus.

Aurelius Victor.

(4) But herein the misery of *Valerianus* is much greater then *Nabuchadnezars* was, in that *God* both restored him to his former glory, and indued him with heauenly grace to confesse his sinnes; whereas *Valerianus* perished in the desperate calamity whereinto he was fallen; as *Eusebius* sheweth in these words: *And thou Valerian, forasmuch as thou hast exercised the same cruelty in murdering the subiects of God, therefore hast proued vnto vs the righteous Iudgement of God, in that thy selfe wast bound in Chaines, & carried away for a Captiue Slaue with thy glorious Purple and thy Imperiall Attire, & at length also cõmanded by Sapor King of the Persians, to be slaine, & powdred with salt, hast set vp vnto al men a perpetuall Monument of thine own wretchednesse.*

Eusebius in sem. ad conuentum Sanctorum.

(5) How vnspeakeable the cruelties were which this wretched *Emperor* endured by that Tyrant, may hence appeare, in that not only those which were Allies to the *Romane Empire*, but also the *Barbarous Kings*, and friends of *Sapores* were moued with commiseration, and distaste, as *Trebell. Pollio* proueth by the copy of one he produceth from *King Belsolus*, as followeth.

" *Belsolus King* of *Kings* to *King Sapor* greeting. If
" I were assured that the brightnes of the *Romans*
" might be dimmed, or their Emperial greatnes were
" at the ebbe of their fall, I would with thee reioyce
" for thy present fortunes, which in thy own conceit
" are glorious to thee, and beneficiall to vs all thy
" fellow *Princes*: but take heed thy pride deceiue thee
" not, that thou be not a hurt to thy *Successors*, & vnto
" vs all; for one *Ship* drowned by tempest doth not
" minister distruction to the whole Fleete, nor one
" ouerthrowne assure a full conquest. But rather con-
" sider how many Nations of enemyes, the *Romans*
" haue made vassals to their *Empire*. The *Gaules* we
" know haue sacked *Italy* it selfe, and haue set the
" citie of *Rome* on fire, but now we see them a seruile
" nation, and themselues made subiect to the *Romans*;
" The *Africans* likewise ere this haue giuen them ma-
" ny ouerthrowes, yet at this day the dice is cast, and
" the *Africans* chance is, to serue the *Romans*. To let
" passe more ancient and remote examples, *Mithri-*
" *dates King of Pontus*, & lord of all *Asia*, far mightyer
" then thou, was by the *Romans* ouerthrowne, & *Asia*
" made a province vnto their subiection. They haue
" lost, thou wilt say; but what? a weak old mã though
" an *Emperour*: their strengths little lessened, hauing
" choise

"choise sufficient both of electiō and reuenge. Thou "hast won,but how?by valure? Nothing lesse; but by "treachery,and that also by thine enemies assistance: "yet herein assure thy selfe, that their fidelty to thee- "ward is of no firmer assurance. Follow then my "counsell; make benefit of the occasion, deliuer the "*Romans* their *Emperor*, wherby thou mayest obtaine "with them a perfect peace for thy selfe and vs: & so "I cōclude that thy fortunes are great, and wherof I "am glad,if thou thy selfe know how to vse them.

Other *Princes* also of the *East*, as of the *Bactrians*, *Albanians*, *Iberians*, and *Scythians*, inhabiting *Mount Taurus*, had such sense of these ignominious vasages, that they disdained to receiue the letters from *Sapor* of his *victorious* successe, & sent their *Ambassadors* to *Rome*, profferring their assistance for the redemption of their *Emperour*; yet all auailed not, and *Sapor* held still his *Prisoner*, abating nothing either of his owne pride, or his *Captiues* misery, but in the end (so hellish a fiend is reuenge) commanded his *Eyes* to be pulled out, and so for *age* and *griefe* he died, as *Eusebius* saith: but *Agathus* (a writer of credit) reporteth, that he was flaied aliue by direction of this vnhumane King. Thus did *God* punish one *Tyrant* by another, and thus himselfe felt those torments vnpittied, which he had without pitie inflicted on others. The race of whose *Raigne* is accounted to bee *seuen yeares* before his *Captiuity*, wherein he liued almost so long as *Galienus* his sonne sate *Emperour*, and died in the yeere two hundred sixty one.

Valerianus had his Eyes puld out.

Flaied aliue.

P. LICINIVS GALIENVS.

Chapter XXXV.

Valerian now Captiue in *Persia* (while *Odenatus* grasping the aduantage, tooke vpon him the *Empire* of the *East*; & the now guideless *Army* of *Rome*, occupied onely in spoile and mutiny, their leaders in faction, and the whole State astonished in affrighted terrour and amazement) *Balista* (a gallant *Romane* gentleman) moued with the instant misery of the *Common-wealth*, resolued by electing anew an *Emperour*, to preuent the apparant ruine of his owne Country: yet neuer in this his worthy resolutions, once dreamed of *Gallienus*, (though before chosen *Augustus* in the full fortune of his father) but the affection of the *Army* forcibly setled the *Garland* vpon *Marcian* and his two sonnes, as the most worthy; who with his eldest not long after was subdued by *Aurelius* vsurping *Illyria* (against *Gallienus* then receiued *Soueraigne* by the *Romane Senate*) and his youngest betraied to murder by plot of *Odenatus*, left the distracted *empire* to those three; of which the last disdaining much the indignity offred to the *State* of *Rome* by that base captiuity of *Valerian*, whose calamity nothing touched the sense of his vnnaturall sonne, entred a warre against the *Persians*, & tooke from them their Cities *Nisabis* & *Carras*. But such was the moderation of this man, that although he had power of an independant Soueraignty, yet he held still a good correspondency and intelligence in all his actions of Gouernment, with *Galienus*, to whom he sent (as monument of *victory* and *Reuenge*) such of the *Persian Nobility* as became his *Prisoners*: and thus *Odenatus* did conquer, and *Galienus* triumph. But such was the baseness of *Galienus*, that when he could not by any Princely vertue in himselfe, eclipse the true merit of *Odenatus*, he endeuored to deface by treachery what he could not suppresse by valour. But in this failing, he made him then (through feare) copartner of his *Empire*, stiling him *Augustus*, and stamping his face & the *Persian Triumph* vpon the publike *Coine* of the *State*, by approbation of the *Senate*; leauing him alone to defend those *Frontiers* of the *Empire*, whilest himselfe, neither regarding his old fathers miseries, (most miserable that he had so vnnatural a sonne) the dishonour of the *Romane State*, nor the reuolts of the *Prouinces*, wherof newes was daily brought him, spent his vnprincely thoughts vpon fruitlesse deuices, as in reseruing sundry *Fruits* and *Flowers*, that they might grow greene and flourish all seasons of the yeere; and (which was worse) vpon women and wanton dalliances. Yet had hee a Lady of excellent beauty and allurements, *Cornelia Salonina Pipara*, to his wife, the daughter of the King of the *Marcomanni*; whose feature wee finde often minted vpon her Monies. His sonne by her *Saloninus* hee adopted *Cæsar*, of whom there is no more remembred in *Storie*, then that hee was borne noble, trained vp princely, and perished through the errours of his father, and not his owne. And to his brother *Licinius Valerianus* (to whom the father had giuen the title of *Cæsar*) he added the honour of *Augustus*, And therefore we haue not held it improper, to adioine to his their monies in the front of his life.

(2) The *calamities* of this *Emperours* time were so many, as almost exceed credite: and *Signes* shewed both

Gallienus seeketh *Odenatus* his death.

Rome in disturbance for election of an Emperour.

Marcian with his sonnes elected, subdued and slaine.

1. *Aurelius* in *Illyria*.
2. *Gallienus* in *Rome*.

3. *Odenatus* in the East. *Odenatus* ouercommeth the Persians.

An. Do. 261.

Apoc. 4. 3. *Trebell. Pollio.* Strange sights in the Heauens.

both in the *Heauens* and the *Earth*, manifested his wrath that *sate vpon the Throne of Iasper; from whose presence issued Thundrings, Lightnings, and voices.* For (by Writers of best credit) the *Sunne* was clouded as vnder sackcloth, and not seene for many daies together *Earth-quakes* great, and fearfully resounding, ouerthrew Cities & other edifices, shaking the ground so terribly, that vast Caues, and hideous gaping bowels of the earth were thereby laid open, and wher eout (no lesse strangely) flowed great streames of salt waters. The *Earth* roared, and seemed to thunder, when there was no voice heard in the aire. The *Sea* ouer-swelled her bankes, and brake into many *Continents*, drowning *Countries, Cities*, and *People:* and (besides all these) so violent a *Pestilence* raged, that in *Rome* no lesse then 5. thousand persons died in a day.

Great & mighty Earth-quakes.

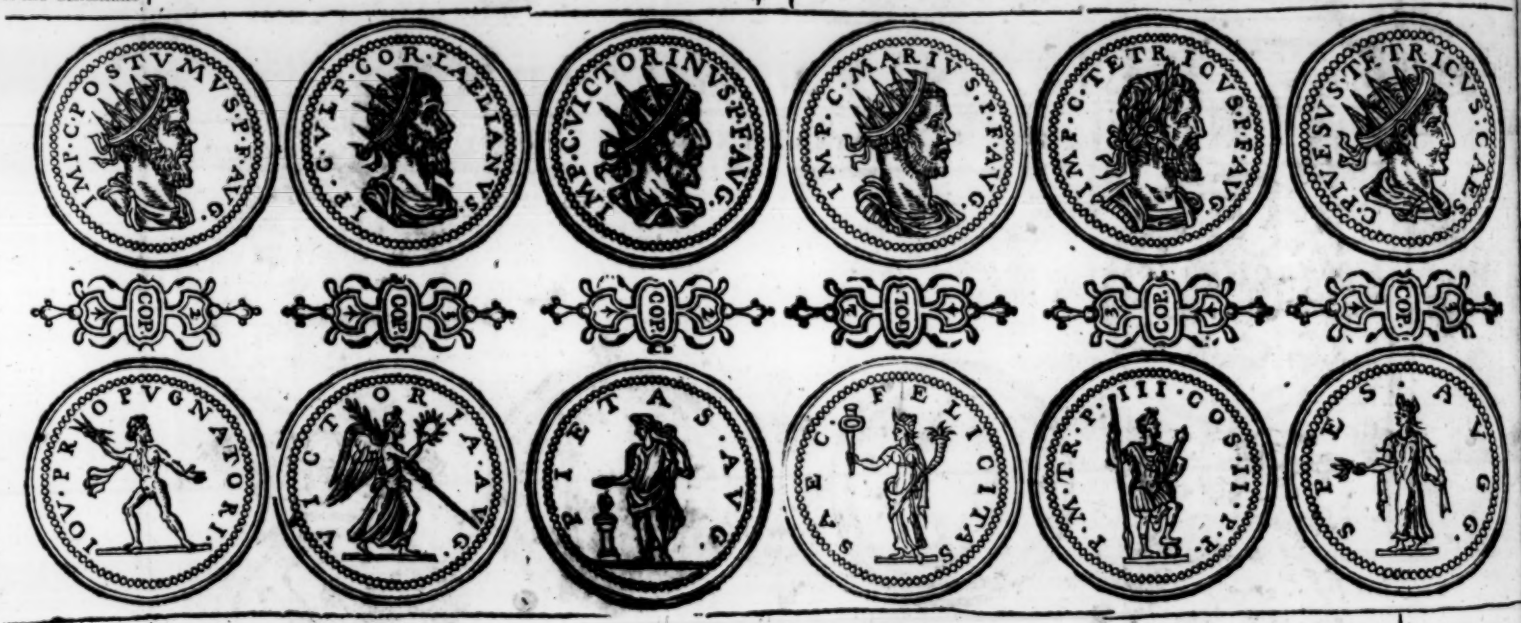
Galienus staied the persecutions of the Christians

(3) These miseries somewhat mooued this *Heathenish Emperour* to remorse: and thinking thereby to pacifie the wrath of the *Diuine Powers*, hee staied the *Persecutions* of the *Christians*, sending out his *Edicts* in fauour of them. For not only the *Heauens, Earth*, & *Seas* declared the anger of their *God, out of whose mouth went a two-edged sword*, but the *Prouinces* also seemed to be remoued out of their places. The *Souldiers* of al parts electing their own *Generals*, aduanced no lesse then *Thirty* at once; who assumed the title of *Emperours*, but are recorded to *Posterities* by the name of *Vsurping Tyrants.* And as they were all deadly opposite each to other, so were they iointly almost all bent against *Galienus*; wherby the *Roman Empire* was more oppressed with her owne forces, then euer it had bin by forraine *powers.* And since sixe of them assumed the *Purple Robe* in this Westerne Angle of the *Empire*, it will not be impertinent to the course of Story, with a light touch to remember them, and to expresse their *Monies*, as we haue done the rest of those that held the reines of gouernment in these parts of the *Romane World.*

Euseb. Eccles. Hist. Lib. 7. ca. 11.

Apoc. 1. 16.

Thirty Emperors at once.



M. Cassius Labienus Posthumus after the death of *Saloninus* (who was committed to his education by *Gallienus*) assumed the Empire, by aide and encouragement of those of *Gallia*, ouer whom he had born the office of lieutenancie by fauour of *Valerian* the Emperour. And these againe, as all Populars greedy of Innouation, from him and *Iunius Cassius Posthumus* his sonne, tooke both honour and life, after ten yeares gouernment. This opportunity either made by *L. Aelianus*, or fitly taken, mounted him vp with ease into that Emperial throne, in which he sate not with like fortune of continuance, though of confusion. To this man succeeded together, *M. Aurelius Victorinus* and *Lucius* his son; both in a tumult neere *Coleyn* by their souldiors murthered. And had not the inordinate lust of the elder, blemished his other vertues, he had to all the most excellent Emperors bin nothing inferiour; in the best of their other vertues.

(4) The restlesse humor now of the giddy Commons, next setleth it selfe vpon *Aurelius Marius*, a Soueraigne sutable in his meane condition, to their base affections (for hee was no better then a Black-smith) yet to him a man of their own meanes & making, they were no lesse vnconstant and cruel, then to the rest: after three daies, setting an end of his gouernmẽt, with a sword of his own forging. And therfore *Piuesius Tetricus*, the father and sonne, though ascending the throne of Maiesty, with the greatest applause of that people, and filling it vp with much merit and happy successe of their own; when they considered the insufferable insolencies and desperate practises of that prophane ranke, chose rather to adorne *Aurelians* Triumph, in a voluntary captiuity, then to liue and rule at the deuotion of a lawlesse multitude. And these times seemed no lesse fatally bent to bloud, disorder and tyranny in other parts as well as these: For the *Pannonians* raised *Ingenuus*: The *Mysians, A. Regillianus*: The Egyptians, *Æmilianus*: In *Africa Celsus* was proclaimed: In *Illyricum, Aureolus*: and in the *East, Odenatus*, (a man the more famous for *Zenobia*, his glorious and magnanimous wife; Whose valour was so feared of *Galienus*, that to make him his, hee admitted him his *Fellow-Emperor*, with the *Stile* of *Augustus*, as we haue remembred before.) The [a] *Germans* inuade *Italy*: The [b] *Gothes* waste *Greece, Pontus* and *Asia*; The *Samaritans* seize [c] *Austriche* and *Hungary*: The *Persians* robbe *Syria*: The *Saxons* breake into *Gallia*: The *Franks* into *Spaine*: In a word, all are in vproares, *the second seale opened, and the Red-horse prepared for Battaile*, whose *Rider* receiued a great and sharpe *Sword*, with Commission giuen him to take *Peace from the Earth*: and these times of troubles are so famous in Story, and the reuolutions of acts so agreeable to the words of the *Prophecie*, that they may seeme iustly a most exact accomplishment of that sacred *vision.*

Pomponius Lætus.

a Paulus Oros. b Cassiodor. c Iornandes, Eusebius.

Apoc. 6. 4.

Galienus times prophesied of by the Euangelist *S. Iohn.*

(5) Finally, when *Gallienus* had raigned from his first Associating with his *Father* the terme of fifteene yeeres, *Martian, Heraclianus*, and *Ceronius*, three of his principall *Captaines*, (compounding together that one of them should bee *Emperour*) plotted his death, whiles hee besiged the Citie *Millan*, where they traiterously murthered him, the yeere of our Lord two hundred sixty nine, after that hee had suffered the *Empire* to be rent in peeces, and vsurped by many *Forraine* and barbarous *Nations.*

Galienus his Death and continuance of his raigne.

M. AV-

M. AVRELIVS FLAVIVS CLAVDIVS.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

Fla. Claudius Emp.

An. Do. 269.

ROMES glory thus declining, and the *Imperiall Foundations* thus vndermined, the aſpiring tops of all that *beauteous frame* beganne to ſhake, and to foreſhew the ſignes of her approching fall. And had not the *Fates* euen at that inſtant raiſed a ſtay to vnderprop the *Walles*, thoſe mounted *Towers* which ſo long had braued the *Skie*, had beene laid leuell with the *Ground*, and made the ruines of All conſuming Time.

(2) For whereas by the ſtrange confuſions vnder the late Emperour, the *Eagles body* was burdened with the waight of thoſe *thirty heads* at once: of which number though many of them by their owne mutuall rauening were conſumed before the death of *Galienus*, yet the mightieſt, as *Aurelius* Gouernour of *Dalmatia*; *Tetricus* and *Victorinus*, who held *Britaine* and *Callia*; and *Zenobia* (the *Heroicke Queene* and wife of *Odenatus*) all the Eaſt; to omit the *Murderers* of *Galienus*, that durſt not make their claime, (their deed ſo ill diſgeſted) all theſe were ſtill remaining and ſtrong, at ſuch time *as Flauius Claudius* by the *Souldiers* was elected before the *Walles of Milan*, and confirmed with much ioy by the *Senate* in *Rome*.

His deſcent.

(3) This *Flauius* was deſcended of noble *Parentage*, out of *Dalmatia*, by ſome; or as others ſay, of *Dardania*, and ſprung from the *Troian Bloud*. But *Aurelius Victor* will haue him the ſonne of *Gordianus* the Emperour before ſpoken of. Howſoeuer, a moſt worthy man he was, an excellent Captaine, of ſingular continence, a iuſt Indge, a louer of ſtrangers, ſeuere to the wicked, but moſt benigne to the vertuous: ſo that we may well ſay, *In Rome was a new world*; or at leaſt, *In the World was a new Rome*.

Aurel. Victor.

Flauius Claudius his vertues.

(4) His firſt *Expedition* was againſt *Aurelius*, that held *Milan*, whom he there ſlew, and ioined his ſouldiers to his owne ſtrength. But preferring the generall good before his particular quiet, he addreſſed his warres for the *Eaſt*, againſt the *Gothes*, who (as *Iornandes* their *Story-writer* reporteth) had infeſted thoſe parts of the Empire (for fifteene yeeres continuance) with continuall irruptions, and had now lately entred friendſhip with many other like barbarous *Nations*, inuading *Thracia*, and the Countries before them, euen vnto *Macedonia*: and thence taking their way thorow *Hungarie*, came downe the Riuer *Danubie*, with *two thouſand Saile* of *Ships*, fraught with *Munition* and *Men*. To meet theſe, *Claudius* prepared: but before his *Encounter*, he wrote thus to the *Senate*:

Iornandes. *Gothes* inuade the Empire.

Paul Oroſius.

Two thouſand ſaile of Gothes.

(5) "*Renowned Fathers* and *Reuerend Lords*, vnderſtand ye for certain, that *three hundred and twentie thouſand men of warre* are entred our Confines, whoſe weight doth ſeeme to burden the Earth it ſelfe, and whoſe warre-like preparations make theſe parts of the *Empire* to tremble and quake; with whom I am now to ſtrike battaile: wherein if the Conqueſt be mine, the ioy will be yours. But if I fal, yet I pray remember that I fight after *Galienus* hath raigned, and rent the ſtrength of the *Romans* in theſe remote *Prouinces*; and after the *Rebellions* of *Lollianus*, *Poſthumus*, *Eugenius*, *Regillianus*, *Celſus*, and others, who haue ſo weakened the ſinewes of our *Armes*, and broken the *Swords* and *Launces* of our defence that I may well ſay, Wee want, if not ſtrength, yet weapons wherewithall to fight. And to our ſhame be it ſpoken, *Zenobia* a *Woman* commands all our *Croſſe-bowes*, and bends them againſt our vnarmed breſts. How ſmall ſoeuer therefore our performance ſhall bee in this ſeruice, repute it (I pray) for great, and wiſh our proceedings may ſort to the weale of the Empire.

Claudius Letter to the Senate.

(6) Which done, with no daunted ſpirit he entred *Battaile*, and with more then wonted courage fought ſo valiantly, that he ſlew and tooke *Priſoners*, to the number of *three hundred thouſand* fighting men, with two *thouſand Ships* laden with *Munition*, ſo that whole houſes were filled to their topps with *Targets*, *Shieldes*, *Swords*, and *Launces*, and other abiliments for Warre, whereof he wrote againe to *Rome*: and following the Enemie with ſucceſſe of Victorie, in *Thracia* neere *Bizantium*, in *Macedonia* neere *Theſſalonica*, droue the *Gothes* out of thoſe parts which they had ſo long infeſted; and reſtored the wonted bounds of the Empire. Thence marching into *Germanie*, neere the *Lake* called *Garda*, gaue that reuolted *Nation* a great ouerthrow, where (as *Eutropius* and *Victor* doth report) hee vanquiſhed two thouſand of thoſe ſtrong *Germans*, and there eſtabliſhed againe their ſubiection to the *Romans* power. And now minding to go forward againſt *Tetricus* and the puiſſant *Zenobia*, a *Feauer* did firſt cut off his purpoſe, and ſhortlie after his life: a thing very ſtrange and rare in that age, as by the courſe of their raignes wee haue hitherto ſeene; not that ſo great a *Monarch* ſhould die; (they being all of the ſame earthly mould that meaneſt men are) but that in thoſe daies a *Roman Emperour* ſhould die in his bed, as other men doe, of a naturall death.

Gothes vanquiſhed.

Flauius Claudius died a naturall death.

(7) He was of perſonage tall, his bodie well compoſed and ſtrong, bright and cleere eies, his face great and full; and of life moſt temperate and chaſte. He raigned one yeare, tenne moneths, and fifteene daies, and died the fourth of *Februarie*, in the yeere of Chriſt, two hundred ſeuentie one. His *Statue* of *Gold* was ſet vp in the *Capitoll*, and his *Target* of the ſame metall hung vp in the *Senate houſe*; himſelfe (in honour of his admired worth) placed among the *Romane Emperours* that were deified for *Gods*: ſuch an eſtimation and loue did his vertuous life procure vn to him euen after his death.

His perſonage and qualities.

M. AVREL. QVINTILIVS.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

A. Quintilius Emperor.

A.Do.271.

QVintilius, the Brother of *Claudius*, and *Vice-Roy* in his abſence for the Guard of *Italy*, was by the *Armie* whereof hee had command, proclaimed *Emperour* immediately vpon the Newes of *Claudius* his death: The *Senate* as ioifully confirming his Election, as they were ſorrowfull for their loſſe of his moſt worthy Brother. Brethren indeed they were by nature, and in conditions not much vnlike; ſo that what ſeemed to bee haſt in the one, was in the other ſuplied and ſtill remaining: For this *M. Aurelius Quintilius*, was both wiſe for *Ciuil Gouernement*, and experienced for *Warres*, wanting no complements of an abſolute Prince.

Eutropius.

Quintilius brother to the laſt Emperour.

(2) But long his glaſſe ſtood not without a turne, nor his Fortunes fauning without a frowne. For the victorious *Souldiers* which in his expeditions had followed *Claudius*, and thought themſelues worthy of the firſt voyce in *Election*, proclaimed *Aurelianus* for Emperour, a moſt valiant *Captaine*; and of whoſe proweſſe there had beene ſo ſufficient experience, as that *Quintilius* knew hee could not ſtand againſt him.

And therefore miſtruſting the ſtrength of his *Title*, and affections of his *Souldiers*, reputed it ignominious for a noble minde, to die with leſſe honour then he attained vnto, and enioied by his life: and therfore reſoluing to die an *Emperour*, choſe rather by a voluntary cutting of his own veines, to powre out his life with his bloud, then to hazard the chance of vncertaine warres, or to returne to his priuate eſtate.

Quintilius cut his owne veines, and ſo bled to death.

And thus no longer raigning then ſeuenteen daies, (which ſhort time could miniſter little matter of larger diſcourſe) hee died with his brother the ſame moneth of *February* the twentieth day, and yeere of *Chriſt* his incarnation, two hundred ſeuentie one.

He raigned but ſeuenteene *daies.*

L. DOMITIVS AVRELIVS VALER. AVRELIANVS.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

Val. Aurelianus Emperour.

An Do.271.

SO ſhort was the *Raigne* of the laſt *Emperour Quintilius*, that *Aurelianus* who followed him may be ſaid to be the *Succeſſor* of *Claudius*, and not of him: being elected dy his *Legions* in the *Eaſt*, as ſoone as the other had beene in *Italy* (though confirmed before him of the Senate in *Rome*) continued ſtill his riuall for Maieſtie, and attained the top of that high ſet Gole, whereof *Quintilius* failed, before his foot had well mounted the firſt ſtep.

Aurelianus his deſcent.

(2) This *Valerius Aurelianus* was of parentage neither honorable nor rich, and yet his fortunes carried him to the height of both. Some recount his birth was of *Dacia*; others of *Myſia*; both ſo doubtful that *Flauius Vopiſcus*, (the copious *Writer* of his Life) leaues it vndecided, and to the cenſure of his Readers. His riſings were by the *Warres*; whereunto from his childhood hee had a naturall inclination: and for continuall carying of his weapons, was commonlie called *Aurelianus* the Sword-bearer.

Fla. Vop.

(3) His

(3) His ſeruice was ſufficiently knowne to the *Generals* of diuers *Prouinces*, who had forty ſundry times imploied him in the charge of a *Lieutenant*: and vnder *Claudius* in *Perſia* he was the *Coronell* of the *Horſe*. In the warres of *Sarmatia* he is reported to haue ſlaine *Forty enemies* with his owne hands in one day; and at other ſeuerall times, to the number of *nine hundred men*, as both *Vopiſcus* and *Theoclius* haue affirmed. And generally ſo famous were his deeds, both before he was *Cæſar*, and after, as that he is by ſome compared with *Iulius* and *Alexander*.

Aurelianus comparable with *Cæſar* and *Alexander*.

(4) Vpon the ratifying of his election by the *Senate* at *Rome*, hee haſted not thither to be ſaluted and enſtalled *Emperour*, but forthwith marched againſt the *Sueuians* and *Sarmates*, who ſore infeſted the Empire with warres: and hauing ſoone ſubdued them, and quieted thoſe parts, in great haſte hee came into *Italie* againſt the *Germans*, who with *Fire* and *Sword* had gone as farre as *Milan*: and them likewiſe with great valour hee forced thence. Then entring *Rome* with great pompe, cauſed the *Walles* to bee repaired and inlarged, which was not lawfull but onely for *Victorious Emperours*. But long he ſtaied not, ere he returned into *Syria*, againſt the ſtout *Queene Zenobia*, whoſe braue reſolutions, & warlike power for fight, her Letter in anſwer vnto him (when being ſorely tired, he proffered her wealth, life, & liberty to yeeld) doth manifeſtly declare: the tenor thereof being as followeth.

Aurelianus inlarged the walles of *Rome*.

(5) "*Zenobia*, the moſt mighty *Eaſterne Queene*, "to *Aurelianus*, *Romes Auguſtus*, ſendeth greeting. "Neuer *Captaine* to this day, in vſing *Penne* in ſtead "of *Speare*, or filed *words* for *weapons points*, hath "more ſufficiently diſcharged the parts of Warre, "then thou to me in Writ haſt done: wherein I well "perceiue thy drift, and blame thee not, that ſeeſt me "but a Woman: which Sex you men make ſubiects "only by your ſmoothing tongues. But know, *Au-* "*guſtus*, thou dealeſt not with a *Roman Dame*, nor "with her who vpon baſe conditions will ſubſcribe "her honour; but with *Zenobia*, the * *Palmyrean* "*Queene*, in whoſe womanly breſt the manly heart "of great *Odenatus* doth ſtill liue and lie. Theſe cour- "ting tearmes doe ill beſeeme a Camp, and worſer "him who would be ſtiled a *Mars*. But yet thy *Gol-* "*den Showre* hath rained beſide our Lappe; nor wee a "*Venus* to meete thee for thy ſport, but with our "*Launce* in hand to trie our lawfull right, and with "our *Swords* to anſwere thy demands in bloud. I am "a *Woman*; ſo was * *Tomyris*; thou knoweſt the reſt: "in *Armes* againſt *Auguſtus*; ſo was *Clopatra*, who ra- "ther choſe to ſting her ſelfe to death, then liue a *ſub-* "*iect* (though a Prince) vnder great *Octauian*. Art "thou his better? thou art deceiued: or I her worſe? "nothing leſſe: who from her perſon doe deriue my "*Pedigree*, and from her courage will maintaine my "cauſe. I am a *Queene*, and raigne beloued; was *Romes* "*Empreſſe*, obeied and honoured; and the wife of "*Odenatus*, whom all you *Romans* greatly feared. Are "my powers weake? The *Perſians* (whoſe ſtrength "you well haue tried) will ſupply. Are my *Souldiers* "few? The *Saracens* haue more that will aſſiſt: and "the *Armenians* are wholly at my command. If then "*Theeues* and *Robbers* in *Syria* were ſufficient to ouer- "throw thine *Armie*, what hope is left thee to eſcape "our hands, when all theſe our ſtrengths ſhall be thus "conioined in one? Therefore the ſame offers that "to me thou haſt ſent, the ſame to thee I heere re- "turne, and will performe, if thou in time embrace "this truce.

Chap. 37. *Sabellicus* ſaith ſhe both tired him, and put him to flight alſo. *Zenobia* her Letter to *Aurelianus*.

*The great Citie *Palmyra* (ſaith *Ioſephus*) was built by King *Solomon*; whence their Nation tooke the name. It bordered vpon the *Parthians* Kingdome in the middle betwixt it and the Roman Empire.

(6) This haughtie anſwere of that vndaunted *Queene*, put more fire to the furie of *Aurelianus*, who tooke the Letter in ſuch ſcorne, that he threatned death to the *Inditer*, (whom he ſuppoſed to be *Longinus* the *Philoſopher*, who was alwaies with her; and her Inſtructer) which afterwards he did accompliſh: for deſtroying her ſeuerall *Aids* before they could meete together, and beſieging *Palmyra* her ſtrong Citie, hee brought the ſame to ſuch diſtreſſe, that in the end hee tooke her Captiue; and glad of ſuch a prey, carried her himſelfe to *Rome*, where following his *Chariot* of *Triumph*, attired in Tiſſues and richeſt Robes of price, ſhee was led his *Priſoner* in *Chaines* of *Gold*: vpon whoſe preſence the Spectators with admiration ſo much gazed, that ſomwhat it dimmed the Maieſtie of *Aurelianus*: for ſhee is ſaid to be exceedingly faire, though not very white, but ſomewhat browne: her eies blacke and bright, her teeth ſhining like pearles, her bodie tall, and of moſt ſtately proportion, her countenance modeſt, milde, and pleaſing; her voice ſweet, her conuerſation honeſt, her minde chaſte, and body continent, wiſe, temperate, and learned in the *Greeke*, *Latine*, and *Egyptian* tongues, hauing read the Romaine hiſtory in Greek, and herſelfe abridged the Alexandrian, and all the Orientall hiſtoryes. Yea the atchiuement of this Conqueſt was held ſo notable, that hee reputed himſelfe the Reſtorer of the Eaſt, as it appeareth by the reuerſe of his money here prefixed in the entrance of his raigne.

Zenobia vanquiſhed.

Zenobia her beautie.

Flau Vopiſc.

(7) Theſe Acts of *Aurelianus* made him ſo famous abroad; and feared at home, that *Tetricus*, which had held out againſt *Galienus*, came in vnder his protection, holding it more ſafe to be a *Subiect* in quiet, then a *Commander* againſt an Oppoſite of ſo inuincible a mind: by whom thereupon hee was made *Gouernour* of *Campania*, and of other *Prouinces* in *Italie*

(8) Hitherto this *Emperours* ſucceſſes were very proſperous (we may well ſuppoſe) for his indulgence to the Chriſtians, whoſe) aſſemblies he permitted, and whoſe *Biſhops* he ſo fauored, that at their requeſt hee baniſhed *Paule Samoſatenus* the *Heriticke* out of their *Synods*. But afterward *Satan* minding to ſift the *Wheat*, that the *Chaffe* might be his, ſtirred vp this *Emperour* to raiſe the *Ninth Perſecution*, and to ſend foorth his *Edicts* for the deſtruction of *Gods Saints*: which whileſt he was in peruſing, and about to ſet his hand and ſeale, a *Thunderbolt* from *Heauen* ſtrucke into his preſence, and ſo neere vnto his perſon, that all accounted him to be therewith ſlaine, God warning him by this his *Meſſenger* to be wiſe, leſt he periſhed in his own waies as ſhortly after hee did, being ſlaine by his *Seruants*, through the Treaſon of *Meneſtheus* his *Secretarie*, the nine and twentieth day of *Februarie* following, neere vnto the *Citie Bizantium*, when hee had ſate *Emperour* foure yeeres, eleuen moneths, and ſeuen daies, the yeere of our happineſſe, two hundred ſeuenty ſix.

Euſeb. Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. 7. cap. 39. Paul. Oroſius. *Aurelianus* at firſt a fauourer, now a perſecutor of the Chriſtians. *Aurelianus* ſcard with a Thunderbolt from heauen

Pſal. 2. 10. *Aurelianus* ſlaine.

Eutropius. *Aurelianus.*

(9) He was of ſtature tall, of body well ſhaped, a pleaſing countenance, and of a ſeemely preſence, a great feeder, and very ſeuere, whereby he was as much feared as beloued, and therefore reported to be a good *Phyſitian*, but that he miniſtred too bitter *Potions*; and was *Canonized* after his death among the *holy Emperours*: in the ſecond yeere of whoſe raigne, the *Great Conſtantine* of *Helena* in *Britaine* was borne.

His feature of body and minde.

Ouid. Metam. li. 6.

* *Tomyris* was a valiant Scythian Queene, ſhe ſlew King *Cyrus*, and all his Hoſt: and filling a veſſell with their bloud, did caſt in *Cyrus* head, ſaying, Bloud haſt thou thirſted, now drinke therof thy fill. To this doth *Zenobia* allude.

Bucholcer.

M. CLAVDIVS TACITVS.

CHAPTER XI.

Claudius Tacitus Emp.

An. Do. 276.

Aurelianus being dead no man sought to be Emperour.

THE former seditions ended by *Aurelianus*, and the state of the Empire remaining now in quiet, no man appeared to sue, much lesse tumultuouslie to striue for that Royal Diademe; but all the great Commanders (as though they made courtesie in giuing way each vnto others) stood at the foot of Maiestie; no man attempting higher to mount. The *Souldiers* sent to the *Senate*, to designe the man whom they best liked; the Senate requested the soldiers to elect him whom they held worthiest; in which respectiue complements, and most kinde correspondencie of all parts, eight moneths passed with a peaceable *Interregnum*, as writers report.

Senate and Souldiers strain courtesie who shall choose the Emperour.

Eusebius. Vopiscus. Orosius. Onuphrius.

(2) It seemeth, the fresh sense and fearfull experiences of the former heady proceedings, made men more wise, then to seeke their owne death, and especially the *Generals* to be better aduised, then to runne desperately vpon their owne destructions. A change vncredible, that *Thirtie* ere whiles would needs be stiled Emperours, among the tumultuous *Soldiours* (though they were sure to buy the vse of that name with their deareſt bloud) and not one now in peace could bee found, either hasty to seeke it, or verie willing to accept it.

Claudius Tacitus elected Emperor.

(3) At last both *Senate* and *Soldiours*, hauing in their eye *M. Claudius Tacitus*, a man very Noble and of *Consular* degree, of great age, singular learning, & long experience in Magistracie; him by a ioint and conspiring suffrage, they all elected to their Empire: but he hauing before hand some inkling of this their purpose, got him out of the way, liuing very secretly two moneths at his Rurall Mannor, flying (saith *Vopiscus*) that high dignity which he fore-saw would proue his ouerthrow. And when they did by Embassages often sollicite him to accept of their Election; sending him the Ensignes and Stile of *Augustus*: hee againe returned them, though with harty thanks, yet absolute deniall, alledging by reason of his age and infirmitie, that hee was euery way vnable to discharge their so great expectations.

(4) But after much inter-course, and many intreaties passed, at length (the necessitie of the State so requiring) he accepted their offer, though not with much contentment to himself, who knew the waight of so great titles would proue heauy & alwaies dangerous for him to beare; but with vnspeakeable ioy, was receiued by the whole State, which promised all blessed hopes to the State vnder so worthy, so wise, so vertuous, learned, and so iust an Emperour.

Claudius Tacitus his vertues.

(5) For as before his aduancement, he was of *Exemplary* composednes and vertuous disposition, so in this high *Estate*, his life was temperate, and without al pride; & so desirous to be a Preceder of moderation, & singularity vnto others, as that he would not permit his *Empresse* to weare any *Iewels* of high price, nor to vse other customable superfluitie, or excesse in his owne house. For learning and learned men, whom he euer embraced in his priuate *Estate*, he now by all meanes endeuored to honour and aduance, and publikely professed, that what Imperiall vertues hee had, hee was to ascribe them to his study of good lettters. For which cause, hee was wont to call *Cornelius Tacitus* (that worthiest *Historian* of the Romans State) his Father, and commanded his workes to be carefully preserued in euery Library throughout the Empire; and ten times euery yeare to be transcribed on publique cost. All which notwithstanding, many of that worthy *Authors* Bookes haue since miscaried.

Claudius Tacitus his care to preserue the works of *Cornelius Tacitus*.

(6) But his vertues were too great for the world long to enioy: and sith his *Raigne* was but short, it is booteless to lengthen it with long discourses: For his *Peace* continued without any memory of *Warres*; and his short time (wherein hee did nothing without consent of the Senate) was spent rather reforming other mens vices, and abuses of the Lawes and State, then in displaying his owne vertues; which doubtlesse (if their faire streame had not beene vntimely stopt) would haue proued incomparable to any his *fore-goers*, and vnmatchable by any his followers. What death hee died is left vncertaine; *Eutropius* thinketh him slaine, by his rebellious *souldiers* in *Asia*, vpon his voiage against the *Persians*: but *Victor* reporteth that hee died a natural death, and that of a *burning-feuer*, in the cittie of *Tharsus*: And *Flauius Vopiscus*, (who wrote his life) saith his death came vpon a surcharge of griefe, by reason of factions; whereby (the infirmitie of his age thereto helping) his vnderstanding was crazed, and his heart broken, whereof hee died, when he had raigned six moneths, and twenty daies, the yeare of Christ Iesus, two hundred seuentie six.

Eutrop. l. 9.

Aurel. Victor.

Vopiscus.

Claudius Tacitus his raigne.

M. ANNIVS FLORIANVS.

CHAPTER XLI.

M. An. Florianus Emp.

An.Do.277.

Florianus made himſelfe Emperour.

NO ſooner was the death of *Tacitus* diuulged, but his brother *Florianus* (much vnlike him in that point) tooke vpon him the *Name* and *Authoritie Imperiall*, without expecting any election either of *Senate* or *Souldiers*; and therfore not likely long to ſtand ſure. And although in all other princely parts he was not much vnlike his brother, yet hauing ſo great an Oppoſite as *Probus* was, on whom the *Eaſterne Armie* had conferred the ſame Title, the bloſſomes of his conceited hope withered euen in the budde, and periſhed before they had any time of growth.

(2) For, no ſooner came to his eares the newes of *Probus* his election, but he found that heady and precipitate attempts were pleaſing in their *Beginnings* but full of difficulties in their *Proceedings*, and moſt diſaſtrous in their *Succeſſe*: and therefore deſpairing both of *Men* and *Meanes* to raiſe the *Building*, whoſe foundation he had ſo haſtily (but too weakly) laid, he cauſed his owne veines to be cut, as *Quintilius* before him in like caſe had done, whereby he boldly bled to death, after hee had enioyed a Titular Soueraignty onely eighty daies, ſaith *Eutropius*: but *Vopiſcus* ſaith, not altogether two moneths, and thinkes him killed by the *Souldiers*, in the City *Tharſus* likewiſe, in the yeere of Chriſt two hundred ſeuenty and ſeuen.

Florianus his death.

Chap.38.

Eutrop. lib.9. Vopiſcus. Florianus his raigne.

M. AVREL. VALER. PROBVS.

CHAPTER XLII.

Val. Probus Emp.

An.Do.277.

THE *Eaſterne Army* moſt potent and famous at the death of *Tacitus*, from them was expected the new Emperours election, which accordingly they did, but with much more wiſedome and deliberate circumſpection, then the *Souldiers* of thoſe times were accuſtomed to doe. For euery Captaine of the *Army* ſingled out his owne Companies, and in ſeuerall *Aſſemblies* exhorted, that all affections laid aſide, they would apply their mindes to thinke of the worthieſt man, on whom they might conferre their voices and fauours. At which time, the opinion of *Probus* his worth had ſo generally poſſeſſed the hearts of all men, that the ſhout and cry of all was vniforme, *Let vs haue Probus for our Emperour*. This being ſignified to *Rome*, the *Senate* with applauſe and thankes approoued and confirmed his election, with additions to his Title, *Auguſtus*, *The Father of his Countrey, and the higheſt Biſhop*. For in thoſe times, euen amongſt *Heathens*, the ſacred Title of a *Biſhop* was accounted an additament of honour euen to an *Emperour*.

Probus called father of his Country, and the higheſt Biſhop.

(2) He was borne in *Hungary* in the City *Sirmia*, of honourable Parentage, eſpecially by his mothers ſide. His fathers name was *Maximus*, a man famous in *Military Seruice*, who died *Tribune* at the warrs in *Egypt*: and himſelfe very young, but very valorous, by

His deſcent.

Sabellicus.

by the Emperor *Valerianus* (who so loued him for his vertues, that he vsed to say of him, *that of all men he best deserued the name Probus*, that is, *vertuous*) was made a *Tribune* also. In which *Office*, with great praise he serued vnder *Galienus*, *Aurelianus*, & *Claudius* the Emperours: vnder whom, besides other exploits he fought seuerall single-combats to the great honour of himselfe and *Country*, and receiued as markes of victories, many Ciuicall Crownes, Collars, Bracelets, Launces, Banners, and other Ensignes of Martial deuice and Priuiledge. Preferred to be *Generall* in *Africa*, he subdued the *Marmarides*: In Egypt the *Palmerines*; vnder *Aurelianus* the *Sarmates* and *Germans*; vnder *Claudius* the *Gothes*; and in all places so famous for his Acts, that he was compared with *Hannibal* and *Cæsar*.

Probus comparable with *Hannibal* and *Cæsar*.

Probus slayeth 400000. *Germans*.

Henr. Mutius.

(3) His first seruice after he became Emperour was in *Gallia*, against the *Germans*, that had made themselues *Lords* thereof, where in one *Battell*, continuing two daies, *he slew foure hundred thousand of them*, and recouered seuenty *Cities*, from the *Enemy*, as himselfe signified by his own Letters to the *Senate*. After this warring in *Sclauonia*, he quieted the Prouince of *Muscouia*, *Russia*, and *Polonia*: And entring *Thracia*, did no lesse in *Greece*, *Syria*, *Arabia*, *Palestina*, and *Iudea*; whence passing into *Persia*, hee had honourable compositions of *Narseus* their mighty King. Wherupon issued so vniuersall *Peace*, that there were no warres heard of in all the *Prouinces* of the *Empire*; insomuch that it was a common *Prouerbe*, *The very mice durst not gnaw for feare of Probus*. But long it lasted not, ere hee was disturbed: for the *Egyptians* erected one *Saturninus*, a *Captaine* both wise an valiant, for Emperour, and that so sore against his will, as he was like to be slaine by them for gaine-saying their desires; and by a speech deliuered to his erectors, he made known to them his auersnes from so dangerous an ambition; to this effect.

Saturninus chosen Emperour.

His speech to his Electors.

" (4) *Fellowes* and *Friends*, by my whole endeuours I haue alwaies sought to preuent that, which " now I see I cannot shunne, I meane the *Throne* of " *Maiesty*; which howsoeuer to others, it may seeme " full of glory and security, yet to my self, I foresee it " will proue, both base and dangerous: Base, for that " I am no more the master of mine owne affections; " which hitherto in my priuate estate were bestowed " freely, & where I thought best, but must hēce-forth " be carried at other mens dispose, & cast vpon those " that deserue them least. That little time that I was " wont to take, in retyring my selfe to my selfe, must " now be straitned to serue others; and my thoughts " wholly spent to prenent those weapons, which are " borne (in shew) for my defence, but are (in truth " the keyes of mine Imprisonment. I cannot go with- " out a *Guard*: I cannot sleepe, without a watch; I " cannot eate without a Taster; these are but bonda- " ges to a free condition, and neuer neede in a pri- " nate fortune. That it is *dangerous*, it is no lesse appa- " rant: for besides the *sharpe-pointed* & *waighty sword* " hanging onely by a *twisted threed* ouer our heads, " *Probus* is not a *Gallienus* to compound for the *Dia-* " *dem*, but to touch his *scepter*, is to awake a sleeping " Lion: What should moue you then, to stir vp his " wrath, to seeke my death, and your owne destructi- " ons? For assure your selues when I die, I shal not die " alone: So all our fame purchased in so many yeers " imploiments, shall be lost by this one daies worke: " and my Conquests in *Africa*, of the *Moores*, and in " *Spaine*, branded lastly with the eternall scarres and " infamy of Rebellion.

(5) These speeches (as *Flauius Vopisc.* the *writer* thereof receiued them from the report of his *Grand-father*, who was there present and heard them) could nothing at all diuert the resolution of the *Souldiers*, but that they persisted and maintained their election against *Probus*: who vpon notice thereof, hastning toward them with a mighty power, offered them pardon, as one vnwilling to shed *Ciuill-bloud*, or to lose so *worthy* a man as *Saturninus* was: but vpon refusall of his proffered Clemencie, hee gaue him a most sharpe battell, wherein most of the Reuoulters were ouerthrowne, and *Saturninus* in the assault of a *Castle* besieged, was slaine, to the great griefe of *Probus*, who sought to haue saued his life.

Saturninus his death.

Vopiscus.

(6) But with his death ended not all Ciuill Broiles: for *Bonosus* & *Proculus* two monsters of that age (though of different kinds of vices) opposing themselues against him, and assuming the Title and Robes Imperiall, vsurped the *Prouinces* of *Britaine*, *Spaine* and some part of *Gallia*, knowing that in these places *Probus* was not much beloued. *Bonosus* was borne in *Britaine*, but brought vp in *Spaine*, without note of action, but onely in his cups, for hee was esteemed the greatest drinker of all men liuing: insomuch as *Aurel.* said of him, he was born *nō vt viueret*, *sed vt biberet*; *not to draw breath, but to draw in liquor*: & yet (as it seemeth) hee was in good account vnder the said *Aurelianus*, hauing a charge of *Ships* vpon the *Germane Seas*, which either by *treacherie* or *negligence* were burned by the *Enemy*, in the mouth of *Rhine*, and (as *Probus* tooke it) not without the priuity of *Bonosus*: who therefore not daring to stand to the triall, made all his powers against the Emperour, but was in Battell ouercome, and despairing euer againe to make head, put his owne in a halter, whereupon it was said, that a Barrell was hanged, and not a Man.

Bonosus and *Proculus* rebell against *Probus*.

Sabellicus.

Bonosus death.

(7) *Proculus* was a *Lygurian* borne, as vnsatiate a vassall to *Venus*, as the other to *Bacchus*; and therewithall so impiously impudent, that as hee had a heart to commit any filthinesse, so a forehead to boast of it openly, as apeareth by his owne Letters, wherein hee vanteth, how many scores of faire *Virgins* hee depriued of that faire name in one fortnight; but this Grand-Generall of *Venus* Campe was suddenly forsaken by his *Souldiers*, and came to his deserued end.

Sabellicus.

(8) Some stirs there were at that present in Britany by the incitements of their *Gouernor* whose name though Histories doe not specifie, yet he may seeme to be that *Cl. Corn. Lalianus*, whose ancient *Coynes* are found in this *Iland*, and not else-where: and his meanes to the place, was *Victorinus* a Moore, in great fauour with *Probus*: who taking himselfe not cleare from suspition got leaue of his *Emperor* to repaire vnto Britaine, where giuing it out that he was come thither for safety of his Life, was courteously receiued by the Generall. Whom secretly in the night hee murthered, and then speedily returned to *Rome*; hauing by this *Expedition*, both appeased the tumults in the *Prouince*, and approued his fidelity to *Probus*. About this time (as is recorded) certaine *Vandals* and *Burgundians* that had inuaded *Gallia* were sent into *Britaine* by the Emperour to inhabite, who though they had troubled the *Romans* peace in *Gallia*, yet did them good seruice in *Britaine* to stay their subiection; and the *Britaines* themselues for some good seruices were now suffred by these Emperours, to plant *Vines*, and make Wines with other matters aswell for pleasure as profit.

Victorinus a Moore his Stratagem.

Hist. Mag. Brit. lib. 3. cap. 10.

Vandals and *Burgundians* sent to inhabite in *Britaine*.

Vopiscus Sabellicus

Wine made in *England*.

(9) At length the *Empire* in these *west* parts standing vniuersally quiet, *Probus* determined a iourney into the *East*, to end at once all forraine wars; saying, he would shortly bring it to passe, *that the State should need no more Souldiers*: (which speech they tooke very indignely) & hauing passed *Illyricum* in *Sclauonia*, was by some of his own Army (for curbing, as they conceiued, with an ouer-hard hand their dissolute and idle maners) conspired against & treacherously murthered, in Nouember the second, and yere of Christ, two hundred eighty two, hauing raigned fiue yeares and foure moneths: others say, six yeeres: where notwithstanding they erected for him a most honourable Sepulcher, wherein was engrauen this Epitaph: *Here lieth the Emperor Probus, iustly for his goodnes called* Probus, *of all the Barbarous Nations and Tyrants a Conqueror.*

Probus his death.

Vopiscus Eutropius. Eusebius Eccl. Hist. lib. 7. cap. 29.

M. AVRE-

M. AVREL. CARVS: VVITH CARINVS AND NVMERJANVS HIS SONNES.

CHAPTER XLIII.

M. Aurel, Carus Emp.

Carinus, Numerianus, Cæsors.

Anno. 282.

POBVS thus ſlaine in the midſt of his Army, without any apparant cauſe miniſtred, the Souldiers were ſtricken into a great feare, and miſtruſted each other to be guilty of the *Treaſon*: no man therefore diligent to finde out the beginner, nor haſty to puniſh the bloudy executors; but holding the right of *Election* to remain in themſelues, they preſẽtly choſe *Carus* for their Emperor, who had been the *Pretorian Præfect*, valiant, ſufficient, of worth and eſteeme; whereunto the *Senate* likewiſe conſented.

(2) From whence or what parents we ſhould deriue his birth, is vncertaine, and of diuers writers diuerſly reported. For *Flauius Cæcilianus*, who wrot the ſtory of his time, as *Vopiſcus* doth report, ſaith, that he was born in *Sclauonia*, or as we call it, *Moſcouia*. *Oneſimus* an ancient writer affirmeth his birth was in *Rome*, and that his father was a *Sclauonian* indeed, but held for a citizen, as he citeth by letters from *Vopiſcus*: *Aurelius Victor*, *Euſebius*, and *Paulus Oroſius* wil haue him a French man, and borne at *Narborne*: but whence ſoeuer, his princely parts deſerued theſe his princely preferments, and no waies for the ſhort time of his raigne, carried he himſelfe vnder expectation. Two ſonnes hee had of vnequall conditions; *Carinus* and *Numerianus*, theſe both he made his *Cæſars*, with the Name and Power of *Auguſti*.

Flauius. Cæcilianus. Vopiſcus.

Victor. Euſebius. Oroſius.

Carinus and Numerianus Cæſars.

(3) His firſt proceedings was to finde out the murtherers of *Probus*, whom he ſeuerely puniſhed, which tooke away all ſuſpition of treaſon in himſelf. Then marching againſt the *Sarmates*, whoſe furie had pierced ſo far into *Panonia*, that they threatned *Italy* it ſelf, he ouerthrew with the ſlaughter of ſixteen thouſand, and tooke twenty thouſand of them priſoners. And leauing *Carinus* (his elder ſonne) to gouerne *Britaine*, *Gallia*, *Illyricum*, and *Spaine*, himſelfe with the younger, *Numerianus*, prepard for the *Eaſt* againſt the *Perſians*, in which expedition he tooke in his way *Meſopotamia*, *Seleucia*, and certaine cities whom the enemy had entred: and being ſurprized with ſicknes, and not able to trauel, pitched his Pauilion vpon the ſhore of *Tigris*, where in the midſt of his armie (about the yeere of our ſaluation 283.) garded from all ſuppoſed dangers and aſſaults of man, felt the vnexpected ſtroke of death euen from the hand of God himſelfe: for in his bed by a thunderbolt falling from heauen, he was ſlain, with many others thẽ preſent with him in his tent, and the ſame conſumed altogether with lightning fire.

Cardinus ſlaine by a thunderbolt.

(4) The terrour thereof ſo daunted the courage of his whole army, that no further they proceeded in their enterpriſe: and his death was ſo grieuous vnto *Numerianus* now elected Emperor, that with continuall weeping (a fault in few ſonnes who are raiſed by their fathers fall) his eies were ſo weakned, that he could not indure any light. Vpon which accident, *Arrius Aper*, (his wiues father) tooke occaſion to cõſpire his death, hoping thereby to attaine the Empire himſelfe. For hauing at all times free acceſſe to his preſence, at length in his cloſet he ſecretly murthered him; pretending to the army, that his infirmity onely kept him from fight; and ſo leauing his body to putrifie and corrupt, in ſhort ſpace by the very ſauor therof the treaſon was diſcried, and the Traitor ſlaine by the hands of *Diocleſian*, who was both his Iudge and executioner.

(5) His *Empire* thus ended before it was well begunne, the army proclaimed *Diocleſian*, a *Principall* man in the *Campe* for *Emperour*: who to vphold his electiõ, made al his power for *Gallia*, againſt his Concurrent *Carinus*, a man of profuſe ſenſuality, who there had cauſed himſelfe to be proclaimed, and in his fathers abſence had ſo ruled there and in *Britaine*; that *Porphyrio* liuing at the ſame time, gaue out this teſtimony, that *Britaine* was a fertile Prouince of tyrants. Betwixt theſe two *Captaines*, many skirmiſhes were fought with variable ſucceſſe, till laſtly in a ſet battel *Carinus* was ſlaine by a *Tribune*, whoſe *Wife* he had defiled; whereby the *Imperial Title* was ioyntly conferred vpon *Diocleſian*.

Hierome.

(6) The time that theſe three, the father and two ſonnes raigned, is reported to be two yers and ſomewhat more; and this laſt to die the yeere of Chriſts natiuity, two hundred eighty foure.

C.AVRE-

C. AVRELIVS VALER. DIOCLESIANVS JOVJVS, AND M. AVRELIVS VALERIVS MAXIMIANVS.

CHAPTER XLIV.

Val. Dioclef. Emp.

Val. Maximian, Cæſar and Emp.

HE Empire thus deuolued to *Diocleſian*, with approbation of the Senate, hee euery way ſtudied to bee accounted worthy of the ſame, as knowing well his birth was no way anſwerable to his preſent lot: and therefore choſe for his *Cæſar*, *Maximianus*, a man of better deſcent, very honourable, wiſe, and valiant, as was manifeſted in his firſt ſeruice againſt the *Gaules*, whom with an infinite number of peſants in that prouince, troubling the peace of the *Romans*, hee with much ſlaughter ouercame. For which exploit ſo fortunately accompliſhed, the Emperour made him his Conſort in the Gouernment.

(2) *Diocleſians* parentage is vncertainely reported by Writers; ſome making him the ſonne of a *Notary*, and others of a meere *Bondman*; but all agreeing that his Country was *Dalmatia*, & his offspring very baſe. This man being but a *Common Souldier*, conſulted with a *Witch* for his future ſucceſſe; who told him (if you pleaſe to beleeue the reporters) that he ſhould become an Emperour after he had killed a Bore: to which he gaue credit, and euer was a great enemie to that beaſt, and in time grew vnder *Probus* to ſo great account for dexterity in expediting his affaires, that he was made *Steward* of his houſe, and now laſtly elected to the Empire.

Paulus Oroſius: Eutropius.

(3) The very firſt thing that he attempted, was the puniſhmẽt of his predeceſſors death: for which *Arius Aper* being conuicted before his tribunall ſeat, himſelfe riſing ſuddenly from the throne, ran him thorow with his ſword, in outward ſhew for zeale of Iuſtice, as not able to endure ſo foule a fact: but in truth to fulfill the *Prediction* of his hoſteſſe, the *Druide*; for that *Aper* ſignifieth a Bore. After which act, he held his *Empire* fully eſtabliſhed.

Flauius. Vopiſcus.

(4) To let paſſe many emploiments and troubles of the *State*, theſe two Emperors choſe to thẽſelues two *Cæſars*, whereby the *One-bodied Eagle* became againe *foure-headed*, and each almoſt of an equall authority. *Diocleſian* choſe *Galerius Maximinus*; & *Maximianus*, ſurnamed *Herculius*, choſe *Conſtantius Clorus* a *Roman Senator*, enforcing them to put away their former *Wiues*, & to take their *Daughters* for an aſſurance of loue by the bonds of that *Alliance*; of whom the former was imploied for defence of *Illyricum*, and the other afterwards into *Britaine* againſt the *Rebellion* there raiſed by *Carauſius*, whoſe coine is here ſet.

Eutrop. Ignominius. Omnibr.

Pomp. Letus. An. Do. 286. An. Do. 291.

Carauſius a Britaine vaiſeth rebellion in An. 287 Bed hiſt. Ang. lib. 1. cap. 6.

(5) This *Carauſius*, by birth was a *Menapian*, but of low *Parentage*, as *Beda* and *Eutropius* ſaith; who being appointed *Admirall* by the *Romans* to guard the *Britiſh Seas*, from the *Pyracies* of the *Saxons* and *Lower Germans*, (who with continuall robberies waſted the coaſts) abuſed his authority both in ſuffering thoſe pirates to paſſe vnder *Compoſitions*, and in taking many Shippes and much ſubſtance from the true *Subiect* to his owne vſe: whereby in ſhort time he became very rich, and (like a cat ſet to keepe mice from the larder) did more miſchiefe then the *Robbers* themſelues. *Sabellicus* reports one very politike cuſtome wherby he inriched himſelfe; & that was, by ſuffering the Pirats to take as much ſpoiles as poſsibly they could before hee woud ſurpriſe them; whereby they were his inſtruments to rob others, and nothing to better themſelues.

Beda hiſt. Ang. lib. 1. cap. 6.

(6) *Maximianus* then warring in *Gallia*, and fearing the greatnes of his wealth and power, ſent ſecretly to ſlay him by treachery; and in the meane while ſurpriſed many of his principall men at * *Geſſoriacum*.

*Now called Boleyn in Picardy.

(7) *Carauſius* now rich & cempaſſed with friends, ſeeing his deſtruction thus intended and ſought, thought

thought that death was but death as well to *Prince* as to *Peazant:* and therefore with a bold reſolution, and aid of the *Picts* or *Northerne Britaines*, (who had been alwaies enemies to the *Roman Subiection*) put on the *Purple Robe*, and vſurped the Authoritie and Title of *Emperour*, which hee moſt valiantly maintained in ſundry Battles, and ſo kept it for the terme of ſeuen yeeres.

Carauſius defendeth his vſurpation ſeuen yeers. *Maximianus* againſt *Carauſius.*

(8) Againſt him *Maximianus* ſet forward with a puiſſant Armie, and marched to the *Britiſh Ocean*: but there vnderſtanding the power of his *Enemie*, and finding himſelfe in want of men for Sea-ſeruice, hee pitched downe his Tents: and knowing *Carauſius* a man meet to command the *Ilanders*, and able to defend them againſt the other *warlike Nations*, ſent him offers of peace: the making of which is remembred vnto vs by the *Coine* of *Carauſius* before expreſſed, whereon are ſtamped the *Portraitures of two Emperours* ioining hands. So himſelf returning againſt the *Batauians*, left *Carauſius* for *Britaine*, who gouerned the *Prouince* with an vpright and vnſtained reputation, and with exceeding peaceableneſſe, notwithſtanding the incurſions of the *Barbarous*. He reedified the wall (as *Ninnius* the diſciple of *Eluodugus* writeth) between the mouthes of *Clauda* and *Carunus*, fortifiing the ſame with ſeuen *Caſtles*, and built a round houſe of poliſhed ſtone vpon the banke of the Riuer *Carun*, which (ſome thinke) tooke name of him, erecting therewith a *Triumphall Arch* in remembrance of *Victorie*. Howbeit, *Buchanan* thinks the ſame to be the *Temple of Termiuus*, & not the foundation of *Carauſius*.

Ninius.

But the date of his noble Gouernment was brought now to a period, by the *Treaſon* of *Allectus* his *familiar friend*, one whom he had imploied in managing of the *State*, who thirſting after the *Supreme Authoritie*, betraied his truſt, and treacherouſly murdered him by a wile, putting on himſelfe the *Purple-Robe*, ſtamping this his Image vpon the publike *Coine* as an abſolute *Soueraigne*, and aſſuming the *Title Imperiall*, about the yeere of Chriſt 294.

A perfidious friend.

(9) *Conſtantius Clorus* who had leuied an Armie, and was come with great ſpeede vnto *Bulloigne* in *France*, (a Towne that *Carauſius* had ſometime fortified and kept) hearing now of his death, determined the recouery of *Britaine*; and after great preparations, paſsing the *Seas*, in a dark fogge or miſt, vpon that Shore landed his men without impeachment: which done, hee fired his owne Ships, therby to fruſtrate all hopes of eſcape. *Allectus*, who had laien to intercept his comming, forſooke alſo the *Seas*, and meeting at vnawares with *Aſclepiodotus*, great *Seneſchall* of the *Prætorium*, as a deſperate man, haſted vpon his owne death: for encountring with him, hee neither ordered his Battle, nor marſhalled his men, but fought at randome very vnfortunately: and hauing put off his *Purple Garment*, he was among many other ſlaine, when he had held his eſtate the terme of three yeers.

Allectus ſlaine.

The *Frankners* and others of the *Barbarous Souldiers* eſcaping the Battle, ſought to ſacke *London*, and ſo to be gone: but as good happe was, the *Souldiers* of *Conſtantius*, which by reaſon of a miſtie and foggy aire were ſeuered from the reſt, at vnawares came to *Lodon*, where they reſcued their *Allies*, and making great ſlaughter of the *Enemie*, ſlew *Gallus* their *Leader*, caſting his body into a *Brooke* that then ran thorow the Citie, which thence after was called by the *Britainet Nant-gall*, and by the *Engliſh*, *his Gallus Brooke*, where now a faire Street is built, called (vpon that occaſion) to this day *Walbrooke*.

Walbrooke in London of Gallus. Camb. Trinob.

(10) The deaths of theſe two *Vſurpers*, with the recouerie of the *Britaines* vnto their wonted obedience, was accounted ſo great a benefit to the *Romans*, that it is moſt gloriouſly commended, and Rhetorically ſet downe in a *Panegyricke Oration* aſcribed to *Mamertinus*, in the praiſe of *Diocleſian*, *Maximianus*, and *Conſtantius*: where (after he had extolled the fertilitie of the *Britiſh Soile*, and the *Riches* that the *Empire* reaped thēce) he ſet forth the ſtrength of the *Enemy*, growne to ſo dangerous a head: and concluded with this *Acclamation*; *O what a manifold Victory was this, worthie vndoubtedly of innumerable Triumphs, by which Victorie Britaine is reſtored to the Empire, their Confederates brought to obedience, and the Seas ſecured to a perpetuall quietneſſe! Glory you therefore (inuincible Emperour) for that you haue as it were gotten another World, and in reſtoring to the Romans puiſſance the glory of the Conqueſt by Sea, haue added to the Roman Empire an Element greater then all the compaſſe of the Earth, that is, the mightie maine Ocean it ſelfe: and afterwards now by your Victories (Inuincible Conſtantius Cæſar) whatſoeuer did lie vacant about* Amiens, Beauois, Trois, *and* Langres, *beginneth to flouriſh with Inhabitants of ſundry Nations. Yea and moreouer, that your moſt obedient City* Autum, *for whoſe ſake I haue a peculiar cauſe to reioice, by meanes of this* Triumphant Victorie *in* Britaine, *hath receiued many and ſundry ſorts of Artizans, of whom thoſe Prouinces were full. And now by their workmanſhip the ſame Citie riſeth vp, by repairing of* Ancient Houſes, *and reſtoring of* Publike Buildings *and* Temples: *ſo that now it accounteth that the old name of brotherly Incorporation to Rome is againe reſtored, when ſhee hath you eſt-ſonnes for her Founder.*

Mamertinus Pane. Orat.

The Emperours extolled for recouering *Britain.*

Mamertinus Pan. Orat.

Many Artificers in *Britaine.*

(11) But leauing *Conſtantius* to be further ſpoken of in his due place, let vs purſue the *Raignes* of theſe two *Tyrants*, who new began the *Perſecutions* of *Gods Saints* in all the parts of the *Empire*, wherein the rage of *Satan* ſo preuailed, that *ſeuenteene thouſand* men and women were crowned with matyrdome, within the ſpace of one moneth, beſides infinite numbers of ſuch as were otherwiſe puniſhed.

Gildas. Damaſus. Sabellicus.

As in other Countries, ſo heere in *Britaine* the Chriſtians Churches were demoliſhed, their Bibles and other godly writings burned, and themſelues tormented with a more cruell and longer continuance then formerly had beene vſed: for this endured the terme of ten whole yeeres together, leauing no time of intermiſsion, nor place free from the ſtaine of *Martyrs Bloud.*

Euſebius. Beda. Rad. de Diceto.

The Chriſtians torments for ten yeeres together.

And amongſt others, it made *Britaine* to be honored with the glory of many holy *Martyrs*, which conſtantly ſtood and died in the Confeſsion of the Faith; whereof the firſt is reported to bee *Albane* of the City *Verolamium*, who was beheaded at *Holmehurſt* (ſince called *Derſwold*) where now the Towne of *S. Albans* (bearing his name) is built, and in whoſe honour, *Offa* the great King of *Mercia* founded a moſt magnificent *Monaſterie*. Of this *Alban* the ancient *Fortunatus Priſcus* in his booke of the *Praiſe of Virginitie*, maketh mention thus:

Beda hiſt. Angl. lib. 1. cap. 7.

S. *Albane* put to death at Saint *Albans.*

Albanum egregium fœcunda Britannia profert:
Britaine *fertill of all good,*
Waſht with glorious Albans *blood.*

Ioh. Capgraue.

(12) His Inſtructor *Amphibolus* afterwards apprehended, was brought to the ſame place, and whipped about a ſtake, whereat his intrailes were tied: ſo winding his bowels out of his body, was laſtly ſtoned to death. Sundry others alſo in other places laied downe their liues for their *Profeſsion* ſake, as *Iulius* & *Aaron* at *Leiceſter*, ſaith *Beda*, or rather at *Caer-leō* in *Monmouthſhire*, as our *Grand-Antiquarie* iudgeth: and in *Leichfield* ſo many, that the place became another *Golgotha*, *A Field of dead Corps.* For which cauſe the Citie doth beare an *Eſcocheon* or *Field* charged with many *Martyres* for their *Seale* of *Armes* euē vnto this day.

Amphibolus a Britaine put to death.

Iulius and *Aaron* at *Leiceſter.*

At *Lichfeld* great multitudes in *Cambden.*

Ioh. 19. 17.

Ioh. Roſſus Warwicens in lib de Wigornienſ Epiſc. Beda hiſt. Angl. lib. 1. cap. 6.

(13) This *laſt rage* is by *Oroſius* and *Beda* accounted the *Tenth Perſecution* from *Nero*; and by others,

Apoc. 13. Dan. 7.

the *Tenth Horne* of the *Imperiall* Beaſt, who had receiued his *Power* from the Dragon (the diuel) and *Forme* from thoſe foure *Beaſts* decíphered by the Prophet *Daniel*, whoſe mouth was as the Lyons mouth of *Aſſhur*, his feete like the Beares feete of *Perſia*, his ſpots as the Leopards of *Greece*; and theſe ten hornes taken from the Monſter of the *Grecians* parted kingdome, the *Seleucies* and the *Ptolemies*, called in *Ezekiel*, *Gog* and *Magog*, and here alluded vnto by S. *Iohn*, that thus made battel againſt the Saints. But as thoſe foure Beaſts periſhed and were cruſhed by the fall of *The ſtone cut without hands*, *Emmanuel* borne in our fleſh: ſo this laſt *Beaſt* compounded of them *Foure*, fell in the deſtructions of theſe moſt wicked *Emperors*, whereof all almoſt died ſo vntimely and vnuſuall deaths, as the like is not read of elſewhere.

Ezek. 38.2.

The violent deaths of many Emperors.

(14) For ſome *ſlew themſelues*, as did *Nero* and *Otho*; ſome were *ſmothered* to death, as was *Tiberius*; ſome *poiſoned* by their *wiues*, as *Claudius* and *Commodus*; ſome tugged and *torne* in pieces by their own *Subiects* and *Souldiers*, as *Vitellius*, *Heliogabalus*, *Pupienus*, and *Balbinus*; ſome *ſtabbed* by them whom they moſt *truſted*, as *Caligula*, *Domitian*, *Didius*, *Gallienus*, and many others; ſome *tumultuouſly murthered*, as *Pertinax* *Seuerus*, *Maximius*, *Æmilius*, and *Probus*; ſome ſlaine in *battell* and defence of their *titles*, as *Macrinus* and *Gallus*; ſome *hanged themſelues*, as *Gordianus* and *Maximianus* did; ſome *drowned* and *ſwallowed* vp, as *Decius* and *Maxentius* were; ſome ſlaine by a *thunderbolt* from *heauen*, as *Carus* was; ſome died in moſt miſerable *captiuitie*, as *Valerianus* did, whoſe skinne was fleaed off, he yet aliue; ſome cut their owne *veines* and bled to death, as *Quintilius* and *Florianus* did; ſome dying mad, as did this our *Diocleſian*; ſome few, and them ſomewhat fauoring Chriſtians, died in their beds, a thing moſt ſtrange to ſee in theſe times, wherein the *Wrath* of *God* thus fought againſt them in his *Iuſtice*, and the power of his *Goſpell* preached by his *Apoſtles* and *Diſciples*, as a *Conqueror crowned*, riding vpon a *White horſe*, bare a *Bow*, and ſhot the ſharpe *Arrowes* of death into the *hearts of theſe the Kings enemies*, as in the opening of the *Firſt Seale* is ſeene; and in the *Second* is deſcribed and made manifeſt by a *Red Horſe* prepared for *Battell*, whoſe *Rider* bare a *Bright ſword*, and had commiſsion *To take peace from the earth*; which moſt effectually wee haue ſeene performed in moſt of theſe preceding *Emperours*. And as *Famine* in great *Warres* is not greatly ſtrange; ſo *Scarſitie* exceeding *Plentie*, was ſeene vnder the opening of the *Third Seale*; whence a *Black horſe* ſent from *God*, paſſed through the earth, whoſe *Rider* bare a *Ballance* to weigh *Corne*, as it were *Spice* for dearth: and in the raigne of this laſt Tyrant *Diocleſian*, they that had *Eagles* eies might ſee threefold iudgements of *God* in the opening of the *Fourth Seale*, when *Sword*, *Famine*, & *Death* went all together as a pale-horſe, ſent frō the preſence of the *Lamb*, whoſe rider was *Death* and *Hell*, following as his *Page*. Theſe were the times of calamities, when as the *Soules* of the righteous in the opening of the *Fiſt Seale*, cried for vengance *for the bloud of the Martyrs*, whom theſe ten hornes had gored to death: and vnder the *Sixth Seale*, both then, and for euer the wicked are ſaid to call for the *Mountaines to fall vpon them*, and for *the rockes to hide them* from the preſence of *Him* that ſate vpon the *Throne*, and from the wrath of the *Lamb*, before whom none could ſtand.

Pſal. 45.5.
Ths firſt Seale.
Apoc. 6.
Ths ſecond Seale.
The third Seale.
The fourth Seale.
The fiſt Seale.
The ſixt Seale.

But why doe I (weake man) thus open the *Curtaines* of *Gods* moſt ſacred *Tabernacle*, to behold the *Mercy-ſeat* of his diuine *Myſteries* in the accompliſhments of theſe holy *Oracles*, when as they who haue worne the *Ephod*, and in whoſe hand *Aarons Rod* hath *Budded*, with a religious reuerence haue feared to look into the ſame? Therefore with the charge of *Ioſhua* I will not approch neere the *Arke*, and with *Iobs hearers* will *Lay my hand on my mouth*, and returne to the proſecution of my purpoſe.

Exod. 39. Numb. 17.
Ioſh 3.4.
Iob 29.9.

(15) It was the nineteenth yeere of his raigne, in the month of March, when this Tyrant ſent forth his wicked Edicts through all his Empire; That all churches ſhould be vtterly ouerthrowne; that the Scriptures ſhould be burnt; that all Chriſtians for honour ſhould bee held infamous, and all Chriſtian ſeruants ſhould bee held vncapeable of freedome, that all Paſtors ſhould be inforced to offer to Idols, &c.

Euſeb. eccleſ hiſt. lib. 8. cap. 1. 2. 3.

(16) The fountaine & chiefe cauſe of theſe miſeries lighting on the Church of Chriſt, did ariſe from the Chriſtians themſelues, as *Euſebius* in theſe words declareth: *After that our conuerſation through too much libertie and licentiouſneſſe was degenerated, and holy diſcipline corrupted, whiles euery one of vs did enuie, bite, and backbite each other, waging inteſtine warres within our ſelues, and piercing one anothers hearts, with the ſharpe ſpeares of opprobrious words; ſo that Biſpops againſt Biſhops, and people againſt people were at bitter contention: Laſtly, whiles nothings but hypocriſie was in the face, deceit in the heart, and guile in the tongue, whereby miſchiefe was euen full at the brimme, then began the heauy hand of God to viſit vs, &c.* Where he proceedeth and ſheweth that the greeuous ſinnes of the Chriſtians, were the cauſe of drawing downe theſe iudgments on their heads.

Euſeb. biſt. eccleſ. lib. 8. cap. 1.

(17) And ſo this wicked Tyrant accordingly was but as Gods Inſtrument and *Iron-threſhing-ſtaile*, to bruiſe the precious wheat and ſeed of the *Goſpell*, and to cruſh that outward glory of the *Chriſtian profeſſion*, which then was floriſhing in moſt parts of the world.

Amos 1. 3.

(18) But long the *Lord* deferred not their releaſe, nor that *Tyrants* end. For after the *Firſt yeere* of their perſecutions, and twentieth of his *Raigne*, the thirteenth day of Aprill, in the yeere of Chriſts Natiuity three hundred and three, hee with his *Fellow Emperor* (both of them by the reuenging hand of God, ſtricken with a mad, humor) ſaith *Euſebius*) renounced the Empire, and deſcending from the Tribunall put off their *Purple* and *Imperiall* robes, whereby they againe became *Priuate* men.

Euſeb. Eccleſ. biſt. lib. 8. ca. 21.

(19) *Diocleſian* retired into *Dalmatia*, where in the *Citie Salonia*, hee poiſoned himſelfe, as *Aurelius Victor* affirmeth: and *Euſebius* ſayth, that no ſmall diſeaſe ouertooke him, for that hee dyed mad. His conſort *Maximinianus* eſcaped not vnpuniſhed, but died for attempting the *Murther* of *Conſtantius*, and as *Euſebius* auoucheth, he hanged himſelfe in the City *Marſillis*: ſuch ignominious deaths followed theſe two perſecuting *Tyrants*, wherof *Diocleſian* had formerly made himſelfe a *God*, and by an *Edict* commanded his *Foote* to be kiſſed: a practiſe pretily ſince imitated by his *Succeſſors*, who haue reuiued the wounded *Head* of the *Beaſt*, and haue trod his ſteppes in wounding and perſecuting the true members of Chriſt.

Euſeb. eccleſ. hiſt. lib. 8. cap. 14.

Fox Act. pop. 119. & 123.

Euſeb. eccleſ. hiſt. lib. 8. cap. 19.

Diocleſians practiſe. The Pope an imitator of him, and not of Chriſt.

FLA-

FLAV. VALER. CONSTANTIVS CHLORVS, C. GALERIVS VALERIVS MAXIMIANVS.

CHAPTER XLV.

Conſtantius Chlorus, Emp.

G. Val. Maximianus, Emp.

Diocleſian and *Maximianus* reſigned vp the Empire the 9. Cal. of May, in the yeere of Chriſt 304.

Galerius and *Conſtantius* Emperors.

The Chriſtians enioy peace.

Diocleſian and *Maximianus* reſigning vp their *Soueraignties* (as is ſaid) at the *Citie Nicomedia* in *Bithynia*, cõmitted the charge thereof, and the defence of the *Common-weale* vnto *Galerius* and *Conſtantius*, who had been their Cæſars: vpon which occaſion, great peace followed in the *Church* of *Chriſt*, and moſt eſpecially vnto theſe *weſterne Prouinces*. For thoſe *Emperors* confirmed by the *Senate*, preſently diuided the *Empire* betwixt them, as two *Seuerall Eſtates*, and not ſubiect to one *Gouernment*, as formerly had been exerciſed; which (as *Euſebius* hath noted) was the fatall end of the Imperial Glorie.

(2) Vnto *Galerius* fell the gouernement of *Sclauonia*, *Macedonia*, *Thracia*, *Egypt*, and the Prouinces in *Aſia*, who tooke for eaſe of that burden theſe two, whoſe Coines we haue here expreſſed:

Maximianus and *Seuerus* made Cæſars.

C. Galerius, Valer. Maximianus, and *Aurel. Valer. Seuerus* his ſiſters ſonnes, whom in the yeere of Chriſt three hundred and ſix, hee elected Cæſars, and after *Auguſti*; which honours the laſt enioied not long, for he was ſlaine at *Rome* by the treachery of *Maxentius*, after one yeare. And the other, when he had foure yeeres gouerned as Cæſar, and three as *Auguſtus* in the Eaſt, died at *Tharſus* in *Cilicia*.

(3) And to the lot of *Conſtantius*, who much at one time with his Copartner, elected his ſonne *Conſtantine* (ſo famous in Chriſtian hiſtorie) Cæſar, fell *Italy*, *France*, *Britaine*, *Spaine*, *Germany*, and moſt of the Prouinces in *Africke*: which ſeeming to him (who rather choſe to gouerne well then much) too ſpatious, gaue vp to *Galerius* all that in *Africke*, as too remote from the Seat of his reſidence, and eie of his directiõ.

Conſtantine the Great elected Cæſar.

(4) This good Emperour was for his *Paleneſſe* ſurnamed *Chlorus*, by birth a *Roman*, his *father* named *Eutropius*, his *Mother Claudia*, Neece to the *Emperor Claudius*. Himſelfe had attained the dignitie of a *Senator*, and was both *Wiſe*, *Valiant*, *Noble*, and *Vertuous*; whoſe parts *Euſebius* doth thus commend.

Euſeb. eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. 8. cap. 16.

Conſtantius was a man of ſingular clemencie towards men, and pietie towards God. He did not partake with him in crueltie, whoſe partaker he was in Soueraignetie: neither ſtaining his Raigne with the bloud of the Saints, nor deſtroying our Churches and places of Prayer, as Maximianus furiouſly did; but rather he reuerenced and highly honoured thoſe who truly honoured God. For which God ſo bleſſed him, that this godly Father left a more godly Sonne Conſtantine, the Heire of his well-gotten Empire.

(5) To which his vertues, other Authors adde, that he was of great affabilitie, louing, and gentle, little regarding his *Priuate Profit*, but altogether raigning to inrich his *Subiects*, and to that end would often ſay; *That it was more behoouefull for the weale publike, that the wealth of the Land ſhoud be diſperſed into the commons hands, then to lie locked vp in Princes coffers.* In which kind, ſo auerſe he was frõ all ſuperfluities, that hee may be adiudged faulty the other way: for vpon *Feſtiuall daies*, and in his *Entertainments* of *Strangers*, he was faine to borrow *Plate* of his friends (for ſuch many times are richer then their Soueraignes) to furniſh his *Table* and *Cupbords*.

Pomp. Lætus.

(6) But aboue all other vertues, was his louing

countenance and protection to the late perſecuted *Chriſtians*, making his *Court* their *Sanctuarie*, and his *Chapell* their *Oratorie*. And to winnow the *Chaffe* from the *Wheat*, he vſed the like policie as *Iehu* King of *Iſrael* ſometime had done againſt the *Prieſts* of *Baal*. For he commanded all his *Officers* to offer ſacrifice to the *Idoll-Gods*, pretending to diſ-court all ſuch as refuſed: but contrariwiſe thoſe that obeied thee put from him, with this reproſe, that *hee who is diſloyall to his God, will neuer be true nor iruſtie to his Prince.*

2. Kin. 10 20.

Conſtantius politie to trie who were true Chriſtians.

(7) When he was firſt made *Cæſar*, he was forced to forſake his firſt wife *Helena*, by whom hee had his vertuous ſonne *Conſtantine*, and to take *Theodora* daughter in Law to *Maximianus*, for a further confirmation of friendſhip.

Conſtantius his wiues.

(8) *Helena* by birth was a *Britaine*, the daughter of *Cœlus* a *Britiſh Prince*, as ſaith *Eutropius*, though *Nicephorus* make her of *Bithynia*, and *Beda* termes her his *Concubine*, ſome an *Inne-holder*, and others for her perſon and parentage ſtand very doubtfull: to meet with whom, let vs heare the cenſure of *Times Chiefe Secretarie*, the learned *Cambden* in his *Britannia*: *Conſtantius* (ſaith hee) *what time hee ſerued in Britaine vnder* Aurelian, *tooke to wife* Helena *daughter of* Cœlus *or* Cœlius *a Britiſh Prince, on whom he begat that noble* Conſtantine the Great *in* Britaine; *for ſo* (*togither with that great* Hiſtoriographer Baronius) *the common opinion of all other Writers with one conſent beare witneſſe, vnleſſe it bee one or two petty Greeke Authors of late time, and thoſe diſſenting one from the other; and a very learned man, grounding vpon a corrupt place of* Iul. Firmicus. *Howbeit, compelled he was by* Maximianus *to put her away, for to mary* Theodora *his daughter. This is that* Helena *which in Antique Inſcription; is called* VENERABILIS *and* PIISSIMA AVGVSTA, *and for Chriſtian Pietie, for cleanſing* Ieruſalem *of Idols, for building a goodly Church in the place where our Lord ſuffered, and for finding the ſauing Croſſe, is ſo highly commended of Eccleſiaſticall Writers.*

Eutropius.

Nicephor. lib. 7. cap. 18. Beda hiſt. Angl. lib. 1. cap 8. Holinſh. Chron. lib. 4. cap. 26. Cambd. Brit. pa. 74

L. viues in Annotations vpon Auguſt. Ciuit. Dei lib. 5. cap. 25. Baronius.

A Church builded by *Helena* in the place where our Sauiour ſuffered.

And yet both *Iewes* and *Gentiles* termed her by way of ignominie and reproch, *Stabularia*, becauſe ſhee (a moſt godly Princeſſe) ſought out the *Cribbe* or *Manger* where Chriſt was borne: and in that place where ſtood that *Hoſtelry*, founded a Church; for which cauſe ſhe was by the Enemies of *Chriſtian Religion* called an *Hoſteſſe*, and (becauſe ſuch are commonly kind to their Gueſts) a *Concubine* alſo. For whoſe defence, let the *Funerall Oration* of *Ambroſe*, made vpon the death of *Theodoſius*, anſwere, wherein hee doth rather commend her humilitie, then affirme any ſuch baſe Offices in contempt of her perſon.

Helena buildeth another Church where the Inne ſtood in which our Sauiour was laid in a Cratch.

They ſay, that this Lady was at firſt an Inne-holder or Hoſteſſe, &c. Well (ſaith he) *this good Hoſteſſe* Helena *haſted to* Ieruſalem, *and ſought out the place of our Lords Paſſion, and made diligent ſearch for the Lords Cribbe. This good Hoſteſſe was not ignorant of that Gueſt which cured the way-faring mans hurts that was wounded by Theeues. This good Hoſteſſe choſe to be reputed a Stable-ſweeper, that ſhe might thereby gaine Chriſt.*

Ambroſe his Oration vpon *Theod. fun.*

And verily ſhe was the moouer and onely worker of her huſbands conuerſion, who caſting off all ſuperſtitious worſhips, willingly acknowledged the onely all-ruling God, ſuffering the Chriſtians that had beene hidde in Caues and Denne, now to exerciſe their Deuotions publikely, and both to reedifie the old ruinate Churches, and to erect new.

(9) Of the like Pietie wee reade in a Queene of the like name, *Helena*, Queene of *Adiabena* (commended by *Ioſephus*) that was a Conuert to the *Iewiſh Religion*, who comming to *Ieruſalem* to viſit the Temple in time of a greeuous Famine, which happened in the daies of *Claudius*, ſent to *Alexandria* for great quantity of *Corne*, and for *Dried Figges* from *Cyprus*, which ſhee very charitably beſtowed vpon the poore. And about three ſtades or furlongs off from *Ieruſalem*, built a *Sepulcher* with three *Pyramides*, wherein her ſelfe and her two ſonnes (both Kings) were afterwards interred. But to proceed.

Ioſeph. Antiq. lib. 20 cap. 2. Helena Queene of *Adiabena* a vertuous woman alſo.

(10) *Conſtantius* being heere in *Britaine*, and lately returned from his *Expedition* made againſt the *Caledonians* and *Picts*, fell ſick in the City of *Yorke*, where the *Imperiall Throne* of his reſidence was ſet. At which very time, *Conſtantine* his ſonne eſcaping the hands of *Gallerius*, (with whom hee had beene left hoſtage) haſted from *Rome*, hauing belaid all the way with Poſthorſes for the purpoſe, and left them houghed for feare of purſuit, came with all ſpeed to *Yorke*, and to his fathers preſence; who ſo much ioied at his ſight, that he ſate himſelfe vpright vpon his Bed, and in the preſence of his Counſellors ſpake as followeth:

Conſtantine eſcapeth *Galerius.*

His preuenting purſuit.

He commeth ſafe to *Yorke* to his father.

(11) "It now ſufficeth, and death is not fear-"full, ſeeing I ſhall leaue my vnaccompliſhed actions "to be performed in thee my *Sonne*, in whoſe perſon "I doubt not but that my *Memoriall* ſhalbe retained, "as in a *Monument* of ſucceeding fame. What I had "intended, but by this my fatall period left vndone, "ſee thou performe: let thoſe fruits bee ripened in "thee the *Branch*, that I thy *Stock* from a vertuous "intent haue had ingraffed alwaies in me: that is, go-"uerne thy *Empire* with an vpright *Iuſtice*; protect "the *Innocent* from the *Tyrannie* of *Oppreſſours*; and "wipe away all teares from the eies of the *Chriſtians*; "for therein, aboue all other things, I haue accoun-"ted my ſelfe the moſt happy. To thee therefore I "leaue my *Diademe*, and their *Defence*, taking my "*Faults* with mee to my *Graue*, there to be buried in "euerlaſting obliuion: but leauing my *Vertues* (if e-"uer I had any) to reuiue and liue in thee. With con-cluſion of which vertuous counſell, hee tooke his laſt farewell of his ſonne, his friends, and his life, after he had ſate *Cæſar* ſixteene yeares, and *Emperour* two, as *Euſebius* accounteth, and died the fiue and twentieth day of *Iuly*, the yeare of our *Sauiour* three hundred and ſix, and of his owne age fifty ſix.

Conſtantius his raigne & death. *Pomp. Lætus. Socrates Eccl. hiſt. lib. 1. cap. 2.*

FLA. VALE-

FLA. VALERIVS CONSTANTIVS MAXIMVS.

CA. VALERIVS LICINIVS LICINIANVS.

CHAPTER. XLVI.

Val. Constant. Emp.

Licin. Licinianus Emp.

An. Do. 306.

THE Father thus departing both gloriously and peaceably, in the presence of his Son and sage counsellers; the griefe in the losse of the Sire was no greater then was the ioy conceiued that they had gained the sonne for his Successour: all men reioicing at the good fortune of that iourny, wherein hee came to close the eies of his dying father, & to comfort the sorrow of his mournefull Country-men.

Euseb. Eccl. Hist. lib. 8. c. 14.

Socrat. Eccl. Lib. 1. cap. 2.

For forthwith heere in *Britain* by acclamation of the people, assistance of the Souldiers, and aduice of *Erocus* King of the *Almans* (who by the way had accompanied him hither in his flight from *Rome*) they proclaimed him at all hands Emperour, and Successour to that part of the world which his father held. This election was ioifully ratified by the *Senate*; and of al other Prouinces so gladly accepted, that they ac counted this Iland most happy of all other, whose chance was first to see him their *Cæsar*, as in these words of the *Panegiryst* is seene: *O fortunate Britaine, and more happy then all other Lands, that hast the first sight of Constantine Cæsar.*

Panegyricke Oration vnto Constantine the great.

(2) His birth (as is said) was in *Britaine*, and honourably descended; his father a *Roman Senator, Cæsar* and *Emperor*; his mother a *Britaine*, (daughter to *Cœlus*) a *Princesse* vertuous, wise, chaste, and religious: himselfe in true *Piety* degenerating from neither. At his first entrance he pursued the reliques of the *warre* which his father had begunne against the *Caledonians*, and other *Picts*, subduing the *Britains* that were more remote, and *Inhabitants* of those *Ilands* that are witnesses (saith one) of the Sunnes set or going downe.

Eutropius. Constantines descent.

Euseb. in vit. Constantini.

(3) *Maxentius* the sonn of *Maximianus Herculius*, who at the death of *Constantius* was proclaimed *Augustus* by the tumultuous *Pretorian Souldiers* at *Rome*, and *Romulus* his sonne (whose face wee haue heere with his fathers from both their moneies expressed) was created his *Cæsar* (the way to that Seat of Maiesty whereunto hee had too hastily and most vnduly climed:) for now this *Vsurper* by his *Necromancies*, *Adulteries*, *Persecutions* and *murders*, was growne so vntolerable and odious, that the *Senate* sent to *Constantine*, craving his aid and redresse; who sore lamenting the sores of the *Empire*, and the case of the *Christians*, first wrote: but that taking no effect, prepared his forces against *Maxentius*.

Sabellius

Maximianus the father, either in true zeale or fained pretences (which by the sequell is more probable) tooke great offence at his sonne *Maxentius* vnsufferable outragiousnesse; and vnder colour of dislikes and redresse, repaired to his sonne in law *Constantine* that had married his daughter *Fausta*, and notwithstanding his faire pretences before the face of *Constantine*, yet secretly he tampered with *Fausta* to make away her husband. But the good Lady wel knowing that the bond of a child is great, but greater the loue of a wife, reuealed his treachery to *Constantine*, who caused him thereupon to be put to death, a fit end for so bloody a *Tyrant*. And ripe was the like destiny for his no way-degenerating sonne, against whom hee prepared his forces: and drawing *Licinius* Gouernour of *Sclauonia*, who was made *Cæsar*, to his side, by giuing him his sister *Constantia* to wife, (a man but of an ordinary descent, though *Galienus Maximinus* had made him in *Illyria* his Copartner in the East) hasted towards *Rome* with an Host of ninety thousand foot, and eight thousand horse; leuied out of *Britaine*, *France* and *Germanie*.

Maximianus put to death by *Constantine*.

(4) But knowing well that successe in warre dependeth more on diuine assistance then humane strength, and doubtfull what *God* he should in this blessed enterprise inuocate for aid, (for as yet he was not fully setled in the Christian Faith, though the *Gods* of the *Gentiles* he obserued altogether deceitful) cast vp in this his holy meditation his eies *Eastward* to heauen, and had by diuine ordinance presented to him in obiect the signe of a Crosse, wherein were Starres (as letters) so placed, that visibly might bee read this sentence in Greeke, IN HOC VINCE, as diuers Authors report.

Niceph. li. 7. c. 29. Eutropius lib. 11. Zosom. li. 1. c. 5. Socrat. li 1. c. 2. Vrspurgens. Chron. Paul. Diac. li. 11.

Yet are there some frō the testimony of *Eusebius* himselfe, vnto whom this blessed man did declare his *vision*, that affirme this forme being the first *Greeke Character* of the name of *Christ* (to which the reuerse of *Decentius* hereafter expressed, as of many others may adde much probability) rather then either of these, although *Tertullian* and *S. Ierome* affirme that the latter was the very figure of the Crosse whereon our Sauiour died: but this as a question beyond my iudgement or intention, I leaue to these learned Diuines and others, who haue laboured in that subiect with curious search.

Eusebius.

The forme of the Crosse.

Tertull against *Marcion, li. 3. Hieron. in Ezech. cap. 9. Raynolds* conference with *Hart, cap 8. Martial* of the Crosse. *Harpsfield*, Dialogue 4. *Lipsius de Cruce.*

(5) This

Euſeb. Eccleſ. hiſt. lib. 9 ca 9. Sabellicus.

(5) This miraculous ſigne promiſing *Victory* and that (ſaith *Euſebius*) not in an *Inſcription* only, but by voice of *Angels*, was ſo comfortable to *Conſtantin*, that with great courage he went forward, bearing before him and his victorious Army, in place of the Imperiall Standard, the forme of this viſion imbrodered with gold and ſtones of greateſt price. And as one armed from heauen, proceeded againſt his helliſh aduerſary.

Conſtantines repoſe.

Pomp. Lætus Maxentius truſteth to Sorcerers. *Sabellicus.*

Maxentius as much depending vpon his Sorcerers, was no leſſe aſſured of the victory. In furtherance whereof, as a ſtratagem of warre, he framed a deceitfull *Bridge* ouer the riuer *Tyber* neere to *Pons Miluius* to intrap *Conſtantine*: but ioyning battell, and ouerlaid with ſtrokes, retired and fled, and (whether for haſte, or through forgetfulneſſe) tooke ouer the ſame *Bridge*, which ſuddenly failing vnder him, hee was with many more drowned, and *Conſtantine* remained *victor*. In memory whereof, he cauſed a triumphal Arch to be erected in the midſt of *Rome*, wherein his *Statue* was imboſſed, holding in his *Right hand* a *Croſſe*, according to the faſhion of that which hee had ſeene in the heauens: and vpon ancient inſcription in memory of this *victory*, this we finde engrauen: INSTINCTV DIVINITATIS, MENTIS MAGNITVDINE CVM EXERCITV SVO, TAM DE TYRANNO QVAM DE OMNI EIVS FACTIONE, VNO TEMPORE IVSTIS REMP, VLTVS EST ARMIS: Thus: *By inſtinct of the diuine power, with great magnanimitie and helpe of his army in a lawfull warre, he reuenged the cauſe of the common wealth, as well on the Tyrant himſelfe, as on his whole faction all at once.* With the like ſucceſſe had he warred againſt the *Frankners* in *Batauia*, whoſe *victory* was likewiſe ſtamped in gold, where is a *woman* ſitting vnder a *Trophey*, and leaning her head vpon a *Croſſe-bow*, with this inſcription, FRANCIA.

An inſcription made in memory of *Maxentius* ouerthrow.

The memoriall of this victory ouer the Frankners. *Cambd. Brit.*

(6) But as his fame increaſed in the mindes of moſt, ſo was it as much maligned by *Licinius* his fellow Emperour and Brother in *Law*; who in his heart neuer fauoured the *Chriſtians*, howſoeuer for a time outwardly he ſuffered their *Religion*: but at laſt, ſeeking occaſions againſt *Conſtantine*, he raiſed a cruell *Perſecution* in the Eaſt, where he raigned with *Martinianus*, whom at *Byzantium*, & *Iulius Licinius Licinianus* at *Arlas*, he had before made *Cæſars*: permitting thē to ſtampe theſe monies, as markes of Soueraignty

(7) By this affliction of Gods Church, he inforced this champion of God for their defence to prepare his forces, with which he met *Licinius* in *Hungary*, where he gaue him a great ouerthrow. But hee eſcaping to *Byzantium*, in *Aſia* the leſſe, ioyned again battell, and was there taken *Priſoner*: yet by the mediation of his wife *Conſtantia*, had his life ſpared, and was confined within the city *Nicomedia*; where for his treaſons afterwards, he and his ſonne *Licinianus* that ſomewhat ſuruiued him, were put to death. And now the peace of *Gods Saints* manifeſtly appeared, and the progreſſe of the Goſpell paſſed vntroubled.

Licinius put to death at *Nicomedia*, and his ſonne after. *Anno* 326.

(8) *For now* (ſaith our *Gyldas*) *no ſooner was the blaſting tempeſt and ſtorme of Perſecution blowne ouer, but the faithfull Chriſtians, who in time of trouble and danger, had hidden themſelues in woods & deſerts, and in ſecret caues, being come abroad to open ſight, reedified the Churches ruinated to the very ground. The temples of holy Martyres they founded, and erected (as it were) the Banners of victory in euery place, celebrating feſtiuall holy daies, and with pure hearts and mouths performing the ſacred ceremonies:* for the which bleſſedneſſe, he euer after had the Attributes aſcribed vnto him of *moſt bleſſed Emperour, moſt pious, happy Redeemer of Romes City, Founder of Peace, Reſtorer of Rome, and of the whole World, moſt great, inuincible Auguſtus, Sacred, Diuine, and of ſacred memory, &c*: Howbeit, for admitting theſe praiſes, as it ſhould ſeeme, he is taxed by *Eutropius* & *Victor* of pride; as alſo cruelty, for putting to death *Criſpus* his ſonne (by *Mineruina* his concubine; whom hee had made *Cæſar*, and permitted to ſtampe theſe monies here vnder inſerted) as likewiſe his wife *Fauſta* ſiſter to *Maxentius*: but others affirme that the cauſes of their deaths were iuſt, though (as *Paulus Oroſius* ſaith) the reaſon thereof was kept ſecret, and *Zoſimus* doth therein excuſe him, as *Caſſiodore* relateth, and ſo doth *Rufinus* and *Euſebius*.

Sigonius.

In hiſt. tripart.

(9) Touching *Conſtantines* affaires in this *Iland*, it appeareth by the laſt Author, that after his *Fathers* death, and his owne departure out of this Country, ſome aſpiring mind taking aduantage of his abſence, in other warres, perſuaded the people here to withdraw their obedience. Wherupon once againe he addreſſed himſelfe with his *Army* to the reeſtabliſhing of the *Ilands* ſubiection: and paſſing (ſaith *Euſebius*) ouer into *Britaine*, incloſed on euery ſide within the banks of the *Ocean*, he conquered the ſame. The ioyfull memory of this expedition is regiſtred to poſterity vpon his Coine ſet in the entrance of this Chapter, inſcribed *Aduentus Auguſti*, and by theſe Letters, *P.L.N.* the place of the Mint to be at *London*.

Euſebius.

(10) *After this* (ſaith the ſame Author) *he began to compaſſe in his mind other parts of the World, to the end he might come in time to ſuccour thoſe that wanted helpe: and when he had furniſhed his Army with milde and modeſt inſtructions of piety, hee inuaded* Britaine, *that hee might likewiſe inſtruct thoſe that dwell inuironed round about with the waues of the Ocean: bounding the Suns ſetting as it were with thoſe coaſts.* And of the Politicall gouernment therein by him altered, let it not ſeeme offenſiue that I, who know and profeſſe mine owne weake ſight in moſt of theſe matters, doe light my dimme candle, at the *Bright-ſhining Lampe* of that Illuſtious *Antiquary*, who ſaith:

Cambden in his *Britannia.*

(11) *About this time* (ſaith he) *as euidently appeareth by the Code of Theodoſius, Pacatianus was the Vicegerent of Britaine: for by this time the Prouince had no more Propretors, nor Lieutenants, but in ſtead thereof, was a Vicegerent ſubſtituted.* And againe, *Seeing that Conſtantine altered the forme of the Roman Gouerment, it ſhall not be impertinent to note ſummarily in what ſort Britaine was ruled vnder him; & in the next ſucceeding ages.*

He ordained foure Præfects of the Prætorium, to wit, of the Eaſt, of Illyricum, of Italy, and of Gaule: two Leaders or Commanders of the forces, the one of footmen, the other of horſemen in the Weſt, whom they tearmed Præſentales. For ciuill gouernment there ruled Britaine, the Præfect of the Prætorium or Grand Seneſchall in Gaule, and vnder him the Vicar Generall of Britaine, who was his Vicegerent, & honoured with the title, Spectabilis; *that is, notable or remarkable: him obeied reſpectiuely to the number of the Prouinces two Conſular deputies, and three Præſidents, who had the hearing of ciuill and criminall cauſes.*

For military affaires, there ruled the Leader or Commander

mander of the footmen in the West, at whose disposition were the Earles or Lieutenants of Britaine, the Earle, Count, or Lieutenant of the Saxon coast along Britaine; *and the Duke of Britaine, stiled euery one* Spectabilis,

The Earle Lieutenant of Britaine seemeth to haue ruled the Inland parts of the Iland, who had with him seuen companies of footmen, and nine coronets or troopes of horse.

Amianus Marcill.

The Earle Lieutenant of the Saxon coast: who defended the Maritime parts against the Saxons, and is named by Amianus Lieutenant of the Maritime tract, for defence of the Sea coast, had seuen companies of footmen, two Guidons of horsemen, the second legion, and one cohort.

The Duke or Generall of Britaine, who defended the Marches against the barbarians, had the command of thirty and eight garrison forts, wherein their Stations kept, consisting of fourteen thousand foot, & nine hundred horse. So that in those daies (by Pancirolus account) Britaine maintained nineteene thousand, two hundred footmen, and seuenteene hundred horsemen, or thereabout in ordinary.

Nineteene thousand foote & seuenteene hundred horsemen maintained in ordinary in Britaine.

Besides all these, the receiuer of the Emperours Finances or publike reuenewes: the Prouost of the Emperors Treasures in Britaine, and the procurator of the Draperie in Britaine; in the which the clothes of the Prince and Souldiers were wouen: and the Count also of priuate reuenewes had his Rationall or Auditory of priuat State in Britain: to say nothing of the sword-fence-schoole Procurator in Britaine (whereof an old inscription maketh mention) and of other officers of inferiour degrees.

(12) After the setling of these affaires, to the end that he might with the more facility bridle the vntamed *Persians* that seldome were in quiet, he remoued the Imperiall seat of his Residence into the East; for now *Galerius* and *Licinius* both dead, the rent and diuided state of the Roman Empire was in him vnited: and purposing to build there a City, as an eternall *Monument* of his name, he chose the plot at *Chalcedon* in *Asia*: but whiles they were measuring out the circuit, an *Eagle* scouping at the line flew with it ouer the *Sea* towards *Byzantium* in *Thracia*, to which place (the thing seeming ominous) he transferred his new foundation, and there built a most *Magnificent Citie*, naming it *New Rome* (as appeareth by an inscription of his *statue*) In imitation whereof, he circulated *seuen hils* with a *wall* for *Height*, *Thicknesse*, and *Beauty*, the faire st in the world: & not onely erected *Temples*, *Towers*, and most stately *Palaces* himselfe, but by his publike *Edicts*, commanded all the *Princes* of the *Empire* to raise therein some Monuments and memorable Edifices, beseeming the *Maiesty* of so glorious a foundation.

I. Viues in Annotation vpon August Ciuit. Dei lib. 5 c. 25. Sabellicus.

A Iewish Doctor thus described this Citie, in an epistle which himselfe deliuered to our English Ambassador, remaining in Constantinople in Anno 1594.

(13) Hither also from *Rome* hee caused to bee brought many renowned Monuments of *Antiquities*; as the famous *Goddesse Pallas* of old *Troy*, the *Image* of *Apollo* in brasse of an vnmeasurable bignesse; the *statues* of *Iuno*, *Minerua*, *Venus*, and the like: whereupon *Hierome* saith; That *Constantine* to inrich this one *Citie*, impouerished all others in the Empire: & other *writers* which saw it in the perfection of beauty, report it to be rather an habitation for the *Gods* thē the dwelling place for *Earthly men*. Here in also was built the Proud *Palace* of that *Publike Library*, wherin were contained one hundred twenty thousand of the chiefest *written Bookes*; and in the midst thereof were the *Guts* of a *Dragon*, in length one hundred twenty *Foote* on which was admirably written in *Letters* of *Gold*, the *Iliads of Homer*: The *New Name* of this new City lasted not long; for the affectiō of all men to the Founder, afforded it rather the name of *Constantinople*; as a trophy then of this Emperors renowne, though now a brand of infamie to another of that name, who lost it in the yeere 1452. to *Mahomet* the Turke: and as *New Rome* was reared and ruined in one name, so had *Old Rome* in *Augustus* her pitch of height, and in *Augustulus* her period.

Hier. in his additions to Eusebius.

Constantinople built by Constantine.

(14) He drew likewise hither those *Legions* that lay for defence of the *Prouinces*, as wel in *Germany* and *Gallia*, as in *Britaine*: from whence *he brought (saith Malmesbury) a great power of British Souldiers, through whose industry and forward seruice hauing obtained Triumphant Victories to his hearts desire, and attained to the Empire: such of them as were past seruice, and had performed the painefull parts of Souldiers their full time, he planted in a certaine part of Gaule Westward, vpō the very shore of the Ocean: where at this day their posterity remaining, are wonderfully growne euen to a mighty people; in manners & language somewhat degenerate from our Britaines.*

Wil. Malmsbury.

In which his doings; hee laid open the *Prouinces* to the irruptions of their *Enemies*, and is therfore by *Zosimus* hardly censured, as being the only man that by this meanes first subuerted the flourishing estate of the *Empire*. And indeed, by withdrawing his Forces out of *Britaine*; the *Picts* and other their wonted *Enemies* had the bolder & easier entrance into the more ciuill parts of this *Iland*, whereby ere long, being altogether abandoned of the *Romans*, it became a prey of *Conqueste* to the *Saxons*, as shall be shewed in due place

(15) But howsoeuer his policy failed, carried (as it seemeth) by a *Diuine* inspiration to leaue *Rome*; yet is this good *Emperour* much commended by all Writers for his many vertues, especially for that hee so laid the foundation of the *Christians* security, that the same hath stood vnder the protection of *Princes* euer since, euen vnto this day. And albeit that many *Cæsars* his successors, haue often attempted to shake it by their authorities, and the sharpe instruments of heretikes dangerously haue vndermined it, yet hath it borne out the *Stormes* of all their boisterous assaies, and stood in the strength that this *Emperour* first laid it.

Constantine the establisher of Christianity.

Ambrose vpon the death of *Theodos.*

(16) And vpon this foundation, that a glorious building might be raised, hee congregated *three hundred and eighteene Christian Bishops* in the City *Nice* in *Thracia*, where himselfe was present, & also President of the same Councel (though now his Beadsmen (the Popes) put him & his Successors from that right) and as another *Moses*, he then pacified the contentions of the brethren, and reestablished the authorities of the *Bishops* for the godly gouerment of the *Church* in that *Primitiue age*.

Rufinus. Cassiod. Eusebius eccles. hist. l. c.

(17) But as the cleerest *Sunne* hath his set, and the faire st day his night, so *Constantines glorious life* drew to an end, though his liuing-gloy shal be endlesse: for intending a voyage against the *Persians*, he fell grieuously sicke, & counselled by his *Physitians* to be carried vnto *Nicomedia*, a *City* in *Bythinia*, to the *Hot Bathes* that naturally there sprang (which caused some erroneously to write that he becam a *Leaper*) he died on the way neere to the place, and in great deuotion commended his departing Soule to his *Crucified Redeemer*, *Maij* 22. the yeere of Christ Iesus three hundred thirty seuen, of his happy victorious raigne thirty one, and of his age sixty fiue; whose body was interred at *Constantinople*, in the Church of the Apostles that himselfe had therein founded.

Hieronymus

Eusebius. Sigonius. Constantine buried *at Constantinople. Socrates. lib. 1. cap. 26.*

(18) *Eusebius* writing this good *Emperors* life, saith that he deferred his *Baptisme* vntill his old age, in desire that he might receiue it in *Iordayne*, where our *Sauior* himselfe was baptized; yet others thinke that he was baptized with his *Son Crispus*, what time he created him his *Cæsar*: for the Celebration whereof, he caused a most sumptuous *Font* to be made in *Rome*; which *Platina* & *Sabellicus* affirme to haue continued to their times. And the ingenuity of the same *Sabellicus* is much to be approued, in that speaking of *Constantines Donation*, which some so much vant of (though the vanity of that forgery is now laid open to the view of all by sundry learned men) he acknowledgeth (himselfe being a Romanist) that he findeth no mention of any such matter, in any of the ancient Records which he followed, and so leaueth it to the Patronage of those Craftsmen, out of whose forges it first was formed. He left to succeed him in the *Empire* as *Augusti* (with distaste of the eldest) his three *Sonnes*, *Constantine*, *Constantius*, and *Constance*, whom before he had made *Cæsars*, & designed by Testamēt *Delmatius*, the son of *Anniballinus*, (his brother) *Cæsar*: and therefore we haue inserted his mony in ranke of those that succeeded this great & glorious *Emperor*.

Eusebius in vita Const. lib. 4.

Sabellicus

Constantine successors.

FLAVL.

FLA. VAL. CONSTANTINVS IVNIOR,
FLA. VAL. CONSTANS ——————
FLA. IVLIVS CONSTANTIVS, —————— } Emp.
FLA. DELMATIVS ANNIBALLIANVS.

CHAPTER XLVI.

Constantinus Iunior Emp. *Val.Constans* Emp.

Iul.Constantius Emp. *Delmatius Annibalianus* Emp.

FOR the *Empire* being diuided among theſe *Brethren*, *Conſtantinus* the eldeſt, whoſe portion was *Britaine*, *France*, *Spaine*, and part of *Germanie*, tooke himſelfe wronged in this partition; whereas *Conſtans* his ſecond brother had *Italy*, *Africa*, *Sclauonia*, *Dalmatia*, and *Greece*; and *Conſtantius* the youngeſt poſſeſſed *Thracia*, *Syria*, *Meſopotamia* and *Egypt*, Prouinces much greater in his ſight, then his owne ſeemed to be; and therefore at laſt ambitiouſly hee attempted to inlarge his vpon the Frontires of his brother *Conſtans*, at that time in *Dacia*, and in warres againſt the *Gothes*, who there alſo inuaded his territories, but was met with and ſlaine by a Captaine of his brothers, neere to the City *Aquileia* in *Italy*, when he had held his *Seigniories* the terme of three yeers.

An.Do. 337.

Conſtantinus his part of the Empire.

Conſtans his part of the Empire.

Conſtantius his part of the Empire.

Conſtantinus ſlaine. *Socrates lib.2.c 3.*

(2) Hereupon *Conſtans* grew exceedingly proud, and ſeiſing his deceaſed brothers *Prouinces*, ioined them vnto his owne *Poſſeſſions*, and with his brother *Conſtantius* came into this *Iland*. This Battaile, and their arriuall heere, by the words of *Iulius Firmius*, chanced in the winter ſeaſon: for (ſaith hee, ſpeaking to theſe *Emperours*) *you haue ſubdued vnder your Oares the ſwelling and raging waues of the britiſh Ocean, euen in the deepe of Winter; a thing hitherto neuer ſeen before.* And the *Britaines* were ſore afraid to behold the vnexpected face of their *Emperour*. This *Conſtans* was he that called a Councell to *Sardica* againſt the *Arrians*, whither were aſſembled *three hundred Biſhops*, and among them, ſome of the *Britiſh*, as formerly we haue mentioned. But this Prince being youthfull, caſt away all care of the *Empire*; and drowned in his owne pleaſures, followed ill counſell, (the vſuall way to Princes ruines.) Thus growne greeuous to the *Prouinces*, and nothing acceptable to the *Souldiers*, was by *Magnentius* a Captaine of his owne ſlaine, as hee was hunting neere the Caſtle of *S. Helens*, ſituate amongſt the *Tapory*, a *Spaniſh* people vnder the *Pyren Mountaines*. And as hence this *Murderer* of his *Soueraigne Lord* and *Maſter*, was branded with the name of *Taporus*, ſo in this *Emperour* there murdered was fulfilled a Prophecie, which ſayd that he ſhould die in his Grandmothers Lappe.

A Councell a gainſt the Arrians called by Conſtans.

Conſtans ſlaine.

Olympias the Widow of this *Conſtans* was giuen to *Arſaces* Kjng of *Armenia*, by *Conſtantius* his brother to be a bond and purchaſe of his ſurer friendſhip, of which his need was much, as the times required: for after the death of *Conſtance*, one *Vetranio* was proclaimed Emperor by the *Pannonian Army*, though ſhortly diſrobed, & ſent to end his decrepit age in a priuat fortune. *Neophanus* the nephew of *Conſtans* by his ſiſter *Eutropia*, at *Rome* by the abiect *Rout* was ſaluted *Auguſtus*; which he enioied not much aboue twenty daies, being ſuppreſſed by *Magnentius*, who had now made the truncke of Maieſty, his Soueraignes body. the *Baſſe*, whereby he meant with *Decentius* and *Deſiderius*, his two brethren, to aſcend the Throne.

Amianus l.20.f.11

Fl pop. Neophanus p.F.Aug.

(3) *Simon Dunelmenſis* ſaith that *Great Conſtantine* at his departure from *Britaine*, left one *Octauius* to gouerne the Land, who ſhortly rebelled, and after diuers conflicts was ſlaine by *Traherne*, *Commander* of a *Romane Legion*. *Galfridus* makes the ſaid *Octauian* a *Britaine*, and will haue him to raigne with great *Victories* ouer this *Iland* the ſpace of fifty foure yeeres, which (as *Fabian* hath accounted) doth extend to the time of *Valentinians* Rule in *Rome*: ſo farre doe our *Britiſh Hiſtorians* differ from the *Romans*. But from them moſt certaine it is, that *Magnentius* before mentioned, a *Britaine* by his father, though borne among the *Leti* in *France*, inueſted himſelfe into the *Imperiall Dignity*, vſurping *France*, *Spaine*, and *Britaine*. thus ſtamping the face of himſelfe & his brother *Decentius*, by him made *Cæſar* at *Millan*, vpon the currant Monies of ſuch reuolted *Prouinces* as he vſurped.

Simon Dunelm. I.Stow.

Galfridus Monu.

Rob. Fabian.

Aud

And did for three yeers bandy against *Constantius*, though with some vnequal successe: but lastly despairing to vphold his owne greatnesse, murdered himselfe at *Lyons* in *Gallia*, as his brother vpon newes thereof, did with a halter in the same Countrey. For this euent (no other occasion moouing) *Constantius* both shut the Temple of *Ianus* in *Rome*, as a token of an *vniuersall Peace*; and gloriously triumphed with more then a vsuall aspect.

Magnentius murdereth himselfe.

Socrat. li. 2. cap. 27.

Amian. li. 16. cap. 5

(4) At this time the *Generall* of the *Armie* in *Britaine* was one *Gracianus*, the father of *Valentinian* the *Emperour*, by birth an *Hungarian*, and so strong of limme, that no fiue men could pull a rope out of his hand with all their force; whereof hee was surnamed *Funarius*, the *Roper*. This man giuing entertainment to *Magnentius*, was condemned in *confiscation* of all his goods by *Constantius* that now ruled sole *Emperour*, vnto whom also the *Britaines* submitted themselues, and whose *Deputie* after *Gratianus*, was aged *Martin*, a man (no doubt) vertuous and vpright, as he witnessed by his death: for *Constantius*, whose base and distrustfull heart feared the wagging of euery leafe, by the slaughter of many guiltlesse, sought to make himselfe secure: and egged on by his *Flatterers*, (to serue their purposes) sent one *Paulus* a *Notarie* into *Britaine*, to apprehend them that had aided *Magnentius*.

Gracianus of admirable strength.

Martin Deputie in *Britaine.*

Amianus Marcel. lib. 14. cap. 4.

(5) The said *Notarie* was a *Spaniard*, of a pestilent wit and subtiltie, especially in finding out all quirkes and deuices to endanger mens estates: whose businesse being now to apprehend and bring away such *Martiall men* as had entred action in the foresaid conspiracies, he vnder that pretence drew into danger many that were guiltlesse, and the Emperours true Subiects: some of which hee imprisoned, others he tormented, and many with *Manacles* and *Chaines* so bruised, that therefore he was called *Catena*. Old *Martine* the *Deputie*, much lamenting their miseries, besought the *Spaniard* to surcease, and not with the *Offenders* thus to punish the *Innocent*; whereat the proud *Catch-pole* so much disdained, that hee threatned and sought to bring *Martin* before the *Counsell*, and that in bands in manner of a *Traitor*; which so much incensed the aged man, that with his dagger he assailed him; but perceiuing the wound he gaue was not deadly, he stabd the same into his owne side, and thereof presently died: vnfortunate in this fact, but otherwise a most righteous man (saith *Amianus*) that thus attempted to ease the wrongs of these oppressed *Britaines*.

Paulus a Spaniard his subtiltie.

Amianus lib. 15. cap. 2.
Paulus called *Catena* for his cruelties.

Martine kild.

(6) But besides these their distresses, the outrodes of the *Scots* and *Picts* breaking into the *Marches* of the *Britaines*, sore molested their peace: for redresse whereof, *Iulian* the *Caesar* wintring at *Paris*, and distracted into sundry thoughts, was afraid in person to passe those Seas himself and to leaue *Gaule* without a *Ruler*, especially at such a time, when the *Almans* had stirred vp a most cruell warr: wherefore hee sent *Lupicinus* at that time *Colonell* of the *Infanterie*, and *Master* of the *Armorie*, to withstand their furie; a warlike man certes, and skilfull in feats of Armes, but withall proud of heart and countenance, looking high, and speaking bigge, and in gesture demeaning himselfe in his charge as an *Actor* vpon a *Stage*, and otherwise so qualified, that men doubted a long time whether he were more *Couetous* or *Cruell*. He from * *Bononia* imbarked al his men, and with a good gale arriued in the Hauen * *Rutupi*, marching in all hast to * *Lundinium*, that from thence, after aduice taken, according to the qualitie of the businesse, hee might make more haste to come into the field, and giue battle. But with what successe his affaires afterwards proceeded, I finde not recorded: and therefore I returne againe to the *Emperour Constantius*.

Amianus Marcel. lib. 14. cap. 4.

Lupicinus sent Deputy into Britaine.

* *Boulen:*

* *Richburrow* or *Ripchester.*
* *London.*

(7) *Flauius Claudius Constantius Gallus* his cosen-german he elected *Caesar*, permitted him to stampe this money, and linckt him in mariage with his sister *Constantia*. But he, designed to gouerne the East, and make good those Frontiers against the *Persians*, forgot the duty of his charge, and gaue himselfe vp at *Antioch* to all licentious lusts & cruelties: of which when *Constantius* (infected afore with some iealousie of his *ambition*) was informed, he so plotted, that this lost man, drowned in his owne vicious securitie, was surprised, and with his hands bound backward (like a *Felon*) giuen vp to the common Headsman for execution. His brother *Iulianus* was then made *Caesar*, and this Emperours other sister *Helena* bestowed vpon him, whose *Victories* against the *Germans* and *Gaules* gained him such applause, that he was against his will by the *Souldiers* elected *Augustus*, and made Consort with *Constantius* in *Power Imperiall*.

Gallus choſen *Caesar.*

Gallus executed.
Iulianus made *Caesar.*

Iuliani Epistola.

(8) Whose fortunes thus sticking in a tumultuous State (for, with others, *Nigrinianus* whose consecrated memory is left to posteritie vpon this money, attempted the disquiet of this Emperour, by an ambitious affectation of rule, that was both short & fatall to him) did plainely foreshew, that neither his Raigne nor life would last long.

For besides the affections of the time that then followed that new risen Starre *Iulian*, his nightly visions and imagined apparitions did both terrifie and appall his mind; for as he thought, his fathers *Ghost* presented vnto him, a *Babe* of an ingenious countenance, which strooke the Ball (that the *Romans* call *Tufa*, a *Globe* borne onely by a *Monarch*) out of his right hand, betokening noght else but a change of State. Which howsoeuer his diuiners interpreted for pleasing things, yet himselfe thought his owne *Genius* did still follow him, in a forlorne, poore, and mournfull habit.

Constantius apparition.

(9) For all these dumps, *Constantius* meant this new

Election to disauow: and *Iulian* for his part resolued in point of honour to maintaine and vphold. Whereupon warres prepared, *Constantius* set forward to encounter him, and comming to *Tharsus*, from *Antioch* in *Syria*, fell there sick of a feuer, which still increased as he further trauelled, and in the borders of *Cilicia*, at the place called *Mopsus welles*, situated at the foote of *Mount Taurus*, died the third day of Nouember, the yeere of *Christ* by *Ieromes* account, three hundred sixtie foure: by others, three hundred sixtie one; when hee had ruled twenty foure yeeres, and liued fortie and a few moneths, as *Amianus Marcellinus*, and *Pomp. Letus* affirme. But *Socrates* and *Zosimus* say, that he liued forty fiue yeeres, and raigned thirty eight, that is, thirteen a *Cæsar*, in the life of his Father, seuen a Competitor in the liues of his brethren, and seuenteene yeeres *Emperour* alone.

He leaderh an army against *Iulianus*, and dyeth by the way. *Socrates lib 2. cap. 37.*

Amianus Mar. lib 22. cap. 13.

The time of his raigning.

Hee is neither accounted with the best, nor worst *Emperors*, his *Vertues* seeming to hold scoale with his *Vices*: temperate, courteous, liberall, and affable; not eloquent, yet desirous to speake well; blunt witted, yet a great fauorer of learning; a most skilfull Archer, and apt to take paines, but withall very suspitious; led by *Flatterers*, and most cruel to the accused, and in exacting importable Tributes, drew more hatred vpon his head then mony into his coffers. But especially is he stained with the heresie of the *Arrians*, for whose sake he banished many of the Christians, and amõgst thẽ *Athanasius*, that excellent light of the Catholike Church. In fauour of those heritickes, he caused to be summoned 400. westerne *Bishops* vnto the *Councell* of *Ariminum*, whereof three are reported to come out of *Britaine*. And he is by *Amianns* his *Life-writer*, *condemned for mingling foolish doting superstitions, with the sincere doctrin of the Christian Religion, giuen rather to a more intricate search therein, then to settle his opinions vpon grauitie: and stirring vp schismes and discords in maintaining of words and contentious disputations*, which as they spread more and more, gat wing euen vnto this Iland of *Britaine*, as by the words of our lamenting Historian *Gyldas* is seene. *when* (saith he) *the sweete concent of Christ the head, and his members the body, had continued vntill such time, as that deadly and perfidious Arrianisme, like to a pestiferous Serpent from the other side of the Sea, casting vp her venome vpon vs, caused brethren dwelling together, to be disioyned piteously one from another. And thus the way as it were being made ouer the Ocean, all other cruell and fell Beasts whereseoeuer, shaking out of their horrible mouthes the deadly poison of euery heresie, inflicted the deadly stings and wounds of their teeth vpon this our Country, desirous euermore to heare some noueltie.*

A Councell in fauour of the *Arrians* assembled by *Constantius*.

Hilarie calleth them the Bishops of the Prouinces of *Britaine* in an Epistle vnto the Bishops.

Gyldas.

(11) For personage, this *Emperor* was indifferently tall, his complexion brown, the cast of his eies softie, his sight quick, his haire soft, his cheekes alwaies shauen; from the graffing of his necke to the groine very long, but from thence somewhat short and bowlegged withall. His body after death was embalmed, and in *Constantinople* enterred nere vnto his *Father*, at the commandement of *Iulian*, whom by his testament (for all his former displeasure) hee declared his *Heire* and *Successor*.

Amianus Marc. lib. 11. cap. 15. Constantius his portraiture:

Constantius buried at *Constantinople.*

Amianus lib. 26. cap. 9.

Constantius perfections and defects.
His wife was *Faustina.*
Constantius a great exacter of tribute.
Sulpitius Severus.

FLAVIVS CLAVDIVS IVLIANVS EMPEROVR, APOSTATA.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

IVLIAN succeeded, whose birth had as much of Nobilitie as either the greatnesse of place; (for it was *New Rome*); or the high bloud of parentage could adde vnto him; for his Father *Constantius*, was the brother of great *Constantine*, not much his vnlike: & his mother *Basilina* was lower in her birth, though most vnfortunate in bearing him, her owne destruction. An Orphant he was left together with *Gallus* his brother, long tossed between the sourges of his owne imperfect constitution, and the bloudy iealousie of his ruling-kinsmen (not long before the fatall ruine of his Father) for beeing too neere allyed to their Crownes.

Iulian his Parentage.

Amian Marcell. lib. 15. cap. 7.

Meane he was of stature, yet carrying from head to foote a iust proportion and vniforme knitting of his lineaments, whereby he had agility and strength: big and broad his shoulders, his necke fat, bearing his head forward; louely and graceful was the cast of his quick and cleere eye, straight his nose, and no feature of his face amisse, but the greatnes of his mouth, and the parting of his nether lippe; the soft haire of his head he wore in a decent length, and his rough beard he cut in a pointed fashion.

His proportion and feature. *Amian. Marcell. lib. 25.*

(2) His educatiõ was vnder many masters, of which *Mardonius* a *Scythian* Eunuch was the first. From him he was sent to the publike Schoole at *Constantinople*, where of *Nicocles* the *Lacedemõ*, he learned his Grammar, and of *Ecebolius* the Sophister his Rhetorike; and of both of them (as *Eusebius* Bishop of *Nicomedia* hath it) the Christian Religion, in which his delight was such, that he betooke him to the function of

His education. *Misopo. Iul Imp.*

Socrates lib 3. cap. 1.

of a Deacon, reading in publike to the people the ſacred Bookes; and aimed at no further marke of greatneſſe then the reputation of a holy man: led on with the loue of knowledg, hee went to the Schooles of *Nicomedia*, where, of *Iamblicus*, who ſucceeded *Porphyry* in the Chaire; he learned the Philoſophie of *Ariſtotle* & *Plato*. There bewitched at length with the fame of *Libanius* Eloquence, though deteſting his religion; from reading in priuate ſtudie his prophane labours; hee grew a publike hearer of his inuectiue Lectures: and imitating at firſt in exerciſe of wit onely this Rhetoricians forme of declaming, hee grew in the end the profaneſt Railer, and deadlieſt Enemy of all other himſelfe againſt the Church. And to fill vp this veſſel of iniquitie, *Maximus*, the onely *Impoſter* and *Magitian* then of the world, (worthily after for his impious doctrine put by *Valentinian* to the ſword) muſt come to *Nicomedia*. From him did *Iulian* learne ſuch Aſtrologie as ſetteth Natiuities, and ſuch Magicke as inuoketh Spirits. And here was the ſchoole of this mans Error, and Miſtris of his impietie. The ſeedes of whoſe Nature and Education hauing thus obſerued, let vs ſearch with an impartial Eye into his manners and conditions, and ſee what vertue was in the fruit.

His temperance.

Marcel. lib. 16. In Miſopo. Iulian. Imp.

(3) His temperance is commended to vs with admiration. He ſlept little; and could awake at pleaſure: his bed was euer with the hardeſt, and his diet of the meaneſt meat, and the moderateſt meaſure, whereby he neuer but once, and that by accident, disburdened his ſtomacke by vomit; and would often ſay, that it was the ſafetie of his life, that he neuer had any war with his belly. Such was his chaſtitie, that hauing loſt at once in *France Helena* his beloued wife, and her infant, his onely Sonne, he neuer ſo much as in ſuſpect, had an incontinent deſire. And therefore of all the *Perſian* beauties taken in thoſe warres, as the richeſt ſpoiles, *Nec contrectare aliquam voluit nec videre*: Neither ſuffer in his Army either Cookes or Barbers, as being *deliciarum atq; intemperantiæ miniſtros*.

Marcel. lib. 25. & 24.

Marcel. l. 22.

In Miſop. Iulian. Imp.

Arceo meipſum à Theatris: I force my ſelfe (ſaith he) from the view of Stage-plaies, and neuer but once a yeere permit my Eye that delight in Court; wherein the diſtaſte of my minde is, *tanquam pauper agricola tributum aliquod pendens iniquo Domino*. And when the action was performing; *ſimilior ſum deteſtanti eos ludos quàm ſpectanti*. Yet doth *Marcellinus* tax him of much verboſitie and affectation of vaine glory. And *Gregory Nazianzen* charging him with intemperate paſſion as vnconſtability, ſaith; *That by his ranging & furious aſpect, his vnſteady and halting pace, his fleering looke*, and immoderate laughter, *Talem ante opera vidi qualem in operibus cognoui*.

Marcellinus, l. 22.

Gregor. Nazianzen. in lib. contra Iulianum.

His Iuſtice. Marcellinus, l. 22.

(4) The loue of Iuſtice in this Prince is remembred to vs in his rules of DIRECTION: for he ſo amended the Lawes *Ambagibus circumciſis*, that the Iudges might cleerly ſee, *Quid iuberent fieri, quid vetarent*: and in his EXAMPLE for imitation. For when to an innocent deniall before him, *Delphidius* the Orator inueighed ſaying; *Nocens eſſe poterit vſquam ſi negare ſuffecerit*: himſelfe replied, *Et quis innocens eſſe poterit ſi accuſâſſe ſufficit?* and ſo diſcharged the party. As for his clemency and charity, which ought to attend the ſword and Scepter of a Soueraigne, ſince the one is *Magnum timoris remedium*, and the other will be, *poſt cineres tributum*; *Nebridius* and *Lucillianus* are Regiſters of the one, whom notwithſtanding their conſpiracies in fauor of *Conſtantius*, hee not onely pardoned, but defended with perill of his owne perſon from the furies of his owne fellowers. And for the other, thoſe his letters to *Arſacius* is a ſure record. *Let there bee in the Cities of your charge, many Hoſpitals erected, that the want of the wayfairing may be releeued by our benignitie: and not of them only of our Religion, but of all the reſt: for it ſuites not well with the goodnes of our Gouernment, that when the Iewes permit none of theirs to beg and the wicked Galileans releeue not onely theirs, but ours; that ours ſhould be diſconſolate of other helpe.*

Mart. Epig.

Ex Iulian. Epiſt. ad Arſa. poini. Galatia.

(5) Some haue blemiſhed his bounty with the brand of vaine glory: thus did the *Antiochians* for depreſſing ſo much the reaſonable price of Graine in their Markets, by a profuſe expence of his owne Treaſure, gaining thereby at firſt onely the applauſe of the light multitude, after which he hunted, and drawing on in the end a miſerable dearth, through the licentious exceſſe of their improuidence: which often happeneth.

(6) And as the baniſhment of *Palladias* into *Britain* vpon a weake ſuſpition, *Taurus* to *Vircillum*, in whom the eye of Iuſtice could find no skarre; and to death *Vrſulus*, with *Pigmeus* (the firſt his Treaſurer, that had ſpent with him and on him his owne meanes, when being *Cæſar*, he had little of his owne: the other the guide of his youth, and to whom he truly ought the greateſt part of his goodneſſe) may iuſtly ſtaine him with lawleſſe ſeuerity, and vngrateful cruelty; ſo may his malicious ſpirit againſt the *Chriſtians*, (howſoeuer masking in more Art then many that went before him) ſet him vp in the ranke and top of the greateſt Perſecutors. And although there be ſome paſſages in his Gouernment more eaſie then in ſome others that may imply a gentle diſpoſition toward them, (ſometimes taking the gods to witneſſe, that the *Galileans* (for ſo he named the *Chriſtians*) ſhould not vndergoe the leaſt of iniury, neither be led to Pagan ſacrifice, or forced to any thing beyond the compaſſe of their owne contents: and that he not onely reuoked the Edict of *Conſtantine* the *Arrian* Emperour, whereby thoſe holy men ſtood long exiled: but taking the aduantage of an vprore begun by the *Arrians* (their Enemies) at *Ediſſa*, ſeiſed vpon their goods, ſwolne too great in number and fortune by the gracious aſpect of his Predeceſſors, to whom hee diſſembled himſelfe a Chriſtian): yet did he whiles he had in his owne hands the reine of Gouernment, by all his actions and ends, declare himſelf an heauy oppoſite vnto them. Sometimes by allurements to aſſay to corrupt them; ſometimes by a ſubtil ſiding with one faction of the Church, as he did with the Catholikes againſt the *Arrians*, to counterpoiſe their power, *vt ſecurius regnaret*, that by ſuch licence of ſedition, *Non timeret vnanimantem plebem*, he need not feare the power of their vnity, as himſelfe profeſſed.

Hieron: Ruffinus.

(7) From this vnfortunate plot of earthly policie (but with worſe ſucceſſe) he incited the *Iewes* to reedifie the Temple at *Ieruſalem*, and renew their Sacrifice, remitting to them their debt of Tribute, and vowing that at his returne from *Perſia* he would viſit that holy *Citie, and* (as he ſaith to them) *vt vnà vobiſcum in ea Deo optimo gratias agam*; well beleeuing that by raiſing ſuch an oppoſite to the *Chriſtians*, he ſhould ſuppreſſe their increaſe, and annihilate their Prophecie of *Ieruſalems* deſolatiõ. To repaire theſe curſed walles againſt the prouidence of *Diuine Iuſtice*, *Alipius* of *Antioch*, that had beene Gouernour of *Britaine*, was ſent: but his indeuour, ſaith *Amianus*, & the worke of all his Miniſters, was interrupted by fearefull flaming balles of fire, which iſſued from the Earth neere vnto thoſe foũdatiõs, cõſuming very many of the *Iewes* & workmẽ; by reaſon whereof, this *Element* ſtill giuing freſh aſſault on thẽ, the place became vnaeceſſible, and the enterpriſe giuen ouer: ſo vaine it is for *Man* to ſtriue againſt the decreed purpoſe of *God*. And it is by others affirmed, that at the ſame time an *Earthquak* ſo ſhooke thoſe *Foundatiõs* of the temple which were left by *Titus* vntouched, that *one ſtone thereby was not left ſtanding vpon another*, but were all laid leuell with the ground: by which miraculous ſights many *Iewes* were turned to the embracing of the *Chriſtian Faith*, vpon whoſe garments fell formes of *Croſſes*, which ſhined as the beames of the *Sunne*, neither could they by any meanes be waſhed or wiped away. *Alipius* that had been chiefe in this buſineſſe, was afterward confined into *Baniſhment*, with the loſſe of his goods, by *Valens* vpon ſuſpition of *Treaſon*. And thus farre of *Iulians* veiled hatred: now of his open actions of deſpigh againſt the *Chriſtians*.

Amianus Marcellinus liber 23. cap. primus.

Socrates lib. 3. cap. 17.

Sabellicus.

Amianus, lib. 28. cap. 4.

(8) *Conſtantius* no ſooner dead (vnder whom, as before

* Miſopogon. Iul. l. n. Imp.

Ex Epiſt. Iulian. Imp. ad Artabium. Ex Edicto Iulian. in Ediſſenos. Edict. Iulian. ad Alexandrinos.

Ex. Epiſt. Iulian. Imp.

is ſaid hee diſſembled his Religion) but that he opened the Temples of the *Pagans Gods*, repaired their Altars; declaring to future ages, the memorie of this his deteſtable act, by minting a *Bull* prepared for ſacrifice, vpon the Currant money of the State, with this inſcription; *Securitas reipublica*; as if *Romes Empire* ſhould loſe her ſecuritie, and the fatall deſtinie of Command, when the *Genius* of that Citie and the Gods of her foundation ſhould bee forſaken. And where there remained any antique Monument of the Infant Chriſtian Church, or any new erected badge of Religious deuotion, thoſe hee cauſed to bee defaced. Thus did he in *Cæſarea Philippi*, with that Braſen figure of our *Sauiour* arraied in a ſhort veſture, and the *woman* cured of her blodie iſſue, kneeling and eleuating her hands to him; and at whoſe feet in the ſaid *Pillar* grew a certaine *Herbe*, in height vnto the *Hem* of his *Garment*, which cured all kind of maladies; placing his owne figure, to the intent that it ſhold be worſhipped: but ſuddenly it was with *Lightning* from *Heauen* deſtroied, breaking with violent force the *Breſt* thereof aſunder, and ſtriking the *Head* faſt into the earth; whoſe Reliques, as *Zoſimus* ſaith, remained there to be ſeene a long time after, a witneſſe of mans preſumptuous error, and Gods iuſt diſpleaſure. Many lawes he made againgſt them, and manie rights of Subiects hee tooke from them. By Edict he forbad the Chriſtians the publike Schooles & ſtudy of the Arts and Tongues; ieſting away the reaſon of this iniuſtice with ſcoffes, as hee did the reſt; ſaying, that *Ariſtotle*, *Iſocrates*, and *Plato*, (who muſt be their guides in ſuch liberal learnings) adoring *Mercurie* and the other *gods*, he held it abſurd that they ſhould reade and learne of their *Bookes*, that loath and raile at their *Religion*.

Euſebius, lib.7.ca. 17.

Zoſimus Eccl. lib.5.cap.10. Iulianus picture deſtroyed by lightening.

Ex Edicto contra Chriſtian.

(9) The equitie of this extended power may appeare by *Marcellinus cenſure*, a man of his owne *Religion*, who of it ſaith, *Inclemens obruendum perenni ſilentio*; *Let the Edict be dambd to eternall ſilence*. When hee ſeized vpon the goods of the *Chriſtians*, which was often, and vpon weake pretences, he vſed to inuert the Letter of their owne Doctrine, in warrant of his foule act, ſaying that he did it, *vt facilius in Regnum cœlorum veniant*. When hee had diſabled the *Chriſtians* of all command, either in the Field or Common-wealth, (as he did *Iouinian*, *Valentinian* & *Valens*, after Emperours) he would ſay, he did it becauſe their Goſpell taketh from them *Poteſtatem Gladij*. And whereſoeuer any poore Chriſtian implored the hand of *Iuſtice* againſt wrong and violence, they returned with no better redreſſe, then that it was the rule of their Religion, *perferre iniurias*, it was the dutie of their Profeſſion to beare all iniuries. And although moſt *Authors* agree that hee ſtained not his gouernment with the bloud of any *Catholike*, well knowing that gore of *Perſecution* is the ſeed of the *Goſpell*; yet ſome affirme that when *Apolloes Oracle*, neere *Antioch*, had loſt his power of anſwere, by the holy preſence of *Babillaes* bodie (there martyred and intombed,) and that the *Chriſtians* in remooning it away, ſung ſolemnly the *Pſalme*, *Let all them be confounded which worſhip grauen Images*: this Emperour (although the Act was his direction, though not the order) grew ſo inraged, that hee put then many *Chriſtians* to the ſword.

Ex Epiſt. Iulian. ad Ecebolium.

Hieron. Caſſiodorus. Socrates.

Sabellicus. Socrates lib. 3 ca. 11.

His prudence.

(10) Of the prudence & learning of this man there be many notable monuments remaining: for in all the courſes of his life he did rather labour to content the parts of his vnderſtanding, then of his ſenſualitie, often being heard to ſay, *Turpe eſſet ſapienti, cùm habeat animum, captare laudes ex corpore*: and therefore writing to *Ecdicius*, *Prefect* of *Ægypt*, to helpe him to the Bookes of *George Biſhop of Alexandria*, hee ſaith, *Where others delighted in Horſe and Hawkes, I haue beene from my infancie inflamed with the loue of Books*. Many works there were of his owne pen, though now raked vp in the ruines of the time.

Epiſt. Iulian. ad Ecdicium præf. Aegypt.

Suidas.

(11) As his Oration to *Iamblicus*, and other Volumes of various learning, remembred by *Suidas*: yet is there extant that wittie *Satyre* of his, of all the *Cæſars*.

The *Regiſter* of his *Epiſtle*, full of worthy obſeruations.

Iulian. imp. Cæſar rcg.

His diſcourſe *De Regno*, wherein hee deciphereth much of his *Perſian Actions*.

Iul. Imp. Epiſt. Lib. Iul. de præclaris actionibus.

His *Hymne* to the *Sunne*, a ſong of a high ſtraine, and of a matchleſſe delicacie, if the ſubiect had not beene too prophane.

Hymnus Iulian. in Solem.

As for his *Miſopogon* (where playing with his own perſon and beard, he ſharply reprehendeth the *Antiochians* of their intemperance in frequenting *Stage-Plaies*; of their impietie, in changing *Iupiter* and *Apollo* (gods of their Forefathers, into the *Chriſt* of the *Galileans*; and of couetouſneſſe in their *Magiſtrates*, in ſelling *Iuſtice*) it is one of the wittieſt Inuectiues extant of thoſe middle times.

Miſopogon vel Antiochenſis.

(12) In the courſe of his Religion hee is by the Writers of his owne affectiõ & time rather reported ſuperſtitious then deuote; and his fancies therein rather to thẽ accounted ridiculous then religious. Such was the exceſſe and waſt of Oxen in his ſacrifices, that it is beleeued if his returne had beene from the *Perſicke Expedition*, there would haue beene want of them to ſupply his Rites, and therefore they might happily ſay as the white Oxen did of the *Emperour Marcus*, *Si tu viceris, nos perimus*. Yet were his rules of order to the *Prieſts* of his ſuperſtitious zeale, ſuch as may well become the moſt religious Church-man of our age to imitate: for he prohibited thoſe *Prieſts* from gaze of *Stage-Playes*, frequenting *Tauernes*, or exerciſing any foule or illiberall profeſsion, perſwading them to imitate the *Chriſtians*, whoſe bounty to ſtrangers in diſtreſſe, charity in burying the dead, and whoſe humble manners & ſanctitie of life (though but diſſembled) had ſo much increaſed their Profeſsion.

His Religion.

Marcel. lib. 25.

Ex Iulian Epiſt. ad Pon. Galatie.

(13) His fortitude appeareth in the proceſſe of his *Martiall Actions*. At three and twenty yeeres hee was made by *Conſtantine* his nephw *Cæſar*, matched to his ſiſter *Helena*, and ſent in perſon to reſtraine thoſe barbarous Nations that had forced in vpon the *Roman Limits*. But whether this imploiment was grounded vpon the Emperours owne feare to aduenture his perſon againſt theſe *Sauages*; a deſire to nurture this mere Scholer his brother in law in more princely manners, who then was rude; or to expoſe him (in reſpect of ſome iealouſy in State) to an aſſured perill: it remaineth doubtfull. Onely himſelfe ſaith, that *he that beſtowed his Title of Cæſar, libenter dabat*; *& qui accepit, omninò recuſabat*: for in it hee gained nothing but *vt occupatior interiret*, taking this his Expedition againſt thoſe *Inrodes*, as a baniſhment into the *Hercinian Deſert*, *vt tanquam venator cum feris bellaret*: and beleeuing himſelfe rather thereby called out to an expected death, then intended honour. But this man then neither of opinion or hope, and who ſhould haue ſeemed to haue effected a point of excellent ſeruice, if hee had no more but defended the frontiers, and repelled the Enemies, did by his valour performe no leſſe the deeds of admiration.

His Fortitude.

Marcel. lib. 15.

Ex. Epiſt. Iulian. Maximo Philoſopho.

Hee recouered the reuolted Cities of *Gallia*, ouerthrowing ſeuen of the mightieſt *German Princes* in one ſet Battaile.

(14) He ſent to *Rome Chonodomarius* & *Badoncarius*, two of their greateſt Kings, as ſpoiles to adorne the *Trophey*, and attend the triumph of *Conſtantius*. Hee forced on euery ſide thoſe to feare his power, that had ſo long beene fearefull to the *Roman Empire*. And had he returned home, borne vp only with the merit of this his ſeruice, and opinion of the world, and not beene blowne beyond the bounds of his old moderation by a new deſire, hee had eſcaped the imputation of ambition and treacherie, and beene eſteemed a iuſt ſucceſſor, againſt whome he is deemed now an vniuſt vſurper. But it may be ſaid that it was a diuine power that inſpired it, and a ſtrong hand that inforced him to it: for from aboue the Porch of his entrance, into one of the regained Cities, the *Wreath* of *Laurell* (reſerued an ornament of that place) fell in wonder vpon his head. The *Genius* of *Rome* in many apparitions chiding & reprehending his ſlow deſire

Amian. lib. 16.

to

to affect the Empire, and restore the State. As touching his election, *he calleth the gods to witnesse his vnwillingnesse, and the publike protestation he made against it at Paris, when he was there by the tumultuous Army saluted Augustus.* And although by the great prouision made by him of Corne from *Britannie*, to hold a foot the *Armie* against the plots of *Constantius* (that grew now enuious of his fortune,) hee may seeme to haue intended the ruine of his Soueraigne, yet doth hee by the gods of his greatest confidence, *Iupiter* & the *Sunne*, protest; *Quod Constantium occidere nunquam optauit, imò ne id accideret expetauit.*

(15) But *Constantius* ending this quarrell and competition by his death, *Iulian*, whom a *Pithonist* had deluded with the hope of *Persia*, telling him that his fortunes should be as his feature, like *Great Alexander*, bred in him a thirsty desire after the surname *Persicus*: whereupon hee prepared an Army for this expedition, and seeking the fauor of his *gods* the *Moone*, *Fortune*, and *Mars*, embrued their Altars with the *Blood* of an *hundred Buls* at once; though many ominous signes, as they were interpreted by his *Philosophers* and *Southsaiers*, forbad the same. Such was the great *Earthquake* happening in *Bithynie*, that swallowed vp the Citie of *Nicomedia*. Riuers likewise are said to stand drie, euen in the heart of winter; and *Springs* forgetting their vsuall boilings, yeelded not foorth their wonted waters: yea and if we will beleeue the reporters; his succesſe was foreshewed by the departure of an Angell, and by a *Meteor* gliding in the Aire. All which hee sought to preuent, by pacifying his *Heathenish gods* with multitudes of *Sacrifices*: and with an *Army* extended ten miles in length, entred *Persia*, cutting asunder the Bridges by which hee passed ouer his men, to adde to them more of resolution as their meanes were lesse of returne, refusing all humble submission and composition offred him by their King; and at the place then called *Phrygia*, ioined Battle against *Surena*, a great *Commander* among the *Persians*, and *Merenes*, *Generall* of their *Horse*, accompanied with two of the Kings sonnes, whose powers not able to resist the *Romans*, gaue backe and fledde.

Sabellicus lib. 22. cap. 2. *Iulian his sacrifices.*

An Earthquke.

Sabell. lib. 25 ca. 2.

An Army reaching ten mile.

(16) *Iulian* either vpon a vaine confidence, or sudden *Alarum*, had forgot to arme himself with the *corslet* or *Brigandine*; & in following the disarraied flight of the *Persians*, lift vp his hands in signe of victory: at which very instant a *Iauelin* strucke thorow his left *Arme* into the short *Ribbs*, and stucke in the neather lappet of his *Liuer*; which whilest he endeuoured to plucke out, did cut the sinewes of his fingers: wherat altogether distracted, he fell forwards vpon his horses maine, and thence was carried vnto his *Pauillion*. From whose hand this *Iauelin* came (saith *Amianus*) *God* only knoweth. Some report the Caster to haue been a *fugitiue Persian*: others say that from the hand of one of his owne Souldiers it proceeded: and *Calistus* one of his owne Guard, that wrote this *Battle* in *Heroicall Verse*, affirmeth, that by some wicked *Fiend* or *Diuell* this *Iauelin* run him thorow. Howsouer, there are that report that in pulling out this *Launce* and casting it into the aire with his bloud, he should vtter this blasphemous speech, and say *Thou hast ouercome me, O Galilean.* At his setting forth he vowed to his *gods a Sacrifice* of *Christian bloud*, if hee returned *Conquerour*, but he performed it with his owne. His slaine Corpes was carried to *Tarsus* a City in *Cilicia*, where with small pompe of *Funerall Obsequies* it was interred nere to the Cities side; which place himself to that purpose had fromerly assgned: although *Nazianzen* affirmeth the earth to haue opened, and in a flame of *Sulphur* to haue sucked vp his body into her Wombe.

Iulian stucke into the body with a Dart.

(17) Thus ended this Emperor, the twenty sixth of Iune, in the two and thirtieth yeere of his age, and three hundred sixty and three of *Christs Natiuity*, when he had raigned *Augustus* neere three, and *Cæsar* full seuen yeeres. Whose wit and eloquence needs no further testimony then the Monuments of his owne Pen; nor his religious zeale more then the Function his youth so worthily performed in the Christian Church. His *Imperiall Vertues* we see match him in story with *Titus*, in moderation with *Aurelius*, and for succesſe in warre, with *Traian*; three of the most excellent Princes: and his fortune was to see bounded within his sole greatnesse, what the hand of right and sword of tyranny had so late dispersed. But now one *Errour*, his *Apostacie*, disroabing him of all his *Morall vertues*, leaues him an obiect naked to the vulgar eie, but a Monster of men, and marke of infamy. I hold it therefore fitting no lesse the vse, then the iustice of a Story, to doe him (as I haue done) all his right: since in him we learne that all those admirable endowments of *Nature*, embelished with all the morall and internall graces that *Art* could adde, are not the base of holinesse, without diuine grace; nor dalliance of *Fortune*, and fulnesse of *Empire* (that made this man wanton and forgetfull) is the center of securitie and happinesse without heauenly protection: since from the sense of *Sacred Piety* hee fell to *Pagan Superstition*: for many are called, but few are chosen; and in the seat of *Presumptuous Maiesty* he felt the rod of *Diuine reuenge.*

Amianus lib. 25. cap. 3.

Socrates lib. 3. cap. 18.

Zosimus lib. 6. c. 2 Theod. lib. 3. c. 25. Sabellicus.

Math. 20. 16.

Discite Iustitiam moniti, & non temnere Diuos.

FLAVIVS IOVIANVS.

Chapter XLIX.

Fla. Iouianus Emp.

An Do. 364.

THe mindes of the whole Army being much distracted by the death of *Iulian*; the next day being *Iune* twenty seuen, they met, and consulted vpon a new *Emperour*: where for a while two factions were maintained, & with equall deserts argued, till lastly in one accord they both agree vpon * *Salustus* a man very honourable and wise, but withall aged and weake, and therefore he absolutely refused the election. *Iouianus* by them then was nominated, in regard of his fathers deserts indifferently commended, saith *Amianus*: but *Rufinus*, *Theodoret*, and *Socrates* attribute great worths vnto him, and confidently affirme his vnwillingnesse was to accept of that dignity, for that the whole Army had yeelded to *Iulianus Idolatrous Edicts*, openly professing himself to b:

* Marcellinus, saith *Eutrop.*

Rufinus Eccl. Hist. lib. 10.

a *Christian*, and withall protesting that he would not be a *Soueraigne* ouer an *Ethnicke Empire*, vntill by the instance of the *Souldiers*; which declared themselues likewise to bee *Christians*, he did accept of the same.

Iouianus his parentage.

(2) His Father was *Varonianus*, by birth an *Hungarian*, a Captaine of good note, who not long before had laid downe his charge of warre, and retired into his Country, to a more quiet course of life. Himselfe serued *Iulian* the *Apostata* in his Campe; from whence he departed by vertue of his Edict; commanding all Christians out of his pay, among whō * *Iouinianus* (as wee haue said) chose rather to cast from him his *Sword* and *Girdle*, (marks of honour to *Military* Professors) then to forsake the *Ensigne* of his Heauenly Chieftaine, and the Badge of his *Christian Profession*.

* *Iouianus* his piety.

(3) No sooner was he clad in the *Purple Robe*, but one *Iouianus* (a *Roman Emsigne-bearer*, lately at variance with this new Elected *Emperour*, then a priuate man) fearing the danger of so powerfull an Enemy stepped now aboue the degree of the common sort, reuolted to the *Persians*; and hauing good accesse, informed *King Sapor* of the death of *Iulian*, (to them till then vnknowne) and disabling *Iouianus* for an *Vnskilfull* and *Effeminate Captaine*, both incouraged the Enemy, and gaue directions how to take the aduantage. The *Persian* as ready to execute as ioyous to heare, set forward his forces, his Elephants leading the way, whose terrible brayings and fearefull approach much affrighted the *Roman Souldiers*. A sore battell was fought, and fountaines of bloud drawne from the sides of both parts: wherein, with an infinite number of *Persians*, *Iulianus*, *Macrobius*, & *Maximus*, three *Roman Tribunes*, of those *Legions* that then were the *Principall* of the whole *Army*, were slaine: in regard whereof, and especially for want of *victuall* (whose scarsity then was such, that for one *Pecke* of *Meale*, ten peeces of *Gold* were giuen) *Iouianus* made *Peace* with the *Persians* for thirty yeers, giuing them fiue *Prouinces* beyond *Tigris*, some *Cities* and *Forts* in *Mesopotamia*, whereof *Nisibis* is named for one that had beene the very sinewes and strength of the *Confines*, euer since the *Warres* of *Mithridates*: for which his doings, he is taxed by *Eutropius* & *Amianus* (who both liued in his daies) and of most the deed is held very dishonourable to the greatnesse of the *Roman Empire*: howbeit diuers others excuse him very iustly considering the extreame misery and famine wherin *Iulianus* left the *Army*, which was in apparant hazard to be giuen ouer for a prey to the Enemy, to the indangering of the whole *Empire*, had it not beene thus preuented: and therefore they highly commend him heerein, as the onely Preseruer of the *Roman Army*.

Amian. Marcell. lib.25.cap.13. Cassiod. Tripar. hist. lib.7.

Paulus Orosius. Sabellicus.

Socrates Schol. lib.3.cap.20.

(4) Howsoeuer, he is highly commended by *Socrates*, (the continuer of *Eusebius* his History) who flourished aboue *Twelue hundred yeeres* since; for his constant faith grounded vpon the *Nicen Creed*, and for his *Louing Reuerence* to the *Christian Bishops*, recalling from banishment those that *Constantius* and *Iulian* had exiled; among whom, *Athanasius* of *Alexandria* was one: putting downe the *Idolatrous Temples* of the *Gentiles*, and restoring to their *Offices* both in *Court* and *Campe*, those who for their *Conscience* had been expulsed.

Bishops recalled from banishment.

(5) At his departure from *Persia*, hee visited the *City Tarsus*, where he caused the Sepulcher of *Iulian* (though otherwise he had found him auerse both in *Affection*, and *Religion*, yet for that hee was his preceding Emperor) to be richly adorned: and taking *Antioch* in his way, for many daies together was troubled with some accidents, which that age did take for *Ominous signes*. For the Statue of *Maximianus Cæsar*, standing at the entrance into the *Kings Palace*, let fall the *Ball* or *Globe* out of his hand, no force mouing it: horrible sounds and noises were heard within the Consistory: and *Blazing-starres* appeared at *Noone-day*.

Iouianus adorneth *Iulians* tombe.

A blazing starre seene at Noone-day.

Thence therefore in great haste he marched, & at *Ancyra*, declared his sonne *Varronianus* his *Cæsar*, a very *Infant*, whose *Wrawlings* and vnwillingnesse to ride in the *Imperiall Chariot*, portended (saith *Amianus*) that which after happned. For hasting still towards *Constantinople*, he came to *Dadastana*, a place that diuideth *Bythynia* and *Galatia* asunder, and there died suddenly of the obstructions and stopping of the *Lungs*; caused by the dampe of a new mortered *Chamber* wherin he lay; or (as others write) by coales there set to dry the new seeling, whose vapors hauing no issue, stifled him to death, the seuenteenth day of February, the yeere of the worlds redemption, three hundred sixty foure; after hee had raigned seuen moneths, and twenty two daies, aged thirty three yeeres.

Sabellicus.

Iouianus death. His raigne. *Amianus Marc. lib.25.cap.14. Socrates eccles. hist. lib.3.cap.22.*

(6) For his personage, he was of goodly presence, both tall and big, his gesture graue, his eyes gray, and countenance pleasant: an affectionate louer & professor he was of the Christian religiō, of indifferēt learning himselfe, but a most honorable imbracer therof in others; very precise & considerate in choosing of *Iudges* and *Magistrates*; facile and familiar to his seruitors about him. His *Blemishes* were these, that hee was a great feeder, and giuen to wine, and somewhat to that other *Vice* which vsually accompanieth such intemperances.

Iouianus shape and disposition.

FLAV-

FLAVIVS VALENTINIANVS. } Emp.
FLAVIVS VALENS. ——— }

CHAPTER L.

Flauius Valentinianus, Emp.

Flauius valens; Emp.

An. Do. 364.

REsently vpon the death of *Iouianus*, by a ſecret whiſpering & running rumor, *Equitius*, *Tribune* of the *Scutarij*, was nominated Emperour, a man naturally rigorous, and rude; and therefore diſliked of the better aduiſed, and no further followed. But frō him, their voices turned to *Ianuarius*, a kinſman to the laſt deceaſed *Iouianus*, at that preſent Gouernor of *Illyrium*. But he alſo reiected, *Valentinianus* then abſent, was elected at *Nice*, as a fit and meet perſon for the managing of their Warres, and good of the *weale publike*.

Amianus Mar. lib 26. cap. 5.

Socrates in eccleſ. hiſt. lib. 4. cap. 1.

(2) His birth was of *Pannonia*, in the City *Cibalas*, of meane and poore parentage; the ſonne of *Gracian* ſpoken of before, who by trade was a *Rope-ſeller*, but of great ſtrength: and therfore by ſeruice preferred to places of account, and had been made Ruler of *Britain*. His owne life likewiſe was ſpent in ſeruice of *Warre*, and was ere-while a *Captaine* ouer the *Targatiers*: but *Iulian* requiring him either to *Sacrifice* to his *Gods*, or to leaue his place; he choſe rather to lay aſide his Belt then his *Faith* and *Chriſtianity*, as likewiſe *Iouianus* had done; and ſo for neglecting a little honour then, he had now a farre greater beſtowed on him by the diſpoſer of all *Earthly Kingdomes*. The *Eſtate* ſo vrging it, hee made *Valens* (his Brother) *Partner* in the Empire, the trumpets euery where ſounding *Warres* throughout the *Roman world*. For the *Almans* inuaded *Gaul* and *Rhetia*, the *Sarmatians* and *Quadi* made ſpoile of *Pannonia*: the *Picts*, *Saxons*, *Scots*, and *Attacots* infeſted the *Britaines*: the *Auſtorians* made roades into *Africa*: the *Gothes* ranſacked *Thracia*, and the *Perſians* entred *Armenia*. For which cauſe, *Valens* remained to defend the *Eaſt*, and *Valentinianus* tooke his progreſſe into the *Weſt*, where in three *Battles* vnder the conduct of *Iouianus*, hee diſcomfited the *Almans*: and *Valens* likewiſe ouercame and beheaded *Procopius*; whoſe feature we haue here expreſſed, a dangerour *Vſurper* in the *Eaſt*.

Chap. 47. ſect. 5.

Valentinianus a Chriſtian.

Theodoret.

(3) But in *Britaine* things proſpered not ſo well: for by the generall bandings of the foreſaid *Nations*, their old *Enemies*, the *Prouince* was ſore diſtreſſed and brought to extreame miſery. For *Nectaridius*, *Admirall* of the *Britiſh Fleet* they ſlew, and *Balchobaudes Lord warden* of the *Marches*, by a traine of theſe barbarous people, was forelaid & aſſailed on euery ſide. The intelligence of which occurrences, when it was brought to *Rome* with great horrour, the *Emperor* firſt ſent hither *Seuerus*, *Steward* of his *Houſe*; if fortune would happily ſpeed his hand, to redreſſe whatſoeuer had happened amiſſe. But he in ſhort time being called away, had not the hap to ſee the wiſhed ſucceſſe. Thē *Iouianus*, famous for his *Warres* in *Germany*, came into the ſame parts; and ſeeing the puiſſance of the *Enemy*, meant to craue aid of the *Auxiliarie Forces*, the vrgent neceſsity requiring ſo much: at laſt, in regard of many (and thoſe fearefull) accidents, which rumor cōtinually reported, touching the ſtate of this Iland, hither was deſigned *Theodoſius*, a man eſteemed moſt happy, and approued for his *Martiall* proweſſe, who with a bold reſolution & ſelect power both of *Horſe* and *Foote*, ſet forward for *Britaine*.

Amian. Marcel. lib, 17. cap. 7.

Nectaridius ſlaine.

(4) The *Picts* at that time were diuided into two *Nations*, to wit, *Deucalidones* and * *Veſturiones*. The *Attacots* likewiſe a warlike kinde of people, and the *Scots* ranging in diuerſe parts, waſted all where they

*vveſterne Picts.
* Eaſterne Picts.

went. As for the Tracts of *Gaule*, the *Frankners* and *Saxons* their nere confined neighbours, wherſoeuer they could breake foorth, and make *Roades* by *Sea* or *Land*, made hauocke heere by ſeizing of *Booties*, firing of *Townes*, in killing of men and women; and leading away *Captiues*. To ſtay theſe wofull miſeries, if the *Heauens* had beene ſo benigne, this valiant *Captaine* intended a voyage to this * *our end of the World*: and comming to * *Bononia*, which lieth diuided from the oppoſite tract of *Land* by a narrow Channell ebbing and flowing with terible *Tides*, where the *waters* are ſeene ſometimes to match the higheſt *Mountaine*, and againe to ſettle with the leuell of the *Plaines*, without any harme of *Sailers* or *Paſſage*: this *Sleue* with a gentle courſe hee croſſed, and arriued at * *Rutupie*, a quiet *Roade* and *Harbour* ouer againſt it: from whence after that the *Bactauians*, the *Heruli*, *Iouij*, and *Victores* (Companies bold and confident in their ſtrengths) were come, he marched towards *Lundinium*, an ancient *City*, which poſterities afterwards named *Auguſta*: and hauing ſeuered his *Troopes* into ſundry parts, he charged vpon thoſe companies of rouing and robbing enemies, euen when they were heauy laden with *Booties* and *ſpoiles*, & were driuing away before them both *Men* and *Women* bound for their *Captiues*, beſides much *Cattle*, and a great *Prey*. Theſe hee ſoone diſcomfited, and reſtored to the poore diſtreſſed *Tributaries* their *Liberties* and *Loſſes*, beſtowing ſome ſmall parcels thereof among his weary and well deſeruing *Souldiers*: and entred the *City* with exceeding great ioy, in manner of a *Petty-triumph*, which erewhile was ouer-whelmed with Calamities, but now on the ſudden refreſhed and ſet in perfect ſafety.

(5) Vpon this proſperous ſucceſſe encouraged to greater attempts, he abode yet doubtfull of the future, caſting with himſelfe many proiects, which poiſed *Fortunes Scales* alike: but laſtly by certaine *Captiues* and *Fugitiues* he learned that thoſe *Companies* of ſundry fierce *Nations*, ſpread ſo farre & diffuſedly vpon the face of the *Prouince*, could not be vanquiſhed, vnleſſe it were by ſleights and ſtratagemes. By *Edicts* therefore he firſt proclaimed *impunitie* to ſuch as had forſaken their *Colours*, if they would returne; wherby many which had run to the *Enemy*, or at their owne pleaſures had beene diſperſed into diuers parts, came in, and by their countenance declared their reſolutions in his behalfe: Notwithſtanding, miſtruſting the euent, and penſiue ſtill with cares, hee thought good to call to his aſſiſtance *Ciuilis*, a man of great vnderſtanding, quicke ſpirit, and withall an vpright *Iuſticer*, who was to rule *Britaine* as *Deputie*, and likewiſe *Dulcitius* a *Captaine*, renowned for his skill and deeds of *Armes*.

(6) After *Conſultation* with them, hauing gotten courage, and departing from *Auguſta* with a power of Souldiers, which in his politicke induſtry he had leuied & trayned to his hand, he brought exceeding great ſuccour euery where vnto the troubled and confuſed ſtate of the *Britaines*; gaining before hand ſuch places in each part, as might giue aduantage to annoy the *barbarous Enemy*; and enioyned the *Common Souldiers* no ſeruice, whereof himſelfe tooke not the *Aſſay* with a cheerefull heart: in this ſort performing as well the *Offices* of an *Actiue* and hardy *Souldier*, as the carefull charge of a right-noble *Generall*, he diſcomfited & put to flight diuers *Nations*, whom inſolent *Pride* (fed with ſecurity) had incited and ſet on fire, to inuade the *Romans Territories*; and ſo reſtored wholly vnto their former ſtate the *Cities* and *Caſtles* which had ſuſtained many loſſes, and eſtabliſhed a ſure peace for a long time following.

(7) Now there happened whiles he attchieued theſe exploits, a dangerous matter likely to haue broken out into great miſchiefe, had it not been quenched in the beginning of the enterpriſe: for one *Valentinus* of *Valeria Pannonia*, a man of a proud ſpirit firſt Deputy Lieutenant and after preſident, for ſome notable offence baniſhed into *Britaine*, as *Frontinus* immediately before had beene, as one inpatient of reſt, like ſome noiſome wilde Beaſt, vpon a certaine ſwelling pride, roſe vp in commotion againſt *Theodoſius*, whom hee perceiued to be the only man able to withſtand his wicked deſignes. Howbeit; caſting about many waies, both cloſely and apparently, as the gale of his vnmeſurable deſire roſe higher, he ſolicited as well the baniſhed perſons as Souldiers, promiſing (as the time would affoord) rewards to allure and draw them on to ſome actuall attempt. Yet when the day came wherein it ſhould haue beene effected, *Theodoſius* hauing intelligence thereof (ſurprized *Valentinus* with ſome few of inward complices, and deliuered them vnto *Dulcitius*, to be put to death accordingly. But in his military skill and policy, (wherein he was reputed to haue exceeded all men liuing in thoſe daies) geſſing at future dangers, hee inhibited all *Inquiſitions* to be made touching the reſt of the *Conſpirators*, leſt ſo generall a feare ſurpriſing at once, and ſpread abroad among many, thoſe tempeſtuous troubles of the *Prouince*, which were now well allaied, ſhould reuiue againe.

(8) Therefore turning himſelfe from this buſineſſe to the reforming of ſuch enormities as were of moſt conſequence, now that all dangers were quite ouer-blowne, he reedified the *Cities*, repaired the *Gariſon Caſtles*, and fortified the *Frontiers* with ſtanding *Watches*, and ſtrong *Fore-fences*. And thus hauing recouered the *Prouince* againe which had yeelded ſubiection to the *Enemies*, he reduced it vnto the priſtine *Eſtate*, ſo as by his meanes and motion it had againe a lawfull *Gouernour* appointed, and alſo named it VALENTIA, in honour of *Valentinianus* the Emperor.

(9) The *Areans*, a kind of men (as witneſſeth *Amianus*) inſtituted by thoſe of ancient times for politicke imploiments, who by little and litle were fallen into diſorders and vices, he remooued from their *Stations*, as being manifeſtly conuicted, for that (induced with the greatneſſe of rewards receiued or promiſed) they had diuers times diſcouered vnto the *Barbarous* whatſoeuer was done or debated betwixt the *Preſident* and his *Counſell*: for indeed their charge was to runne to and fro by long iournies, to intimate and make knowne vnto the *Romans Captaines* vpon the *Marches*: what doings and ſtirrs were among the *Neighbour-Nations*; whereby they had great opportunities both to know and reueale the ſecrets of the *State*.

(10) And thus *Theodoſius* hauing managed moſt excellently theſe affaires, was ſent for to the *Emperours Court*; who leauing the *Prouince* ouer-ioied for their *Peace*, was no leſſe famous for his many important *Victories*, then was either *Furius Camillus*, or *Papinius Curſor*. And being honourably accompanied and attended vnto the *Narrow Seas*, with the hearty loue and fauour of all men, departed, and with a gentle gale of winde paſſed ouer, and came to the *Princes Campe*, where (being receiued with ioy and praiſe) he ſucceeded in the roome of *Valens Iouinus*, who had the conduct of the *Horſemen*. For theſe his Martiall deeds ſo happily atchieued, in honour of him there was a *Statue* erected, reſembling a *Man of armes* on *Horſebacke*, as by *Symmachus* may be vnderſtood, thus ſpeaking to his ſonne *Theodoſius*: *The Author of your kindred and ſtocke, Captaine Generall both in Africke and Britaine, was (among other ancient Titles) conſecrated by the moſt honourable Order with ſtatues of Knight-hood.* And in his commendations, *Claudius* with full note thus poetically ſang:

Ille Caledonijs poſuit qui Caſtra pruinis,
Qui medios Libyæ ſub Caſſide pertulit æſtus.
Terribilis Mauro, debellatorq; Britanni
Littoris, ac pariter Boreæ vaſtator & Auſtri.
Quid rigor æternus; Cæli quid ſydera proſunt;
Ignotumq; fretum? Maduerunt Saxone fuſo
Orcades, incaluit Pictorum ſanguine Thule,
Scotorum cumulos fleuit glacialis Hiberne,

In Caledonian froſts his Tents he pight,
And Libyaes ſcorching heat endur'd in Field.

The

* *Britaine* ſo called
* *Bologne.*
* *Ribcheſter.*
London called *Auguſta.*
Theodoſius ioifullie receiued into *London.*
Amianus Marcel. l.b.28.cap-7.
Valentinus a Rebell put to death.
Theodoſius an expert VVarriour.
Britaine called *Valentia.*
Amian. Marcel. lib. 28. cap. 7.
Arcans remoued from their ſtations.
Theodoſius comparable to *Camillus.*
Symmachus.
Claudius in praiſe of *Theodoſius.*

The Coleblacke Moores, and Britaines faire, in fight
He queld, and forc'd both South and North to yeeld.
What then auaild cold Clime, ſtrang Seas, or Starres,
when Orkny Iles he drencht with Saxons gore;
when Thule did reake with Picts bloud ſpilt in warres,
And Ireland did hugh heapes of Scots deplore?

Dreadfull ſights, and fearfull Earthquakes. *Amian. Marcell. lib.26.cap.14.*

(11) Strange and dreadfull were the ſignes that in the third yeere of this *Emperour* chanced; as *Earthquakes, Inundations*, and the like; whereof *Marcellinus* thus reporteth: *A litle after the Sunne-riſing* (ſaith he) *the waighty and ſteddy maſſe of the whole Earthly Globe ſhooke, flaſhes of lightning very thicke and fierce going before: the Sea alſo driuen aſide, and the waues and billowes ſo prepoſterouſly tumbling and retiring back, that the deepe Gulfes being diſcouered and laid empty, a man might haue ſeene ſundry ſorts of ſwimming creatures ſticking in the mudde: Alſo the vaſt Vallies and Rockes, which Nature had ſet farre away vnder the huge Waters, did now behold the Beames of the Sunne; inſomuch that many Ships were bedded faſt in the drie ground, and flocks of people ſtragled at their pleaſure in the ſmalle remaines of water, to take vp Fiſhes as the Sea-ſpoile; when on the ſudden the waues diſdaining to be thus diſpoſſeſſed, returned with ſuch violent beating vpon the Ilands and Promontories, which lay farre into the Sea, as that they ouer flowed, and laid leuell an infinite number of buildings and Cities. And therefore in this furious diſcord of the Elements, the ſurface of the world being couered, repreſented ſtrange and wonderfull ſights.* Among which *S. Ierome* reporteth, that there *rained Wooll from Heauen ſo perfect and good, that no better grew vpon the Sheepe, the naturall Producer.* But to returne.

Gulfes of the Sea laid bare, and many Cities drowned.

Paulus. Oroſius. S. Ierome. Wooll rained from Heauen.

(12) *Fraomarius*, whom *Valentinianus* had ordained to be *King* of the *Bucinobantes* in *Germanie*, was made *Tribune* and *Colonell* ouer a *Regiment* of *Almains* in *Britaine*, which for number and valour in thoſe daies were renowned; where (no doubt) matter enough was miniſtred for him to worke vpon. But the death of the *Emperour* preſently following, admits no mention of further diſcourſe which happened in this manner: The *Quadi* after many moleſtations done to the *Roman Legions* and their *Confederates*, ſent their *Ambaſſadours* vnto him, deſiring pardon for their former faults committed, and an aboliſhment of all remembrances thereof: with whome being in earneſt conference, ſuddenly the bloud guſhed out of his mouth; and being laid vpon his bed, ſhortly after died of an *Apoplexie*, or rather of the *Plague*, as the *blew Markes* appeating vpon his dead body gaue coniecture: *Nouember* the ſeuenth; of his age fiftie fiue yeeres, hauing raigned eleuen yeeres, eight moneths, and two daies, in the yeere of our Chriſt three hundred ſeuenty fiue.

Amian. Marcell. lib.29.cap.9. *Fraomarius* made King of the *Bucinobantes*.

Socrat. Eccl. Hiſt. lib.4. cap.26. Valentinianus death.

(13) For preſence, he was Maieſticall, of bodie fat, his complexion faire, his eies gray, and hauing therewith ſomewhat a ſcue caſt, his haire ſhining bright, his ioints ſtrong and well knit: he was a *Prince* mercifull and louing, and mitigated many Tributes formerly impoſed on the *Prouinces*: a wiſe Warrior, ſterne in countenance, haſtie of ſpeech, and chaſte of body, a good Iuſticer, & impatient of all delaies. But theſe his *Vertues* with ſome *Vices* were accompanied: for he is taxed with enuie and partialitie, in puniſhing ſeuerely the poore *Souldier* for ſmall offences, but remiſsiue to the faults of their *Captaines* and *Leaders*, and that was the cauſe (by *Amianus* his report) of the troubles in *Britaine*, the loſſes in *Africke*, and the waſts in *Illyricum*.

Valentinianus his perſonage and vertues.

(14) His *Arian* brother *Valens* ſuruiuing him, raigned *Emperour* in the *Eaſt*; by whoſe ſufferance the *Barbarous Gothes* entred *Thracia*, which preſently proued to be the bane of the *Roman World*, for that theſe *Gothes* (a ſtrange and vnknowne People til then) being forced out of a ſecret Nooke in *Scythia*, by the *Hog-Backt Hunnes*, ruſhing as an vnreſiſtable *Whirle-Winde* frō thoſe *High Mountaines*, infeſted the *Coaſts* about *Danubius*, and obtained licence from *Valens* to paſſe the *Riuer Donaw* into *Thracia*, where long in quiet they ſtayed not, but like a violent *Floud* running with a full current, they ouer-whelmed all before them, ouercomming the *Romans* in many *Battles*, and in one ſlew the *Emperour Valens*, with moſt of his approoued *Captaines*, and twenty fiue *Tribunes* that had charge of *Regiments*, the third part of his Armie hardly eſcaping vnſlaine. Some report that *Valens* flying the *Field*, tooke into a houſe neere *Adrianople*, whither being purſued by the *Enemie*, and his *Hold* fired vpon his head, was therein burned to aſhes, after he had ſate Emperour fourteene yeeres.

Valens Emperor in the Eaſt.

Amian. Marcell. li.31.cap.34.

Gothes ouercome the *Romanes*. *Valens* ſlaine.

FLAVIVS GRACIANVS——— } Emp.
FLA. VALENTINIANVS IVNIOR. }

Chapter LI.

Gracianus & Valentinianus Emp.

An.Do. 376.

Amianus Mar. lib. 27. cap. 5. Gracian and Valentinian Emp.

Lib. 30. cap. 12.

Gracian louing to *Valentinian.*

Iustina mother of young *Valentinian.*

Socrates eccles. hist. lib. 4. cap. 25.

Valentinianus marrieth *Iustina*, by whom he had young *Valentinian*

Gracianus, the *Eldest Sonne* of *Valentinianus*, by his *Empresse Seuera*, was made his fathers *Collegue* in the *Empire* in the fourth yeere of his *Raigne*: notwithstanding six daies after his death, his second Sonne *Valentinian*, a *Childe* of *Foure yeeres* old, by the aduice of the *Counsell* and generall consent of the *Camp*, was also stiled and proclaimed *Emperor*. These *Brethren* liued in much loue, and ruled in the *West*, as their vncle *Valens* did in the *East*, of whom wee last spake. And albeit *Gracian* had cause of displeasure, that this his *younger Brother* was thus aduanced without his allowance; yet he as a *Prince* kind and naturall, regarded his *Brother* exceedingly, and brought him vp in all tender affection, forgetting the wrong offered vnto himselfe and his owne *Mother* for *Valentinians* mothers sake.

(2) The *Mother* of this *Valentinian* was *Iustina*, a damsell of an admirable feature and exceeding beautie, surpassing all other women so farre, that the *Empresse* her selfe fell in loue with her, and vsually conuersed with her familiarly as her equall, imparting her most priuate secrets vnto her as her trustie Counseller, and often bathing together in the same Bath. Neither was her ardent affection contained within the measure of *Womanish modestie*, but that she refrained not in the hearing of the *Emperour* (her *Husband*) to extoll her incomparable beautie, preferring her far aboue any creature in the *World*. Whereupon *Valentinian* so farre affected this Lady, as that he tooke her to his *Wife*; by whom he had this young *Valentinian*, and also three *Daughters*, notwithstanding *Seuera* was yet liuing.

(3) The stormes of the *Gothes* as a violent tempest beating still against the Shores of the *Romane Prouinces*, caused *Gracian* to beare *Sayle* toward the safest *Harbour*, and to commit the guidance of his shippe to the most assured Pilot: their forces being so great, and their outrages so terrible, that hee thought it best not to aduenture his owne person, but to imploy some other approoued *Captaine*. For which exploit, none was held more sufficient then *Theodosius*, the *Sonne* of that *Theodosius* who was so famous for his *British Warres*, and whose life was taken away by *Valens* the *Easterne Emperour*. Him he made first *Captaine Generall* of the *Roman Empire*, and immediatly vpon his first seruice against the *Gothes*, his *Fellow Emperor* and *Augustus*, allotting him those parts in the *East*, that his vncle *Valens* lately had enioyed.

Theodosius, Captaine generall of the *Roman* Empire, and fellow Emperor.

(4) In many *Battles*, fought to the last drop of bloud, this worthy *Generall* ouercame the *Gothes*, so that their King *Athanarius* was lastly inforced to sue for his *Peace*, which vpon honourable compositions was graunted, and himselfe in most princely manner entertained by *Theodosius* in the *Imperiall Citie Constantinople*; where falling sick after three moneths, he died, and was both much lamented, and sumptuously buried by the *Emperor*. These reports caused *Sapor*, the most puissant *King* of *Persia*, to submit himselfe vnto *Theodosius*, and by his *Ambassadors*, attending his *Court*, obtained his Amity. Thus gloriously raigning and perfect peace established, he ordained his young sonne *Arcadius* his *Fellow Emperor* in the *East*.

Theodosius ouercommeth the *Gothes.*

Aurelius Victor. Paulus Orosius.

Sapor King of *Persia.*

(5) But the affaires in the *Westerne Empire* proceeded nothing so fortunately: for *Gracian* a meeke and soft spirited man, ballanced with *Theodosius*, was held without regard; and *Valentinian* by his *Prefect Probus*, held both *Rome* and *Italy* at his deuotion; onely *Gallia* obeyed *Gracian*. For *Clemens Maximus* borne in *Spaine*, but descended lineally from *Constantine the Great*, by his affability and liberall carriage, had won the affections of the *Britaines* to side with him; a man no doubt, both Valiant and Wise, had he held his alleagiance to his *Soueraigne Lord*. But the time fitting his purposes, when the *Scots* & *Picts* with their wonted inroades sore indamaged the *Prouince*, he set himselfe for their deliuerance, and therein sped so well, that the *Souldiers* by cõstraint (as *Orosius* saith) forced him to assume the *Imperiall Stile* and *Purple Robe*. And so

Clemens Maximus rebelleth. *Cambden.*

An.Do. 381.

Zosimus. Paulus Orosius.

Clemens Maximus assumeth the Imperiall Stile.

so hasting into *Gallia*, with all the flower and strength well neer of the *Britaines* forces, arriued in the mouth of *Rhene*, vnto whom also the *Germans* Army ioyned, and now accounting himself an absolute Monarch, admitted *Victor* his sonne, then *Cæsar*, to be partner of his Empire, whose Stamp therefore with his fathers we haue annexed.

(6) Thus *Maximus* establishing his throne at *Triers*, *Spread his wings* (saith *Gyldas*) *the one into Spaine, the other into Italy, and with the terror of his Name, leuied Tributes and Pensions for Souldiers pay, of the most fell and sauage Germans.*

Against him *Gracianus* made his power, but after fiue daies skirmishings was forsaken of his own *Souldiers*, and so put to flight. And now deiected and destitute of meanes to maintaine his quarrell, hee sent *Ambrose* (a great Doctor of the Church) his *Ambassador* vnto *Maximus*, to intreate for *Peace*, which in outward shew was grãted, but was farre otherwise intended, as the sequell proued. For seeking his death, he did shortly after effect it in this wise: He caused Letters, and reports to be giuen vnto *Gracian*, that his *Empresse* was in iourny to visit him, and withall sent forth a *Carroche* stuffed with *Souldiers*, and with them a desperate *Captaine* named *Andragathius*. *Gracian* greatly reioycing for his *Wiues* approch, prepared himselfe to meet *Her* accordingly, and opening the *Litter*, thinking to embrace his *Empresse*, was by these Ruffins treacherously murthered neere vnto *Lyons*, when he had raigned fifteene yeeres, and liued twentie nine. *Valentinian* with his *Mother Iustina*, fearing the like conspiracies, became supplicants vnto *Theodosius* in the *East* against *Maximus*.

Clemens Maximus, his stratagem against *Gracian*.

Andragathius a murtherer.

Gracian, his death & raigne.

(7) He therefore preparing his forces, marched as farre as *Aquileia* in *Lombardie*, where *Maximus* remained both confident and secure. For hauing fortified the straits of the *Mountaines* with sufficient *Garrisons*, and dammed the *Hauens* with strength of *Ships*, himselfe and assisters with great boldnesse proceeded against *Theodosius*, and gaue him a battle before the Citie *Syscia* in *Pannonia*, and againe most valiantly receiued him in another, vnder the leading of his brother *Marcellus*; but in both of them was ouercome. From this last, he secretly retired vnto *Aquileia*, where of his owne *Souldiers* he was betraied, and deliuered to *Theodosius* his pursuer; and by him to the *Executioner* to be beheaded: of which his vnfortunate, but deserued end, the famous Bishop *Martinus Turonensis* being in *Britaine*, did foretell him long before. *Andragathius* also, the Murtherer of *Gracian*, whose state was now desperate, cast himselfe headlong into the Sea, and made an end of his wicked life. *Victor* the sonne of *Maximus*, made his *Cæsar* in *France*, as we haue said, was defeated, taken Prisoner & slaine. This *Victory* was held so worthy and memorable, that the *Romans* from thence forward solemnized that day euery yeere as festiuall, saith *Procopius*.

abellicus Ent. 7. lib. 9
An. Do. 388.
Andragathius drowned himselfe.

(8) But these *Britaines* that had assisted *Maximus*, as by Writers is recorded, did forcibly inuade *Armorica*, and there planted themselues: *From whence* (saith *Beda*, *the Britaines first arriued into this Iland*. But surely himselfe is either greatly mistaken, or else we mistake him altogether; and that rather, for that by *Cæsar* those Coasts that lie vpon the Sea shoars, are called *Armorica*, and there the *Celtes* seated, being the Originall of our Inhabitants, as is holden; and so from thẽce they might spread themselues further into these *British Ilands*, lõg before it receiued the name of *Little Britaine*. The like troubles fell to other *Prouinces* at the same time, by the intestine *warres* of the *Empire*: for the *Gaules* were molested by the *Frankes*; *Spaine* by the *Sueuians*; and *Africk* by the *Vandals*: the *East* parts by the *Heruli*, *Ostroges*, and *Hunnes*; *Italy* by the *Lombards*, and shortly after by the *Gothes*.

Beda Hist. Angliæ lib. 1. cap. 1.

(9) These troubles in the *Prouinces*, caused the *Emperours* to call home their Armies, with Aides of their Allies, & all too little to support their own declining *Estates*, which now beganne to end of it selfe, and these *Emperors* raignes to be cut off by their vntimely deaths.

But to returne into the path of our History, from whence (by the intangled occasions of these foure Emperours raigning together) we haue wandred; let vs remember what occurrents happened vpon the death of *Maximus* the Tyrant, and hasten to end the greatnesse of the Empire, which in most Prouinces began to end of it selfe. For *Valentinian* being rid of his feares, vnto which he had beene subiect; and *Theodosius* of his *Collegue*, vnto whom hee was enforced; great hope was conceiued of a florishing *Estate*, but it brought foorth onely the remaines of their downefall: for the one returning to *Constantinople* in great *Triumph*, liued not long after; and the other left peaceably in the *Westerne world*, was (as you shall heare) soone made away by *Conspiracie*.

(10) *Valentinian* remaining at *Vienna* in *France*, free from *Hostile Enemies*, retained in his Court those that sought his life, whereof *Arbogastes*, a *Captaine* of a haughty stomacke, politicke, aduenturous, and of great power, but withall of a base parentage, a stranger and an Infidell, was one; *Eugenius* a *Grammarian*, but now bearing *Armes*, and of great account, was another. These corrupting his *Chamberlaines*, compounded for his death, which they as wickedly performed, by strangling him in his bedde, giuing it forth that the *Emperour* had hanged himselfe; which was so confidently auouched, that *Prosperus* in his Addition to *Eusebius* writing his death, saith, that *it was acted by himselfe*, after hee had liued twenty six, and raigned sixteene yeeres, being strangled in the yeere of Grace three hundred nynty foure.

Arbogastes a conspirator.

Eugenius a Grammarian, another.

Valentinian strangled.

Prosperous.

Valentinian his raigne.

FLAVIVS THEODOSIVS.

CHAPTER LII.

Flau. Theodosius Emp.

An. Do. 379

WE haue declared in the life of the laſt preceding *Emperour*, the *Birth* and *Fortunes*, *Warres* and *Victories* of this moſt worthie *Theodoſius*, vntill the death of *Maximus* the *Britaine*, (for ſo moſt writers terme him:) and now onely remaine his latter Acts in *Warre* and *Peace* to bee further related.

(2) This *Emperour* returning from *Aquileia* in *Lombardie* vnto *Conſtantinople* in the *Eaſt*, long time there ſtaied not, but was drawne againe into the *weſt* both to reuenge the death of *Valentinian* his *Fellow-Emperour* ſo trecherouſly ſtrangled, and alſo to oppoſe the proceedings of *Eugenius*, whoſe Coine wee haue heere expreſſed, being one of the Murderers then vſurping that portion of the Empire, and ſided by *Arbogaſtes* the other,

Theodoſius goeth againſt *Arbogaſtes* and *Eugenius*.

Eugenius vſurper.

(3) *Theodoſius* marching with his forces towards the *Confines* of *Italie*, found the paſſages ſtopped at the foote of the *Alps*, and his *Enemies* powers farre ſurmounting his: Therefore a while to deliberate on theſe buſineſſes, hee pitched his *Tents*, and their ſtaied. In the meane time *Eugenius* and *Arbogaſtes* his oppoſites had forelaid the country, and hemmed him about in ſuch a ſtrait, that no victuals could bee brought vnto his Campe.

(4) No meanes being now left, but either to cleere the paſſages, or bee ouerthrowne, hee firſt became ſupplicant with *Faſtings* and *Teares* vnto his *God*, whom he knew to be the *God* of *Hoſts*, and whom euer he had ſerued, and whoſe aid had hitherto neuer failed him: whereupon boldly incouraging his men, he accepted of the *Field*. But the Battle furiouſly begunne, fell ſo ſore againſt him, that ten thouſand of his *Souldiers* were preſently ſlaine; and the reſt deſpairing, ready to flie, himſelfe at that inſtant had beene ſurprized, had not *God* turned the heart of *Arbitio*, a *Captaine* of his *Enemies*, ſuddenly to come to his ſide, and to reſcue him. *Theodoſius* much daunted by theſe *vnfortunate beginnings*, yet conceiued better hopes of the following ſucceſſe, truſting to the vprightneſſe of his *Cauſe*, and the help of his *God*, which ſtill he implored, till the *Heauens* were propitious to his earneſt deſires.

Theodoſius praieth to God for victorie.

Sabellic. Ennead. 7. lib. 9.

(5) For ſuddenly a violent tempeſt aroſe; and a raging winde ruſhed ſo extreamely on the faces of his Enemies, that they were in no wiſe able to withſtand it, the power thereof beating back againe their darts into their owne ſides; whereas the arrowes ſhot from the Emperors part, were therby forced with double ſtrength to pierce through the *Rebels* Iron plates, whereby a moſt glorious victorie was obtained; and *Eugenius* taken, who lay grouelling at the *Emperours* feet, deploring his eſtate, and crauing his pardon; but euen as hee kneeled with cries and teares, the *Souldiers* ſtanding by ſtrucke off his *Head*. And *Arbogaſtes* the Author of theſe euiles by flight eſcaping, two daies after ran himſelfe vpon his *Sword*, and ſo reuenged on himſefe his owne wicked actions. This victory was atchiued the ſixth of September, in the yeere of grace three hundred ninety ſix, by *Socrates* account: and was ſo famous, that beſides the Records of Chriſtian Hiſtorians, *Claudius* a Heathen Poet thus eternizeth the fame in his Heroick Poeme.

Theodoſius obtaineth victorie.

Socrat. Eccl. hiſt. lib. 5. cap. 24.

Eugenius beheadded.

Arbogaſtes killeth himſelfe.

Gods darling deare, the heauens thy ſoldiers were in armes,
And windes conſpired to aid and follow thy allarmes.

(6) *Theodoſius* thus deliuered, repaired vnto *Millan*, where, worne with yeeres and trauels, ſhortly after he ſickened vnto death. And ſending for his Son *Honorius*, made him Emperour of the *Weſt*, and to *Arcadius* gaue the *Eaſt*, wherein hee had before made him his *Cæſar*. The *Prouince* of *Africa* he aſſigned to the gouernement of one *Gyldus* in his Sonnes behalfe, and in the *Non-age* of *Arcadius* appointed *Rufinus* for *Conſtantinople*, and *Stilicho* Tutor to yong *Honorius* in *Italie*, three moſt worthy men vndoubtedly, had the greatneſſe of their ſpirits beene contained within the liſts of their truſt and places.

Theodoſius dieth.

Honorius and *Arcadius* made Emperours

Gildus Gouernor of *Africa*.

Rufinus Gouernour of *Conſtantinople*.

Stilicho Gouernour of *Italie*.

(7) This laſt named *Flauius Stilicho*, famous for a long time, and an inward companion with *Theodoſius*, had been imploied in the *Britaines* warres againſt the inroades of the *Scots*, *Vandales*, and *Picts*; and therein had borne himſelfe with fortunate ſucceſſe, as the Poet *Claudian* implieth, where he bringeth in *Britaine* thus ſpeaking:

Stilicho ſomtimes imploied in the Britiſh Warres.

Me quoq; vicinis pereuntem Gentibus, inquit,
Muniuit Stilicho, totam quum Scotus Hibernem
Mouit, & infeſto ſpumauit remige Thetis.
Illius effectum curis, ne bella timerem
Scotica, nec Pictum tremerem; ne littore toto
Proſpicerem dubijs venientem Saxona ventis.

And I, ſaith ſhe, that ready was
by bordering foes to periſh,
When Scots did cauſe the Iriſh ſtirres,
then Stilicho did me cheriſh.

Stilicho commended by *Claudian* for his ſeruice in *Britaine*.

When

When Seas did foame with strokes of Oares,
that beat the billowes backe,
His force effecting with his cares,
preuented still my wracke:
He bade me feare no forraine powers,
that Scots *or* Picts *could make,*
Nor of the Saxons that on Seas,
vncertaine courses take.

So that being by him freed from those many dangers, and all her enemies ouerthrowne, shee singeth her security by the same Poet thus:

——Domito quid Saxone Thetis
Mitior aut fracto secura Britanna Picto?

My Seas, though rough, are calm'd,
sith Saxons *conquer'd are,*
And I securely rest,
now Picts *are queld in warre.*

But this her ioy, through the Treasons of these three Gouernours, was soone turned into laments and teares, and the whole *Empires* glory brought to a fatall period as presently it will appeare.

Theodosius his vertues

(8) This *Theodosius* for his Princely parts, by all writers is ranked among the very best of all the *Emperours*: And as he is likened to *Traian* for his feature and personage, so may he be compared in wisedome to *Marcus Aurelius*: In temperance with *Antoninus Pius*: For his Christian profession and deuotion, with *Constantine* the Great: and for his mekenes, equall to any: Whereof among many other, we haue one example very remarkeable; vpon an offence cõmitted by the Inhabitants of *Thessalonica*, hee commanded most seuere punishment to bee inflicted, which was so vnaduisedly executed, that as well the innocent, as the offenders were inuolued therein. He then comming to *Millan*, would haue entred the Church to haue communicated with other Christians in their sacred deuotions; which *Ambrose*, the great Doctor, and Bishop of that *Sea* (though otherwise a man of admirable mildnesse) resisted and forbad, in which estate the *Emperour* stood for eight moneths continuance: and then with great humility & submission, acknowledging his offence, was absolued, and againe receiued into the congregation. For preuenting of the like rash offences by him committed, he then enacted a Lawe, that thirty daies should passe betwixt the sentence of death, and the execution of the *Malefactor*: And to suppresse his hasty choller (whereunto he was much subiect) his vsuall manner was to recite the *Greeke Alphabet*, before hee vttered any speech sauoring of that humour.

Theodosius vpon his submission, absolued by the Church.

Theodosius his Art to suppresse anger.

(9) He died Ianuary the seuenteenth, the yeere of the worlds happines three hundred ninety fiue: when he had raigned seuenteene yeares, & liued sixty; as *Aurelius Victor* writeth, with whom he ends his History. His first wife was *Flacillia*, a religious Lady, the mother of *Arcadius* and *Honorius*; by his second wife hee had a daughter named *Placidia Galla*, first married vnto *Athaulpus* King of the *Gothes*, and after his death vnto *Constantine*, whom *Honourius* her brother made *Augustus* and his fellow *Emperour*:

Socrates eccles. hist. lib. 5. cap. 25.

Theodosius his death and progeny.

ARCADIVS HONORIVS Emperours.

Chapter LIII.

Arcadius Emp. East.

Honorius Emp. West.

Anno. 395.

ATall was the Act of *Theodosius*, in his Election of the three foresaid Protectors, whose greatnes carried with a glutted prosperity, grew to a surfet after his death in their ambitious thoughts, and was the downefall of the now aged and drouping *Empire*: first *Gildus* in *Africa*, not contented with the title of *Comes* or *Earle*, cast off all subiection, and as an absolute Lord, acknowledged neither *Arcadius*, nor *Honorius* for his soueraigne.

Gildus rebelleth.

Paulus Diaconus.

(2) Against these proceedings, his owne brother *Mastelzerius* opposed himselfe. and both in words and acts assayed to set him in his wonted place of obediẽce, which by no other means could be brought to passe, but by assistance sent him from *Honorius*.

Mastelzerius ouercommeth his brother *Gildus*

with which, though much too weake, he marched against the *Emperours* Enemy, and as *Paulus Orosius* writeth, more by force of praiers to God, then power of men, in his encounter preuailed, and beheaded *Gildus* for his Treason. But himselfe becomming mighty, and forgetting that which in others hee remembred, himselfe vsurped the command of *Africa* against *Honorius*, casting off all subiectiue obedience, and as a free Prince ruled the Prouince: The Souldiours that had lately assisted the *Emperours* cause, now well perceiuing his aime leuelled at the Crowne, thought best to cut the string before he looosed the shaft, and made him shorter by the head.

Paulus Orosius.

Gildus beheaded.

Mastelzerius beheaded.

(3) *Ruffinus* in *Constantinople* as boldly bare himselfe, thinking *Arcadius* both too weake and yong to sound the depth of his designes, whose thoughts did also worke vpon conceited Soueraignety: he therefore secretly sollicited the *Gothes* to warre vpon the *Empire*, that so *Arcadius* might either be slaine or intrapped

Ruffinus ambition.

trapped, or elſe himſelfe in thoſe dangers, ſet vp as the more ſufficient. But theſe things thus dangerouſly complotted by *Ruffinus*, were as politically preuented by the *Emperor*, although a *Child*: for before the *Seed* of this *Treaſon* could bring forth either *Bud* or *Blade*, it was diſcouered, and the *Author* ſlaine by an *Italian* Band, his head (which as ſome affirme, firſt tooke breath in *Britaine*) was aduanced ouer a *Gate* in *Conſtantinople*.

Ruffinus ſlaine.

(4) Thus *Peace* obtained by the deaths of theſe two *Traitors*, the *Third* ſtood vp with more danger in the *Weſt*: for *Stilicho*, *Tutor* to yong *Honorius*, thought it not ſufficient honour for him to haue his *Daughter* an *Empreſſe* by the *Marriage* of his *Ward*; but ſet at hazard (for himſelfe and ſon) his owne *Conſcience*, both their *Liues*, and the fatall ruine of the *Now-declining Empire*. For firſt ſowing ſeditions amongſt the *Lieutenants* of the *Prouinces*, picked alſo quarrels in the *Emperors* Court, *Caſhiering* with diſgraces thoſe *Gothes* that had ſerued with good proofe of their fidelity aboue twenty yeeres, ſince their entertainment by *Theodoſius*. Theſe to reuenge their *wrongs*, choſe for their *Chieftaine* a valiant *Gothe* named *Alaricus*, which ſhortly proued the *Scourge* of *Rome*: with whom ioyned the *Vandals*, *Alanes*, and *Sueuians*, who ioyntly with great fury beganne to warre in *Anſtria* & *Hungarie*, increaſing their *Powers* with ſuch multitudes, that as *Paulus Oroſius*, an Author of that time ſaith; The *World* was amazed and ſtood in feare. For vnto theſe *Colonies* reſorted two hundred thouſand *Gothes*, more, vnder the leading of *Radagaſius* their *King*, who together with vnited forces, ſubdued *Thracia*, *Hungary*, *Auſtrich*, *Sclauonia*, and *Dalmatia*, & ſpoiled al in ſuch manner, that it ſeemed *Diuels* and not *Men* had paſſed that way, as Saint *Ierome* (who liued at that time) expreſſeth: *Theſe brute Beaſts* (ſaith he) *ſuffered by the wrath of God in this warre, haue laid Cities waſte, ſlaine the People, and left the very Fields bare and deſolate, whereof the Prouinces of Thracia, and Sclauonia, with the Country wherein my ſelfe was borne, beare too true, but lamentable Records*.

Stilicho ſet at hazard the whole Empire.

Alaricus the ſcourge of *Rome*

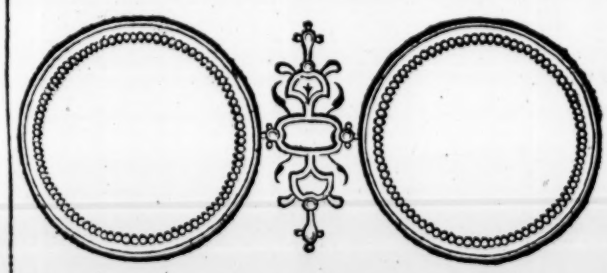
Paulus Oroſius.

Radagaſius with two hundred thouſand *Gothes*.

Hieron. in epiſt. ad Paul. & Euſt.

(3) The *Roman Empire* thus daily declining, and theſe fierce *nations* making hauock where they came, the Armies in *Britain* were put in great feare, leſt the Flames of their *Neighbours fire* might *Flaſh* out, and take hold of them alſo. Therefore prouidently to preuent that danger, they elected one *Marcus* their *Lieutenant* for *Emperor*, yeelding him their obedience ſome ſhort time, and then finding his defects, immediatly murthered him.

Marcus choſen Emperor.
Marcus murthered.
Sabellicus Enn. 7. lib. 9.



In whoſe ſtead they *Inthroned* one *Gracian* a *Britaine*: whoſe carriage not anſwering their expectations, they *Murthered* alſo, within *Foure Moneths* after his Royall ſolemnity.

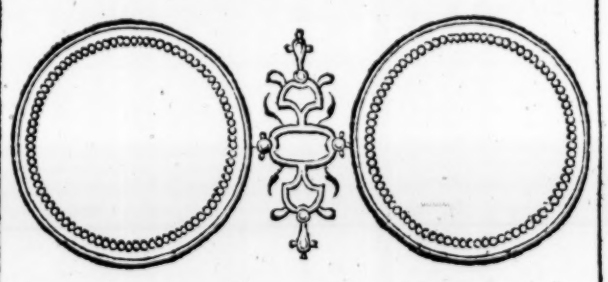
Gratian choſen Emperour.
Gracian murthered.

The features and Imperiall Title ſtamped on the Romiſh Mony of theſe two *vſurpers*, (according to the vſuall manner of the like in Eſtate) we finde not, neither ſtands it with credit of our Hiſtory to faine them at pleaſure: therefore til time bring them forth from the Caues of obſcurity, we haue allowed them place only by theſe circles inſerted, that others may ſupply what preſently we want, and accompliſh by pencile, what we cannot by Preſſe.

(6) Yet time to *Conſtantine* hath bin more fauorable in preſeruing his remẽbrance by his minted Moneys, which here with his Story we preſent to ſight. At the fall of theſe former, no better at all then a Common Souldier, but vpon confidence onely conceiued of his *Name*, was made *Emperor*, who with more reſpect of honour, and liking of his aduancers, bare himſelfe better then the others had done. For putting to Sea, and landing at *Bologne*, he eaſily induced the *Romans* forces as farre as the *Alps* to ſide with him: *Valentia* in *France* hee manfully defended: the *Rhine*, which long had been neglected, hee fortified with *Garriſons*: vpon the *Alps* as well as vpon the *Maritime Coaſts*, where paſſages were frequented, he built Fortreſſes: *Spaine* likewiſe he held vnder the hand of *Conſtans* his *Sonne*, whom of a *Monke* hee had made *Auguſtus*, & by whoſe valour ſubdued al from the *Pyrenean Mountaines* to the *Ocean*. Whoſe Moneys wanting to expreſſe his Image & Stile, we haue alſo ſupplied with another Blanke.

Conſtantine of a common Souldier made Emperor. Anno. Do. 410.

Conſtans the ſon of *Conſtantine* made *Auguſtus*. *Sabellicus.*



(7) *Conſtantine* proſpering as wee haue ſaid, ſent Letters of excuſe vnto *Honorius*, affirming conſtantly that he was compelled by the Souldiers to do what he did: whereby he ſo pleaſed the *Emperor*, that commending his Valor, & holding him fit, he ſent him of free gift a *Purple Robe*. Wherupon their new-growne blade began to bud faire, and at *Arles* planted his *Imperiall Seate*, commanding the *City* to be called *Conſtantina* from him, and ordained that the Aſſemblies of the affaires of *Seuen Prouinces* ſhould be therein held. But this his *Sunſhine* of proſperity was ſoone ouercaſt with the *Clouds* of aduerſe fortunes, and his Crowne & Life laid together in the duſt. For in *Spain* againſt him was arreared *Maximus* a *Vaſſall*, whoſe *Generall Geroncius* intercepting *Conſtans*, (his *Sonne* and *Cæſar*) at *Vienna* in *France*, ſlew him: and *Conſtantine* himſelf within the walles of *Arles*, beſieged for *Foure Moneths*, after the *Raigne* of *Foure Yeeres*, laid aſide his *Purple Robe*, and entred the *Church* in *Order* of *Prieſthood*, and ſurrendring the City with his Stile Imperiall, was laſtly led into *Italy*, and there beheaded.

Honorius alloweth *Conſtantine* Emperor.

Conſtans ſlaine.

Conſtantine beheaded.

(8) From that time *Britaine* renewed her obedience to *Honorius*, and the *Prouince* a while was refreſhed by the *Wiſedome* and *Prowеſſe* of *Victorinus* her *Lieutenant*, who often repreſſed the incurſions of the

Victorinus Lieutenant in *Britaine*.

Scots

Scots & *Picts*: whereupon in his praise *Rutillius Claudius* thus wrote:

Rutilius Claudius. Paul. Oros. lib. 7. August. de Ciuit. Dei. Hieron. in Epist. ad Princip.

Conscius Oceanus virtutum, conscia Thule,
Et quaecunque ferox arua Britannus arat:

The Ocean wide and Thule,
his vertues witnesse will;
And all the Champian Fields,
which Britaines fierce doe till.

Iornandes in hist. Goth.

(9) But *Rome* at this time being sore afflicted, and by *Alaricus* with his *Gothes* and *Vandals* presently sacked, *Honorius* sent for *victorinus* with his *Army* out of *Britaine*, to the rescue of the Citie, as *Claudian* signifieth, when he reckoneth vp among other *Aides*, the *British Legion* sent thither: whereof the *Scots* and *Picts* had soone notice, and (according to their wonted manner) with fire & sword molested their neighbours.

Victorinus leaueth *Britaine.*

(10) The *Britains* therfore resolutely engaging themselues into dangers, tooke *Armes*, and freed their *Cities* and *States* from those *Barbarous People*: by whose example, the rest of their Nation in *Armorica*, with the *Prouinces* of *Gaulois*, deliuered themselues also from their oppressions, and all of them cast out the *Roman Presidents*; settling a forme of Commonwealth to their owne liking. But these our *Britaines* growing too weake to withstand the continuall inroades of their *Northerne Enemies*, humbly besought *Honorius* for succour; whose returne of comforts consisted only in words, exhorting them by *Letters*, to stand vpon their owne *Guard*. But they knowing it was not words, which must helpe them, againe deplored their miseries, & so obtained of him the assistance of one *Legion*, which in their aid droue backe those *Assailants* into their owne *Marches*, and fortified againe the *Wall* betwixt the *Frith* of *Edenburgh* vnto *Cluid*: so then departing, left the *Britaines* to defend themselues; who now, besides the *Common Enemies* so often mentioned, were much molested, and their *Faith* corrupted by one *Pelagius*, by birth a *Britaine*, by profession a *Monk*, & by leaud doctrine an *Heretik*, who was brought vp in the famous *Monastery* of *Bangor* in *Wales*; who had also trauel'd *Italy*, *Sicilia*, & *Egypt* for the study of learning, and grew into great fauour with *Paulinus* Bishop of *Nola*, and with *S. Augustine*, also, till his *Heretical Assertions*, which had been by him and his disciple *Celestius* (a *Scot* secretly taught, and by *S. Ierome* discouered) were afterwards condemned by *Innocentius* the first, Bishop of *Rome*. But the *Arch-heretick* returning into *Britaine*, & began againe obstinately to maintan the same, together with *Agricola*, one who spread the venome of that *Heresie* into *Forraine parts*: whose doctrines were, 1. That Man, without the grace of God, was able to fulfill all the Commandements. 2. That man in himselfe had *Freewill*. 3. That the Grace of God was giuen vnto vs according to our merits. 4. That the Iust haue no sinne. 5. That Children are free from *Originall sinne* 6. That *Adam* should haue died, though he had not sinned. And therein also one *Timothy* most impiously disputed against the *Diuine* and *Humane Natures* of *Christ*. Notwithstanding at the same time flourished *Fastidius*, a most learned *British Bishop*, and *Chrysanthus* also the *Deputy* or *vicegerent* of *Britaine*, who with great honor gouerned the affaires of the *Church* and *Common-wealth*, and was afterwards (as elswhere we haue shewed) made *Bishop* at *Constantinople* of the *Nouatians* against his will.

Pelagius an Heretick corrupteth the *Britaines. Beda hist. Angl. lib. 1. cap. 10.*

Gennadius.

Innocentius condemneth *Pelagius* Heresie.

August. de Hæres. Pelagius his opinions.

Timothy his Heresy.

Lib. 6. cap. 9.

(11) Thus were the affaires of this *Land* managed vnder these *Brethren Emperours*: the elder of which *Arcadius*, died in peace at *Constantinople*, leauing his sonne *Theodosius*, a childe of eight yeeres, to the succession of the *Empire*, and to the tuition of *Hisdigerdus* King of *Persia*; a matter which seemed at first very dangerous, but prooued at the last very profitable. He raigned thirteene yeers, and died the first of *May*, the one and thirtieth of his age, the yeere of Christs birth foure hundred and ten. At which time one *Iouinus*, of an obscure beginning, had raised some Tumults in *Gallia*, stiled himselfe *Emperour*, vsurped the *Purple Robe*, and stamped his *Coines* with the Title of *victory*, as is seene in one which we heere present.

Arcadius his death and raigne.

Theodosius his succeessour. *Hisdigerdus* his Tutor.

Zosimus.

Britaines write to *Honorius* for succour.

(12) Against him *Honorius* made his power, and with his litle losse slew the *vpstart* in the Field: whereby his fame was more spread in the west, though not so fortunate as his brothers was in the East, after whom hee liued fifteene yeeres, and with whom he had raigned other thirteene; and he died, saith *Paulus Diaconus*, of an infirmity, at *Rome*, in the yere of grace foure hundred twenty foure, leauing no issue of his body to succeed him in the *Empire*.

Honorius his death & raigne. *Paul. Diacon.*

THEO-

THEODOSIVS 2. VALENTINIAN 3.

CHAPTER LIV.

Theodosius 2. Emp. East.

Valentinian 3 Emp. West.

GReat haue beene the *Warres* and ſtrange the *Alterations*, which both here at home, and through the *world* abroad, haue chanced vnto *States*, ſince the firſt attempts of *Iulius Cæſar*; vnto theſe preſent *Emperors*, *Theodoſius* the ſecond; and *Valentinian* the third, his *Aſſociate*; whoſe *Liues* and *Raignes*, did conclude the *Succeſſions* of the *Romiſh Monarchs* within this *Iland* of *Great Britaine*, and threw downe their *Triumphall Arches*, in many other *Prouinces*, which for long time had been obſequious to *Romes* ſoueraigne Command. So vncertaine is the *Glory* of this *World*, and her *Seeming Strength* ſo liable to *Mutability*, that the *Powers* and *Periods* thereof, held in *His* hand that holdeth the *Vniuerſall Ball*, are ſuddenly turned from their high-mounted ſite and beauty of the *Sun*, vnto the *Down-fall* and darke ſide of the *Globe*; and either fall againe into the ſmall *Circuit* of their firſt compaſſe, after they haue expired their *Number*, *Waight*, and *Meaſure*: or elſe with *Daniels Image* are vtterly extinct and blowne away, as the chaffe from the Summer flower.

An. Do. 408

Theodoſius & *Valentinian* the laſt Roman Monarks in *Britaine*.

Dan. 2. 35.

(2) The continuance of whoſe *Eſtates*; ſeeme they neuer ſo *Great* and *Durable* in *Power*, *Circuit*, *Defence*, and *Multitude*, hath ſeldome extended much the limit of *Fiue hundred yeeres*, but that their high and mounted *Flames*, fall in the aſhes of their owne conſuming decaies, or els hath receiued ſome other alteration of Empires encreaſe, as many learned Writers haue obſerued in moſt *Comon-welths*. So was it in the *State* eſtabliſhed by *God* himſelfe among his *Peculiar People*. As for the *Promiſe* to *Abraham*, made of *Chriſt* the *Bleſſed Seed* and *Life* of *Man* (where ceaſed the *Worlds formerly-vſed computation* from the *Ages* of *Men*) vnto the *Law* deliuered vpon *Mount Sinai*, declaring condẽnation and death, were foure hundred & thirty yeeres: from *Iſraels* departure out of *Egypt*, when their Common-wealth beganne to be ruled by *Iudges*; and *Gods* ſeruice celebrated in the *Tabernacle* vnder *Curtaines*, vnto the *Building* of their *Glorious Temple* erected by King *Salomon*, were yeres foure hundred and eighty. From the *Annointing* of *Dauid*, the firſt King, ſet vpon *Iudahs Throne*, vnto the death of *Zedechiah* the laſt King thereof, ſlaine by *Nebuchadnezer*, and that *Holy Temple* conſumed by fire, were yeeres foure hundred & ſeuenty. And other *Politike Eſtates* haue ſtood much vpon the like *Space* of time. For the *Kingdome* of *Athens* ſet vp by *Cecrops* the firſt *King* thereof, vnto *Codrus* the laſt, when they changed their *Monarchie* to a *Democracie*, is ſaid to haue continued foure hundred and ninety yeeres. The *Lacedemonians State* from *Lycurgus* their *Law-giuer*, vnto *Alexander* the Great, that ouerthrew it, flouriſhed the ſpace of foure hundred ninety one yeeres. From the expulſion of *Romes Kings* vnder *Tarquinius* vnto the affected Empire in *Iulius Cæſar*, were foure hundred ninety & nine yeers. And omitting many others, to come to our ſelues; from *Cæſars* firſt *Inuaſion* of *Britaine*, vnto the daies of this *Valentinian* the third, wherein the *Romans* did quite abandon it, were fiue hundred yeeres. From the *Saxons* intruſions and diuiſion of this *Realme*, into an *Heptarchie* vnder their *Gouernment*; vntill the vnited *Monarchie* made by *King Egbert*, in the yeere eight hundred and nineteene, were yeeres foure hundred ſixty nine. But from thence, vntill their iſſue failed in *King Edward Confeſſor*, were yeres onely two hundred forty ſeuen. And from the *Normans Conqueſt*, vnto the death of that *moſt ſacred Soueraigne of eternall memory*, *Queene Elizabeth*, when began againe the name of GREAT BRITAINE; and the *vnion* of the whole *Iland* to be brought into one entire *Monarchie* by the rightfull *Succeſſion* and *thrice-happy entrance* of our moſt gracious King IAMES, are yeeres fiue hundred thirty ſix. But of theſe three laſt, we are to ſpeake hereafter and now returne to finiſh vp the *falling Eſtate* of the *Romans Greatneſſe*.

The Roman Monarchies continuance.

(3) *Theodoſius* the ſonne of *Arcadius* beganne his Empire in the yeere of the worlds ſaluation foure hundred and eight, and was Gouerned with a ſpeciall protection by the *Perſian King* during his *Minoritie*, vnder the charge of *Antigonus* an excellent man. But now growne to yeeres, & ſome variance happening betwixt him & his *Tutor*, he was left to the diſpoſe of himſelfe: and his vncle *Honorius* leauing at his death great troubles vnquenched in the Weſt, the mightieſt *Potentates* aſſaied to make themſelues *Emperours* ouer ſeuerall *Dominions*, and from the *richneſſe* of the *Imperiall Diademe*, each one ſought to plucke a *Iewell* to beautifie his own *Crowne*. So the *Barbarous Nations* out of this one *Monarchie* began the *foundations* of many ſucceeding *Kingdomes*. For in *Spaine* the *Vandalis*, *Sueuians*, and *Alanes*, not contented with their portion there aſsigned, betooke themſelues to *Armes*. The *Frankes* and *Burgundians*, which had ben driuen out of *France*, reſolued againe to returne. The *Gothes*, that were *Lords* of *Barcelona*, *Narbona*, and *Toloſa*, did as the reſt. The *Hunnes* entred *Hungarie*. *Iohn* the *Tyrant* held *Rome*: and in *Africa*, *Boniface* became a *Newter*: Theſe ſtirres mooued *Theodoſius* to nominate

Abraham, the time betweene the Promiſe made to him, and the giuing of the Law. Gal. 3. 17.

1. King. 6. 1. *Iſrael*, the time between their departing out of *Egypt*, and the building of the Temple of *Salomon*.

Dauid; the time betweene his Annointing and the death of *Zedekiah*.

The time betweene *Cecrops* his ſetting vp, and *Codrus* the laſt.

Lycurgus, the time betweene him and *Alexander the Great*.

Tarquinius, the time betweene him and *Iulius Cæſar*.

Cæſar, the time betweene his inuaſion of *Britaine*, and *Valentinian* the third.

Saxons, the time betweene their intruſions and King *Egbert*.

Egbert, the time betweene him and *Edward Confeſſor*.

Normans, the time betweene their Conqueſt, and the entrance of our gracious Soueraigne *King Iames*.

Theodoſius 2. vnder the Perſian King.

Antigonus his Tutor.

The diſſipation of the Romane Empire.

Valentinian elected Emperour in the West.

nominate *Valentinian* his kinsman *Emperour* in the *West*; whose raigne and affaires (so farre as they touch *Britaine*) we will follow, being the last of the *Romane Emperours* that held out the succession of our *British Monarkes*.

His descent. In Chap. 52. sect. 8.

(4) This *Valentinian* was the sonne of *Constantine*, made *Augustus*, as is said, and of *Placidia Galla* daughter to the first *Theodosius Emperour*: which Lady in the sacking of *Rome* by *Alaricus* the *Gothe*, was taken prisoner, and by him giuen in marriage to his neere kinsman *Athaulphus*, who afterwards was king of that Nation; and by her sweete demeanour, and prudent meanes, a *Peace* was concluded betwixt her Husband and her Brother, but with such dislikes to the *Gothes*, that they presently killed him, and raised one *Wallia* for their King; who likewise comming to composition with *Honorius*, deliuered *Placidia* according to Couenants, whom the *Emperour* her *Brother* bestowed in Mariage vpon *Constantine* his *Generall*, in regard of his good seruice and Victories by him atchieued.

Placidia Galla her care of *Valentinian* her sonne.

(5) Shee, with yong *Valentinian* new made *Emperour*, being sent into *Italie*, selected the best approued Captaines to secure her sonnes Estate; whereof *Aspar* was one, that in *Rome* slew *Iohn* the Vsurper, who had there made himselfe *Emperour*, stamping this his face and stile vpon the currant Money of the *State*, and by his *Tyrannies* held his fortunes for fiue yeeres continuance.

Aspar and *Aetius* chosen by her.

Iohn Vsurper.

Aetius likewise, that had beene Gouernor of *Spaine* was imployed into *Gallia*, where the *Frankes* and *Burgundians* (vnder the conduct of *Clodius* their second King) sought to establish (as shortly they did) their Kingdome in that Countrey, giuing it the name of *France*, according to their owne, by which name they were neuer knowne to *Caesar*, *Strabo*, *Pliny*, *Tacitus*, *Mela*, nor *Ptolemy*; whereby the great blast of their Antiquitie is shewed to be but a puffe of winde.

France not knowne to *Caesar* by that name.

(6) At this time the *Britaines* were againe sore oppressed by the *Scots* and *Picts*, who hauing notice that the *Aides* sent by *Honorius* were returned, passed ouer the *water* in their *Boates* at both the ends of the *Wall*, and inuaded the *Prouince* with such force, that they bare downe all before them. The *Britaines* in this lamentable plight, sent their *Ambassadours* to *Rome*, with their *Garments* rent, and *dust* vpon their *heads*, vnto *Valentinian* the Third, bewailing their most miserable *Estates*, and crauing his help. The *Emperour* mooued to remorse, sent a *Regiment* of *Souldiers* into *Britaine*, vnder the Command of *Gallio* of *Rauenna*, a most valiant man, who hauing put backe the *Enemie* with the assistance of the *Ilanders*, gaue some small comforts to the distressed *Britaines*. But the *Burgundians* passing the *Rhene*, and threatning to waste *Italy*, *Aetius* was compelled to recall *Gallio* with his *Legion*, to secure the Country about *Paris*, whilest himselfe with his, followed the dangerous *Enemie*.

Britaines sore oppressed with the *Scots* and *Picts*.

Britaines sorrowfull Ambassage to *Valentinian*.

Britaines obtaine some small succour.

Gallio sent to aid them.

Burgundians threaten *Italie*.

Gallio recalled, and the *Britaines* quite forsaken of the *Romans*.

(7) He now ready to depart for *France*, told the *Britaines* that it was not for the *Romans* to take so long and painfull *Iournies*, neither at that time especially when their own *Empire* was in danger to be ouer-ran. Therefore he willed them thenceforth to stand vpon their *Guard* and to prouide for their owne safeties: and to that end, in regard of their good seruices done to the *Romans*, he taught them the vse of their *Armour* and *weapons*, as also to strengthen their *Fortification*, and Wall of *Turfe*, which now they began to build with firme *Stone*, laid eight foot in thicknesse, and twelue foot in height. This *wall* (saith *Gildas*) *they drew in a straight line (at the publike charges of the State) from East to West, and from Sea to Sea, planting Bulwarkes, and raising Turrets, with conuenient spaces distant one from another; which gaue a faire and farre prospect into the Sea.* And so the *Romans* gaue a finall *Farewell*, meaning neuer to returne againe; and burying part of their *Treasures* heere in the *Earth*, whereof much hath beene found, and more is still sought, left *Britaine* about the yeere of *Christ* fiue hundred, after the first inuasion thereof made vnder the conduct of *Iulius Cajar*.

The *Romans* kindnesse at their departing from *Britaine*.

ed. hist. Angl. lib. 1. cap. 12. Gildas.

The time of the *Roman* finall forsaking of their temporal iurisdiction in *Britaine*

(8) This vnfortunate *Emperour Valentinian* lost not only *Britaine*, but suffered also *Africa*, *France*, and *Spaine* to be plucked from his *Empire*: and the weakenesse of the *Romans* power (whose strength consisted most in *Forraine Aides*, (as *Tacitus* saith) was left vnable to defend it selfe when they had bereft this *Prouince* of all the *Flower* and *Choice* of *Men*, as *Gildas* in that age complained, saying; *Britaine is despoiled of all her armed men, with her militarie forces: her Rulers (cruell though they were) are wasted, her Garrisons withdrawn, and defences laid open, and an exceeding great number of her stout couragious Souldiers taken from her, to serue the Romans in their warre.* With which his sayings the *Roman Writers* themselues agree, and record the *Musters* and great multitudes of *Britaines* that haue beene transported by them out of this *Iland*: as when *Trebellius Maximus* with his *British Forces* made strong the *Faction* against *Otho* in *Germanie*: and then also *Honorius Flaccus* brought thence eight thousand chosen Souldiers to vphold *Vitellius* in his cause.

Nicephorus.

Prosperus Aquitanus.

Romans vnable to defend their owne Country.

Gildas.

Clodius Albinus banding against *Seuerus* the *Emperour*, tooke out of *Britain* the flower of their cheualry vnder whose banner most of them perished, when in the Fields of *France*, and neere vnto *Lyons*, they spent their blood in his cause; whereby the sinewes of their owne Countries defence was sore weakened, and laid open to *Forraine Inuaders*. *Constantine the Great* also (as *Malmesbury* noteth) carried hence a great power of *British Souldiers* with him in his warres, by whose puissance (as he saith) he obtained *Triumphant Victories*, and the *Empire* of the whole *World*: and after assigned them that part of *Gallia* to inhabit, which was called *Armorica*, lying westward vpon the *Sea Coasts*, where they seating themselues, their posteritie was increased, and continueth a *Mightie People* euen vnto this day.

Tacit. hist. l. 1. ca. 9

Constantine transported a great power of *Britaines*.

Armorica a part of *Gallia* giuen to the British Souldiers.

(9) This Countrey afterwards (being conquered by *Maximus*, and his reconciled Enemie *Conan Meriadoc*, Lord of *Denbigh land*, by the prowesse of those *British Souldiers* whom hence hee carried in his quarrell against *Valentinian* the Emperour) was receiued in free gift of *Conan*, after the slaughter of *Iubates* the King, and the name therof changed to *Little Britaine*, as being a *Colonie* or *Daughter* of this our *Iland*. The *Prouince* is large, pleasant, and fruitfull, and containeth in her *Circuit* nine *Bishops Seas*, whereof three are called *Cornouaille* vnto this day, which are *Leonensis*, *S. Paul*, and *Tregniers*: the other six are *Dole*, *Rhenes*, *S. Malo*, *Nanetensis*, *Vannes*, and *Brien*, whose language differeth from their Neighbours the *French*, & retaineth as yet the *British Dialect*. I omit to speake of those other *Numbers* of men sent for out of this *Kingdome* by the said *Conan*, whereof our *British Historians* make mention; besides the sending of *Vrsula* with Eleuen thousand *Virgins* to be matched in mariage with these their *Country-men*, all of them perishing by *Sea* or by *Sword*, but none of them returning hither againe; wherby the bane of the *Land* presently followed, her hopes being cut off, and depriued of wonted *Posterities*.

Armorica changed to the name of *Little Britaine*.

It containeth nine Bishops Seas.

Keepeth as yet the Brittish Dialect.

Great numbers of Britaines sent to *Conan*.

A great multitude of Virgins sent out of *Britain* to *Armorica*.

(10) This Conquest and Plantation in *Armorica*, *Matthew* of *Westminster* accounteth to haue happned in the yeere of *Christ* three hundred ninety two. And these *Souldiers* thus withdrawne, are so recorded by *Henry* of *Huntington* his ancient; and *Ninus* also long before both, reporteth that *Maximus* gaue ma-

Armorica conquered.

Matthew Westm. Henry Hunt. Ninius.

Maximus gaue many Countries to the Britaines his souldiers.

nie *Countries* to these his *Britaines*, euen frō the *Poole* which is on the Top of *Iupiters Hill*, to a *Citie* called *Cantguic*, and vnto the Western Mountaines. Thése (saith hee) are the *Britaines* in *Armorica*, who neuer returned to this day, in regarde whereof *Britaine* was Conquered by *Strange Nations*. With whom agreeth *Gerualius* a Monke of *Canterburie*, *Iohn Anglicus*, *Ranulphus* of *Chester*, and others. Thither also in the downefall and desperat *Estate* of the *Britaines*, many of them fled from the rage of their *Enemies*, as hee that was borne in *Armorica*, and liued neerest to that age, euen the *writer* of the *Life* of *S. Wingualoe* the *Confessor*, doth sufficiently proue. *An of-spring* (saith he) *of the Britaines embarked in Flotes, arriued in this Land, on this side the British Sea: what time as the Barbarous Nation of the Saxons, fierce in Armes, and vnciuill in manners, possessed their Natiue and Mother Soyle, &c.*

Gerualius. Iob. Anglicus.

Britaines fled into Armorica in the time of the Saxons.

(11) And lastly, in the cause of that other *Constantine*, who was elected only for his *Name*, most of the *Flower* and *Strength* of the *Britaines* were transported into *Gallia* and *Spaine*, where in his variable fortunes many of them perished. And *Malmesbury* writing of these times, saith, that the *Romans* had emptied *Britaine* of all her *Flower* and *Chiualry* of *Warre*, leauing now in her Countries but *Halfe-barbarous* men, and in her *Cities* only *Epicures*, vnfit for seruice. In confirmation whereof, the most learned *Cambden* out of *Antike Inscriptions*, and the *Booke* named *Noticia Prouinciarum*, hath obserued, that these *Companies* vnder written serued the *Romans* in their *Warres*, & were dispersed here and there in their *Prouinces*, which also were from time to time euermore supplied out of *Britaine*.

Constantine who was elected for his name, transporteth great multitudes of Britaines.

Cambden.

Ala Britannica Milliaria.
Ala IIII. *Britonum in Ægypto.*
Cohors prima Ælia Britonum,
Cohors III. *Britonum.*
Cohors VII. *Britonum.*
Cohors XXVII. *Britonum in Armenia.*
Britanniciani sub Magistro Pe ditum.
Inuicti Iuniores Britanniciani } *inter Auxilia*
Exculcatores Iun. Britan. } *Palatina.*
Britones cum Magistro Equitum Galliarum.
Inuicti Iuniores Britones inter Hispanias.
Britones Seniores in Illyrico.

(12) No meruaile is it then if *Britaine* lay weake; being thus continually exhausted of her strengths, which these approued *Records* make so apparant, as we neede not alleage the doubtfull story of *Irpus* of *Norway*, for the depopulation of the *Island*, who is said by subtlety vnder pretence of *Kindred*, and *Honour* to be atchieued, to haue gotten an infinite number of *Britaines* to follow him in his enterprise, which neuer returned againe. or the booke *Triades* mentioned by the Author of the *Reformed History of Great Britaine*, that bringeth an Army hence, consisting in number of one and twenty thousand men, into *Aquitaine* and *Gaul*: which, as he saith, was the ayde mentioned by *Cæsar*, that out of *Britaine* assisted the *Gaules* against him. Which may partly seem to be gathered from *Cæsar* himself, as hath been said: where he affirmeth, that the *Britaines* and *Gaules* were gouerned vnder the same King: and is further confirmed by the fashion and Inscriptions of *Antique Coines*, which wee haue seene stamped in *Gold*, the *Forme* round, and *Shield-like*: *Imbossed* outward in the *Face*, and *Hollow* in the *Reuerse*; a *Forme* vnfallible to be of the *Britaines Coines*, and the word *Comes* inscribed vpon the *Imbossed* side, we imagine to be the same *Gouernor* of *Artoys* in *Gallia*, whom *Cæsar* mentioneth.

S. Iohn Prys. Irpus of Norway, transporteth an incredible number of Britaines.

Britaines one & twenty thousand transported into *Aquitaine* against *Cæsar.*

Attrebatij in *Gallia* and *Britaine.*

(13) Thus then was *Britaine* first made weak by the *Romanes* exhaustings, and then quite abandoned of their helpe, and left as a tree in the Wildernesse, to lose her faire leaues by the continuall blasts of these sharp *Northren windes*, whose beauty before had bin as the *Cedars* of *Libanon*, or like vnto those in the *Garden of God*. And whose riches had drawne the *Worlds then Monarchs* to such liking and loue, that no meanes was omitted to attaine the same, nor care neglected to keep it in their Subiection: which, while it stood a *Prouince* in their obedience, was held and accounted to be the fairest flower in their *Triumphant Garlands*, and of some of their *Emperors* thought worthy the Residency of their *Imperiall Throne.*

Britaine accounted the fairest plume of the *Romane* Diademe.

THE ORIGINALL, IN-VASIONS, AND HEPTARCHIE OF THE SAXONS; VVITH A SVCCESSION OF THEIR MONARCHS IN THIS ILAND OF GREAT BRITAINE, THEIR RAIGNES, MARRIAGES, ACTS, AND ISSVES, VNTILL their laſt ſubuerſion by the Danes and Romans.

But firſt of the Down-fall of BRITAINE.

BOOKE VII. CHAPTER I.

Britaine abandoned of the *Roman Garriſons.*

THE Britaines thus abandoned of all the *Romane Garriſons*, and emptied of *ſtrengths* that ſhould haue ſupported her now *down-falling-eſtate*, lay proſtrate to confuſion and miſerable calamities; no leſſe burdened with the tumultuous vproares of her owne great men, who ſtroue for the *ſupreme Gouernment*, then of the *Barbarous Nations* which with continuall incurſions made ſpoile where they came. *Theſe times* (ſaith *Ninius*) *were full of feares, and were prolonged with forty yeeres afflictions*: wherein *Vortigern* then King was troubled with the violence of the *Romans*, the dreads of the *Picts* and *Scots*, and the oppoſitions of *Aurelius Ambroſius*, who ſuruiuing his ſlaine Parents, that had worne the *Imperiall purple Robe*, ſought their reuenge vpon their wicked Murderer: beſides the Intruſions of the *Germane Saxons*, called in for *Friends*, but proued indeed the greateſt *Enemies*. During the conflict of theſe tempeſtuous ſtormes, ſome ſmall comforts were miniſtred vnto the *Britaines* by *Biſhop German* his preſence, who from *France* aſſiſted them againſt the *Pelagian Hereſies*, and the perilous aſſaults of the *Scots* and *Picts*, who in diuers skirmiſhes ouercame them.

Ninius.

Great troubles in the raigne of *Vortigern.*

Biſhop *Germon* an aſſiſter againſt the *Pelagians.*

(2) Theſe dolorous times of *Britaines* deſtruction, *Gildas* the *mournefull Hiſtorian*, who liued not long after, doth declare. *As ſoone as the Romans* (ſaith hee) *had left Britaine, and were returning vnto their home, forthwith hideous multitudes of Scots and Picts came ſwarming out of their Carroghes, (whe rein they paſſed the * Scitick Vale) like whole Armies of duskiſh vermine, which at high noone, when the Sunne is in his greateſt heat, began to crawle foorth of their narrow holes an infinite number of hideous* Scots *and* Picts; *which two kinds of People, though in conditions ſomewhat different, yet they conſorted too well in greedie deſire of bloud-ſhed: and hauing intelligence, the aſſociates of Britaine were now returned with vtter diſclaime of further aſſiſtance; with more confident boldneſſe then euer before, they ſeize all the* Northerne *and vttermoſt part of the* Iland, *as if it had beene their own inheritance, euen as farre as to the Wall. Againſt theſe attempts there were ranged in the high Forts along the Wall, Garriſons of Souldiers, but ſuch as were both ſlothfull, and alſo vnſeruiceable for Martiall Affaires: which white-liuered Lozels with quaking hearts ſate ſtill warding day and night, till their ioints were as benummed and ſtupid as the ſtones whereon they ſate: inſomuch as the naked Enemies did with long hooked Engines plucke from off the wall thoſe miſerable Warders, daſhing their bodies againſt the ground. This good yet they got by their vntimely deaths, that being thus ſuddenly diſpatched out of the world, they eſcaped the imminent lamentable calamities that their brethren and children ſhortly felt. To bee ſhort, hauing abandoned their Cities & this high defenſiue Wall, once more they tooke themſelues to flight, and were diſperſed in a more deſperate manner then euer before. For the enemie was more hot in purſuit, and more cruell in the ſlaughter, the wofull* Inhabitants *being by their Enemies maſſacred, and rent in peeces like Lambs in the hands of bloudy Butchers, or in the iawes of cruell and ſauage Beaſts. In theſe moſt miſerable times, (neceſſitie ſo compelling) the poore diſtreſſed people forbare not to rob each other of that ſuſtenance, which could helpe them but for a very ſmall ſeaſon: and ſo their hoſtile oppreſſions were increaſed by their domeſticke vexations, for that the whole Country by theſe continuall direptions, was vtterly depriued of the ſtaffe of foode, hauing nothing left to prolong their life, but that only what they got in hunting.* Wherupon, about the thirtie nine yeere of *Theodoſius*, and of Chriſt foure hundred fortie ſix, the diſtreſſed Remaines of the downe-caſt *Britaines* addreſſed their miſsiue Letters to *Aetius*, whom *Gildas* caleth *Agitius*, *Preſident* of *Gallia*, in moſt lamentable manner, and thus inſcribed.

* The Iriſh Sea.

Scots and *Picts* (the *Romans* departed) ſeize all the Northerne parts.

Gildas.

Britaines ſend for help to *Aetius* Preſident of *Gallia.*

TO ÆTIVS Thrice Conſul, the groanes of the BRITAINES.

"*The Barbarians driue vs back to the Sea; the Sea a-*
"*gaine putteth vs back vpon the Barbarians: thus be-*
"*tweene two kindes of deaths, we are either ſlaughtered or*
"*drowned.* And the more to intimate their miſeries, and to moaue his aſsiſtance, thus they further vrge: *Wee* (ſay they) *are the Remnant that ſuruiue of the Britaines, and are your Subiects, who beſides the Enemie, are*

Scots and Picts catch the Britaines with long hookes.

Beda Hiſt. Angl. lib. 1. cap. 13.

afflicted by famine and mortalitie, which at this present extreamely rageth in our Land. And putting him in mind that it much importeth the Maiesty of the *Roman Empire* to protect and succour their *Prouince*, seeing it had now stood vpon the point of fiue hundred yeers vnder their obedience, whose strength of *Souldiers* taken frō thence to serue their *Emperors* in their Wars else-where, was now decaied, and their wealths wasted by maintaining their many Legions in their own Land and abroad: All this notwithstanding the *Romans* either would not, or could not relieue, hauing enough to doe to vphold their owne; but returned them againe with heauy hearts into the hands of their most cruell *Enemies*, who now knowing themselues free from the *Romans* interceptions, as a violent floud brake thorow the Prouince, and bare downe all before them; the *Inhabitants* flying like chased Deere, some taking ouer Seas into *Britane* in *France*; some to *South-wales*, *North-wales*, *Cornwall*, and parts of *Deuonshire*, leauing the best of the *Land* to the will of their Persecutors, and much of their Treasures hid in the ground, which neuer after they enioyed.

Brbiaines flie into *France*, *Soxth-wales*, *North-wales*, *Cornwall*, *Deuonshire*.

A great Famine. *Gildas, ibid.*

(4) But the greeuous Famine still increasing, though it had this woful issue with some, that it made them yeeld themselues into the Enemies bloudy hands (onely in hope to gaine a little sustenance of food for the present,) and for many yeeres after left lamentable tokens (saith *Beda*) of great desolations wroght by that dearth: yet with those other which were of more noble and resolute spirits it produced a better effect; insomuch as frō out of the Mountaines, Caues, & thicke woodes, they assailed their enemies, reposing their trust not in *Man*, but in *God*, whose help is then most at hand, when mans help faileth. These in many skirmishes gaue them the ouerthrow with much slaughter, and that for many yeeres together, when they made their incursions for booties and spoile, which caused these *Rauening Irish* to returne home; and the *Picts* awhile rested from further molestation. Notwithstanding the *Britaines* returned not from their owne wickednesse, growing strong now daily represing the Enemie, but stronger in their owne sinnes and ciuill dissensions. By meanes whereof, though a surcease of Hostile Warres was imbraced, and the skarres of famine cleerly skinned vp, yet another sore as dangerous as either, secretly bred, & shortly brake forth. For the Land being free from the Enemies wastes, yeelded such plenty and abundance of all things, as the like before no age had seene; and therewithall such riot and excesse, that the peoples sins grew to a plētiful haruest, as by the words of *Gyldas* is apparant.

Britaines trusting in God, ouercome their enemies.

Beda bist. Ang. lib. 1. cap. 14.

(5) *Certainly it is heard* (saith he) *that there is such fornication, as the like is not among the Gentiles. Truth with the maintainers thereof is hated: Lies with the Forgers thereof highly esteemed. Euill is entertained for good, leaudnesse respected more then vprightnesse, darknesse desired before the bright Sunne, and Satan accepted for an Angle of light: Kings then were annointed, not according to Gods liking, but such as excelled others in crueltie; and as cruelly againe by their anointers were they murdered, not for any demerit, but that they might aduance others more sauage then the former. If he were milde, or inclining to truth, the darts of hatred were on euery side leuelled against him, as the onely Subuerter of the* Britaines Estate. *What was pleasing or displeasing to God, was all one with them, sauing that the better things commonly wroght most discontent: so that rightly the saying of the Prophet, which was denounced vnto the people in old time, might be applied to our Country: Yee lawlesse and corrupt children haue forsaken the Lord, and prouoked vnto wrath the holy one of Israel. Why should ye be smitten any more, still multiplying iniquitie? Euery head is sicke, and euery heart is heauy: from the sole of the foot vnto the crowne of the head, there is nothing sound therein. Thus did they all things that were contrary to their safety, as if that medicine which was bestowed by that truest Physitian of all, was needlesse for the world. And not onely the prophaner sort did this, but also the selected flocke of the Lord, and the Shepheards*

Great sins among the *Britaines*.

Gildas.

Esay. 1.

Britaines did all things contrary to their safetie.

thereof, who ought to haue giuen example to the whole people. To speake of drunkennesse, numbers of them lay senseless and weltring in wine, swelling with pride, contention, and griping enuie, putting no difference in iudgement betweene good and euill: insomuch that it seemeth, contempt was powred forth both vpon Princes and people: and all of them seduced by vanities, wandred in errors and by-paths, not led in the right way. When God therefore was minded to purge his Familie, and to recure them thus infected with the corruptions of sinnes, by heare-say only of Tribulation, the winged flight of an often-tried rumor pierced the attentiue eares of all men, giuing notice of their ancient Enemies, ready to arriue, and fully minded to destroy them vtterly, and to inhabit (as earst they did) the whole Countrey from one end to another. Yet all this could not reclaime them, but like vnto mad horses, which taking the bit fast betwixt their teeth, runne away with their Riders, so these leauing the way that leadeth (narrow though it bee) vnto saluation, ran at randome in the wide way of all wickednesse, which leadeth directly to death. Whiles therefore (as Solomon saith) the stubborne seruant will not bee amended with words, he is scourged for a foole, and feeleth not the whip: for loe, a pestilent contagion fell heauily vpon this foolish people, which (though the enemies sword was gone) in short space destroied such multitudes of them, that the liuing were not able to bury the dead. Neither yet also were they thereby bettered, that the saying of the Prophet Esay in them might be fulfilled: God called them to mourning, to baldnesse, and sacke-cloth: but behold, they fell to killing of calues, and to slaying of Rammes; loe, they went to eating and drinking, and said withall, Let vs eat and drinke, for to morrow wee shall die. And indeed the time now drew nere, wherein their iniquities (like as those in times past of the Amorites) should come to the fulnesse. And euen at that instant the like measure beganne to bee heaped vpon the Britaines.

Psal. 106: 40.

Britaines heare of an inuasion, yet not reclaimed.

Prou. 29. 19.

Esay 22. 13.

Britaines iniquitie.

(6) For the common enemie now inuading the Southerne parts, was entred as farre as *Stamford* vpon the Riuer *Welland*; whom to resist, the *Britaines* assembled together, and hauing experience what ciuill iarres had formerly done, they iointly vnite their meanes and powers, and with one consent elect a King to manage these affaires, which was *Vortigerne*, by birth extracted from the *British Line*, nobly descended, had not his many vices blemished the same. The *British Historie* saith, that hee was *Earle* of *Cornwall*, and of great command in the daies of *Constantine* their King, whose simplicitie hee much abused, and whom lastly hee caused to be murdered by the *Guard* of his Person, the *Scots* and *Picts* by him so placed, and to that end instigated: whom neuertheless with death hee seuerely punished, to auoid further suspition. In whose reuenge, these fierce *Nations* so assaulted his Dominions with rape and spoile, that hee was forced for further assistance to send for these *Saxons* to his aid. Whether thus, or otherwise, most true it is, the *Saxons* were sent for, and of hoped *Friends*, became the tried *Enemies* to the *Britaines* and their *Estates*, as out of *Gildas* their *Historian* wee shall anon declare.

The Enemie inuadeth the Southerne parts.

Britaines vnite their powers.

Vortigern of the *British* line.

Earle of *Cornwall*

The *Scots* and *Picts* set to murther *Constantine*.

(7) The occasion and manner of this their inuiting and comming, is set downe by a Countryman of their owne *Witichindus*, a Writer of good antiquity, who thus relateth the circumstance thereof. *Britaine* (saith he) *by Vespasian the Emperour, long since being reduced among the Roman Prouinces, and held in their subiection, stood them in no small stead: but their Legions abandoned; and destinie* (as it seemeth) *determining the downefall, became soone assaulted by their neighbour Nations the Northerne Borderers. For the people of Rome after that the Emperor * Martiall was slaine by his Souldiers, being tired out with forraine wars, were not able to assist their friends with supply of accustomed aides. And yet had they built a mighty peece of worke for the defence of the Country, reaching betweene the confines from Sea to Sea, where it was thought that the Enemies would assaile the Inhabitants left in the Land. But no difficulty it was for them so fiercely bent, and euer ready to make war (especially where they dealt with a Nation feebled and left vnable to make resistance) to destroy the*

Wil. Malms. The *Saxons* sent for.

Witichindus.

Martian he meaneth.

The *Romans* worke for the *Britaines* defence raced by the Northerne Borders.

the laid worke. Therefore hearing of the worthy and fortunate exploits atchieued by the Saxons, they sent an humble Embassage to require their aid, and these hauing audience, spake as followeth.

Saxons great Warriours and fortunate.

" Most noble *Saxons*, the poore and distressed
" *Brets, outworn & tired by the many incursions of
" their enemies, hearing the fame of those victories
" which you haue most valiantly obtaind, haue sent
" vs Suppliants vnto you, craving that you would
" not deny them your helpe and succour. A large
" and spacious Land they haue, plentifull and abun-
" dant in all things, which we yeeld wholly to be at
" your deuotion and command. Hitherto wee haue
" liued freely vnder the patronage and protection of
" the *Romans*, next vnto whom wee know not any
" more powerfull then your selues, & therefore we
" seek for refuge vnder the wings of your valour. So
" that we may by your puissance be superiour of our
" enemies, whatsoeuer seruice you shal impose vpon
" vs, that will we willingly abide.

* *Britaines.* The *Britaines* Ambassage and speech to the *Saxons.*

To this petition the Peeres and Nobles of the Saxons briefly made answer in this wise.

" Know yee that the *Saxons* will be fast friends
" vnto the *Brets*, and ready at all times both to
" assist them in their necessity, and also to procure
" their wealth: with ioy therefore returne yee Am-
" bassadors, and with this wished-for tidings make
" your Country-men glad. *Hereupon (according to
promise) an army was sent into Britain, & ioifully receiued,
which in short time freed the Land frō the spoiling enemies,
& recouered the country vnto the behoof of the Inhabitants.*

The *Saxons* answere to the Petition of the *Britaines.*

(8) But how true this last clause is, may appeare out of the ancient *Gildas*, who thus recordeth it: *To represse* (saith hee) *many Inuasions of those their ancient enemies, which with cruell slaughters and booties continually afflicted them, the Britaines fell to consult vpon some conuenient course therein to be taken. Lastly all the Counsellers, together with the proud Tyrant, being blinded in iudgement, deuised such a protection, as in the end proued their Countries destruction; namely, that those fierce Saxons, a people sauage and of hatefull name, odious both to God and man, should be let into this Iland, as it were wolues into sheepe-folds, to repulse (forsooth) the Northerne Nations: then which proiect doubtlesse nothing was euer more pernicious and vnhappie vnto this Land. O senses sensles and plunged into deepest mists of errour! desperate dulnesse, and blinde blockishnesse of minde! Those who in absence were feared more then death, now of their owne accord are inuited by these Princes of Ægypt (if I may so say, thus sottishly counselling their Pharao) to come and rest with them vnder one roofe. Presently out of the Denne of that barbarous Lioness rushed footh a kennell of her whelpes, in three long vessels, called in their Language* Cyula, *carried vnder full saile, and with ominous presages fore-prophecying that for 300 yeeres they should possesse that Land vnto which they then directed their course, and for halfe of that space, (viz. one hundred and fiftie yeeres) they should waste and depopulate the same. These being put on shore first in the East part of the Iland, and that by Commandement of this vnfortunate Tyrant, there set fast their terrible pawes, pretending to the Ilanders, defense of their Country, but more truly intending the destruction of them. The foresaid Lioness finding that her first troupe of whelpes sped so well, sends againe a greater Rabble of the same Litter, which heere arriued in Flotes, bringing with them some other Associates of bastardly & vnnoble brood. And these beginnings, the slips of iniquitie, and the roots of bitternesse, (an accursed plantation well befitting our demerits) haue sprung vp, and put forth in our soile their haughty boughs and spreading branches. This barbarous Nation thus admitted, professing themselues our Souldiers, and such as would endure all hazards (so they fained) in defence for their good Hosts, first they craued supplie of victuals only; which being giuen them, for some time stopped (as we may say) the Dogs mouth: howbeit, afterward they complaine that their wages was not bountifully enough paid, deuising of purpose colourable occasions of quarrell, and threatning that vnlesse they might haue more munificent entertainment, they would with the breach of couenant spoile and waste the whole Iland. And without further delay, they second these threats with deeds (for our Sinnes, the cause of deserued reuenge, were still nourished) and the fire kindled Eastward, was set a flaming by these sacrilegious men from Sea to Sea, ceasing not to consume all the Cities and Countries bordering thereabout, vntill such time as burning welneere all the Inland Soile of the Iland, it licked (as it were) with the red tongue of the flame the very Westerne Ocean it selfe. In this violent inuasion, comparable to that of the Assirians against the Land of Israel in old times, is historically fulfilled also in vs, that which the Prophet by way of sorrowfull lamentation vttereth: They haue set fire vpon thy holy places, and haue burned the dwelling place of thy Name, euen vnto the ground. And againe: O God the Heathen are come into thine heritage, thy holy Temple haue they defiled: for all the Fortifications demolished with their Engines, and the Inhabitants together with the Bishops of the Church, and also the Priests and people, with glittering swords & crackling flames, were all at once laid along vpon the ground, yea and (which was a most lamentable spectacle) the stately Turrets, high mounted Walles, and the sacred Altars, lay all tumbling together (all purpled with the broken and bloudy Quarters and goared Carcases, mixed as in a horrible wine-presse. Neither were there any other Sepulchers abroad, saue the ruines of buildings, and the bowels of wilde beasts and birds.*

Keeles.

Saxons prophecy to possesse *Britaine* for 300. yeeres.

The *Saxons* first arriuall on the East part of this Iland.

Saxons inuent occasions of quarrell.

Saxons spoiles comparable to the *Assyrians* vpon the *Israelites.*

Psal. 74. 8.

Psal. 79. 1.

(9) During this most wofull, desperate, and tempestuous season (saith the mournfull *Historian*) *some poore Remaines of Britains being found in the Mountaines, were slaine by whole heapes: others pined by famine, came and yeelded themselues vnto their enemies, vpon composition to serue them as Bond-slaues for euer, so they might not bee slaughtered out of hand: which granted, was reputed a most high and especiall grace. Others went ouer Seas into Strange Lands, singing vnder their spread Sailes with a lamentable and mourning note, that of the Psalmist: Thou hast giuen vs, O Lord, as Sheepe to bee deuoured, and hast scattered vs among the Heathen. Yet others remained still in their owne Countrey (albeit in fearfull estate, and continually suspecting hazard) committing their liues and safety to the high steepe Hilles, to craggy Mountaines naturally intrenched, to thick growne Woods and Forrests, yea and to the Rockes of the Sea.*

Britaines slaine in the Mountaines.

Psal. 44. 11.

(10) Thus was *Britaine* brought to the period of her glory, and the people miserably subiected to a forraine Nation, about the yere from Christs Natiuity 473. and after the *Romans* last farewell, 28. In which time you see they were most cruelly pursued with all calamities of warre, and lastly betrayed by them in whom so much trust was reposed, as mournfull *Gildas* hath ruefully declared.

Britaines pursued with all calamities of warre.

THE ROYALL STEMME OF THE SAXONS, FROM PRINCE VVODEN AND HIS WIFE FRIA; BRANCHED VNTO THEM THAT FIRST LAYDE THE HEPTARCHIE OF GREAT BRITAINE.

BEfore wee enter into the diſcourſe of thoſe SAXONS, that by ſubtilty firſt ſought, and by ſtrength at laſt obtained the faire inheritance of great *Britains* Crowne, let vs firſt ſhew from what ancient Stem theſe ſeuen faire branches tooke ſappe of growth or beginning: that ſo the eye may be led, and the minde delight, to view, & to reade the maners of them, that ſince *Noah*, *Gomer*, and *Iauan*, are of ſureſt record, to be our knowne parents. And from this tree-like body behold the boughes that grew & aſpired to the hight of their owne wiſhed glory: laying the foundation of their ſeuen kingdoms in *Great Britains Iland*; which no ſooner was enioyed, but each of them ſought by his owne, to ouerſhaddow the next, vntill Fortune & warre brought all into one. And by the ſucceſſors of that one, the Crowne is ſtill worne, for fame and continuance far fairer then any. Theſe *Saxons* thus branched, by *Florentius* monke of *Worceſter*, is brought from Prince *Woden* their deified *Mars*, and from *Fria* his princeſſe, by them adored for the goddes *Venus*: and that with no litle imaginations of both their great powers. I need not to commend the credite of this monke, ſeeing *Bale* in his Centuries, 66. hath done it before me; and *time the touch-ſtone of truth* hath ſet him ſo neere vnto their tymes, that his life might well touch the liues of ſome of theſe *Saxons*: for he wrote in the dayes of king *Henry* the firſt, and died in the yere of grace a thouſand one hundred & nineteene; being the firſt recorder of our *Normane* Stories, and the director of all after-followers. See therefore from him (if you pleaſe) theſe SAXONS deſcents: and from him, and others their originalls, maners, religions, lawes and names: reſeruing the credit thereof vnto them; but the errors and paynes to our ſelfe.

Kent | East Angles | East Saxons | Mercians | Northumberland | South Saxons | West Saxons

Hengist
Wihtgi silas
Vitta
Vecta
Vffa
Wihel mus
Hirppu
Titmon
Casera
Æcwi nus
Offa
Bedca
Sigefu gel
Sueppa
Antsecg
Gesecg
Exneta
Crida
Cune: waldus
Cnebba
Icelius
Eomeri
Angeng atus
Offa
Wereun dus
Withlea gus
Waga
Withel: geatus
Ella
Iffius
Wuse: frea
Wilgel: sus
Wester walena
Seome hus
Suear tha
Sefuge lus
Seabal dus
Siggeo tus.
Sueb: dogus
Siggaru
Weag: deagus
Ida
Eoppa
Oesa
Athel: briht
Ingen: geat.
Angen geat
Alusa
Ingeb: rand
Weg brand
Beorno
Beorus
Ella
Brandi us
Bealde: agus
Cher: dick
Elisius
Ella
Ella
Gewisi us
Wigga
Freode: garius

THE SAXONS ORIGINALL.

CHAPTER II.

AS times decaied Ruines haue ſtopped the Paſſage of thoſe ſmal Springs, iſſued from the firſt fountatne of Nations beginnings, and haue diuerted their ſtreames far from any ſure Courſe, or certaine known Heads; ſo the originall parent, place, and name of our *Engliſh Saxons*, haue bin writtē with a pen of ſlight touch vpon the leaues of obliuion, or elſe recorded in thoſe obſcure Roules, that as yet ly bound vp in the Office of times forgetfulneſſe: whereby it reſts doubtfull from what root theſe branches firſt ſprang; ſome bringing them from *Aſia*, ſome from *Africa*, ſome from *Macedon*, ſome from *Denmarke*, and ſome without all likelyhood from *Britaine* it ſelfe.

Saxons, the vncertainty from whence they came.

Occa Scarlenſis a *Friſlander* borne, affirmeth theſe *Saxons* to come of *Saxo* a Prince of *India*, who with his two brethren were baniſhed by lot to ſeeke their deſtinies abroad, their owne Countries being peſtered with ouer many people at home. Theſe (ſaith he) following *Alexander the Great* into *Greece*, became Progenitors to their Countries, that frō them receiued their of-ſpring and names: as that from *Friſo* the eldeſt, his *Friſlanders* defended; from *Saxo* the ſecond the *Saxons* vpon the Riuer *Albis*, and from *Bruno* the yongeſt, the inhabitants of the Dukedome of *Brunſwic*. And of this opinion alſo *Sufridus Petri* ſeemeth to be. *Crantzius* doth deriue them from the *Catti* in *Germany* and the *Phrygians* a Region in *Aſia*; to omit others, who would bring them from *Saxo* the brother of *Vandale*.

Occa Scarlenſis: *Saxons from Saxo* a Prince of India

Sufridus Petri. Crantzius. Saxons of the *Catti* in *Germany*.

(2) *F. Albinus* a learned Author, doth thinke the *Saxons* to bee deſcended from *Sacæ*, a people in *Aſia*, and that afterward in proceſſe of time they came to be called *Saxons*; as if it were written *Sax-ſons*, as much to ſay as *The ſonnes of the Sacæ*. To this opinion Maſter *Henry Ferrers*, a Gentleman of ancient deſcent, great reading, and a iudicious Antiquary agreeth; whoſe iudgement for my particular, I haue alwaies honoured, and from the *Progeny of his Engliſh Monarchs* haue taken my principall proceeding in theſe *Saxon* Succeſſors.

Saxons from *Sacæ* a people in *Aſia*.

F. Albinus in Progym. Mr. Henry Ferrers in his Progeny of Engliſh Monarchs.

(3) As touching the ancient place of their aboad, *Ptolomy* the *Alexandrian* placeth the people *Saſones* in the Inner *Scythia*, betwixt the Moũtaines *Alani* & *Tapuri*; & *Amianus Marcellinus* ſiteth the *Sacæ* (no doubt the very ſame) *a fierce and ſauage Nation, to inhabit ouergrowne places, commodious onely for cattell, at the foote of the Mountaines Aſcanimia & Comedus, neere vnto which the Citie Alexandria, Tribatra and Drepſa were adioyning, and are ſo ſet by Ptolemie.* Neither is it leſſe probable that our *Saxons* deſcended from theſe *Sacæ* in *Aſia*, then the *Germans* from thoſe *Germans* in *Perſia*, of whom *Herodotus* writeth. And *Ioſeph Scaliger*, a renowned Author, ſheweth, that theſe words *fader, mo. der, brader, dutcher, band*, and ſuch like, are at this day found in the *Perſian* tōgue in the ſame ſenſe, as we vſe Father, Mother, Brother, Daughter, and Bound, &c. a great inducement (as ſome thinke) for the *Saxons* originall from thoſe parts; though in my opinion the Latine, *Pater, Mater, Frater*, haue no leſſe affinitie of ſound, and in all likelihood were the Primitiues to theſe of ours. Of theſe *Saca Strabo* writeth that they made inuaſions into Countries lying farre off, as namely *Armenia*, where they left the memory of their ſucceſſe in a part of that Country, by calling it *Sacacena*, after their owne name.

Ptolomie Geogra. in deſcription of *Aſia*. *Amian. Marcel. li.* 23. *cap.* 20.

Michael Neander.

Herodotus. Ioſeph Scaliger.

Perſian & *Saxon* tongue agree in many words.

Strabo.

(4) From theſe parts of *Aſia*, as *Stythia* and the reſt, one Band of them, conſiſting chiefly of their Youth, proceeded by degrees into *Europe*, and poſſeſſed the *Neſſe*, or *Forland*, which the *Romans* called *Cimbrica Cherſoneſus*, being at this day the continent part of the kingdome of *Denmarke*. In which place they were firſt knowne by the name of the *Saxons*. And here alſo they among themſelues beganne firſt to be diſtinguiſhed into other Tribes, as *Holt-Saxons* (for ſo *Verſtegan*, out of their old *Chronicle*, ſaith they were called) for their keeping in the Woods; but more properly (wee may ſay) into *Saxons*, *Angles*, and *Iutes*. From hence afterwards they departed, and paſſing ouer the Riuer *Elbe*, diuided themſelues into two Companies; whereof the one taking into the vpper parts of *Germany*, by little and little intruded themſelues into the ancient Seat of the *Suenians*, which now of them is called *Weſtphalia* and *Saxony*: and the other incroched vpon *Friſeland* and *Holland* (then called *Batauia*) with the reſt of thoſe Countries that lie along the *German* Seas.

Saxons comming into *Europe*.

Verſtegan cap. 2. *Holt-Saxons. Saxons Angles* & *Saxons iuſti.*

Sebaſtian Munſter. lib. 3.

(5) The time wherein theſe *Saxons* ſhould thus infeſt *Germany*, by *Occa Scarlenſis* verdict, is as ancient as great *Alexander*: others account it long after, in the raigne of *Tiberius*. But before *Ptolomy* we finde them not mentioned by any Author, who flouriſhed in the dayes of *Antoninus Pius*, about the yeere from *Chriſts* Natiuity 140. And moſt certaine it is by *Eutropius* and *Beda*, that before the yeere three hundred, when *Diocleſian* ſwaied the *Roman* Scepter, the *Saxons* out of *Cimbrica Cherſoneſus* ſore offended the coaſts of *Britaine* and *France*, with their many piracies, and were fearfull euen to the *Romans* themſelues. Theſe multiplying in number and ſtrength, ſeated in the *Maritime* tract of *Iutland*, *Sleſwick*, *Holſatia*, *Ditmarſe*, *Breme*, *Oldenburgh*, all *Frieſland* and *Holland*: and indeed, according to the Teſtimonie of *Fabius Quæſtor*, *wholy all the Sea coaſts from the riuer Rhene vnto the Citie Donia, which now is commonly called the Denmarc; and with him Henry of Erfurd affirmeth Saxon-land to ſtretch from the Riuer Albis vnto the Rhene; the bounds of no one people of all the Germans extending any way ſo far*, ſaith he.

The time of the Saxons entrance into Germanie.

Eutropius. Beda. Saxons fearefull to the *Romans* themſelues.

(6) But theſe ſpreading Boughs, are brought by others from a neerer *Roote*, planted not in *Aſia*, or *Scythia*, but rather in *Europe* and in *Germany* it ſelfe; grounding their opinion from *Cornelius Tacitus*, who maketh them to be bred in the ſame *Country*, though diſtinguiſhed by *Name* from the reſt, as others more beſide them were. Which *Saxons* (ſay they) though they were not mentioned by *Tacitus* in his *Deſcription* of *Germany*, yet in *Ptolemy*, that wrote not much aboue fortie yeeres after him, they are named; as alſo the *Gutæ* and the *Angli*, Copartners of their Conqueſt, *Tacitus* placeth among theſe *Germanes* that worſhipped *Herthum* the *Mother-earth* for their Auowrie Goddeſſe; at firſt but one *People*, but afterwards diuided into three ſeuerall *Tribes*; that is, the *Saxons*, *Angles*, and *Iutes*, who left the remembrance of their Names ſtamped (as it were) in the ſoile from whence

The names of theſe *Saxons* Tribes.

Tacit. Deſcr. Germ. cap. 1.

Tacit. Deſcr. Germ. cap. 6.

Saxons. Angles. Iutes.

whence they departed, and alſo coined new vnto others, wherof they became poſſeſſors.

Ptolem. Geogr. in deſcr. Ger. The place of the *Holt-Saxons* inhabiting. *Beda. Hiſt. Anglic. lib. 1. cap. 15.*

(7) *Potolemy*, among the *Sueuians* in *Germanie* placeth the *Saxons*, neere to the mouth of the *Riuer Albis*, in the continent of *Cimbrica Cherſoneſus*. And in this *Iland* of *Britaine*, *Beda* telles vs that the *Kingdomes of the Eaſt and Weſt Saxons were of them peopled*: Whoſe originall *Name*, beſides the *India Saxo* or the *Scythian Sacæ*, ſome wil haue Etymologed from *Saxum* a *Stone*, becauſe forſooth theſe people were hard or *Stoniebearted*; and ſome againe from the *Axones* in *Gallia*, of whom *Lucan* maketh mention in this his verſe:

Longiſq; leues Axones in armis,
And nimble Axons in their Armour light.

Arianus. Zoſimus.

Iuſtus Lipſius and *Engelhuſius* deriuation of the Name *Saxon.*

(8) *Iuſtus Lipſius* coniecture reth, and *Engelhuſius* affirmeth (as *Verſtegan* ſaith) that the name *Saxon*, tooke the appellation from the *Faſhion* of the *Weapon* that vſuallie they wore; which was a *Crooked Bowing Sword*, ſomewhat like vnto a *Sithe*, with the edge on the contrarie ſide, called by the *Netherlanders*, a *Saiſen*, and by themſelues *Seaxen*; and the ſhorter of like faſhion for hand-weapons, *Seaxes*; ſuch as were thoſe that were hid vnder their Garmēts in the *Maſſacre* of the *Britiſh Nobilitie* vpon *Salisbury Plaine*, when *Hengiſt* gaue the watch-word, *Nem eour Seaxes*, that is, *Take your Swords*: three of which kniues *Argent*, in a Field *Gules*, were born by *Erkenwyne* King of the *Eaſt-Saxons*, vpon his ſhield of Armes, as ſome of our *Heralds* haue imblazed. And that their *Name* was ſo giuen them from their *Weapons*, ſome allege their accuſtomed maner in wearing thereof, which vſually was to truſſe the ſame ouerthwart their backes whē they went foorth to battle; whereby notice was taken, and that name attributed vnto them, as the like hath been vpon like occaſion vnto others: for ſo in *Aſia* the *Scythians* were named for their skil in ſhooting; in *France* the *Picards* for their long *Pikes* vſed in fight; and in *Ireland* the *Galloglaſſes*, which bare the *Pollax* as their principall weapon: and of latter times, vpon leſſe occaſions haue *Surnames* growne both to particular men, as alſo to whole Societies; which may appeare in ſuch as hauing vowed their voiage and ſeruice for *Ieruſalem*, wore continually vpon their backes a red Croſſe, whereby the name *Croſſe-back*, or in old Engliſh, *Crouch-back*, was to them attributed: in which ranke, *Edmund Earle of Lancaſter* (ſecond ſonne to King *Henry* the third) was a principall, and thereby got that name, which he could not claw off from his back euer ſince. So likewiſe theſe men who entred that Religion of Monaſticall life, wore vſually vpon the outſide of their Garments the ſigne of a *Croſſe*, whereby that Order was diſtinguiſhed and noted from others by the name of *Crouched* or *Croſſed Friers*. But whence or howſoeuer the name aroſe, among all the *Germans* there were none in reputation for militarie deedes comparable vnto theſe *Saxons*: neither had any aduentured by *Sea* and *Land*, ſo farre to purchaſe renowne and praiſe, or perhaps (and that more likely) to ſupply their owne wants, ranging often from place to place, as men alwaies ready to enter any action: and in *Germanie* to this day a great *Dukedome* retaineth from them the name of *Saxonie*.

Saxons weapons called *Saiſen*, *Seaxen* and *Seaxes*.

British Nobilitie maſſacred

Scythians ſo named of *Scyttan* to ſhoot.

Picards for their long pikes.

Galloglaſſes for their Pollax.

Such as had vowedtheir voiage to Ieruſalem; named *Croſſe-backe*. Crouch-backe.

Seneca in lib. de Ira.

Eginhardus.

The place of the *Iute Saxons* inhabiting.

(9) The *Gutæ* (no doubt the *Iutæ*) *Potolomie* likewiſe placeth in the *Iland Scandia*, lying very neere the Coaſts of *Germany*, vpon whoſe vttermoſte *Promontorie*, (as ſaith an ancient *Manuſcript*) *the Iutes did for certaine inhabite, which vnto this day of the Danes is called Iutland.* Theſe *Iutes*, *Gutes*, *Getes*, or *Gothes*, or (as *Beda* calles them) *Vites*, gaue names to thoſe parts of *Britaine* which they inhabited, as to this day the *Ile* of *Wight* beareth their impreſsiō. This variety of names we wil no further inforce, then that theſe *Gothes* were not the ſame that had paſſed *Iſter* by *Pontus Euxinus*, and ouer-ran *Europe*, who were alſo called the *Getæ* by *Iohn Maior*. Their name, as *Verſtegan* will haue it, was taken from their *agilitie*, or *ſwiftneſſe* of foot: and ſome of them (as *Sebaſtian Munſter* declareth) went

Iutes called *Gutes*, *Gothes*, or *Vites*.

Ile of Wight how ſo named.

John Maior. Verſtegan Reſtit. cap. 5. Sabaſtian Munſt. lib. 3.

and inhabited among the Mountaines that diuide *Germanie* from *Italie*, whereupon their name grew to becalled the *Hil-Vites*, which are now the *Heluetians*.

The Angli Saxons place of inhabiting. *Ould. Anglia.*

(10) The *Angles* (by *Fabius Queſtor Ethelwardus* an ancient Writer, and a Noble Perſon of the *Saxons* Royall Bloud; are brough from *Ould Anglia*, a Portion *lying betwixt the Countries of the Saxons and the Giots*, as he writeth them, whoſe chiefe Towne was by them called *Sleſwick*, and of the *Danes*, *Haithby*: but (more particularly) it lay betwixt the City *Flemburge* amd the Riuer *Sly*, which Country by *Albertus Crantzius* is called *Anglia*. From hence (ſaith *Henricus Rantzouius*) *the Saxons, who were alſo called the Angle-Saxons, went to aid the Britaines.* And at this day there is a little Prouince in the Kingdome of *Dania*, named *Angell*, beneath the Citty *Flemburge*, which *Lindebergus* calleth *Little Anglia*. Their ſite notwithſtanding is placed by moſt Authours in *Weſtphalia*, where the Cittie *Engern* ſtandeth, and were *Tacitus* & *Potolomy* rangeth them among the *Sueuians*; which in their times might very well be. Others would haue them in *Pomerania*, where the Towne *Engloen* doth ſomewhat ſound their name: ſo doe *Engelheim*, *Engleburg*, and *Englerute*, places in *Germanie*, bqare witneſſe, and are prints of their footing among the *Longobards* and *Sueuians*. But the moſt glorious remembrance of that their name hath beene for theſe many ages in this Kingdome of *England*: though *Saxo Grammaticus* (as erſt we touched, *Lib. 5. Cap. 2*) will needes haue *Anglia* named from *Angul* the ſun of *Humblus*, and Giantlike brother of *Danus* the firſt King of *Denmarke*. But *Albertus Crantzius* being offended at his folly, telles him that *England had the name of Britaine many hundred yeeres after that Angul was dead.* Others there are that deriue the name *England* from the manner of this *Ilands* ſituation, being narrow in the *Weſt* and *North*, for that *Eng* in the ancient *Teutonick Toung*, as well as in the moderne, doth ſignifie *Narrow*, *Strait*, or a *Nooke*; and to that purpoſe doe produce this verſe of a *Portugals* alluſion.

Crantzius.

Henr. Rantzouius.

Lindebergus.

A Prouince in *Dania* called little England.

Anglia terra ferax, & fertilis Angulus Orbis,
Inſula prædiues, quæ toto vix eget orbe.

A fruitfull Angle, England thou, another world art ſaid:
An Iland rich, and haſt no need of other countries aid.

Words of affinity with the name *Angles*.

Saxo Grammaticus.

Albertus Crantzius.

Verſtegan.

Eng. ſignifieth narrow.

(11) *Callepine* without proofe deriueth the Name frō Queene *Angela*: but on as weake a ground as thoſe who will fetch it from their Angel-like faces, alluded vnto by Pope *Gregory* the Great. Or that of *Goropius*, from the Angle or Fiſhing-hooke, becauſe, ſaith he, they hooked all things to themſelues, and might verie well therefore be called Good Anglers: a very meane conceit in ſooth. But howſoeuer, moſt certaine it is that theſe *Angles* ſtole the name of this bleſſed Iland from their elder brethren the *Saxons* (as *Iacob* did the birth-right from *Eſau*) and called it after their owne; as wee ſhall further ſhew when our Hiſtorie hath gotten to the age of the *Saxons* Monarchie.

Callepine. Beda hiſt. Eccl. li. 2. cap. 1.

Goropius Becca. Angles ſo called of a Fiſhing-hooke.

Angles ſtole their name. Gen. 27.

(12) Theſe all claime their deſcents from Prince *Woden*; called by the ancient *Latines Othinus*; and who is deduced by our *Antiquaries*, as hath beene ſaid, from the eldeſt Sonne of the Partriarke *Noah*, and is accounted the moſt noble of all the Progenitors of the *Saxon* Kings, inſomuch as they, and eſpecially the *Angle-Saxons*, our Anceſtors, haue (in their ſuperſtitious conceit of ſuch wooden gods) imagined *Woden* to be their principall god of Battle; whoſe Wife named *Frea*, was by the like fancie held a goddeſſe, of whom more heareafter.

Saxons both *Angles* and *Iutes* deſcend from *Woden*.

Woden eſteemed a god.

Frea the wife of *Woden*.

(13) Theſe had iſſue between them ſundry Sons, and from fiue of them, all the Monarches of the *Engliſh-men* haue claimed to haue been deſcended; *Wechta* the firſt being reported to be the Progenitor to the *Kings* of the *Kentiſhmen*: *Caſer* the ſecond, to the Kings of the *Eaſt-Angles*: *Wethelgeat* the third, to the Kings of the *Mercians*: *Wegdeg* the fourth, to the Kings of the *Dierians*: and *Beldeg* the fift, to the Kings of

Wodens fiue ſons their names and Seigniories.

the *South-Saxons*, to the Kings of the *Bernicians*, afterwards Kings of *Northumberland*; and alſo the Kings of the *Weſt-Saxons*. This may ſuffice for the Originals of theſe three people; who, as *Ciſner* affirmeth, retained ſtill the ſame manners after they were ſeated in *Europe*, as they had formerly done in *Aſia*. And what thoſe were; let vs heare the reports of *Tacitus*, and other ancient Authors, who together with the *Germans* (among whom they dwelled) doe thus deſcribe them.

Ciſner.

THE MANNERS AND CVSTOMES OF THE ANCIENT SAXONS.

CHAPTER III.

THeſe *Germans*, and among them the *Catti* and *Sueuians*, our Anceſtors (according to *Albertus Crantzius*) *were a people* (ſaith *Tacitus*) *well ſet, ſterne of countenance, tall of ſtature, gray eied, and of a firie aſpect, and their haire yellow.* Vnto whom, *Witichindus* the Monke addeth and ſaith, that *They were faire of complexion, cheerefull of countenance, very comely of ſtature, and their limbes to their bodies well proportioned; bold of courage, hardy in fight, and very ambitious of glory: for which parts* (ſaith he) *the Franks had them in great admiration, and wondred at their new and ſtrange attire, their armour and their buſhie lockes of haire, that from their heads ouer-ſpred their ſhoulders; but aboue all, at their conſtant reſolution and valiant courage. Their heads and beards they ſuffer* (ſaith *Tacitus*) *to grow at length, and neuer put off that vowed ornament and bond of valour, vntill they haue ſlaine an enemie: but then vpon blood and ſpoile, they vncouer their forehead, and ſay they haue paied backe the price of their birth, and thinke themſelues worthy of their Country and parents. Their curled locks* (ſaith he) *they bind vp in knots, and ſtanding on end, tie it in the crowne onely, that is the harmleſſe care they haue of beautie, to ſeeme more terrible to the Enemy.* And by *Sidonius Apollinaris* his teſtimony, they vſed to ſhaue off the haire of their heads, reſeruing onely a tuft in the crowne, about which they wore a hoope or plate of copper, which cauſed the haire to ſtand vpright, as by theſe his verſes appeareth.

Crantzius.

Tacit. in deſcript. of Germanie.

Witichindus, lib. 9. cap. 2. Saxons deſcribed.

Tacit. deſcript. of Germanie.

Sidonius Apollin.

Iſtic Saxona cærulum videmus,
Adſuetum antè Salo, ſolum timere:
Cuius verticis extimas per oras;
Non contenta ſuos tenere morſus,
Alta tamina marginem comarum:
Et ſic crinibus ad cutem reciſis
Decreſcit caput, additurq; vultus.

In Engliſh thus:

There doe we ſee the Saxon, clad in blew,
Bold on the Sea, but fearfull now on land:
Their heighted tops vpon their crownes that ſhew,
Are not content to hold their wonted hand.
But riſed in tufts, where all the reſt, doth ſtand
Bare necked ſhau'd, and hath no haire at all,
Which makes full fac'd, but heads ſeeme paſting ſmall.

(2) And that they were indeede bold vpon the ſeas, *Ægyſippus* witneſſeth. *The Saxons* (ſaith hee) *a moſt valorous kinde of men, excell all others in Piracies.* In imitation of whom, *Iſidore* affirmeth, that for their valour and nimblenes in ſeruice they had their name. *A people* (ſaith he) *ſtout, hardie, and moſt valiant, and farre out-ſtripping all others in piracies, ſeemed more fearfull to liue on Land then at Sea.* Whoſe intruſions and ſudden violence both *France* and *Britaine* with great dammages felt: for in *Gallia* they ſeized into their poſſeſſion the Country of * *Baiocaſſes*, as is to be ſeene in *Gregorius Turonenſis*, who thence termeth them *Saxones * Baiocaſſions*: and in *Britaine* an Office of Charge was inſtituted to defend the Coaſts from their irruptions, the *Captaine* whereof was commonly called the *Count* or *Earle of the Saxons Shoare*: of whoſe *Piracies* and *ſauage Cruelties*, let vs heare *Sidonius* in his Epiſtle to *Numantius* complaine: *So many Rowers as you ſee* (ſaith hee) *ſo many Arch-Pirats thinke you behold, they all of them together ſo commanded, obey, teach and learne, to rob and ſteale. There is no enemie ſo cruell as this, that ſetteth vpon others at vnawares, and as occaſion ſerues, as warily ſlips himſelfe away. Hee ſetteth at nought ſuch as encounter him: he bringeth to nought thoſe that take no heed of him: whom he courſeth, he ſurely ouertaketh: when he flieth, he is ſure to eſcape. To this ſeruice, ſhipwrackes inure him, they terrifie him not. Be there a tempeſt vp, the ſame ſerueth them, and to aſſaile others. They neuer weigh Anchour vpon the enemies Coaſts, but with a reſolution againe to returne: and their manner is to kill euery tenth Captaine with a lingring and dolorous torment: for to ſuch Vowes they binde themſelues, and with ſuch ſacrifices they diſcharge their Vowes againe, being indeed not ſo much purified by ſuch Sacrifices, as polluted with Sacrilege: and the bloudy and abominable Murderers thinke it a religious thing, rather to torment a Priſoner vnto death, then to ſet him free for a Ranſome.*

Saxons excelling all other in Piracies.

** Baieux. Gregorius Turonenſis.*

Sidonius, lib. 8.

Saxons kill euery tenth Captaine.

Saxons accept no ranſome.

But when wee ſhall heare theſe vnhumane and barbarous reports either of the old *Britaines*, or theſe ſauage *Saxons* our ancient Progenitors, let vs neither be offended at *Gildas*, or at the reports of theſe other forrain Writers, who ſpake thus of them as they were then *Heathens*, and knew not God: the time of whoſe ignorance ſeeing God regarded not, as the *Apoſtle* teacheth, let vs acknowledg with due thankes the goodneſſe of a moſt gracious God, who hath brought vs to a holier conuerſation, and hath made vs iudges of thoſe ſinnes in them, that we might flie them in our ſelues.

Act. 17. 30.

An admonition to the Readers.

(3) Their *Apparell* was much different from others, and ſeemed ſtrange to the *Gaules*, as *Witichindus* hath told vs: and *Tacitus* declareth the manner thereof; which (ſaith he) *was a kinde of Caſſocke, called Sagum, claſped, or (for want of a claſp) faſtned with a thorn, hauing otherwiſe no garments at all, but going ſtarke naked. Neuertheleſſe, the richer ſort were diſtinguiſhed from others, by their garments which were neither large nor wide, as the Sarmates and Parthians vſe to weare them; but ſtraite, and ſhewing the proportion of euerie part of their bodie: beſides they wore Pelts made of beaſts skins.*

Witichindus, lib. 9. cap. 2. Tacit. Deſcript. German. The *Saxons* veſture.

Ægyſippus.

Glore.

The

The homely fashion of the ancient *Saxon* women in their attire. *Paul. Diacon.*

The Man and Womans attire differd in nothing, saith he, *sauing that the women vse linnen Garments trimmed and interlaced with purple, and without sleeues, their armes bare, and bosomes naked and vncouered.* Yet *Paulus Diaconus* speaking of the *Longobards*, comparing them to the *Saxons*, saith that there *Cassockes were large and worne loose, most of linnen, trimmed and set out with very broad Gards or welts purfleet, and embrodered with sundry colours, and the richer sort with Pearles: their haire bound vp in a copper hoope, stood in tufts vpon the crowne, the rest curled and falling downe vpon their shoulders: their beards they kept still vncut, till they had killed an enemie; and for another note of ignominie, they wore an Iron Ring, as a signe of bondage, till they had cast it from them by the Conquest of a Man.* Great Kniues, or rather broad bending Swords, they trussed vpon little Shields thwart their backes, from which (as we shewed) *Engelhusius* auoucheth they had their appellation. *Hee that abandoned or lost this shield in battle* (saith *Tacitus*) *was debarred from their publike Sacrifices and Assemblies, the greatest disgrace that could be; for very shame and griefe whereof, many, many times hanged themselues.* And vpon these Shields their manner was to lift vp their new elected *Generall*, and with acclamations so to carrie him thorow their *Campe*.

Witichindus.

Engelhusius.

Tacit. in descript. Germ.

Tacit. hist. 4. cap 6.

(4) For *Warres*, the *Germans* by *Tacitus* are reputed the best, who *for two hundred and ten yeeres held tack with the Romans. Not the Samnites* (saith he) *not the Carthaginians, not the Spaniards, or the Gallois, no not the Parthians haue so much troubled vs: for what can the East obiect against vs, sauing the death of Crassus, when he had defeated Pacorus, before trodden downe by Ventidius? But the Germans hauing either slaine or taken Carbo, and Cassius, and Scaurus Aurelius, and Seruilius Cepio, and M. Manlius, haue defeated also fiue Consularie Armies, and Varus with three Legions in Cæsars time. Neither haue C. Marius in Italie, or Iulius in Gallia, Drusus or Nero, and Germanicus molested them at home in their Country, but to their more smart.* And yet these *Saxons* among those valiant *Germans* were accounted the best for courage of minde, strength of body, and enduring of trauell, as *Zosimus* saith. Terrible also they were, and full of agilitie, by the report of *Orosius*: and *for their sudden inuasions, most feared of the Romans*, saith *Marcellinus*.

Tacit. descript. Germ cap. 5.

Saxons of all the *Germans* the valiantest. *Zosimus.*

Marcel. li. 28. c. 7.

(5) Their fashion was to goe forth *singing to the Warres, (or rather they especially are said to march to battle, where as others are said to goe) carrying before them certaine Images taken out of their consecrated Woods.* Their manner was before they ioined Battle, to trie by single Combat (therein arming one of their own against some captiued enemie) what successe was to be expected: and this they kept as a Law vnuiolated, that *none might presume to beare Armes before hee was solemnly admitted, where in a frequent Assemblie a Shield was giuen him by his Parents or Kindred: and this was the pledge (as it were) of his first honour, he being till then reputed but a particular of a Familie, but thence-forward a member of the Common-wealth. They are very sensible, wise, and considerate in their seruice, in preferring choice Captaines, in following their Leaders, in obseruing their rankes, in taking the aduantage and benefit of the day, and intrenching in the night, holding Fortune euer doubtfull, but valour alwaies certaine.* Their weapons, as testifieth *Ioannes Pomarius*, were long *Speares*, broad *Swords*, and the *Crosbow*: these they held in such esteeme, that with a *horse* furnished, *Shield*, *Sword*, and *Lance*, their *Virgins* were receiued in mariage, accounting them for the greatest bonds, and the very *Patron-Gods* of *Matrimony*: which custome might well bee taken from their neighbours the ancient *Saracens*, whose *Maidens* vsually presented to their husbands a *Tent* and a *Speare*, in way of *Dowrie* at the entrance of their *Nuptials*. And among these *Germans* those Martial habiliaments were in such vse, that they did meet neither at *Feasts* nor in *Councell*, but in their Armour.

The Saxons wise-dome in warre.

Ioannes Pomarius The *Saxons* wea-weapons.

The *Tacit.* goe singing to the warres.

The Saxons vsed first to trie by single combate.

The custome of admitting their souldiers.

Their Ceremonies in marying. *Tacitus.*

A People (saith *Tacitus*) *whom thou canst not so easily perswade to manure the ground, as to prouoke the Enemie, and aduenture wounds, holding small esteeme of that which is gotten by the sweat of their browes; when it might haue been obtained by the expence of their bloud. A strange diuersitie* (saith he) *that the same men should so much loue sloth, and hate quietnesse.* It is with them a great shame for their *Prince* to be ouercome in *Valour*; but for any one to returne aliue from that Battell wherein the *Prince* is slaine, a perpetuall infamie and reproach. And that their resolutions were euer noble, and their corage not daunted in distresse or bondage, it well appeared by a whole band of them taken by *Symachus*, and designed for the *Romans* pastime of *Sword-plaiers*, who the same morning that this spectacle was expected, strãgled themselues rather then they would incurre such infamie and baseneſſe, as to make others pastime with the ignominious vsage of their owne persons.

Amian. Marcell. lib. 14. cap. 3.

Saxons their resolute courages.

(6) Their Lawes were seuere, and vices not laughed at, and *good Customes of greater authority among them, then elsewhere were good Lawes; no temporising for fauour, nor vsury for gaine; but bounteous in hospitality, and liberall in gifts, accounting both due to be giuen and receiued, yea and that without thankes: no Nation freer from adulterie, or punishing that sinne more seuerely. For the woman offending, hauing first her haire cut off, was turned starke naked out of her Husbands house, and that in presence of her owne kindred; thence she was scourged with whips thorow the Towne, without regard of birth, beauty, age or wealth, and neuer after could finde another Husband. Those that were vnnaturally leaud of their bodies, their manner was to drowne them in filthy mud, and to couer them with hurdles.* Yea and greater punishments then these the *Pagan-Saxons* executed vpon such offenders, as by the Epistle of *Boniface* an English-man, Arch-bishop of *Magunce*, which he wrote vnto *Ethelbald* King of the *Mercians*, in reproouing his adulterous life, is manifest. *For* (saith hee) *in the ancient Country of the Saxons (where there was no knowledg of God) if either a Maid in her fathers house, or one hauing a husband, became a whore, shee should bee strangled with her owne hands closed to her mouth, and the Corrupter should bee hanged vpon the Pit wherein she was buried. If shee were not so vsed, then her Garments being cut away downe from the Girdle-steed, the chaste Matrons did scourge and whip her, and did pricke her with kniues, and so was she sent from Towne to Towne, where other fresh and new scourges did meet and torment her vnto death.*

Tacit. descript. Germ.

Saxons great punishers of adulterie.

Ran. Higd. in Polycr. l. b. 6. cap. 23.

And their seuere Lawes a long time remaining in the daies of Christianitie, declare with what rigour (without regard of person) they both examined and punished this offence: whereof that of *Queene Emma*, the mother of *King Edward* the *Confessor*, is a sufficient example, who being accused for incontinencie of body with *Alwin* Bishop of *Wincheſter*, was enioined to passe ouer nine *Plough share Irons* glowing red hot, she being blind-fold and bare-footed; by which triall shee is said to haue acquited her selfe, insomuch that hauing passed them all before shee knew it, cried and said; *O good Lord, when shall I come to the place of my purgation?* This punishment beginning in these *Pagans*, and continuing vnto the yeere 750. *Stephen* the Second, and most pontificall Pope of *Rome*, did vtterlie abolish, as *too seuere and ouer-rigorous for Christians to vndergoe.*

Chron. of *Holland.*

Queene *Emma* her punishment.

Stephen 2. Bishop of *Rome.*

The Virgins of these *Saxons* were neuer to bee married but once, that they might haue no other thoghts, nor further desire but in case of matrimony: neither had the men pluralitie, excepting great Personages, and they sued vnto in regard of procreation; for *to be without Children, was to be without reputation.* So that the testimonie of *Saluianus*, which liued among them, fitteth well our purpose, saying; *Though the Saxons are outragious in cruelty, yet for chastity they are to be honoured.*

The Saxons Virgins married but once.

The Saxons did highly esteeme of hauing children.

Saluianus.

(7) But as in these vertues they out-stripped most *Pagans*; so in the *Zeale* of their heathenish superstitions and Idolatrous seruice, they equalized any of them: for besides *Herthus*, the *Mother-Earth*, whom the *Angli* our auncestors accounted for a *Goddesse of Aide*: they worshipp ed *Mercurie* vnder the name of

Tacit. descr. Ger cap. 6.

Mercury worſhipped of the Saxons for *Woden*.
* An old Manuſcript. *Wodenſday* dedicated to *King Woden*. *Frydai* dedicated to *Queene Frea*. *Iſis* a goddeſſe of the Saxons.

Woden for their principall *God of Battell*: after whoſe victories they vſually ſacrificed to him their Priſoners taken in warres, and of him named one of the week daies **Wodenſday*, whereon he was chiefly worſhipped: whoſe wife named *Frea*, was by the like foolery held to be *Venus* a *Goddeſſe*, vnto whom another of their weeke dayes was aſsigned for name and ſeruice; which of vs is called *Friday*.

Iſis, likewiſe with them, was a *goddeſſe* of great account, ſo was *Eoſter*, vnto whom they ſacrificed in the moneth of Aprill; whence it commeth (ſaith *Beda*) *that they called Aprill Eoſter-Moneth*: and we ſtill name the Feaſt of the *Reſurrection*, *Eaſter*. The Images of all theſe they ſtil bare before them in battle, reputing no ſmall confidence in their aides: and yet (ſaith *Tacitus*) *they thought it vnbeſeeming to paint their gods in the ſhape of men*; hauing euen by Nature doubtleſſe written in their hearts, a regard to that demaund of the Lord: *To whom will ye liken me that I ſhould be like him*, ſayth the Holy-one IEHOVA? They giue great heed alſo to the neighing of their *Horſes*, and to the flight and ſinging of *Birds*, as ominous fore-ſhewers of future euents.

Eoſter a Saxon goddeſſe. *Beda de temporibus.*

Eſay 40.25.

(8) Theſe Superſtitions, *Ethelward* euen in his daies complained of: *That they had infected the Danes, Normans and Sueuians, with the worſhip of this god Woden; vnto whom thoſe barbarous Nations offered ſacrifices, that they might be victorious where they fought.* And as *Crantz.* recordeth, *Herald the firſt of that name, and Norwaies King, was ſo farre ouergone, that he ſacrificed two of his Sonnes vnto his Idols, that he might obtaine a tempeſt to diſperſe, and put backe the Armado, which Herald King of Denmarke had prepared againſt him.*

Crantzius Nor. Hiſt li. 3. ca. 3.

Herald King of *Norway* his wicked ſacrifice.

This generall defection of Gods true worſhip, *Adam Bremenſis* maketh mention of in this manner: *In a Temple*, ſayth he, *called in their vulgar and natiue ſpeech Vbſola, which is made altogether of Gold, the people worſhip the Statues of three gods, in ſuch manner, as that Thor the mightieſt of them hath only a Throne or Bed: on either hand of him Woodan & Friſco hold their places. And thus much they ſignify: *Thor, ſay they, beareth rule in the Aire, and gouerneth the Thunder and Lightning, Windes, Showres, Faire weather, Corne, and Fruits of the Earth. The ſecond, which is Woodan, that is, ſtronger, maketh Warres, and miniſtreth manly valour againſt Enemies. The third is Friſco, beſtowing largely vpon mortall men, peace and pleaſure, whoſe Image they deuiſe and pourtray with a great virile member. Woodan they engraue armed, like as we vſe to cut and expreſſe Mars.*

Adam Bremenſis.

Vbſola a Temple of the Saxons all of geld.

The Saxons gods in their Temple *Vbſola*, and their properties.
* Hence *Thurſday* ſeemeth to be named.

(9) Their controuerſies and doubtfull matters were decided by drawing of Lots, which they euer made of ſome fruit-bearing tree, and was performed after his manner: *If there were publicke cauſe, the Prieſt; if priuate, the Goodman of the houſe, or worthieſt in the company, tooke thoſe ſlitted ſlips, diſtinguiſhed with certaine markes that had beene ſcattered at hap hazzard vpon a white garment: and after praiers and inuocation on their God, with eies fixed vpon heauen, and three times lifting the ſame lots aloft, gaue their interpretations thereof according to the markes therein inſcribed; which was receiued and beleeued for a moſt ſure Oracle:* as the like was obſerued vpon other occaſions, both by the inſpections of Beaſts intrals, and ſingings of Birds, after the accuſtomed manner of other *Gentiles*, that doted vpon the augurations for thing of future ſucceſſe.

Tacit in deſcript Germ.

(10) For the generall gouernment of their Countrie they ordained twelue Noblemen choſen from among others, for their worthines and ſufficiency: Theſe in the time of peace rode their ſeueral circuits to ſee iuſtice and good cuſtomes obſerued, and they often of courſe at appointed times met together, to conſult and giue order in publike affaires: but euer in time of warre one of theſe twelue was choſen to be King, and ſo to remaine ſo long onely as the warres laſted: and that being ended, his name and dignitie of *King* alſo ceaſed, becomming againe as before. And this cuſtome continued among them, vntil their wars with the *Emperour Charles the Great*: at which time *Wittekind*, one of the twelue aforeſaid, a Nobleman of *Angria* in *Weſtphalia*, bore ouer the reſt the name and authoritie of *King*; and he being afterward, by means of the ſaid *Emperour*, conuerted to the faith of Chriſt, *had by him his mutable Title of King turned into the enduring ſtile & honour of Duke*: & the eleuen others were in like manner by the ſaid Emperour aduanced to the honourable Titles of *Earles* and *Lords*, with eſtabliſhment for the continuall remaining of theſe Titles and Dignities vnto them and their heires. Of whoſe deſcents are ſince iſſued the greateſt Princes at this preſent in *Germanie*. But though they obſerued this ſaid forme of gouernement elſewhere, yet heere in *Britaine* it was otherwiſe, as heereafter will appeare.

The gouernment of the Saxons.

Ioannes Pomarius.

Chron. Sax.

Verſtegan Reſtit. cap. 3.

(11) And thus much out of my poore readings, I haue obſerued of the originall beginnings, the names, maners, and cuſtomes, of our ancient Progenitors, the worthy *Saxons*, without either amplifying or impayring their glory: who being of all the *Germans* ſo much deuoted to warre, as that their only fame therein was many times ſufficient to daunt the Enemy, were thought vpon by the downe-caſt *Britaines* as the fitteſt to ſupport their ruined Eſtate; of whoſe Entrance, Conqueſts, and Kingdomes, wee are now next addreſſed to ſpeake.

THE

THE SAXON SA RRIVALL INTO BRITAIE VNDER THE CONDVCT OF HENGIST AND HORSA.

CHAPTER IV.

An. Do. 450.

WHen the ſtate of *Britaine* was miſerably torne by the calamities of ciuill *Diſſenſions*, *Famine*, *death*, and *Robberies*, the *Romanes* returned, their owne *Strength decaied*, and their *Afflictions* daily augemented by their wonted Enemies the *Scots* and *Picts*; no hope was left to their deſpairing hearts, that of themſelues they were able to defend themſelues: and therefore (as wee haue ſhewed) they called to their aid the *Saxons*, a Nation fierce and valorous, who to the number of nine thouſand, vnder the conduct of *Hengiſt* and *Horſa*, two brethren, entred *Britaine* at *Ebsfleet* in the *Ile of Thanet*, in the raigne of *Theodoſius* the ſecond, and of *Valentinian* the third, *Emperors* of the Eaſt and Weſt, about the yeere of Grace 450. Receiued they were with great ioy as Angels from Heauen, and ſaluted with ſongs after the accuſtomed manner of the *Britaines*, who appointed them the Iland *Thanet* for their habitation.

The Saxons enter Britaine vnder Hengiſt & Horſa. W. Malmesbury.

Bed. l. 1. 15.

(2) Theſe *Saxons* in ſhort time made proofe of their Manhood. For ouercomming the Enemie eueu in *Scotland* it ſelfe, ſeated themſelues in ſome part thereof; ſo that their Conqueſt ſeemed abſolute, and the *Britaines* freed from their former aſſaults. Peace thus ſetled, and the Inhabitants freed, a friendly *Compoſition* was made betwixt theſe Nations, wherein the *Saxons vndertooke to maintaine the Field, and the Britain to ſuſtaine the Charge.* In which league they aboad ſome certaine time, ſaith *Witichindus, making vſe in a ciuill ſort of the Brets friendſhip: but ſo ſoone as they perceiued the Country large, the ſoile fertile, and the hands of the Inhabitants ſlow to practiſe feates of Armes: and further conſidering with themſelues, that themſelues and the greateſt part of the Saxons had no certaine place of aboad, they found fault with their pay and want of victuals, making that their quarrell, as both too meane, and too litle for their high deſerts; threatning withall, as vnkind Gheſts, that ſhortly they would reckon without their Hoſts: and thereupon ſending ouer for more of their Nation, entred peace with the Scots & Picts, who altogether roſe againſt the poore Brets.*

Saxons ouercome the Enemie, and free the Britains.

A compoſition betwixt Saxons and Britaine.

Britaine.

Witcibindus.

(3) And *Hengiſt*, that by the gift of *Vortigern* had got the whole poſſeſsion of *Kent*, ſent for more ſupply of *Saxons* vnto his ayde, pretending imployments of their ſeruice in other parts, but indeede to make ſtrong his owne deſignes: and theſe ſwarming daily ouer into *Britaine*, got the ſtrength of munition and command of military affaires without impeach: For the King holding himſelfe now ſure from all interceptions, gaue his immoderate ſenſes ſcope to nouriſh more freely their ſenſuall pleaſures, and committed more audaciouſly thoſe vices, vnto which his owne corrupt nature was naturally addicted: This *Hengiſt* ſoone perceiued, and to adde more matter fit for flame, fed ſtill the humors of this vicious King, outwardly ſhewing his care and readineſſe for the *Lands defence*, his counſell and loue to the *Nobles in eſtate*, and his courteous carriage to the *Commons* in generall; but to the *King* an ouerſeeing diligence, & ſeruile obedience: by all which, ere it was long, he gaue fire to the traine, that blew vp the foundations of the *Britiſh* policie.

Hengiſt had the whole poſſeſſion of Kent.

Fabian.

The King giueth himſelfe to ſecurity.

(4) For feaſting the *King* in the Caſtel of *Tonnge* commanded his daughter, a Lady of paſsing beautie, to attend the banquet, whoſe excellent feature and ſeemely behauiour, blew the ſparks of deſire ſo right into *Vortigerns* wanton eie, that they preſently kindled a flame in his laſciuious heart: for in the midſt of his cups, *Rowena* (ſo was the damoſell called) with a low reuerence and pleaſing grace, ſaluted the *King* with a cup of gold full of ſweet wine, incharming it with theſe words in her language; Waes heal hlaford Cyning, which is in Engliſh, *Be of health Lord King*: he demãding the meaning, would be taught to anſwer to her owne vnderſtanding, & ſaid, Dpine heal, that is, *Drinke health*; whereof when he had pledged her, (as we ſpeake) this bowle infected his ſenſes with no leſſe ſottiſhneſſe, then that of *Belus* is ſaid to doe *Dido* when *Cupid* plaid the childe *Aſcanius* betwixt *Æneas* and her; and brought more bale to the Land, then afterwards did that which was preſented to *King Iohn* at *Swinſted Abbey* by *Symon* the poiſoning Monk: for notwithſtanding that hee had a *Queene* then liuing, (himſelfe not young, hauing ſonnes at mans eſtate, in profeſſion a Chriſtian, whoſe Religion alloweth neither polygamie nor adulterie) did importunate *Hengiſt* that *Rowena* might be his wife: which at firſt with ſome ſhew of excuſe and vnworthineſſe of perſon, was denied, but laſtly conſented vnto, and the Nuptials performed. And now Fortune caſting occaſion daily into *Hengiſts* lap, he gaue his aſpiring thoughts no reſt, till hee had got the Crowne from *Vortigerns* head, and ſeized all vnder the *Saxons* power.

Iohn Stow. *Hengiſt* feaſteth the King.

The King in loue with *Rowena*.

In the Fictions of Virg. *Aeneid. li. 1.* Caxton Chron.

Marke to *Vortigern* would needs haue *Rowena* to wife. *Will. Malmesb. de Regibus.*

(5) *Hengiſt* and *Horſa* in their Language, as alſo in the ancient *Teutonic Tongue*, doe both of them ſignifie a *Horſe*, vnto which beaſt the *Saxons* had great regard, and whoſe neighings (ſaith *Tacitus*) *were their preſages, and being white, were imploied in their ſacrilegious ceremonies*. *Virgil* alſo maketh the *Horſe* to bee a lucky *Oſſe* or foretokened ſucceſſe in Battle, as in this his verſe he doth intimate and write:

Verſtegan Reſtit. cap. 5.

Tacit. deſcri. Ger. cap. 2.

Bello armantur equi, bella hæc armenta minantur.

And *Crantzius* telles vs, that it was a vſuall thing, with the *Pagan Germans*, eſpecially of their Noble-men, to take the names of *Beaſts*, ſome from the *Lion*, ſome from the *Beare*, ſome from the *Wolfe*, and ſome from the *Horſe*, as heere *Hengiſt* and *Horſa* are ſaid to ſignifie.

Crantzius.

Pagan Germans account of tyranous beaſts.

(6) Which beaſt they bare in their ſhields of *Armes* at their entrance of *Britaine*, and was blazed, ſaith *Verſtegan*, in this manner: *A Horſe Argent Rampant, in a Field Gules: which was the ancient Armes*, as hee affirmeth, *of the Princes and Dukes of Saxonie*. And albeit thoſe *Dukes* haue of latter yeeres changed that Coat, yet doth *Henry Iulius* now *Duke* of *Brunſwicke*, a moſt ancient *Saxon Prince*, who ſometimes bore the *white Horſe* in a *Red Field*, beare the *White Horſe* for his *Creaſt*, hauing for his chiefe *Coate* of *Armes*, the two *Leopards*,

Hengiſt and *Horſa* their Armes.

The Duke of *Brunſwicke* his Armes.

Leopards, which by *Richard Cordelion* King of *England* was giuen vnto his anceſtor *Henry the Lion, Duke of Saxony*, who had married *Mathilda* the ſaid Kings ſiſter, and by the *Emperour Frederic Barbaroſſa* had been bereft of his Armes, and Titles of honor. Moreouer *Charles Emmanuel* the now Duke of *Sauoy*, who is lineally deſcended frō the ancient Princes of the chiefe houſe of *Saxony*, by prince *Berall*, who came out of *Saxonie* into *Sauoy* in the yere of our Lord 998: and was the third ſonne of *Hugh Duke of Saxonie*, which *Hugh* was brother vnto the Emperor *Otho* the Third, doth yet beare for one of his Coats the ſaid *Leaping Horſe*.

The duke of *Sauoy*, his Armes.

(7) This *Hengiſt* was doubtleſſe a prince of the chiefeſt bloud and Nobiliy of the *Saxons*, and by birth of *Angria* in *weſtphalia*, wherein vnto this day a place retaineth the name of *Hengſter-holt*. Hee with his brother were the ſonnes of one *Wihtgiſil*, whoſe father was *Witta*, and his father *Vecta* the eldeſt ſonne of *Vodens*, as *Beda* writes him, of whoſe iſſue *many Kings of ſundry prouinces* (ſaith he) *had their originall.*

Chron. Sax. Hengiſt, his Country and parentage.

Floren. Wigorn. Beda hiſt. Ang. li. 1. ca. 15.

He growne now in high fauor with the King, by the mariage of *Rowena*, and feared of the Nobility for his ſtrength and policie, bare himſelfe great among all, and his ſupplies daily arriuing, peſtred (if not plagued (moſt parts of this *Iland*. For ſaith *Ninius* and *Beda*; *The riches of Britaine, and the fertilitie of the ſoile, were ſuch motiues to their couetous and aſpiring mindes, that where they got footing, there they kept ſtanding, and picked occaſions where they were too ſtrong.* Among thē that were ſent for, by the aduice of *Hengiſt*, two principal Captaines, *Octa* & *Ebiſſa* were chiefeſt, who being embarked in forty Pinnaces, ſailed about the *Picts* Coaſts, waſting the *Iles* that were called the *Orcades*, and got many Countries from them beyond the *Frith*, whereby a further terrour was ſtricken into the *Britaines* hearts.

Hengiſt, his firſt riſing.

Ninius.

Octa and *Ebiſſa* a terrour to the *Britaines.*

(8) The Nobility perceiuing what was in working, and the marke wherat *Hengiſt* ſet his eie to aime, complained to the King of their dangerous eſtate, ſhewing themſelues agreeued to bee diſpoſſeſſed of Offices and Charge, (as *Guorong* the Earle or Lieutenant of *Kent*, by *Hengiſt* had beene) the Land peſtred with ſtrangers, that ſought their ſubuerſion, reprooving him much for his match with that *Infidel Rowena*, his owne careleſſe gouernment and adulterous life, and in ſuch manner, that *Vodine* Archbiſhop of *London*, a man of great ſanctitie, feared not to tell him that thereby *he had indangered both his ſoule and Crown:* which words by *Vortigern* were ſo digeſted, that ſhortly it coſt the good Archbiſhop his life. But hee ſtill continuing in his laſciuious and careleſſe idleneſſe, was laſtly taught by wofull experience, what miſery wilfull raſhneſſe and neglected gouernmēt do bring: for the *Britaines* his ſubiects no longer would be thus abuſed, to ſee themſelues wouen into greater danger by ſhew of defence, then they formerly had bene by the hoſtility of the enemy; but forthwith diſclaimed their obedience to the king, when he had raigned the ſpace of ſix yeeres, and choſe for their Gouernor his ſonne young *Vortimer*.

The Nobilities complaint.

Vortigerne reproued by the Biſhop of *London.*

He continueth in his folly.

His ſubiects diſclaime their obedience.

They chuſe *Vortimer.*

(9) His *Sonne* he was indeed by nature, but not his in conditions, who (beſides the quarrell of his Queene mother for *Rowenas* ſake, reiected) bare an inward loue to his natiue Country, and an outward hate to the ſtrangers that daily ſought the ſubuerſion thereof, and preſently encountred with them in a pitched Battell neere vnto *Ailsford* in *Kent*, wherein *Catigern* and *Horſa*, brethren to *Vortimer* and *Hengiſt*, in ſingle fight hand to hand ſlew each other.

Catigern and *Horſa* their ſingle fight.

In which place *Catigern* was buried, and a Monument in memory of him erected: the ſtones wherof to this day appeare, and ſtand vpon a great Plaine in the Pariſh of *Ailsford*, and from *Catigern* as yet is corruptly called *Cits-Cotihouſe*. The like Monument the *Saxons* built for *Horſa*, which time hath now defaced, and whereof *Beda* maketh mention, who ſaith, that *a tombe bearing his name was in his daies to be ſeene in the Eaſt part of Kent*. The credit whereof is continued to this day, where the Village *Horſted* is reported to haue receiued that name from him, which ſtandeth in the very ſame place where that Battle was fought, as the Inhabitants report.

Iohn Stowe. Cits-Cotihouſe, Catigern his Monument.

Beda hiſt Ang. lib. 1 ca. 15.

Horſted the place of *Horſa* his Monument.

(10) Three other Battles after this with variable ſucceſſe were fought betwixt the *Britaines* and the *Saxons*, one at *Craford*, another at *Weppeds-fleet*, and the third vpon *Colmore*: in which laſt the *Britaines* bare themſelues ſo valiantly, that the *Saxons* were driuen into the *Iſle of Tanet* (if not ouer the ſeas) ſo that ſmal hope reſted for them ſo long as this valiant *Vortimer* liued, who had diſpoſſeſſed them of all their footing in the Continent, and often aſſailed them in *Tanet*, as *Fabian* ſaith. After this Victory long hee liued not, but was made away by poiſon through the means of *Rowena* the mother of all this miſchiefe, when he had ſate King the ſpace of foure yeeres: and the father againe reeſtabliſhed.

The Battels betweene *Britaines* and *Saxons.*

The *Saxons* driuen ouer *Seas.*

Vortimer poiſoned by *Rowena.*

(11) *Vortigern* now was no ſooner reſtored, but that *Hengiſt* had notice therof, who was then in building a Caſtle at *Leiden* in *Holland*, as their *Annales* witneſſe, and *Iohn Douſa* in his verſes ſpecifie: where leauing all (as it were) at randome, returned to follow his fortunes further in *Britaine*, and with a mighty Army of his *Saxons* thought to land without impeachment: but the *Britaines* growne bold by their former victories, and their bloud not cooled ſince it was heat in fight, admoniſhed their reeſtabliſhed *King* who with them went to withſtād his arriuage. When *Hengiſt* therefore perceiued their courage, and knew their hatreds to him and his *Saxons*, hee ſought by ſmooth words to gaine the ſhoare; and by ſome ſtratageme, his wiſhed deſire: therefore pretending only to viſit his daughter, yea and to rid the Land of her, if ſo he might haue leaue of the King and them; and therefore deſired a conference in friendly manner: after which, his *Saxons* ſhould depart the Land, and reſt the like friends to the *Britains* as they were when firſt they came in.

Leiden Caſtle in *Holland*, begun by *Hengiſt.*

Iohn Douſa

Hengiſts landing reſiſted by the *Britaines.*

Matth. Weſim.

Hengiſt vſeth treachery.

(12) This motion ſeemed reaſonable to the Nobility, and the place and time appointed, which was the *firſt of May*, and vpon the *Plaine of Ambrij*, now called *Salisbury*: whither vpon equall tearmes (as was thought) each party repaired, and a while conferred with friendly ſemblances; but in the end the *Saxons* vrging their wrōgs, fel from words vnto blowes, the watch-word firſt giuen by *Hengiſt* their leader. The *Britaines* meant ſimply, and wore no weapons, according to couenāts: but the *Saxons* vnder their long caſſocks had ſhort Skeines hid, with which, no ſoner the words, Nem eowr Seaxes, were pronounced; but that each ſlew him with whom he conferred, by which treaſon the *Britaines* loſt three hundred of their diſarmed Nobility; onely *Eldoll* Duke of *Glocester*, as *Randulph Higden* declareth, with a Stake gotten from the hedge, ſlew ſeuenteene *Saxons*. The King they toke priſoner; for whoſe ranſome, the Countries of *Kent*, *Suſſex*, *Suffolke*, and *Norfolke*, were deliuered vnto theſe Infidels, who ſhortly defiled the beauty of Chriſtianity with their Paganiſme & heatheniſh cruelties. *Thē* (ſaith *Beda*) *the fire of Gods vengeance was kindled by theſe wicked Conquerors, and raged firſt vpon thoſe Countries next adioyning, and afterwards from the Eaſt Sea vnto the Weſt, without reſiſtance made to quench the ſame; publike and priuate houſes were ouerthrowne and laied leuell with the ground, Prieſts were ſlaine ſtanding at the Altars, and Biſhops with their flocks were murthered; neither was there any to bury the dead.* And theſe are the times whereof we ſpake, and wherein the miſerable *Britaines* abandoned the Land, or hid themſelues in caues, wherein they either periſhed for hunger, or redeemed their liues with perpetuall ſlauery.

At *Salisbury Plain* the *Britaines* and *Saxons* treat of agreement. *Will Malmsb. de regibus.*

The *Saxons* ſuddenly murder the *Britaines.*

Randulph. Higden. Polycbr. li. 5. ca. 1.

Diuers countries deliuered to the Infidels.

Beda hiſt. Angl. lib. 1. cap. 15.

Great ſpoile and deſolation ouer all the Land.

(13) Neither were their calamities greater in outward afflictions then their ſoules, polluted with the hereſie of the *Pelagians*, brought by *Agricola*, the ſon of *Seuerianus* a *Pelagian Biſhop*, that did foulely corrupt the faith of the *Britaines*: to redreſſe which, *Germanus Altiſiodorenſis*; and *Lupus Biſhop of Trecaſſa in France*, were by the brethren deſired, and ſent vnto their

The *Britaines* abandoned the Land.

Beda hiſt. Angl. lib. 1. cap. 17.

Pelagianiſme brought into *Britaine* by *Agricola.*

their thus troubled and declining eſtate. Theſe pillars of Gods truth, after they had powred forth praiers, and conuicted the Hetetikes, ledd an Army of *Britaines* againſt the *Picts* and *Saxons*, and gained the victory; after which (like vnto people that drew on Gods vengeance and their owne deſtructions) they fell to robberies & rapine, one Citie banding againſt another, and all laid waſte by the *Saxons* and themſelues. Theſe miſeries doth *Gildas* impute to haue hapned to his *Britaines*, becauſe they tooke no care *to preach the Goſpell of Chriſt vnto thoſe Infidels* the *Engliſh Saxons, that in their heatheniſh cruelties ſought the Lands deſtruction.*

The Heretikes conuicted.

The principall cauſe of the *Britaines* miſeries.

(14) *Vortigern* thus diſpoſſeſſed, for his further ſecuritie betooke himſelfe into *wales*, where among thoſe vaſt Mountaines hee built a ſtrong Caſtle; of whoſe foundation, *Merlin* the *Welſh Wizard*, with the future ſucceſſe that ſhould afterward follow the *Britaines* hath by way of prophecie vainly ſpoken. This Caſtle moſt of our Writers haue ſaid to be in *South-Wales*, vpon a rockie and ſolitarie mountaine called *Breigh*, or after others *Cloaric*, in the weſt of that Prouince, not farre from *Radnor*, and neere vnto the Riuer *Gnaua:* but the inhabitants of *Northwales* report (by the reports of their anceſtors) that in old *Bethkelert* was that Caſtle, which *Vortigern* built, and is yet called *Embris*, from *Merlin Embris*, as they affirme. And ſurely (beſides the craggie and ſolitarineſſe of the place, which ſeemed to me rather an entrance into the ſhaddow of death, then to be the *palace* or *Court* of a King) the Riuer *Llynterrenny* mooueth much; by which *Fauſtus* his ſonne, begotten of his owne daughter *Rowena*, is ſaid to ſpend his life in continuall praiers.

Vortigern flieth into *Wales*.

Merlin the Welſh Wizard. He builded a Caſtle there.

The differing opinions where this Caſtle was built.

Fauſtus ſpent his life in continuall praier.

(15) But whileſt *Vortigern* was buſied in building this Caſtle; and the *Saxons* making ſpoiles whereſoeuer they came, the *Britaines* vnder the conduct of *Aurelius Ambroſius*, began to receiue ſome breath of hopes, and to ſhew themſelues out of their Caues. This *Ambroſius* (ſaith *Beda*) *was a gentle natured man, which only of all the bloud of the Romans remained then aliue, his parents being ſlaine, which had borne the name of the king of the Country.* Hee with his brother *Vter*, commonly called *Pendragon*, returning out of *Britain Armorica*, where they had remained from the Tyrannie of *Vortigerne*, landed at *Totneſſe* in the Weſt of this Iland; vnto whom reſorted great Troopes of *Britaines*.

Aurelius Ambroſius Captaine of the *Britaines*. *Beda hiſt. Eccleſ. Angl. lib. 1 ca. 16.*

Aurelius Ambroſius and *Vter Pendragon* returne out of *Britaine Armorica*.

His firſt Expedition was againſt *Vortigern the ſcourge of his Country, and murderer of his King:* whoſe Caſtle ſtraightwaies hee beſieged, and by the iuſt reuenging hand of God, wilde fire conſumed, wherein thoſe adulterous and inceſtuous perſons were burned to aſhes.

(16) Next, following the common Enemie, hee gaue battle to the *Saxons* on the North of *Humber* at a place called *Maesbell*, wherein *Hengiſt* was diſcomfited, and in flight taken by *Earle Edoll* of *Gloceſter*, and beheaded at *Conningsborow*, ſaith he of *Monmouth*. Howbeit, *Matthew* of *Weſtminſter* maketh him fight another battle vpon the Riuer *Dun*, in Anno 489. wherein, ſaith, he, *Hengiſt* was taken. And *Polydore* ſaith, that in the ſame battle *Hengiſt at the firſt onſet was ſlaine, with many of his Germans:* the fame of whoſe victory (ſaith he) *is had in memory with the Inhabitants of thoſe parts euen vnto this day.* Yet *Gildas*, *Beda*, and *Ethelward*, Writers, of thoſe ancient times, & two of them *Saxons*, mention not the death of *Hengiſt*, neither this great victory of the *Britaines*. And *Marianus* the Scottiſh Monk ſeemeth to affirme the contrarie, where hee ſaith, that *Hengiſt raigned thirty foure yeres in great glory; and died peaceably, leauing his ſonne Eske to ſucceed him in the Kingdome of Kent.* With whom alſo *Florianus* the Monke of *Worceſter* agreeth. Howſoeuer, ſure it is, had not the diuine power of God otherwiſe determined, the waining eſtate of *Britaine* doubtleſſe had recouered her former ſtrength; both by the praiers of *Biſhop German*, the proweſſe of this laſt ſpoken of *Ambroſius*, the valorous attempts of *Vter Pendragon*, and the worthy induſtries of the Chriſtian King *Arthur*. The famous reſiſtances of this laſt mentioned *Arthur*, the Monke of *Monmouth* with ſuch fables hath augmented; that his Acts and Trauels may be compared to thoſe of *Hercules*, or with the Conqueſts of *Ceſar* himſelfe; inſomuch that he hath beene accounted and ranged in the catalogue of the worlds nine Worthies. And ſurely (by the teſtimonie of *Malmsbury*) hee was a Prince of great worth, & did often aduenture with his ſmall power to meet the *Saxons* in the face and in Field.

Geffry ap Arthur. Arthurs ſtorie augmented with fables.

A Battle at *Maesbell*. *Hengiſt* diſcomfited. *Geffry ap Arthur. Matth. Weſtminſt.*

Polydore.

But the *Britaines* ſtrength daily decreaſing, and new ſupplies of theſe *Saxons* daily arriuing, brought the one in deſpaire to enioy their owne right, and the other to triumph in their intruſions of wrongs. For continually incroaching forward, and inlarging their limits whereſoeuer they came, droue the inhabitants before them from their wonted poſſeſsions, & ſeated themſelues in the ſouthern and beſt part of the Land, laying the ſtones (as it were) of thoſe foundations, whereupon in ſhort time they raiſed their moſt glorious buldings.

(17) For euery ſeuerall Captaine or Commander accounting that part his owne, wherin he firſt entred or made conqueſt of, with full reſolution determined to keepe what he had got, (as an abſolute King) commanded his Prouince, wherby the Land became burdened with ſeuen of them at the firſt: as *Hengiſt* of *Kent*; *Ella*, of thoſe parts now called *Suſſex* and *Surrey*; *Cherdik* of the *Weſt*; *Erchenwin*, of the *Eaſt*; *Ida* of the *North*, *Crida*, of the *Middle land*: *& Vffa*, the parts now *Middelſex* and *Eſſex*: which Kingdomes thus begunne and erected, ſtood not long vnſhaken by ciuill diſſenſions amongſt themſelues, each King enuying his equals greatneſſe, and ſeeking to inlarge his own Dominions vpon the next. In which Combuſtions, few or none of them came to the graue in due time, but were either ſlaine in warres, or treacherouſly murdered in peace, or elſe inforced to ſheare himſelf a *Monke*, and reſigne his Crowne to another. To ſpeake of all theſe together, I hold would bring too great a confuſion to our Hiſtory, and needleſſe ſurcharge to the Readers memory: To auoid which, I will briefly ſet down the Conqueſts, Circuits, Acts, and deſcents, that in euery ſeuerall Kingdome happened while they ſtood in their *Heptarchie*, before they were vnited to an abſolute *Monarchie*; and then (according to my prefixed purpoſe) continue the ſucceſſion of GREAT BRITAINES *Monarches.*

The *Saxons* often at diſſenſion among themſelues.

(18) For albeit the Land was diuided into 7. ſeuerall Kingdomes, and each of them carrying a ſouereigne command within his owne limits; yet one of them euer ſeemed to be ſupreme of the reſt; & that Prince who had the greateſt power or ſucceſſe in his warres was euer accounted and called *The King of the Engliſh men*, as *Venerable Beda* in the fifth Chapter of his ſecond Booke, and Hiſtory of *England*, euer termeth them.

The mightieſt of the *Saxon* Kings alwaies King of the Engliſhmen.

(19) Such therefore as held the reſt vnder either by Armes or alliance, in amity or ſubiection, ſwaied the whole *Monarchy*, and were acknowledged as *Suprems* in power ouer the reſt; which ſucceeded not euer in the ſame Family, neither continued in one and the ſame Kingdome without reuerſement, but were carried vpon the Flouds and Ebbes of variable ſucceſſe, or as deſtiny pleaſed to alter the chãce: wherof each of them (ſauing the *Eaſt-Saxons* only) did attaine to the height of that gouernment, as to the hauen of their wiſhed deſires. See therefore (if you pleaſe) a generall view of the whole, and afterwards the ſeuerall Hiſtories of euery Kingdome apart, before wee enter into the Succeſſion of the *Engliſh-Saxons Monarches.*

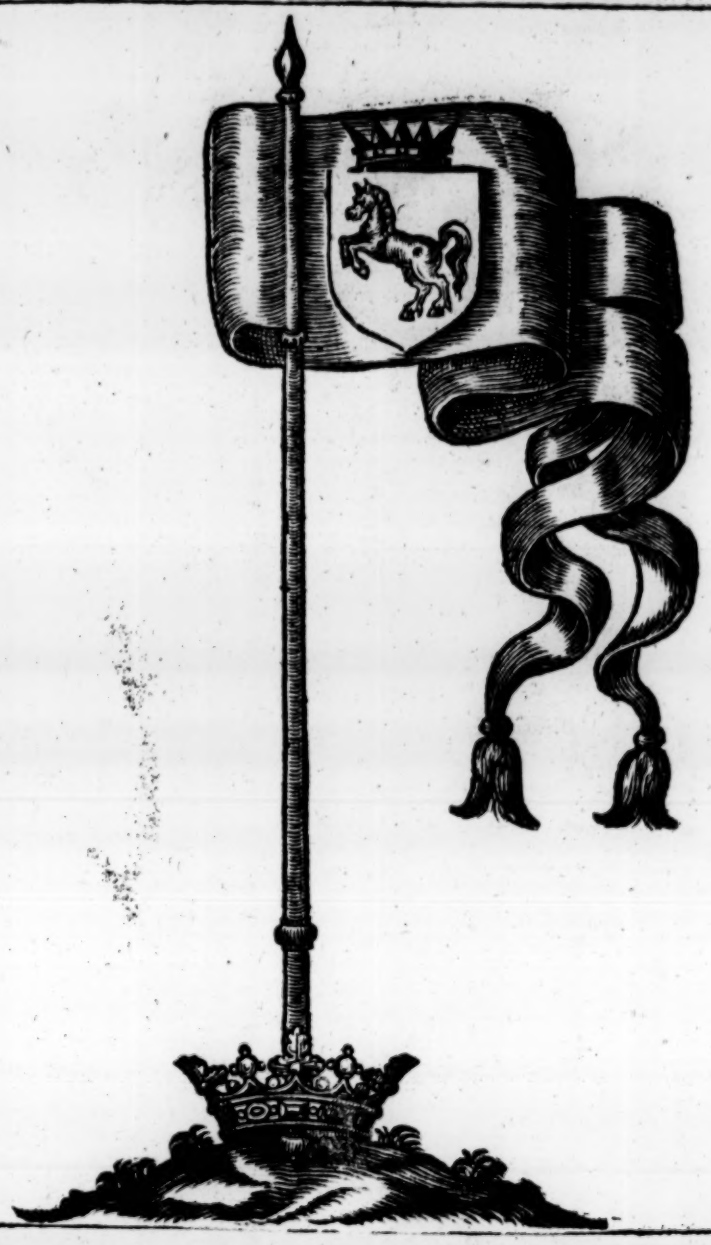
Only the *Eaſt-Saxons* intruded not on their neighbours dominions.

Hengiſts raigne

Hep-

The Saxons Heptarchy.

Kingdomes,	Counties.	Kings Successions.	Kingdomes Continuance.	Kings first Christians.
The Kingdome of *Kent* contained Counties,	*Kent.* — Kings raigning.	1. *Hengist*, 31. 2. *Eske*, 24. 3. *Octa*, 20. 4. *Ymerick*, 29. 5. *Ethelbert*, 56. 6. *Eabald*, 24. 7. *Ercombert*, 24. 8. *Egbert*, 9. 9. *Lother*, 11. 10. *Edrik*, 6. 11. *Withred*, 33. 12. *Edbert*, 23. 13. *Edelbert*, 11. 14. *Alrik*, 34. 15. *Ethelbert*, 3. 16. *Curthred*, 8. 17. *Baldred*, 18.	Beganne iu An. 455. Continued yeers 371. Ended in Anno 827.	*Ethelbert.*
The Kingdome of *South-Saxons* contained Counties,	*Sussex.* *Surrey.* — Kings raigning.	1. *Ella*, 32. 2. *Cissa*, 75. 3. *Edilwash*, alias *Ethelwolf*, 25. 4. *Berthum.* 5. *Authum.*	Beganne in Anno 488. Continued yeers 113. Ended in Anno 601.	*Ethelwolf.*
The Kingdome of *West-Saxons* contained Counties.	*Cornwall.* *Devon-shire.* *Dorset-shire.* *Somerset-sh.* *Wilt-shire.* *Hant-shire.* *Bark-shire.* — Kings raigning.	1. *Cherdik*, 33. 2. *Kenrike*, 26. 3. *Cheulin*, 33. 4. *Ceaclik*, 5. 5. *Chelwold*, 30. 6. *Kingils*, 32. *Quithelin*, 1. 7. *Kenwala*, 30. 8. *Eskwyn*, 2. 9. *Kentwin*, 9. 10. *Ceadwald*, 7. 11. *Inas*, 37. 12. *Ethellard*, 14. 13. *Cutkreds* 16. 14. *Sigebert*, 2. 15. *Kenwolfe*, 29. 16. *Brightrik*, 16. 17. *Egbert*, 19.	Begannne in An. 519. Continued yeers 561. Ended in Anno 1066.	*Kingils.*
The Kingdome of *East-Saxons* contained Counties,	*Essex.* *Middlesex.* — Kings raigning,	1. *Erchenwin*, 34. 2. *Sledda*, 10. 3. *Sebert*, 21. 4. *Sexred*, *Seward*, *Sigebert*, 7. 5. *Sigebert*, 23. 6. *Sigebert*, 13. 7. *Swithelme*, 14. 8. *Sighere.* 9. *Sebba.* 30. 10. *Sigherd*, 11. *Seofrid*, 8. 12. *Offa*, 4. 13. *Selred*, 30. 14. *Suthped*, 38.	Beganne in An. 527. Continued yeers 281. Ended in Anno 827.	*Sebert.*
The Kingdome of *Northumberland* contained Counties,	*York-shire.* *Durham.* *Lanca-shire.* *Westmorland.* *Cumberland.* *Northumber.* — Kings raigning,	1. *Ella*, *Ida*, 2. *Adda*, 7. *Elappea*, 5. 3. *Theodwald*, 2. 4. *Frethulfe*, 7. 5. *Theodrik*, 7. 6. *Ethelrik*, 5. 7. *Ethelfrid*, 23. 8. *Edwine*, 17. 10. *Oswy*, 28. 11. *Egfrid*, 15 12. *Alkfryd*, 20. 13. *Osred*, 11. 14. *Kenred*, 2. 15. *Oswike*, 11. 16. *Ceolwulphe*, 8. 17. *Egbert*, 20. 18. *Oswulph*, 1. 19. *Edilwald*, 11. 20. *Alured.* 21. *Ethelred*, 22. *Alfwald*, 11. 23. *Osred.* 1.	Beganne in An. 547. Continued yeers 379. Ended in Anno 926.	*Edwin.*
The Kingdome of *Mercia* contained Counties,	*Huntington.* *Rutland.* *Lincolne.* *Northampton.* *Leicester.* *Darby-shire.* *Nottingham.* *Oxford shire.* *Chese-shire.* *Shrop-shire.* *Gloceste-shire.* *Worcestershire.* *Stafford-shire.* *Warwic-shire.* *Buckingham-sh.* *Bedford-shire.* *Hartford-shire.* — Kings raigning,	1. *Creda*, 6. 2. *Wibba*, 3. 3. *Cheorl*, 34. 4. *Penda*, 30. 5. *Peada*, 4. 6. *Wolfere*, 17. 7. *Ethelred*, 30. 8. *Kenred*, 4. 9. *Chelred*, 7. 10. *Ethelbald*, 42. 11. *Offa.* 40. 12. *Egfrid* 4 *monet.* 13. *Kenwolfe*, 22. 14. *Kenelme*, 5. *mon* 15. *Chelwolfe*, 1. 16. *Bernulfe*, 3. 17. *Ludecan*, 2. 18. *Whitlafe*, 13. 19. *Bertwolfe*, 13. 20. *Burdred*, 22.	Beganne in An. 582. Continued yeers 202. Ended in Anno 886.	*Peada.*
The Kingdome of *East-Angles* contained Counties,	*Suffolke.* *Norfolke.* *Cambridge-sh.* *Ely-Iland.* — kings raigning,	1. *Vffa*, 7. 2. *Titullus*, 10. 3. *Redwald.* 44. 4. *Erpenwald*, 12. 5. *Sigebert*, 6. *Egrik*, 7. *Anna*, 13. 8. *Ethelbert.* 9. *Ethwald*, 9. 10. *Aldwolfe*, 19. 11. *Alfwald*, 7. 12. *Beorn*, 24. 13. *Ethelred*, 52. 14. *Ethelbert*, 5. 15. *Edmund.* 16.	Beganne in An. 575. Continued yeers 353. Ended in Anno 914.	*Redwald.*

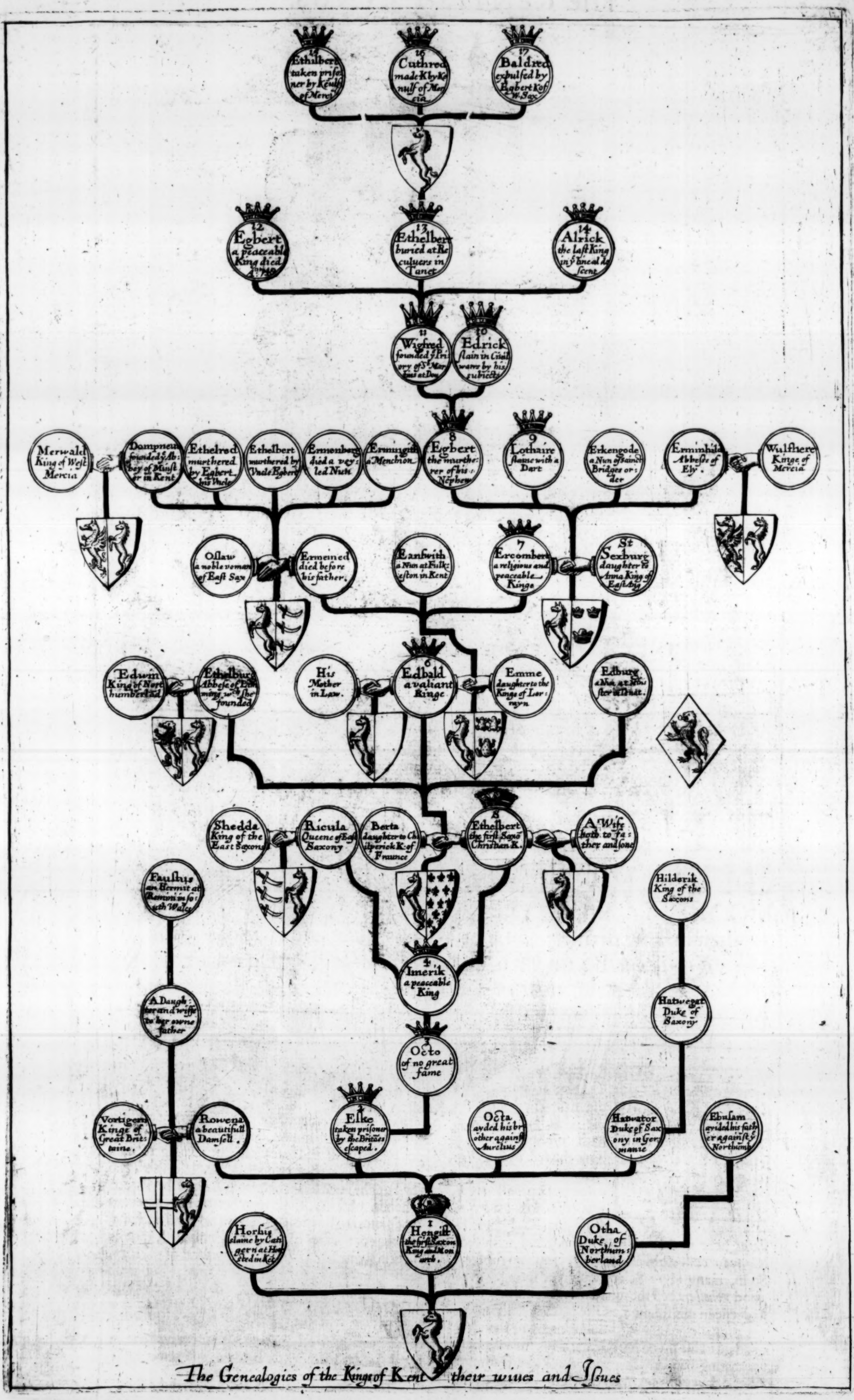


THE GENEALOGIES ROYALL OF THE SAXONS KINGS OF KENT, FROM HENGIST,

their first: with the Successions, Raigns, Issues, and Acts, of all their *Kings, vnto* BALDRED *the last: subdued by King* EGBERT *the West-Saxon Monarch.*

CHAPTER V.

FROM *Hengist* the first Conqueror, and *Ethelbert* the first Christian King, the kingdome of *Kent* hath preheminence aboue the rest of that *Heptarchie*. For, *Hengist* for valor, policy, & strength, was the fore-leader of those that laid their Estates here in *Great Britaines* Island, and with such happy successe, so planted the Tree, as from the same Stem, many fayre Sciens daily yet spring. And good *Ethelbert* laid the foundation of Gods Church, so deepe in this Realme, as the gates of hell shall neuer preuaile against it, though his owne foundations laid of his first Church, hath felt the waight of a ruinating hand; when with Axes and Hammers (in the dayes of king *Henry* the eight) both that, and many such Sanctuaries, were broken and beaten downe, with a more rash, then Godly zeale; and those Oratories for assemblies, made now the seates of prophane merchantdizing, and Altars of prayers, the Tables for Mammon, and money changers; if not to more vile and base vses. But leauing to mention what may not be remedied; behold in this Tree, the boughes that branched from *Hengist* the Roote, wherein obserue, their matches or marriages are made knowne by the sculpture of an hand in hand, and the coat-armes of the parties empaled; though therein we rather follow the allowance of the later, then vrge them from antiquity it selfe. But from the best approued Authors we continue such Kings as ruled in *Kent*, in a continued succession; and that broken off, wee there breake the Bough, and thence name them for Kings, but of an vncertaine succession, as by the three last in this stemme, is euidently seene.



The Genealogies of the Kings of Kent their wiues and Issues

THE KINGDOME OF KENT.

CHAPTER V.

1. An. Do. 554. *Kent* in the daies of *Iulius Cæsar* the seate of four Kings.

KEnt, the first Dominion of the *Saxons* Heptarchie, was formerly in the daies of *Iulius Cæsar*, the Seat of foure seuerall petty *Kings*; yet neuer called a Kingdome before that *Hengist* the first *Saxon* Captaine, in fauour of his Daughter *Rowena*, got it by the gift of king *Vortegern*, about the yeere of Grace 454. and in the seuenth yeere after his first arriuage heere, he first laid the foundation of those fortunes which the *Saxons* his Nation in this land afterwards attained vnto: for hauing possessed the same with *Victory* and *wealth* the space of thirty one yeeres, (some adde three more) he left it in peace to his sonne *Eskes* and the rest of the *Iland* so weakened by his meanes, that others of his Nation were shortly planted in other parts thereof. It contained the Continent that lieth betwixt our *East-Ocean* and the Riuer *Thames*, being bounded vpon the West with *Sussex* and *Surrey*.

Hengist his raigne and death. Of *Hengist* see more in the succession of the English Monarchy, cap. 12.

2. An. Do. 488. *Petrus Albinus.* *Eske* the second King of *Kent.* Retained prisoner in *Yorke.*

ESke, the second King of *Kent*, is reported to bee the second sonne of King *Hengist*, who accompanying his father into this *Iland*, made proofe of his great valour in all his Battles fought against the *Britaines*, and in one of them (as *Geffry* of *Monmouth* reporteth) being taken prisoner, was for a time retained in *Yorke*, but thence escaping, hee aided his father in the Battle of *Crekynford*; and after his decease, succeeded him in the *kingdome* of *Kent*, from whom those inhabitants (saith *Beda*) were called *Eskings*, amongst whom he peaceably raigned about twenty yeeres, and died in the yeere of our Lord 512.

His raigne and death. *Beda hist. eccles. Ang. lib. 2. cap. 5.*

3. An. Do. 512. *Octa* his raigne.

OCta the sonne of *Eske*, began his raigne ouer his Fathers Dominions, the yeere of Christs Incarnation 512. and raigned twenty two yeeres, without mention of any memorable Act.

4. An. Do. 532. *Florent. Wigorn.* *Imerik* the sonne of *Eske.* *Imerik* his children.

IMerik, the sonne of *Eske*, and the fourth *King* of *Kent*, raigned twenty fiue yeeres, saith *Stowe*; twentie nine, saith *Sauil*, in his *Table* collected from our English writters. Hee had issue, *Ethelbert* the first christian King of *Kent*, and a daughter named *Rikell*, married to *Sledda* the second King of the *East-Saxons*, the mother of *Sebert* and *Segebald*.

5. An. Do. 561 *Ethelbert* the son of *Imerik.*

EThelbert, the sonne of *Imerik*, in the yeere of grace 561. succeeded him in the Kingdome of *Kent*. who by reason of his young yeers, was sore molested by his neighbour Princes, that sought to inlarge their Prouinces vpon his: for now the *Saxons* hauing made full Conquest of the *Britaines*, fell at variance among themselues, taking all occasions to supplant each other, as Conquerours commonly can endure no equals, and prosperity euer is looked at with an enuious eie; whereupon *Cheulin* King of the *west-Saxons*, proud of his victorious successes ouer the *Britaines*, began to disdaine all amity with his owne neighbour *Saxons*, inuaded the Teritories of this young Prince; and in a set Battle slew *Oslaue* and *Cnebban*, two of his *Dukes*, discomfited the King, and wonne the day. This field was fought at *VViphandun*, in the yeere of our Redemption, 567. and is noted to be the first Battle betwixt the *Saxons* themselues since their first entrance into *Britaine*.

Cheulin inuadeth his Territories.

But young *Ethelbert* growne vnto yeeres, repaired his losses with the inlargement of his kingdome to the bankes of *Humber*, and was the fift Monarch of the *Englishmen*, as after we shall heare. His first Wife was *Berta*, the daughter of *Chilperik*, King of *France*, by whom he had *Edbald*, *Ethelburg*, and *Edburg*: a second Wife he had vnworthy of name, for her incestuous and abominable act, in matching her selfe in marriage with her *Husbands Sonne*, *A sinne* (saith the Apostle) *not to be named among the Gentiles.* Of this King, as also of all the rest that attained vnto the glorie, to bee enstiled (*per excellentiam*) the Soueraigne Kings of the *Englishmen*, I purpose to bee sparing in their particular kingdomes, and to reserue the larger relation of their Acts, Matches, Issues, and continuance, to the times of their seueral Monarchies, whereby a more historicall course may be carried, through the successions of the *English-Saxons* Monarches, and a needlesse repetition of the same things auoided, which otherwise of necessitie would follow. Hee raigned in great glory fifty six yeeres, and was the *First Saxon King* that receiued and established the *Gospell*. He died the foure & twentieth day of *Februarie*, the yeere of Christ 616 after he had raigned 56. yeres, and was buried at *Canterbury*, with this inscription vpon his Tombe:

Ethelbert the fifth Monarch of the Englishmen. His first wife and children by her. In the life of Saint *Vvereburg.* His second wife.

1 Cor. 5. 1.

Repetition auoided in this History.

Beda hist. eccles. Ang. lib. 2. cap. 5. *Hen. Hunt. ingloa.*

Rex Ethelbertus hîc clauditur in Poliandro,
Fana pians Christo meat absq; Meandro.

6. An. Do. 617. *Beda hist. eccles. Ang. lib. 2. cap. 5.* *Edbald*, his father dead, refused the doctrine of Christ. He married his Mother in law.

EDbald, the sonne of King *Ethelbert*, in the yeere of Christ 617. assumed the Gouernment of *Kent*, who no sooner, saith *Beda*, had gotten from vnder the awe of his father, but hee refused to entertaine the Doctrine of *Christ*, and so polluted himselfe with the foule sinne of fornication, as that hee married his Mother in Law, the late Wife to his owne Father:

which two hainous faults gaue his subiects both occasion and impunity to returne to their former idolatry, who vnder his father, for fauour, or for feare, had yeelded to the Lawes of the Christiã Faith. But the scourge of God & vengeance from Heauen wanted not to the punishment of this vnfaithfull King: for he was plagued for a season with often phrensie of minde, and raging fury of an vncleane Spirit; but by *Laurence* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, he was at length conuerted from his Idolatry and incestuous Matrimony, and being baptized, indeauored to maintaine the state of the Gospel. He married *Emme*, the daughter of *Theobert*, King of *Austrasie*, now *Lorrayne*, by whom he had issue a Daughter named *Enswith*, who died a Virgin at *Fulkestone*, a Religious House in *Kent* of her Fathers foundation; and two Sonnes, whereof *Ermenred* the elder died before his Father, and left issue *Dompnena*, who was married to a *Mercian Prince*; *Ermenberg* that died a vailed Virgin, *Ermengith* a mẽtion; *Ethelred* and *Ethelbert*, both murthered by their Cosin-german, King *Egbert*. His yonger Sonne was *Ercombert* that succeeded him in the kingdome. This *Edbald* built a Chappell within the Monastery of *Saint Peter* and *Paul* at *Canterbury*, in honour of *Mary* the blessed Mother of God, endowing that Church with sufficient maintenance; wherein, after the continuance of twenty foure yeeres raigne, hee was buried neere to King *Ethelbert* his Father, Anno 640.

Edbald often plagued.

Reclaimed from Idolatry by the Bishop.

His wife.

His daughter.

His Sonnes, and their issue.

Edbald his liberalitie to the Church. *Beda. hist. Angl. lib 1. cap. 9.*

His raigne and buriall.

7. An. Do. 641

Ercombert, the Son of *Edbald* by *Emme* his Wife, succeeded his Father in the kingdome of *Kent*, in the yeere of grace 641. He was a vertuous, religious, and Christian King: for the *Temples* of the *Heathen Idols* he suppressed, and commanded the fast of *Lent* to bee obserued. His Wife was *Sexburg*, the daughter of *Anna* King of the *East-Angles*, by whom hee had issue *Egbert* and *Lothair*, both Kings of *Kent* after him; *Ermenhild*, Wife to *Wolfere* King of *Mercia*, and *Erkengode* a professed Nun in the Monastery of Saint *Brigets* in *France*, where she died, and was interred in the Church of Saint *Stephen*. In his daies the state of the Church growing to a wel setled forme of gouernment, the Prouince of *Kent* was deuided into Parishes by *Honorius* the Archbishop, as testifie the Records of *Christ-Church* in *Canterbury*. This King hauing raigned twenty foure yeeres and odde moneths, died in the yeere of our Lord 664.

His care of Gods worship. *Beda. hist. lib. 1. c. 8*

His wife and issue.

Kent deuided into parishes.

His raigne and death.

8 An. Do. 695.

Egbert, the elder Sonne of King *Ercombert*, in the nonage of his yong Nephewes, *Ethelred* & *Ethelbert*, (the sons of his Vncle *Ermenred*) obtained the Rule of *Kent*, and had not their murther much blemished his peaceable Gouernment, hee might well haue held place with the worthiest of those Kings: but thirsting after an absolute soueraignty, and fearing lest his owne power should diminish by their growths & rightfull successions, he set his minde on that bloudy, traiterous, and vnnaturall attempt, and with the assistance of one *Thurne*, found fit place and opportunitie to worke that diuelliish designe, casting their bodies into a Riuer, that so their Murthers might not bee knowne. But God (saith *Malmesbury*) that searcheth the heart, reueiled the act by casting vp their bodies on the shore, to the open view of the next Inhabitants, who with great reuerence there buried them, and built a small Chappel ouer their Monument, whose bones afterwards were remoued, and new interred in the abbey of *Ramsey* in *Huntshire*. The Lady *Dompnena* their Sister, and next Heire to the Crowne, that was married to *Merwald*, a Prince of *West-Mercia*, and borne him foure Children, founded the Abbey of *Minster* in *Kent*: Wherein, saith *Stowe*, she became the first Abbesse her selfe, and *Mildrith* her daughter succeeded her therein, saith *Capgraue*. This King in great quietnesse raigned nine yeeres, and died in the yeere of grace 673. in the moneth of Iuly: leauing issue *Edrik* and *Wigtred*, both Kings of *Kent*, succeeding after *Lothaire*.

Egbert his murther.

The fact reuealed. *Wil. Malmsbury de gestis rerum Anglorum.*

Their bodies solemnly buried. *Dompnena* their sister.

Her religiousnes.

Egbert his raigne and death. *Beda hist. eccles. Ang. lib. 4. cap. 5.*

Lothaire the brother of *Egbert*, by strong hand obtained the gouernment of *Kent*. For notwithstanding *Egbert* left issue *Edrik* and *Wigtred*, (as is said) yet *Lothaire* taking the aduantage of their minorities, and the example of his brothers intrusions, made himselfe King against his, as he had done against the Sonnes of *Ermenbert*, but did not enioy the same with the like peace as he had done. For not onely *Ethelred* the *Mercian* warred strongly against him, but also *Edrik*, by the assistance of the *South-Saxons* cõtinually sought to recouer his right, whereby the peace of the *Kentish* was much molested: and lastly, in a bloudy battell was *Lothaire* shot thorow with a dart, whereof he died vnder his Chirurgeons hand, the fifth day of *February*, in the yeere of Christ 685. after hee had raigned eleuen yeeres and seuen moneths. The punishment of the Murther committed by his brother *Egbert*, was on him repaid, saith *Malmsbury*, who derided and made iests at the laments for young *Ethelred* and *Ethelbert*, that were by the people held and accounted *Martyrs*. His body was buried with his Predecessors, Kings of *Kent*, in the Monastery of *S. Peter* and *Paule* in *Canterbury*, Anno 685.

9 An. Do. 673.

Lothaire intruded into the Kingdome.

Matt. Westminst.

Lothaire slaine

Beda hist. Eccles. Angl. lib. 4. ca. 5. & 26.

His raigne.

Lothaire maketh but a iest of murder.

His buriall.

Edrik, the Sonne of King *Egbert*, hauing slaine his Vncle *Lothaire* in battle, succeeded him in the kingdome of *Kent*, wherein he sate onely two yeeres, and those in continuall warres with his subiects; in which ciuill broiles lastly hee was slaine, leauing the *Kentish* kingdome so torne with dissentions, that it became a prey to many Vsurpers, and gaue occasion to *Ceadwalla* the *West-Saxon*, to seeke the annexion thereof to his owne Kingdome; who with his brother *Mollo* entred *Kent*, and with fire and sword made waste where they came. To meet these, the *Kentish* assembled, and getting the aduantage, burned *Mollo* to death: in whose reuenge *Ceadwalla* persisted, and wasted the most part of the Prouince before he departed: so that after for six yeeres continuance no King raigned in *Kent*, but the Country lay exposed to the tyrannies of oppressors.

10. An. Do. 686.

Beda hist. Angl. lib. 4. cap. 26.

Edrik his raigne.

His death.

Ceadwalla and *Mollo* inuade *Kent*.

Mollo burned to death.

Wigtred or *withred*, seuen yeres after the death of his Brother, tooke vpon him the gouernment of *Kent*, which hee purchased with the good opinion that his subiects conceiued, and with a great summe of money paid to King *Inas* for his peace. He entred his kingdome the yeere of mans Redemption 693. the eleuenth of *Nouember*, and two hundred and fiue yeeres, after the death of *Hengist* the first *Saxon*. With him raigned one *Swebharde*, as *Beda* declareth: but without mention from whom, or vpon what occasion. He founded the *Priorie* of *S. Martin* at *Douer*, and behaued himself worthily both in Warre and Peace: his raigne was thirty yeeres; thirty three, saith *Beda*; and death in Anno 725. leauing issue *Edbert*, *Ethelbert*, and *Alrick*, all three succeeding successiuely in the kingdome.

11. An. Do. 693.

Wigtred his meanes of attaining the Kingdome.

His bounty to the Church. *Beda Hist. Eccles. Angl. lib 4. c. 26. & lib. 5. cap. 9.*

His raigne and death.

Edbert, the first Sonne of *Withred*, succeeded his Father in his kingdome, vertues, & valours, whereby a peaceable gouernment is allotted him by al writers of these affaires, for the continuance of twentie three yeeres, without relation of any notable accident peculiar to himself and kingdome: besides the appearances of two fearefull Comets, in Anno 729. and fourth of his raigne; the one arising immediately before the Sun in the morning, and the other shewing his fiery beames presently vpon the Suns set, both of them striking their gleames into the North, and by West, foreshewing (it may be) the scourge & desolation that the *Pagens* intended, who were at that instant entred into *France* and *Spaine*.

12. An. Do. 726.

Edbert a vertuous prince.

His raigne.

Two blazing Starres.

Ethelbert, the second Sonne of King *Withred*, and Brother to the last King *Edbert*, began his Raigne ouer the kingdome of *Kent*, the yere of Mans Saluation 749. and raigned without any memorable act either of his, or of his kingdomes affaires, the space of

13. An. Do. 749.

Ethelbert his raigne.

His death. His buriall.

of eleuen yeres, leauing this life in Anno 759. and was buried, say some, in the Monastery of *Peter* and *Paule* in *Canterbury*, without issue of his body to succeed him: howbeit the *Annales* of *Canterbury* affirme him to bee buried at *Reculuers*, in the Ile of *Tanet*, whose Monument is shewed at the vpper end of the South Ile in the Church, & is mountedwith two Spires, if there be not a mistaking of him for *Ethelbert* his Successor.

14. *Alrik* the last of lineall succession.

Alrick, the third Sonne of King *withred*, by the death of his brother *Ethelbert*, obtained the kingdome of *Kent*, the yere of Christs Incarnatiō 760. no other glory attending his affaires (saith *Malsmesbury*) besides his vnfortunate fight at *Otteford* against *Offa* King of the *Mercians*, wherein it seemed some honor (though with his ouerthrow) to withstand so puissant and impugnable an enemie. He is the last King of *Kent* that held the scepter in a lineall successiō: the rest that followed, both got and enoied it by tyranny and vsurpation. This King is said to raigne thirty foure yeeres, and to die in the yeere of grace, seuen hundred ninety three.

All the Kings of *Kent* after *Alrik* vsurpers.

15. *An. Do. 794.*

Ethelbert, surnamed *Pren*, vsurped the Title and Authority ouer the *Kentish Dominions*, when that *Prouince* was sore oppressed with the inuasion of the *Mercian Kenulfe*, whose warres against *Kent*, by succession from *Offa*, were continued with such rigour and valor, that the Country lay desolate where he had bin, and the people distressed whither he came. This *Pren*, *Kenulfe* tooke prisoner, and led away with him into *Mercia*: but at the dedicatiō of a church that he had then founded at *winchcombe*, in presence of ten *Dukes* & thirteene *Bishops*, he released him at the *High Altar*, without either intreatie or ransome of redemption. The king returning againe into *Kent*, could not there be receiued; his place either being supplied by another, or himselfe so disliked, as not worthy any longer to raign: & hauing had experiēce of the worlds mutabilities, is left againe to his priuate fortunes, from whence hee had stepped, hauing held his estate but forthree yeeres continuance.

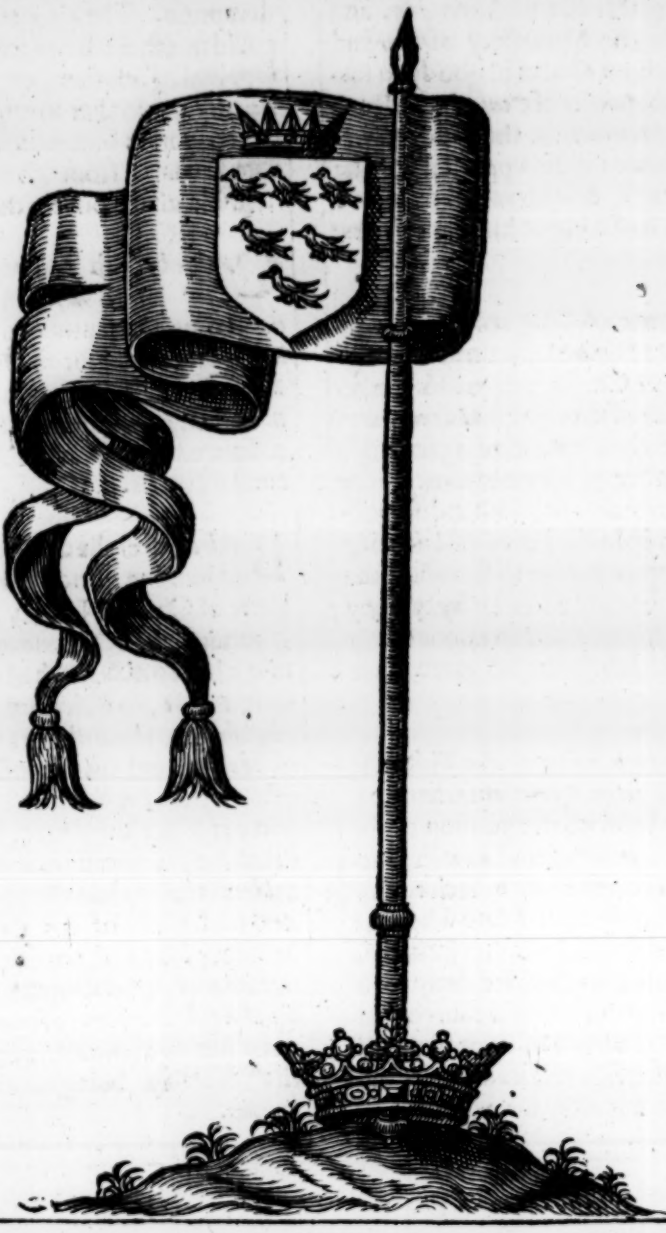
His imprisonment.

His releasment.

Cuthred, saith *Malmesbury*, was made King of *Kent* by *Kenulfe* King of *Mercia*, when he had ouercome and captiuated *Ethelbert*: notwithstanding hee is accounted for an *Vsurper*, and bare the title of *King* the tearme of eight yeres, without any other act worthy of remembrance, inheriting his predecessors euil happe and calamity, through factions and ciuill discords. An. Do. 797.

Baldred, after the death of this *Cuthred*, tooke vpon him the princely dignity of *Kent*, about the yeere of Christs Natiuity 805. But now the heauenly prouidence determining to bring againe together that which the *Saxons* had diuided, raised from exile little *Egbert*, to make him the *Great Monarch* of the *English-men*. His first wars were against *Bernulfe* King of *Mercia*, and his second against this *Baldred*, King of *Kent*, whom in battle he vanquished, and forced him out of his kingdome, after hee had sate on that Princelie Throne the space of eighteene yeeres. This *Baldred* is said to haue fled ouer *Thames*, and to leaue *Kent* to the will of his *Conquerour*, whither againe he neuer returned, neither yet was heard of after his ouerthrow. This Kingdome then that was erected by *Hengist*, the yeere of mans happinesse 455. continued her gouernment 372. and ended her glory in the yeere 827. being made a *Prouince* vnto the *West-Saxons*. An. Do 805. *Baldred* tooke vpon him the kingdome of *Kent*. *Egbert*, Monarch of the English-men.

This kingdomes beginning, continuance, and end.



SOVTH-SAXONS KINGDOME,

THE CIRCVIT AND CONTINVANCE, THEIR KINGS, SVCCESSIONS ISSVES AND RAIGNES.

Chapter. VI.

THis kingdome of the *South Saxons*, though it began with the firſt, in the ſecond yeere after the entrance of *Hengiſt*: and that *Ella* their firſt king, was the ſecond *Monarch* that ſwayed the Scepter of the *Saxons Monarchy* in Great *Britaine*: yet after *Ella* his death, it was the moſt obſcure of all the reſt; had the feweſt kings, & the ſhorteſt time of their kingdomes continuance: In ſo much as *William* monke of *Malmesbury*, hath not ranked their kings among the other *Saxons*, nor any other writer recorded aboue three kings, without further ſucceſſion or other collaterals: and the two laſt that gouerned, are rather called Captaines then Kings. As therfore we finde them recorded by *Florentius* Monke of *Worceſter*, wee haue inſerted their ſucceſſions here as thou ſeeſt, and will relate their Acts from others in this following Diſcourſe.

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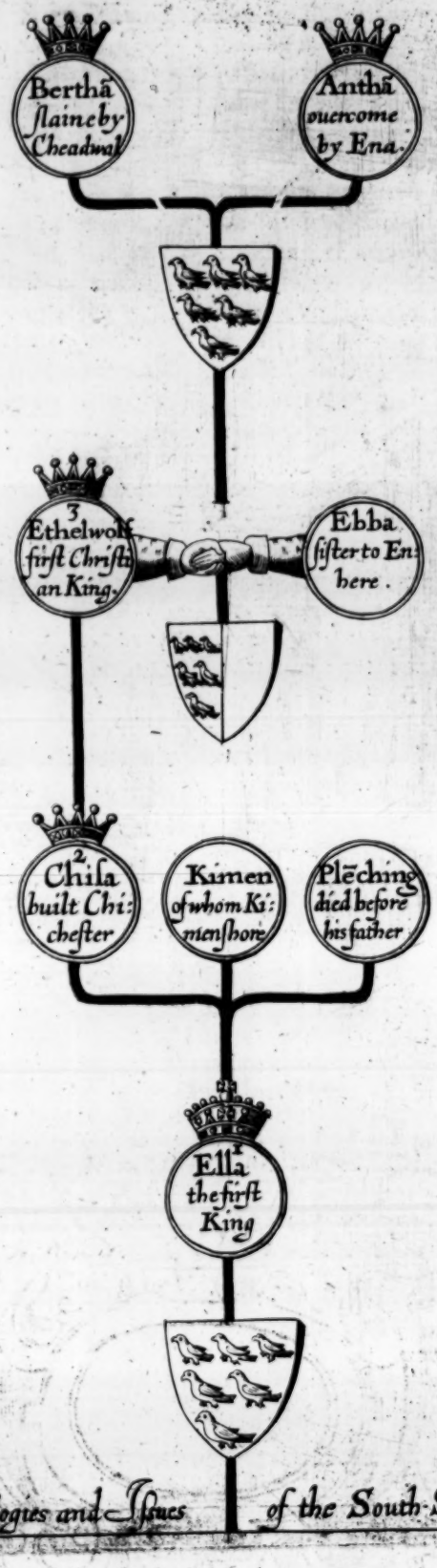

The Genealogies and Issues of the South-Saxons.

The limits of this kingdome.

THe Kingdome of the *South-Saxons*, containing the Countries of *Sussex* & *Surrey*, had on the East side *Kent*, on the South, the *Sea* & *Ile* of *Wight*; vpon the West, *Hant-shiere*, and the North side inuerged with the riuer *Thames*: This kingdome was erected by *Ella* a *Saxon Captaine*, that in the second yeere of *Hengists* entrance, as some say, brought a supply of his *Saxons* into *Britaine*, with whom came his three sonnes, *Kymen*, *Plenching*, & *Cissa*: these landing at a place (which from *Kymen* was afterwards) called *Kymenshore*, discomfited the Inhabitants, that made resistance, and *Ella* himselfe king of those Southerne parts. But doubtlesse there are many opinions of this mans first entrance and new erected estate: for some (as *Sir Henry Sauile* in his Table) set it in the second yeere of *Hengists* first arriuall, Anno 452. Others in the second of *Aurelius*, and no lesse then thirty yeeres after that, Anno 482. *Harrison* will haue it forty three yeeres after the *Saxons* first entrance, and fourth yeere after *King Hengist* his death, Anno 492. And *M. Ferrers* in his *Succession* of the *English Monarches*, placeth it in the three and twentith yeere of *King Hengists* Kingdome, and in the fifth after his owne arriuall, the yeere of our Redemption 488. Of such vncertainty is the beginning of this *South-Saxons kingdome*, whose *Continuance* and *Successions* are nothing clearer; insomuch that *Malmesburie* making seueral chapters vpon the other six, omitteth only this of the *South-Saxons*: and therefore as wee finde them, let vs haue leaue to relate them, and for the present to leaue *Ella* as hee was *King*, till wee come to a fit place where more shal be spoken of him as he was *Monarch*; whose raigne is set by *Stow* to be 36. yers; by *Sir Henry Sauile*, 24. and by *M. Henry Ferrers*, 32. and to haue died in the yeere 514.

Anno Do. 488.

The Inhabitants chased into a wood.

The diuers opinions of *Ellas* first entrance.

Malmesbury omitteth this Kingdome.

Ella his raigne and death.

2.
An. Do. 514. *Cissa* succeeded.

Cissa the third and youngest sonne of King *Ella*, the only liuing at his fathers death, succeeded him in the kingdome of the *South-Saxons*, (leauing the Monarchy to *Cherdike* king of the *West-Saxons*, who had planted his kingdome betweene him and the *Britaines*, hauing taken the charge of warre against them; for maintenance whereof, *Cissa* yeelded him a yeerely contribution) and liuing himself in long rest and peace, founded *Chichester* and *Chisbury*, the one a

Ct,

Citie for reſort of his people, the other a place of repoſe for himſelfe; which laſt he fortified about with a ſtrong Trench, for a further defence againſt all dangers. Of any other his actions, little is recorded by Writers: onely in this they concurre, that he was a man of great age and ſmall acts; ſome affirming that hee raigned the ſpace of ſeuenty ſix yeeres.

Stowe.

Ciſſaes Raigne. 3. Anno Do. 595.

EDilwach (by ſome called *Ethelwolf* and *Athelwold*) ſucceeded *King Ciſſa* in the kingdome of the *South-Saxons*, and was the firſt *Chriſtian* of that Nation, cõuerted by *Biſhop Wilfride*, as ſome conceiue out of *Beda*: yet *Beda* ſaith expreſſely, that the *King* was baptized before *Wilfrides* comming. And the Hiſtory of *S. Swithune* ſaith, *it was done by S. Berinus, Biſhop of Dorcheſter, who vſually preaching the Goſpell in the kingdome of the Mercians, in the Citie of Oxenford, and preſence of Wulpherus King of Mercia, it hapned that King Athelwold, then a Pagan, was preſent, who by the indeauour of Wulpherus, and inſtruction of Berinus, receiued the lauer of Baptiſme, whom alſo Wolpherus receiued at the Font for his God-ſonne, and in ſigne of that adoption gaue vnto him two Prouinces, to be annexed to his former kingdome, that is to ſay, the Ile of Wight, and the Prouince of Manures in the weſt of England; at which time alſo Berinus by King Athelwolds permiſſion, baptized the chiefe Dukes and Nobles of that Prouince.* His Queene *Ebba* was baptized in her owne *Ile*, the Prouince of the *Vicians*, being the daughter of *Eanfride*, who was brother to *Eanheres*, and both of them *Chriſtians*. But it is generally held, that *King Edilwach* gaue vnto *Wilfride* the *Peninſula* (as the *Latines* ſpeake) of *Seoleſue*, now *Selſee* in the Weſt, with the demaines of eightie ſeuen Tenements, wherein he built the *Monaſterie* that bare the ſame name, and was his owne *Epiſcopall Sea*. Againſt this *Edilwach*, *Ceadwald* a valiant young Prince, of the Bloud-royall of the *Weſt-Saxons*, being baniſhed his Country, making head with the aſſiſtance of friends & followers, entred his Territories with an impetuous incurſion, and ſlew the *King* as he made reſiſtance, when he had raigned twentie fiue yeeres: in whoſe raigne and Countrey raged ſuch an extreame Famine, that both men & women in great flockes and companies caſt themſelues from the Rockes into the Sea.

Liber Hiſtorialis S. Swithuni. Witon.

Beda lib. 4. ca. 13.

Wolfere Edilbachs Godfather.

Ebba the wife of Wolfere.

Ced. loco citato. Selſe in Suſſex.

Cap. 15.

His raigne and death.

Beda hiſt. l. 4. c. 13.

(4) *Berthun* and *Authun*, two Dukes of the *South-Saxons*, maintained the Warres and defence of their Country againſt *Ceadwald*, and by manly valour forced him to retire. Theſe Captaines betwixt them held the dominion of that Prouince, vntill ſuch time as *Ceadwald* had gotten the kingdome of the *Weſt-Saxons*; who bearing in minde the remembrance of his former proceedings, and thinking to inlarge his owne kingdome with the ſubiection of the *South Saxons*, entred againſt the Prouince, and in Battle ſlew Duke *Berthun*, harrying the Country miſerably before him. Which State, vnable to withſtand the *Weſt-Saxons* puiſſance, was by *Ine*, the next King ſucceeding made a ſubiect Prouince, their Gouernment thence forward reſting vnder his Succeſſors, after it had ſtood one hundred and thirteene yeeres: and ended in the yeere of Chriſt 601. by ordinary computation. But whoſoeuer ſhal compare the names of the foreſaid Kings, *Wulpherus* and *Athelwold* together, will eaſily finde, that it is not eaſie to finde the certaine concurrence of times, in affaires ſo clouded in obſcuritie, and ſo farre remote from our preſent times.

Ceadwald driuen backe.

Beda. Hiſt. Eccle. Angl. lib. 4 cap. 15

The continuance and end of this Kingdome.

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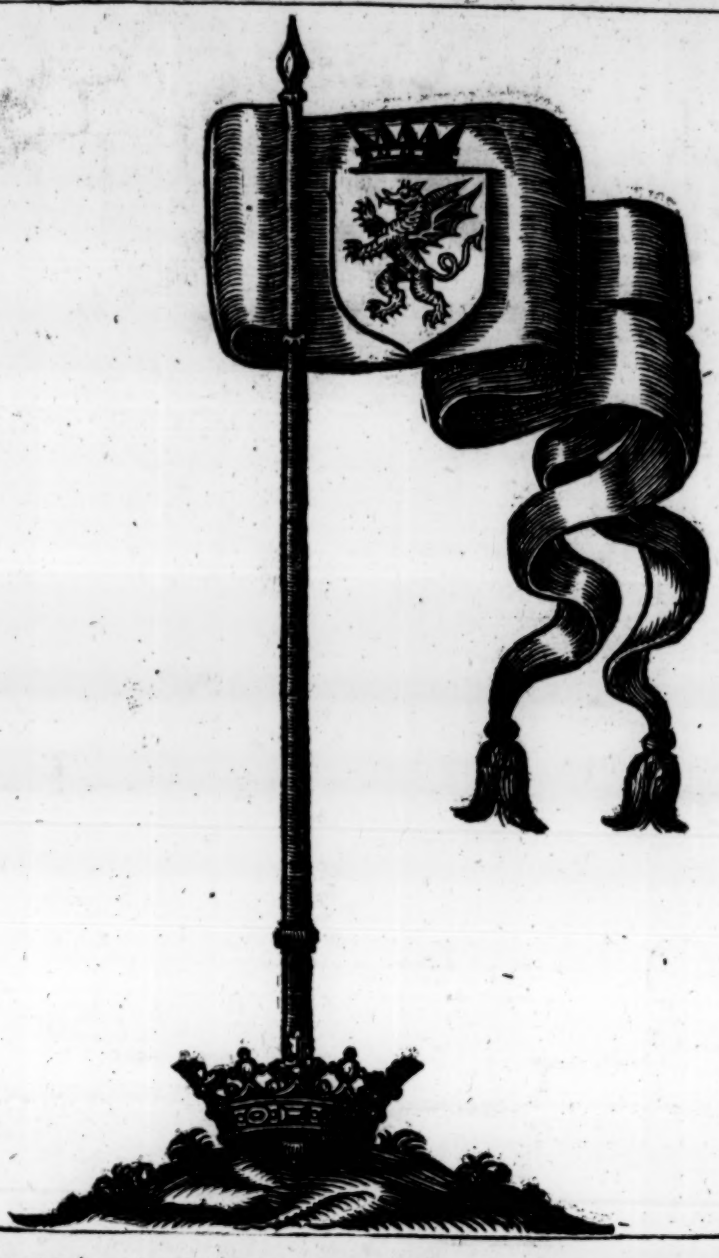


THE KINGDOME OF THE VVEST-SAXONS, THE CIRCVIT THEROF, AND SVCCESSION OF THEIR KINGS VNTO EGBERT, WITH THEIR ISSVES AND RAIGNES.

CHAPTER VII.

THe-weſt *Saxons* kingdome, containing the weſt of the Iland, vnto the Lizards point, and lands end in *Cornwall*, was firſt erected by *Cherdik* a valiant captaine, that led his *Saxons* in the conqueſt of that prouince: and euer bare as hard a hand ouer the ouerborne *Britaines*, as did any of thoſe intruders, that had ſeated themſelues in others mens rights. Three of whoſe kings ſo caried themſelues among the other *Saxons*, as they by amity, or awe, loue, or conſtraint, won, and wore the Emperiall crowne of the whole; till by the death of the one brother, and youth of the other, *Kent* againe got it, & others from them, till *Egbert* the ſeuenteenth king of this kingdom ioyned all into one. The ſtem of the whole, from *Cherdik*, to *Egbert*, is here brãched, whoſe ſap of growth from them in many of our *Engliſh* honorable families, hath fairely budded euen vnto this day: and I pray may ſo bud for euer; that the land may be *bleſſed in our Kings the ſons of theſe Nobles, & happy in our Princes, that eat for ſtrength and not for appetite, Eccleſ.* 10.17. Many of theſe weſt *Saxons* firſt conuerts, may be liuing examples to their folowing poſterities, in ſhewing their faiths by their workes, & in building of Oratories for Gods diuine ſeruice, as king *Ine* did *Glaſtenbury*, king *Kenwulfe S. Andrewes* in *Welles*, and king *Eadwallo* in an holy zeale layd by his robes, and tooke the habit of a Monke in *Rome*. The Queenes likewiſe of this kingdome, in the like devoted zeale ſought to forward the ſtate of Chriſtianity: for to that end did Queene *Seburg* build the Nunry of *Shepey*, & vailed herſelfe a Nun therein; Queene *Ethelburg* layd by her royall robes, and tooke the vaile and charge of Abbeſſe of *Barking*. And Queene *Cuthburg* too zelous that way, forſooke the bed of her king and huſband, to liue more chaſte, as then was taught; but contrary to the command of the Apoſtle, who forbade to defraud the duty of marriage, 1. *Corinth.* 7. 3. and commendeth that bedde to bee honourable and vndefiled. *Heb.* 13. 4. See the whole if you pleaſe in the next following page, their marriages, iſſues, and other collateralls.

Ethelburg daughter to Offa K: of Mercia

16 Brithic Poysoned by his wife.

15 Kenwolf founder of S. Andrewsin Wells

17 Egbert the first Saxon Monarche.

Redburg a great em: my to the Brit.

Alkmund sone of Eafa

Eafa sone to Eoppa

Eoppa a wise consseller.

14 Sigebert slain by a Swinhard

Kenhard slew Kenwolf at Merton

Kenrik slain by his own souldiers

Adelm Abbot of Malmsbu: &c.

His wife her kindred vnknown

12 Ethellard a peaceable Prince.

13 Cuthred ouercame the Brit in a bloody Battele.

Ethelburga Abbesse of Barking.

11 Ina died a monke in Rome

Ingils progenitor of Egbert the Monarch

S^t: Quenburg a Nune.

Kenten a sage conseller to his brother.

Cuthburga died a Nun at Winburn.

Osred King of Northumberland

Oswald the sone of Ethelbald

Ethelbald the sone of Kenwald

Kenwald liued priuatly.

Kenred the sone of Chelwald

Chelwald the sone of Cuth.

Cuth in him continewed the line of the west Sa:

Cuth valiantly fighting was slain of the Brit.

Cuthwin dispossessed he: cause of his yeers.

Cuthred Banished at Dorcester by B: Berenus

10 Ceadwald died a monk in Rome

Mollo burned in a fort by the Kentish

Sexburg sister of Kenda: Abbesse of Ely.

7 Kenwald built Malmsbury Monastery.

9 Kentwin a great scourge against the Brit. stains.

Quinchelem raigned with & died before his father.

Kencburg Quene of Northumberland.

Osuald the ninth Monarch of Engl: issemen

8 Essewin warred against the mercians

Kenbert the sone of Ched.

Kensy the sone of Kenfrid

6 Kingils the first Christian king of the west Saxons

2 Cearlik

Chell ayded his brother in his straights

Ched ayded his brethern against the South Sa:

3 Cheuil the first warred against the Saxons

Cuthwolfe ayded his brother in his warres

Cuth ayded his brethren against the Brittaine

Cuthgils a noble Saxon.

Kenfrid the sone of Cuthgils.

2 Kenrik obtained two victories against the Brit:

Chelwolfe ayded his fa: ther in his co: quests

1 Cherdik slew Nocaleod the British Prince

The descent of the West Saxons vnto Egbert the sole Monarck

The *West-Saxons* the first that brought the Heptarchy to a Monarchy.

THe Kingdome of the *VVest-Saxons*, though in time later then the two former; yet in circuit and fame surmounted them both; whose *Monarch* was the Maull that first brake the Scepter of the other six Kingdomes in sunder, and made one Crowne of these their seueral Diademes, more glorious thē they all, and that first worne vpon *Egbert* the *VVest-Saxons* head, and the Scepter swaied in his Imperiall hand; vntill whose time and person wee will continue the succession of their Kings, begining with *Cherdik* that first made it a Kingdome, and briefly shew their acts whilest it so stood in the *Saxons* Heptarchy.

Florent. VVigor.

1.
An. Do. 495.
The time when *Cherdike* entred into *Britaine*.

THis *Cherdik* is said to haue brought a second supply of *Saxons* forces into *Britaine*, in the yeere of our Lord 495. and fifth of King *Ella*, and seuenth of the *Monarchie* of great *Hengist*, his landing being at a place on that occasion called *Cherdike-shore*, who with his sonne *Kenrike*, was encountred by the *Britaines*, vnder the conduct of *Natanleod* a *British Prince*, (whose Country was then called after his name) whom he slew in Battell, with fiue thousand of his *Britaines*: the fortune of which field gaue resolutions and hopes of better successe: it was fought neere vnto a Brooke vpon that euent called *Cherdikes-ford*, now by contraction *Chard-ford*. Heerupon establishing his new erected Kingdome, (which contained *Cornwall*, *Deuonshire*, *Dorsetshire*, *Somersetshire*, *Wiltshire*, *Hantshiere*, *and Barkshiere*,) he inlarged the same with the conquest of the *Ile* of *Wight*, the gouernment whereof was by him giuen to *Stuffe* and *Withgar* his Nephewes; which latter slew the *Britains* there inhabiting, and named the place of his victory *VVithgarbirg*, assuming the name of King, and was buried at his City *Withgar*, in the same Ile. About seuen yeeres after *Cherdikes* entrance, *Porth* a *Saxon* with his two Sonnes, *Megla* and *Beda*, landed in the West, at the place from him called *Portsmouth*, whose aid with *Kent* and *Sussex*, assisted *Cherdike* in his Conquests. His raigne is set to be thirty three yeeres, and his death in the yeere of grace fiue hundred thirtie fiue, hauing had two sonnes, *Kenrik* and *Chelwolf*, the one of which died before his Father; and the other succeeded him in his Kingdome. *Chelwolfe* had issue *Cuthgils*, whose sonne was *Kenfridd*, and his sonne *Kensy*, the Father of King *Kentwin*, who was the Successor of king *Kenwalke*, and predecessor of king *Kentwin*, in the kingdome of the *West-Saxons*.

The circuit of this kingdome.

The first Kings raigne issue, and death.

2.
An. Do. 535.
Kenrike his battles.

Banbery in *Oxfordshiere*.

KEnrik, the eldest Sonne of King *Cherdike*; hauing formerly made proofe of his prowesse in the assistance of his Father, was after his death also very fortunate in obtaining two victories ouer the *Britaines*; the one at *Searesberige*, and the other at *Beranbrig*; whose raigne beginning Anno 534. continued twenty six yeers; ending in the yeere of our Redemption, fiue hundred sixty. He had issue three Sonnes, of which *Cheaulin* the eldest succeeded him in his kingdome; *Cuthwolfe* the second assisted his Brother in his Warres, and was partaker with him of his victories, who died Anno 672. leauing issue one onely Sonne, named *Chell*, or *Cearlike*, who proued nothing so vertuous and dutifull a subiect as his father had beene: for he rose in rebellion against his Vncle, and by strong hand expelled him his kingdome.

His issue, *Cheaulin*, *Cuthwolfe*, and *Cuth*.

Cearlike the son of *Cuthwolfe*, rebelleth against his vncle.

The third Sonne of king *Kenrike* was *Cuth*, famous in his issue, though mentionlesse for action in himselfe: for he had three sonnes, of which *Chelwolfe* the eldest, was king of the *West-Saxōs*, (as shal be declared) *Chell* the second, was father to *Kingils* the sixt (and *first Christian king* of the *West-Saxons*, and *Grandfather* to *Kenwall* and *Kenwin*, the seuenth and ninth *kings* of that *kingdome*, and *Ched* the youngest, was father of *Kenbert*, *Grandfather* to *Chedwall* the most renowned *king* of the *West-Saxons*, of whom we are presently to speake, and of them all in the succession of the *English Saxons Monarchs*: and now to returne againe to the issue of *king Kenrik*.

Chedwall, the most renowned King of the *VVest-Saxons*.

CHeaulin his first sonne, entred vpon the gouernment ouer the *West-Saxons* An. 561. & euen at the first began to disturb the quiet peace of his neighbor Prouinces, taking aduantage at the young yeeres of *Ethelbert* (who was made King of *Kent* in the same yere that *Cheaulin*, was made king of *west-Saxons*) whō he discomfited; & slew his two Captains, Duk *Oslaue* & Duke *Cnebba*, at *Wibbandune*, as we haue said. Other Victories he obtained ouer the *Britaines*, both at *Bedford*, *Deorham*, *Gloceſter*, *Cirenceſter*, and *Bathanceſter*. But the fortunes of warres being alwaies variable, at length his succesſe altered, and at *Wannes ditche* in *Wiltshire* he was ouerthrowne, & dispossessed of his kingdome by *Cealrik* his brother *Cuthwolfs* son, when he had raigned thirty three yeres. He had issue, *Cuth* and *Cuthwin*: the former serued valiātly in the wars vnder his father at *Wimbledon* in *Surrey*, where king *Ethelbert*, of *Kent* was chased, aud his souldiers slaine: and with the like valour and victory he fought at *Fethanleygh* against the *Britaines*, notwithstanding that therein he lost his life, the yere of our Lord 585. and the fiue and twentieth of his fathers raigne. *Cuthwin* his younger brother suruiued his father, but succeeded not in his kingdome, being then (by reason of his young yeres) vnable to recouer his right. He had two sons, *Kenbald* and *Cuth*; the later of which was father to *Chelwald*, whose son *Kenred* had issue, *Ine* the eleuenth King of the *West-Saxons*, and *Ingils* his brother, whose sonne was *Eoppa* the father of *Eafa*, whose son was *Alkenmud*, the father of *Egbert* the eighteenth king of the *VVest-Saxons*, who reduced the *Saxons* diuided *Heptarchie* into an absolute *Monarchie*.

3.
An. Do. 561.
Cheaulin the time when he began to raigne.
An vnquiet and ambitious neighbour.

Wimbledon. cap. 5. Sect. 5.

Stowe.

Ouerthrowne by *Cealrike*.

His raigne.
His issue, *Cuth* and *Cuthwin*.
Cuth a valiant warriour.

Slaine at *Fethanleigh*.

CEarlik the sonne of *Cuthwolfe*, who was brother to this last King, succeeded in the kingdome by the election of his *Vncle*, and was the fourth King of the *West-Saxons*. He began his raigne in the yeere of our Redemption 592. and continued it the terme of six yeres, without any memorable act by him atchieued besides his Treason spoken of before.

4
An. Do. 592.
Cearlike the fourth King of the *West-Saxons*.

His raignes continuance.

CHelwolfe the Sonne of *Cuth*, the sonne of *Kenrike*, and Cosen-german to *Cearlik* the preceding king, began his raigne ouer the *West-Saxons*, the yeere 598. on whose first entrance, this prouince of the *West-Saxons* was inuaded both by the *Britaines*, and also by the *Scots* and *Picts*: and the *East-Angles* likewise molested his peace, vnder the conduct of *Redwald* at that time *Monarch* of the Englishmen. But hee wading thorow these troubles, harried the *Prouince* of the *South-Saxons* with inuasions and calamities, in the Prosecution whereof he died, leauing the pursuit of his warres and possessions of his kingdome to *Kingils* his Nephew, that immediatly succeeded him, after he had raigned the space of fourteene yeeres.

5.
An. Do. 598.
VVest-Saxons inuaded by three sundry Enemies.
Hen. Huntingd.
His death.

KIngils the Sonne of *Chel*, who was brother to *king Chelwolfe*, succeeding his Vncle in the kingdome of the *West-Saxons*, in the yeere six hundred and twelue, in his third yeere he associated vnto him in his Gouernment *Quincheline* his Sonne; who ioyntly managed the *VVest-Saxons* affaires both of warre and peace. And fighting with victory against the *Britaines* at *Beandune*, slew of them one thousand forty six persons; and after that against *Penda* King of *Mercia*, neere vnto *Cirenceſter*, about the fift yeere of his raigne, where lastly they came to a conclusion of peace. This king at the preaching of *Berinus* (an *Italian Diuine*, afterward reputed for a *saint*) and by the perswasions of *Oswald* the most Christian king of *Northumberland*, (who was a suiter to become his *son in Law*, by the mariage of *Kineburg* his daughter, and was made his Godfather by receiuing him at the *Font*) receiued the *Word of life*, and became the first *Christian king* of all the *VVest-Saxons*; in witnesse whereof, he gaue the City *Dorcheſter*, neere vnto *Oxford*, to his Conuerter, who therein erected his Episcopall Sea. He raigned the space of thirty one yeeres, some say but twenty seuen; and had issue (besides

6.
An. Do. 612
Kingils his comming to the Kingdome.
Quincheline his associate.
Wil. Malmesbury.
Marianus.
Florent. Wigorn.
Their victory ouer the *Britaines*.

Kingils conuerted to Christianity, the first of all the *West-Saxons* Kings.
Beda hist. Angl. lib. 3. cap. 7.
Oswald a witnes at his baptizing

His gift to *Kingils*.

Quinchelinus, who raigned with him, and died before him) *Kenwin* and *Kenwald*, that ſucceeded him; and *Kineburg* his daughter married to *Oſwald*, as is ſaid. *Quinchelinus* had a ſonne named *Cuthred*, that was baptized with his Father at *Dorcheſter*, and is ſaid by *Stowe*, to haue raigned after the death of *Kingils*: but I take it rather to be *Kenwen*, whom ſome ſuppoſe to be his fathers Aſſociate the terme of foure yeeres, but neuer ſole King himſelfe.

Iob. Stowe Anal.

7 An. Do, 643. *Beda. hiſt. Angl. lib. 3. cap. 7.*

Kenwald refuſeth the Chriſtian faith.

KEnwald, whom *Beda* caleth *Senwalch*, ſucceeded his Father *Kingils* in the kingdome of the *weſt-Saxons*. His beginnings by *Matthew VVeſtminſter* are compared to be with the worſt, and his endings with the beſt of thoſe kings. At his firſt entrance he fought with victory againſt the *Britaines* at *Pennum*, whereof he became moſt inſolent, and refuſed not onely to receiue the *Chriſtian Faith*, but alſo put from him his lawfull wife *Sexburg*, the ſiſter of *Penda King* of *Mercia*, whereby hee became hatefull to his owne Subiects, and ſore aſſaulted by the *Mercian King*, who followed the reuenge ſo farre, that he forced *Kenwald* out of his kingdome, who being driuen to extremity ſought ſuccour at the mercy of *Anna* the *Chriſtian King* of the *Eaſt Angels*, where he was both courteouſlie entertained, and at laſt (wonne to the Chriſtian Faith) was baptized by *Biſhop Fœlix*, whereupon he did recall his wife, according to preſcript of *Chriſtianity*, and recouered againe his former Maieſty, which he much aduanced by his pious workes. He founded the *Cathedrall* of *Wincheſter*, and the *Abby* of *Malmeſburie*, & when he had raigned thirty one yeeres, gaue place vnto nature in the yeere 673. leauing no iſſue of his body to ſucceede him: whereupon *Segburg* his wife tooke vpon her the gouernment of the *Weſt-Saxons*, the ſame yeere that *Lothair* was made King of *Kent*, ſhee being a woman of great ſpirit and vnderſtanding, and ſufficiently worthy to haue managed the *Kingdome*, had ſhe not beene preuented by death or rather (as ſome write) by a religious deuotion, that the affaires of this preſent life might not hinder her zealous meditations of the future: in deſire whereof ſhe abandoned her Regencie, and built a houſe of deuotion in the *Ile* of *Shepey*, wherein herſelfe became a *Voweſſe*, and afterward was elected the *Abbeſſe* of *Elie*.

He is driuen out of his Kingdom.

Kenwald wonne to the faith of Chriſt

His workes of deuotion *Wil. Malmesbury.*

His raigne and death. *Vita Aldh.*

His VVife gouerneth the kingdome.

An. Do. 674.

She becomes a Nunne, and is elected Abbeſſe of *Ely*.

8. An. Do. 675.

Eskwik his raigne not long *Henr. Huntington*

His battle with *Wulfere*.

He died without iſſue.

ESkwin after the departure of *Queene Segburg*, ſucceeded in the kingdome of the *Vveſt-Saxons*. He was the ſonne of *Kenſy*, the ſonne of *Kenfrid*, the ſonne of *Cuthgils*, the ſonne of *Chelwolfe*, the ſonne of *Cherdik*, the firſt King of that Prouince: his raigne laſted but two yeeres, in which time he fought a great Battle with *VVulfere* King of the *Mercians*, at the place then called *Bidanheaford*, and wherein many of the *Saxons* on both ſides periſhed, leauing neither iſſue to ſucceede him, nor other matters to be ſpokē of him, though (as it ſeemeth) hee had diſpoſſeſſed *Kenwin*, who had more right to the Crowne then himſelf; or (as *Beda* and *Malmesbury* auerre) he raigned with him the ſpace of two yeeres, and *Kenwin* alone for ſeuen yeeres more.

9. An. Do. 677. *Kenwin* when hee began to raigne.

A great ſcourge to the ouer-borne *Britaine*.

KEnwin the brother of *Kenwald*, and ſonne to King *Kingils*, in the yeere 677, became the ninth King of the *weſt-Saxons*, and raigned the ſpace of nine yeeres. Hee was a great ſcourge vnto the weake and ouer-borne *Britaines*, making Conqueſts of their poſſeſsions, and forcing them euen to the Sea-ſhoare, being a people allotted vnto miſery, and by theſe ſtrangers purſued ſo vehemētly, that laſtly they were driuen into the *weſt-Angle* of this *Iland*, and their liues defended and maintained among thoſe waſte Mountaines and hard Rockes, which therein were more propitious and gentle then the ſtony hearts of their Oppreſſors.

10. An. Do. 686. *Beda hiſt. Eccleſ.*

CEadwalla a valiant young man, and of the bloud-Royall of the *Geniſſes*, ſaith *Beda*, being baniſhed from his Country through the enuy of others. who maligned him only for his vertues and worthineſſe, ſucceeded *Kenwin* his kinſman in the kingdome of the *weſt-Saxons*, and with greater glory raigned then any other in that Prouince before him had done. He was the ſonne of *Kenbert*, whoſe father was *Ched*, the ſecond Soune of *Cuth*; and *Cuth* was the third Sonne of *Kenrik*, who was the eldeſt Sonne of *Cherdik*, that laid the firſt ſtone of this kingdomes foundation. His firſt brunt of furie was againſt *Edilwach*, King of the *South-Saxons*, whom in field he ſlew: and in another battell *Berthun*, that had made himſelfe King of that State. The *Ile of wight* alſo he almoſt quite waſted: and though he were vnbaptized, yet did he binde himſelfe by vow to giue the fourth part of the ſpoile vnto Gods vſe, and performed it accordingly vnto Biſhop *Wilfrid*, who with *Bernewine* and *Hildila* conuerted the people from their Idolatrous ſuperſtition, vnto the true ſeruice of Chriſt, it beeing the laſt part of the *Saxons* poſſeſſions that was turned from their Pagan manners. Of which his ſpecious deuotion, *Malmerburie* giueth this cenſure: *Although wee praiſe his affection*, (ſaith he) *yet allow wee not the example; for it is written, that who ſo offereth vnto God the goods of the poore, doeth as it were ſacrifice the ſonne in the ſight of the Father.* Kent alſo with greeuous warres hee twice afflicted, and therein ſpilt ſo much *Chriſtian* blood, that nature her ſelfe was therein offended, and hee at laſt as much lamented: in repentance whereof, after hee had raigned in great ſtoutnes the ſpace of two yeres, in a zealous deuotion went to *Rome*, where of *Pope Sergius* he was baptized vpon *Eaſter Euen* (ſaith *Beda*, the yeere of our Redemption 689.) by the name of *Peter*, and wearing as yet the white Robes of innocencie, put (as the rite then was) vpon him at his lauer of *Baptiſme*, fell ſicke, and the twentieth day of *April* following died, hauing had neither wife nor child that we reade of. He was buried in *Saint Peters* Church in *Rome*, vnder a faire Monument, with this inſcription thereon ingrauen: *Heere Ceadwell, otherwiſe named Peter, King of the weſt-Saxons, is buried, who died the twentieth of Aprill, in the ſecond Indiction, and liued thirty yeeres or therabouts, when that noble and mighty Prince Iuſtinian was Emperour of Rome, and had raigned foure yeeres in the Empire; and Sergius a true patterne of the Apoſtles, had ſate two yeeres in Peters Seat.* What hath beene written of this *Ceadwall*, King of the *VVeſt-Saxons*, by *Beda* the *Saxon* and his followers, hath beene attributed to *Cadwalader* King of the *Britaines*, by *Geffery of Monmouth* the *Britaine*; *Iohn Caſtor* and *More*, affirming him to be the ſame man, and that vpon the admonition of an *Angel* hee went to *Rome*, tooke pennance of *Pope Sergius*, there died in the twelfth *Kalends* of *May*, and was there buried with the ſame *Epitaph*, and after the ſame manner. But the Writer of the *Hiſtory* of *Cambria*, of *Cadwaladers* going to *Rome*, and the other appendances, ſeemeth to be doubtfull, and ſaith that it differed from the aſſertion of *Bernardus Guidonius*, the neereneſſe of the names being the very cauſe of the like relations, and confidently affirmeth that it was *Edwall* the ſonne of *Cadwalader*, who in ſuch deuotion went to *Rome*, and there made ſuch a religions end, about the yeere of our Lord 720.

Anal. lib. 4. ca. 15.

Ceadwall raigned with greater glorie then any other.

His deſcent.

His wares against the *South-Saxons*.

His vow to God.

The laſt of the Saxons that were conuerted to Chriſt.

An vnpleaſing ſacrifice to God.

His great bloudſhed in *Kent*.

His repentance.

His baptizing.

His death.

His buriall.

Beda hiſt. Eccleſ. Angl. lib. 5. ca. 7.

The hiſtory of *Ceadwall* attributed to *Cadwallader* by *Geffry*.

Booke of *S. Albans*, part 3. cap. 61. *D. Powel* Hiſtory *Camb.* pag. 9.

11. An. Do. 688. *Floren. Wigorn.*

Ine his deſcent.

INe, whom *Beda* calles *Hun*, others *Ina* (the ſonne of *Kenred*, the ſonne of *Cuth*, the ſonne of *Cuthwin*, the ſonne of *Chelwin* the third King of the *weſt-Saxons*, the ſonne of *Kenrike* the ſecond, and hee the ſonne of *Cherdik* the firſt King in that Prouince) after *Ceadwals* departure to *Rome*, tooke vpon him the gouernment of that kingdome, which he managed with continuall Victories the terme of thirty eight yeres. His firſt attempts were againſt the *Kentiſh-Saxons*, in reuenge of his coſen *Molloe* the brother of *Ceadwald*, whom the *Kentiſh* in the ſiege of a fort had burnt vnto death, whoſe wrath *withred* pacified by the paiment of thirty thouſand Markes, ſaith *William of Malmesburie*. In the yeere of Grace 708. and twenty one of his

Ine his firſt wars

Wil. Malmesbury.

Matth. Weſtminſt. His battle with the *Britaines.*

his owne raigne (as *Matthew of weſtminſter* hath obſerued) he fought with the *Britaines* vnder their Captaine *Gerent*, whom he victoriouſly ſubdued: and in his twenty ſix yeere, againſt *Cheolred* king of *Mercia*, with doubtfull victory, at the place then called *Wodensbury*: and in his thirty ſixth, inuaded the *South Saxons* with ſuch ſucceſſe, that hee reduced the ſame *Kingdome* into a *Prouince*, & annexed it in ſubiection to the *weſt-Saxons*: and manifeſting his good deſires both to the adminiſtration of *Iuſtice*, and the aduancement of *Diuine Piety*, he ordained many good lawes for the amendment of manners in his people, which are yet extant written in the *Saxon Tongue*, and tranſlated into *Latine* by the learned *M. William Lambert.*

His Conqueſt of the South-Saxons

His loue of Iuſtice.

His zeale to piety.

He built at *Wels* a *Colledge* dedicated vnto God, and bearing the name of S. *Andrewes*: which afterwards *Kenulph*, king of the *Weſt-Saxons* mad an Epiſcopall Sea. The renowned *Abby* of *Glaſtenburie* moſt ſtatelie hee built to the honour of Chriſt, *Peter* and *Paul*, (whereof *Malmesburie* maketh mention in his booke of *Glaſtenburie* Antiquities) in a fennie place ſequeſtred frō the road way, where formerly had ſtood the *old Cell* of *Ioſeph of Arimathea*, and that being decaied *Deny* Biſhop of *S. Dauids* had thereon erected a new; which time alſo hauing ruinated, twelue men well affected in the North parts of *Britaine* had repaired, but now by this *Ina*, was quite pulled downe, and after a moſt ſumptuous manner new built; the *Chapell* whereof hee garniſhed with gold and ſiluer, and gaue rich ornaments thereto; as *Altar*, *Chalice*, *Cenſer*, *Candleſtickes*, *Baſon* and *holie water*, *Bucket*, *Images*, and *Pale* for the *Altar*, of an incredible value: for the gold thereupon beſtowed, amounted to three hundred thirtie three pound waight, and the ſiluer to two thouſand eight hundred thirty fiue pound, beſide precious Gemmes, embroched in the *Celebrating Veſtures*. Hee inſtituted alſo a certaine yeerely paiment to the See of *Rome*, enioining euery one of his ſubiects that poſſeſſed in his houſe of one kind of goods to the value of twenty pence, that he ſhould pay a penny to the *Pope* yeerely vpon *Lammas day*: which at firſt was contributed vnder the name of *The kings Almes*, but afterwards was called and challēged by the name of *Peter-pence*. At length, by the inſtigation and earneſt perſwaſion of *Ethelburga* his *Queene*, hee renounced the gliſtering glorie of his preſent and princely eſtate, wherein hee had in great proſperitie raigned thirty ſeuen yeeres and odde moneths; and profeſſing a voluntarie pouertie, (ſo great was the zeale, and ſo little the knowledge of that age) went to *Rome*, where in the habit of a *Religious Man* he ended his life in poore eſtate; and *Ethelburga* his wife became a vailed *Nunne*, and was made *Abbeſſe* of *Barking* neere *London*, wherein ſhe ended her life. The brethren of this *Ina*, were *Kenten*, whoſe ſonne was *Aldelme* Abbot of *Malmesbury* and Biſhop of *Sherborne*, and *Ingils* that was the progenitor of *Egbert* the firſt *Saxon Monarch* of the whole Iland: & his ſiſters were S *Quenburg*; & *Cuthburga*, maried into *Northumberland*, ſued a diuorce againſt *Oſrich* her king & husband, and in the habit of a *Nunne* ended her daies at *Winburne* in the Countie of *Dorſet.*

His laſt eſtate wherein he died.

His wife.

12.
An. Do. 726.

Matt. Weſtminſt. *Ethelard* terrified by the appearing of two blazing ſtarres.

Ethelard the kinſman of king *Ina* (whom he ordained his ſucceſſor at his departure to *Rome*) was the ſonne of *Oſwald*, and he of *Ethelbald* the ſonne of *Kenbald*, the brother of *Cuth*, and both of them the ſonnes of *Cuthwin*, the ſonne of *Cheaulin*, the ſonne of king *Keurik*, the ſonne of *Cherdik*, the firſt *Weſt-Saxon* King. He began his raigne the ſame yeere that King *Edbert* did his ouer the Kingdome of *Kent*, and with him was terrified by the dreadfull appearance of two *Blazing Starres*: of whoſe Acts, no other mention is recorded, ſauing that at his entrance into regal eſtate, *Oſwald* a *Norman* of the *Weſt-Saxons* bloud, emulated his glory, and troubled the quiet peace of his proſperous beginning: but not able to winne fortune to fauour his proceedings, he quiet abandoned his natiue Country, & ſo left *Ethelard* to rule the Kingdome in peace, who therin quietly raigned the ſpace of foureteene yeeres, without any mention of wife or iſſue.

The continuance of his raigne.

13.
An. Do. 740.

Hen. Hunting.

Cuthred, brother to king *Ethelard*, ſucceeded him in his Dominions, & was much diſquieted by *Edilbald* King of *Mercia*, both by open warre and priuie practiſes: but theſe two Kings comming to a concluſion of peace, ioined both their Powers againſt the ouer-borne *Britaines*, & in a bloudy battle gaue them a great ouerthrow. In this time, ſaith *Beda*, the bodies of the dead were permitted to bee buried within the walles of their Cities, which thing before was not lawfull, but their corps were interred without in the Fields; many of whoſe Tōbes as yet are witneſſes to vs, that daily finde thē in digging of the grounds adioining, & reſerue thē for fight, or other neceſſary vſe.

Adelme a rebell.

Vanquiſhed by *Cuthred.*

The peace of this king was moleſted by his owne ſubiect, an Earle named *Adelme*, who boldly encountred his Soueraigne in Battle, and fought it out euen to the point of victorie; but failing thereof, and forced toflie, his life was pardoned. And hee made *Generall* againſt the *Mercian Edilbald*, *Cuthreds* ancient foe; wherein by his valiant proweſſe, with the flight and diſcomfiture of the Enemie, hee made a worthie amends for guerdon of his life, & was euer after held in great fauour and honour. This king raigned in great fame and victories the ſpace of fourteen yeers, and died in the yeere of our Lords Paſſion 753. Hee had iſſue one onely ſon, whoſe name was *Kenrik*, a valiant yong Prince, who in the ninth yeere of his Fathers raigne was ſeditiouſly ſlaine in his Armie, for bearing himſelfe (as it may ſeeme) our-rigorous towards the Souldiers.

Reſtored againe to fauour.

Cuthred his raigne & death.

Matt. Weſt.

Kenrik his ſonne.

14.
An. Do. 754.

Sigebert obtaining the Principalitie of the *weſt-Saxons*, raigned therein no long time, and that without all honour or fame. His parentage is obſcure and vnknowne, but his vices are made apparant and manifeſt; for hee wallowing in all ſenſuall pleaſures, added exactions and cruelties vpon his ſubiects, ſetting aſide all lawes and rules of true pietie: of which vicious life, when hee was louingly admoniſhed by his moſt faithful Counſellor a worthy Earle called *Cumbra*, ſo farre was his minde from abandoning his impious courſes, as that he cauſed this Noble Perſonage to be cruelly ſlaine; wherupon the reſt of the Peeres ſeing their State and liues were euery day in danger, and the commō ſubiects, whoſe Lawes were thus violated, being incenſed into furie, they rebelliouſly roſe vp in Armes againſt him, and would acknowledge him no longer their Soueraigne. *Sigebert*, by nature as fearefull, as he was audacious vnto vice, fledde into the woods as his only ſafeguard, where like a forlorne perſon he wandred in the day, and in caues and dennes lodged in the night, til laſtly he was met with by a *Swine-heard* that was ſeruant to *Cumbra*, and of him knowne to be *Sigebert*, was preſently ſlaine in reuenge of his maſters death, in the wood that was then called *Andreads Wald*, when hee had raigned not fuly two yeeres.

His ſubiects riſe againſt him.

His death.

His raigne.

15.
An. Do. 755.

Kenwulfe, ſprung from the bloud-Royall of the *weſt Saxōs*, after the death of wicked *Sigebert* was made King of that Prouince; and appeaſing ſome tumults that were ſtirred for *Sigebert*, obtained many victories againſt the ouermaſtred *Britaines*: but had not the like ſucceſſe againſt *Offa* King of the *Mercians*, who at *Benſington* gaue him a great ouerthrow. He founded the Cathedrall Church of *S. Andrewes* at *Wels*, which afterwards was an Epiſcopall See, and in great honor raigned for the ſpace of twenty foure yeeres; but then Fortune turning her face away from him, the reſt of his raigne did not ſute to that which was ſpent: for he giuing himſelfe to pleaſure and ſecuritie, baniſhed *Kineard*, the brother of his Predeceſſor *Sigebert*; who diſſembling his wrong, gaue place vnto time, and occaſion being offered, made his vſe thereof. For *Kenwulfe* comming to *Merton*, to viſit his Paramore, was there ſet vpon & ſlaine; and his body

Kenwulfe his deſcent.

Hen. Hunting.

His victories againſt the *Britaines.*

He founded a Cathedrall Church.

He is ſlaine.

Buried at *Winchester.*

Simon Dun.

ned

conueied and buried at *Winthester*, after he had raigned twenty nine yeeres, leauing no memoriall either of Wife or Children.

16. An. Do. 784.

His Wife. *Hen. Hunting. Matth. West. Simon Dun. Ran. Cest. lib. 5. cap. 25.* His raigne and death.

Brithric, lineally descended from *Cherdik* the first King of the *West-Saxons*, a man of a soft and quiet disposition, succeeded *Kenwulfe* in that Principalitie; in the yeere of Christs Incarnation 784. He married *Ethelburga*, the daughter of great *Offa* the *Mercian* King, by whose power he expelled *Egbert* that ruled a Lordship in his Prouince vnder him, whose fame increasing through his feates of wars, drawe many iealousies into King *Brithrics* head, and the more by the instigatiō of *Ethelburga* his Queene, who bearing her selfe great, because of her parentage, practised the downfall and destruction of them whom she hated, and by her suggestions this *Egbert* was banished on suspition of conspiracy. It afterward chanced, that shee preparing poison to make an end of one of the Kings Minions, wrought therby (though vnwittingly) the Kings death: for he by tasting the confection ended his life, after hee had raigned the space of sixteene yeres. Wherein, she fearing the iust reuenge of his subiects, fled into *France*, & by *Charles* then King, was so courteously entertained, as that for her great beauty there was offred her the choice of him or his sonne. But she in her youthfull and lustfull humor, choosing the sonne, was debarred from both, and thrust into a Monastery, in the habit (not the affection of a Nunne:) where not long after she abused her body by committing of adultery, and was shortly expelled, & in beggerly misery ended her life, as *by manie that so saw her, we haue heard it reported*, saith *Asserius* mine Author. For this her most hainous crime, whereby was wrought the death of her Husband, the *West-Saxons* ordained a Law, to the great preiudice of all their Queenes succeeding; That none of them should haue either title, maiesty or place of roialty; which was seuerely executed for many yeeres after.

Roger Houeden.

Asser.

A Law against the Saxon Queenes.

In the daies of this *Brithrike*, many prodigies appeared, and more perhaps then will be beleeued. For it is reported, that in his third yeere a showre of bloud rained from heauen, and bloudy crosses fell vpon mens garments as they walked abroade. And in his tenth yeere were seene fiery Dragons flying in the ayre. Which wonders, some tooke to be presages of the miseries following, both by the Inuasions of the Pagan *Danes*, that in these times were first seene to arriue in this *Iland*, and the extreme Famine that afterwards happened: howsoeuer, sure it is that the Heptarchy now beganne to set, and the rising Monarchy to appeare in the west, by King *Egbert*, whose acts & issue shall be further rehearsed, when wee shall come to the time of his succession among the *English Monarches*.

Will. Malmesb. The prodigies that happened in this Kings time.

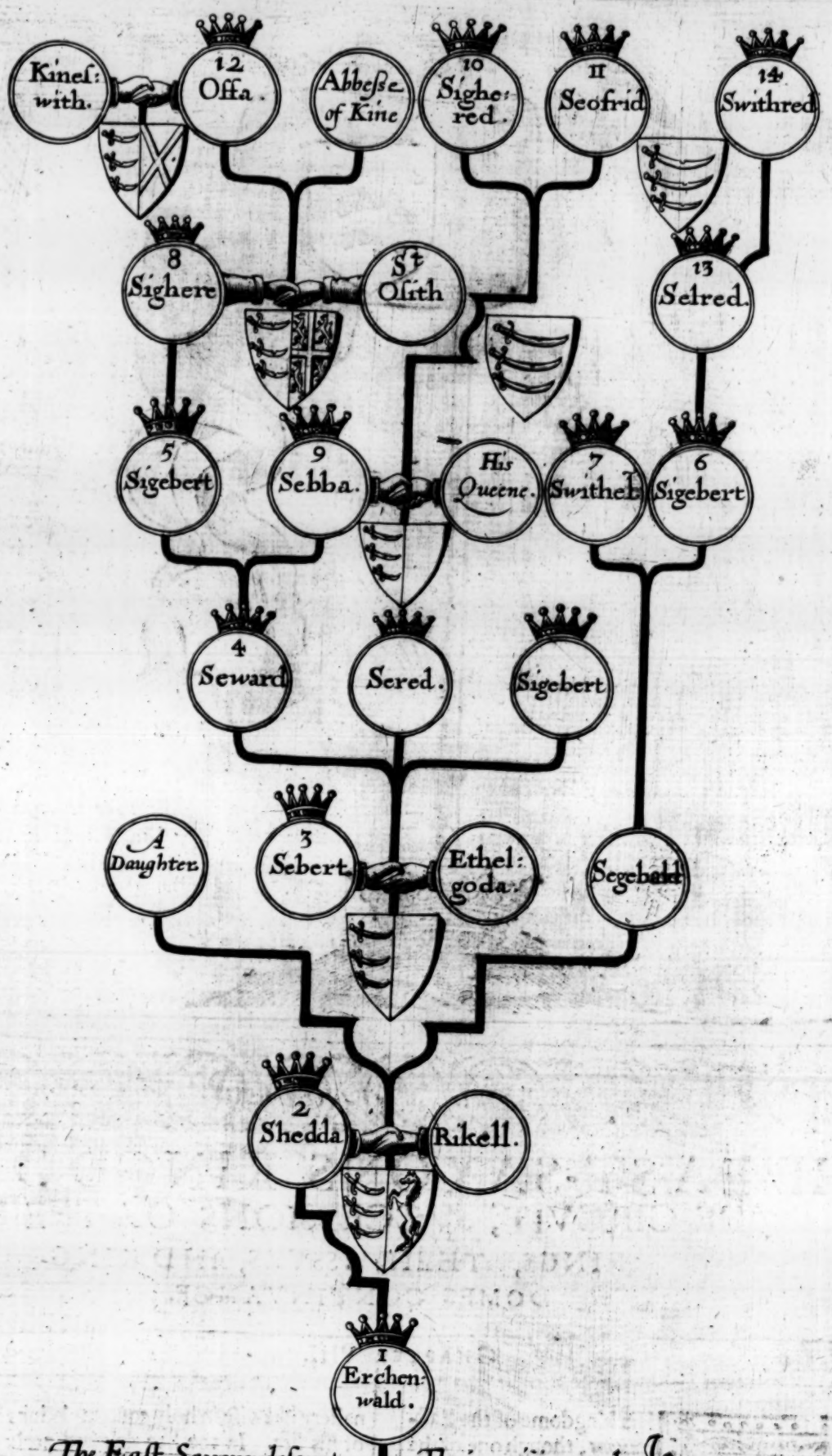
Matth. Westm. Henr. Hunt. The *Pagan Danes* inuade this Iland in this Kings time.

THE EAST-SAXONS KINGDOME, THE CIRCVIT, SVCCESSIONS OF THEIR KINGS, THEIR ISSVES, AND KINGDOMES CONTINVANCE.

CHAPTER VIII.

THis kingdome of the East-*Saxons*, though one of the least in circuit & power, yet in conuersion from paganisme, & imbracing Christian Religion, were with the first: and out-went many others in their religious zeale. For *Sebert* King of this kingdome, assisted by his vncle *Ethelbert* King of *Kent* (the first Christian King of all the *Saxons*) for the honor and seruice of God, built a Monastery in *London*, dedicating it vnto his Apostle S. *Paule*: And another at *Westminster*, vnto his othes Apostle S. *Peter*, both which had beene the Idolatrous temples of the heathen Idoles, *Diana* and *Apollo*. And in the like pious zeale, many of his successors laid the foundations of many Oratories vnto Gods vse, and became themselues votaries therein. Such were king *Sebba*, who abandoning the vaine pleasures of this life made himselfe a Monke in the foresaid Monastery. And king *Sigherd* his successor, following him in the like deuotion, tooke the rules of holy religion, and in the same Monastery likewise, in holy contemplations spent the rest of his life. In the like deuoted zeale *Offa* king of this Prouince, laid downe the Scepter of his kingdome, and as a Pilgrime trauailed to *Rome*, where in steed of the Crown, he put on the the Cowle and entred a monasticall life, wherein he spent his time in holy meditations to the day of his death. Neither were these kings so zealous alone, but that their Queenes likewise abandoning the glory of this world, tooke vpon them the mantles & veiles of holy votaries, and were great instigators of others vnto the like. For so did the Queene and wife of king *Sebba* (whose name I finde not recorded by any:) *Osith*, the Queene and wife of king *Sighere*, euen in the life-time of her husband, became Abbesse of *Berking* neer *London*, for which, (though contrary to the precept of the Apostle) shee obtained the name of a Saint. And *Kinesswith* the wife of king *Offa*, made herselfe a Nunne in the Abbey of *Kinesburgh*, whereof her husbands sister was Abbesse. The time of whose ignorances howsoeuer these brighter dayes doe condemne, yet by them we may learne to adde deeds vnto knowledge, lest knowing, and not doing, we be beaten with many stripes. 1. Cor. 7. 10.

The



The East Saxons descents | *Their wiues and Issues*

The site of this Kingdome.

THe site of the *East-Saxons* Kingdom, was the Country of *Essex*, *Middlesex*, and part of *Hartfordshire*, and the Circuit so farr as the Diocesse of *London* now extendeth: It was bounded on the *East* with the *Ocean*; on the *South* with the *Thames*; on the *West* with the *Colne*; & on the *North* with the riuer *Stowre*. The Kings thereof claime their descent from *Prince Woden*, not as all the rest of the *Saxon* Kings, but onely by a collaterall line; & *Erchenwine* became the first King, which neuertheless he held as *Feodarie* to the Kings of *Kent*. For which cause, it seemeth that *Malmsbury* mentioneth him not in the Catalogue of those Kings, but maketh his sonne *Sledda* the first, and tenth in descent from *Woden*.

The descent of these Kings.

An. Do. 527.

Malmsb. de Gest. Angl. lib. 1. cap. 6.

1. *Erchenwin* the first King of the *East-Saxons*.

ERchenwine, is said to bee the Sonne of *Offa*, the sonne of *Bedca*, the sonne of *Sigefuget*, the sonne of *Sneppa*, the sonne of *Antseeg*, the sonne of *Supig*, the sonne of *Seaxnod*, the sonne of *Woden*, from whom all these Kings fetch their originall: His kingdome began about the yeere of grace 527. & in the 15. of *Eske* the second King of *Kent*; & his raigne long, but yet without any memorable acts; dying in the yeere 586, and leauing his sonne to succeede in his place.

His descent.

His death.

2. An. Do. 587. *Sledda* the second King. His mariage.

SLedda the sonne of *Erchenwine*, succeeding in the *East-Saxons* Kingdome, raigned peaceably without mention of any warres; for hauing married *Ricula* the daughter of *Imerik* King of *Kent*, was thereby the more fauoured of them, and feared of others; and nothing left (besides his quiet raigne) to be recorded to posterities; neither are many yeeres of successions numbred, but as they are gathered from the Computations of other Princes, with whom they either liued, or were linked in action. This *Sledda* died about the yeere of our Redemption 596. and left issue by his wife *Queene Ricula*, *Segebert*, who succeeded him in the Kingdome, and *Segebald* his brother, whose Sonnes afterward were Kings of that *Prouince*.

His death.

His issue.

3. An.Do.596. *Sebert* the time when he began to raigne.

Sebert the ſonne of *Sledda* and of *Queene Ricula*, beganne his Raigne in the yeere of *Chriſts Incarnation* 596. and in the thirty ſixth yeere of the raigne of King *Ethelbert* of *Kent*, his mothers brother, at that time *Monarch* of the *Engliſh-men*, who in *Seberts* chiefe citie *London*, a *Princely Mart Towne*, (ſaith *Beda*) of many people arriuing thither both by ſea and land; new built a *Church*, making it the *Cathedrall* of *Biſhop Miletus*, and ſo wrought with King *Sebert*, that hee conuerted him to Chriſtianity; and aſsiſted him in that *Foundation*, where formerly (ſay ſome) had ſtood the *Temple of Diana*. This Church theſe new Conuerts and *Saxon kings*, either new reared or inlarged for the honour and ſeruice of God, and dedicated vnder the name of *Saint Paule*: which worke *Ethelbert* further confirmed with ſufficient maintainance, as by this his *Charter* is ſeene, containing theſe words: *Æthelbert Rex, Deo inſpirante, pro anima ſua remedio, dedit Epiſcopo Mileto terram quæ appellatur Tillingham, ad Monaſterium ſiue Solatium ſcilicet S. Pauli. Et ego Rex Æthelbert ita firmiter concedo tibi Præſuli Mileto poteſtatem eius habendi & poſſidendi, vt in perpetuum in Monaſterij vtilitate permaneat, &c.* And that this was the *Temple of Diana*, ſome haue further confirmed vnto vs by the incredible number of Oxe-heads there digged vp in the daies of King *Edward* the Firſt, when the eaſt-end of that Church was enlarged; which were ſuppoſed to be of thoſe Beaſts that were there ſacrificed to this *Goddeſſe Diana*. Theſe Kings likewiſe founded the Church of *S. Peter* in the Weſt of *London*, at a place called *Thorney*, where ſomtimes ſtood the *Temple of Apollo*, as *Sulcardus* affirmeth; which being ouerthrowne by an Earth-quake, *King Lucius* new built for the celebration of Gods ſeruice; and that againe being decaied, thoſe Kings reſtored it vnto a greater beauty, where *Sebert*, after thirteene yeeres raigne; (as ſome write) with *Æthelgoda* his Queene were buried: whoſe bodies in the daies of *Richard* the Second (ſaith *Walſingh.*) were tranſlated from the old Church to the new, and there interred. He had iſſue by the ſaid Queene, *Sered*, *Seward*, and *Sigebert*, whoſe liues and deaths were as followeth,

Beda Hiſt. Eccleſ. Ang. lib. 2. cap. 3.

Sebert conuerted to Chriſtianity by *Ethelbert*.

S. Paules Church built.

S. Paules Church aforetime the Temple of *Diana*.

S. Peters Church in *Weſtm.* built: afore time the Temple of *Apollo*.

Sulcardus.

Stowe.

Tho. Walſingham.

4 Three Kings ioyntly ſway the Kingdome.

Sered, *Seward*, and *Sigebert*, the ſons of King *Sebert*, raigned as it ſemeth, together in the Kingdome of the *Eaſt-Saxons*; all three wicked irreligious men, and deadly enemies to the *Chriſtian Profeſſion*. Theſe contumeliouſly preſuming to the *Lords Table*, and holy *Sacrament* of his *Body* and *Bloud*, were prohibited by *Biſhop Miletus*, becauſe they were *Idolaters* and *vnbaptized*: which repulſe they tooke ſo offenſiuely, that they expulſed *Miletus*, who therupon fled into *France*. But their impietie was not long vnrewarded; for fighting againſt *Kingils*, and *Quincelinus* his ſonne, (Kings of the *Weſt-Saxons*) were by them ouercome: and in battle ſlaine about the yeere of Grace 623. as by the learned *Sir Henry Sauile* is calculated, whoſe account for theſe times I altogether follow.

Enemies to Chriſtianity.

Beda hiſt. eccleſ. Angl. lib. 2. cap. 5

They are put from the Communion.

Miletus fled into *France*.

Rand. Ceſt.

The three Kings ſlaine.

5. An. Do. 623. *Segebert* the Little.

Sigebert the little, the ſonne of *Seward*, the ſecond ſonne of *King Sebert*, entred his raigne ouer the kingdome of the *Eaſt-Saxons*, the yeere of Chriſt 623 of whoſe affaires, little mater is left for vs to relate, ſauing that hee hauing both a *Brother* and a *Sonne*, yet his Kingdome was ſucceeded by neither, but by one *Sigibert*, his *Coſen German* once remooued.

Matth. Weſtmin

The time when he began to raigne.

His ſucceſſors.

6. *Beda hiſt. Ang. lib. 3. cap. 22.*

Sigibert, the ſonne of *Segebald*, the brother of *Sebert* the ſonne of *King Sledda*, and of *Ricula* his *Queene* ſucceeded his kinſman in the kingdome of the *Eaſt-Saxons*. This *Sigibert* reduced againe his Prouince vn to the embracing of the *Chriſtian Faith*, (being daily inſtigated thereunto by *Oſwie* King of *Northumberland*, and receiued Baptiſme himſelfe at the hands of *Biſhop Finnan*, at the place called *The Wall*) procured vertuous *Cedda* to be his aſsiſter for the plantation of the *Goſpell* in his kingdome. Hee was murdered by two of his kinſmen, who, as *Beda* ſaith, were Brethren, no other cauſe mouing them, but his ouer much lenitie and clemency. He raigned by the foreſaid account, ſixteene yeeres, leauing iſſue a young ſonne named *Selred*, that ſucceeded *Seofrid* in that kingdome.

Sigebert. Sigebert.

Sigebert. Sigebert.

His raigne.

His Iſſue.

7. Ann. Do. 661. *Beda hiſt. Angl. lib. 3. cap. 22.*

Swithelme ſucceeded his brother in the Prouince of the *Eaſt-Saxons*, nothing being mentioned of his life or raigne, beſides his *Baptiſme* by *Biſhop Cedda*, & that his *God-father* at the *Font-ſtone* was *Edelwald* king of the *Eaſt-Angles*.

Swithelme baptized.

8. Ann. Do. 664. When *Sighere* began to raigne.

Sighere, the ſonne of *Sigebert the little*, entred his raigne ouer the kingdome of the *Eaſt-Saxons*, the yeere of our Lord 664. and was the eighth king of that Prouince, in part wherof *Sebba* his nephew raigned, with better commendations then *Sighere* at his beginning had done; for *Beda* reporteth, that vpon a great mortality and plague, to appeaſe the wrath of his *Gods*, *Sighere* became an *Apoſtata*, and forſooke the faith of Chriſt, wheras *Sebba* continued conſtant with thoſe in that Prouince vnder his Iuriſdiction: yet by the diligent care of *Wulfere* king of the *Mercians*, *Sighere* and his people were reclaimed, throwing downe the *Temples* and *Altars* erected to Idolatrie, and opening againe the Chriſtian Churches for the Saints aſſemblies, that ſo (ſaith hee) they might rather die in hope of the Reſurrection, then wallow in ſinne, and liue in Idolatrie. His wife was *Oſwith* the daughter of *Edelfrith*, king of *Northumberland*, whom *Capgraue* maketh a *Saint*, and *Abbeſſe* of *Berking* neere *London*, euen in the daies of her husband.

Beda hiſt. Lib. 3. c. 30.

Reclaimed by the King of *Mercia*.

His Wife.

9. Ann. Do. 664. *Wil. Malmsbury.*

Sebba, the Brother of *Segebert the Little*, and Sonne of *Seward*, (as we haue ſaid) ſucceeded as ſole king in the *Prouince* of the *Eaſt-Saxons*, and with much equitie and adminiſtration of Iuſtice raigned therein thirty yeeres: towards the end whereof; the better to prepare his mind for contemplation, he relinquiſhed his Princely Robes, and put on the Habit of Religions Profeſsion in the Monaſtery of *S. Pauls* in *London*; as *Radulphus de Diceto*, with others affirme. Wherein this penitent King liuing a while in faſting and praiers, died the yeere of Chriſt 693. whoſe body was intombed in a Coffin of Gray Marble, the couer copped, and as yet ſtanding in the North wall of the Chancell of the ſame Church.

Sebba his raigne for thirty yeeres.

Rad. de Diceto.

His latter end, His death.

Sebba his Coffin in *Pauls*.

A miracle thereof *Beda* reporteth, needleſſe either then to be wrought, or now of vs repeated, were it not to point at the blindneſſe wherin euen good men were then led; and thus it is: They hauing prepared a Tombe-ſtone, to lay his body in, found it too ſhort by the quantitie of an hands bredth, and hewing it longer, yet would not ſerue; therefore they minding to bow vp the knees, laid the body therein, and ſuddenly it lengthned of it ſelfe with more then was ſufficient. But ſurely howſoeuer this tombe was then ſet on this Monkiſh tenter, it is now ſince ſhrunke againe in the ſtanding, and exceeds not in meaſure fiue foot in length. His wife (but vnnamed) hee likewiſe inſtigated to leaue the momentanie pleaſures of princely State, for that which is permanent: which thing with much adoe he laſtly obtained, leauing her to follow him in his vertuous deuotions, and his two ſonnes to ſucceed him in his kingdome.

Beda hiſt. Ang. lib. 4. ca. 11.

A miracle.

His Wife.

An. Do. 694.

Sigherd, the ſonne of King *Sebba*, whom *Beda* maketh a Monke with his Father, followed him alſo in the ſucceſſion of the *Eaſt-Saxons* kingdome; the time of whoſe entrance is ſet in the yeere of *Chriſts Incarnation* 694. and his death in 701. no other mention being made either of Acts, Life, or Iſſue.

11. *Seofrid* the ſonne of King *Sebba*.

Seofrid, the Sonne of King *Sebba*, and Brother to King *Sigheard*, either ioyntly raigned with him, or ſucceſsiuely after him, of whom I finde nothing mentioned worthy inſerting, hauing had neither Wife nor iſſue that are recorded.

12. An. Do. 701.

Rich. Ciceſt. Beda hiſt. Eccleſ. Angl. lib. 5. c. 20.

His latter end.

His wife.

13. An. Do. 709.

OFfa the Sonne of *Sighere*, and of queene *Oſwith* his Wife, a man noted for his comely feature and ſweet countenance, ſucceeded king *Seofrid* in the kingdome of the *Eaſt-Saxons*, the yeere of grace 701. He both enlarged with buildings, and inriched with lands the goodly and beautifull *Church* of *weſtminſter*; but after he had ruled eight yeres, being moued with a ſuppoſed religious deuotion, hee abandoned *Kineſwith* his wife (the daughter of *Penda* the *Mercian King*) his lands, kinne, and Country, and with *Kenred king* of *Mercia*, and *Edwine Biſhop of Worceſter*, went to *Rome*, where he was ſhorne a *Monke*, and in that habit died, leauing his Coſen *Selred* to ſucceed in his kingdome. His wife *Kineſwith* after his departure, (with the like penance) vowed her ſelfe a vailed *Nunne* in the *Abbey* of *Kineburg*, whereof his ſiſter was *Abbeſſe*.

SElred, the ſonne of *Sigebert the good*, who was murthered for his ouermuch clemency, attained to the Kingdome of the *Eaſt-Saxons* in the yeere of Grace 709. His raigne was long, though his acts are little ſpoken of, either that other worthier affaires filled the pens of thoſe Story-writers, or that his time was ſo peaceable and vnactiuely ſpent, that it miniſtred not matter whereof to indite. He raigned 38. yeeres, and died Anno 746: without relation either of Wife or Children.

K. Grincaſter. Selred the ſonne of *Sigebert* the good.

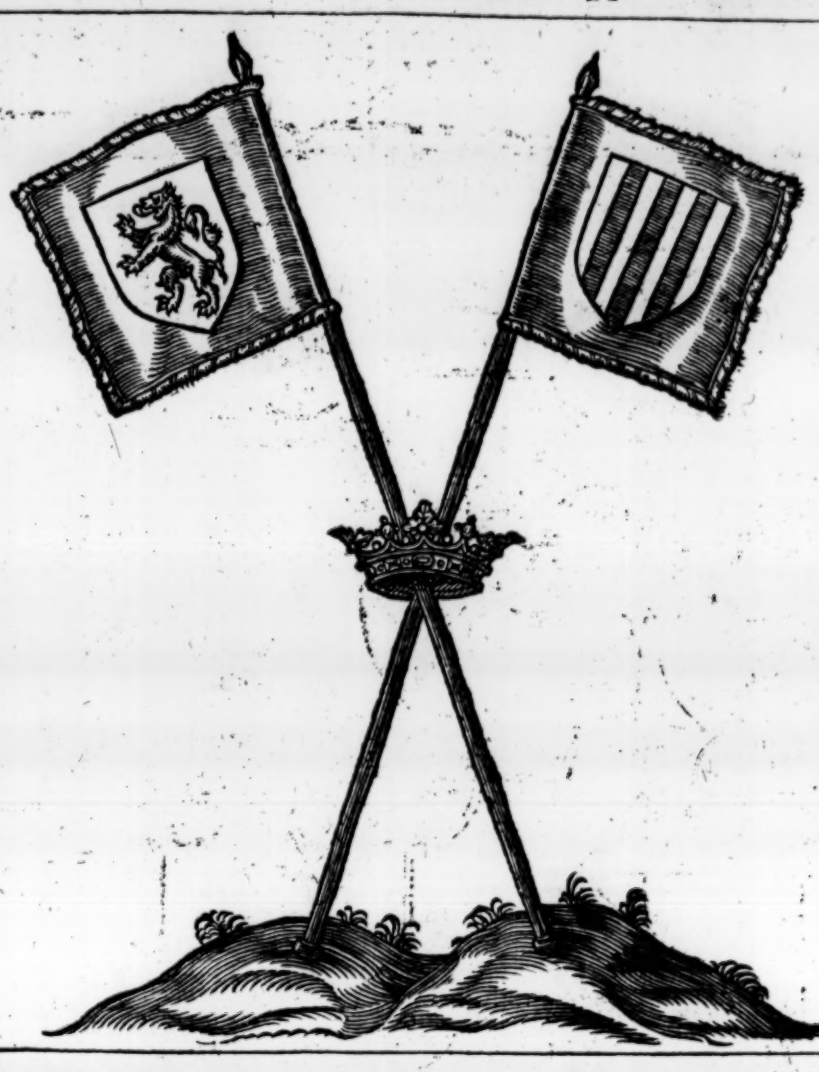
His raigne and death. *Hen. Hunting.*

SVthred, after the death of *Selred*, was made King of the *Eaſt-Saxons*, which title he retained, vntill that *Egbert* king of the *Weſt-Saxons*, taking Armes againſt him, expulſed him out of that kingdome; as alſo the ſame yeere he did *Baldred*, King of *Kent*, which was in the yeare of Chriſts Incarnation 827. and made it a Prouince annexed vnto the *Weſt-Saxons*, after it had ſtood in ſtate of a kingdome 281 yeeres.

14. An. Do. 747

Stubred King of the *Eaſt-Saxons.*

Weſt-Saxons ſtood a kingdome 181. yeeres



THE KINGDOME OF NORTHVMBERLAND, THE CIRCVIT AND CONTINVANCE, WITH THE SVCCESSIONS AND ISSVES OF THOSE KINGS; VNTO THE LAST SVBVERSION THEREOF BY KING EGBERT.

CHAPTER IX.

THE ancient inhabitants (as *Xiphilinus* out of *Dio* reporteth) inhabiting on each side of the *wale*, nere the *Meata*, who in their reuolt against the *Romans*, called to their ayde the *Caledonians*; which forced *Seuerus* the Emperor himselfe into *Britaine*. By *Ptolomy* they are caled *Ottadini*, which *Cambden* thinketh might well be from *Attatini*, and that deriued from the British word *Vchtine*, which signifieth aboue *Tine*, or on the other side of *Tine*, according to the site of the Country. And in the change of the name by the *Saxons*, the site of that Country was the cause, for it lying vpon the north of the riuer *Humber*, they named Noppan humber-londe, rightly contracted into *North-humber-lande*, and of three, one word is now made. What gouernmẽt they had, before the *Romans* obtained it, or what Gouerner vnder thẽ, but such as all other parts of the Iland (besides their Prefects or Lieutenants) is vncertaine; yet certaine it is, when the *Saxons* had got it, the Country was diuided into two Prouinces, and those called *Deira*, and *Bernicia*, which *Ella* and *Ida* two famous Captaines among them first possest, and changed the title therof from a Dukedome vnto a Kingdome, inlarging their coasts vpon the south of *Humber*, and their successors vpon their fellow Kings; whose stemlike draught annexed, both in the mariages, issues, & collateralls, are therein branched as farre as any warrantable records affordeth. And as plenteous of Saints (if Nunnes be Saints, and those sanctified that through blinde zeale, leaue their duties vndischarged, to liue idle without all imploiments) as any other of those Kings that put off their crownes, to weare a Monkes Cowle. For so did two Kings of this kingdome, foure Queenes, and fiue of their children, besides others that vowed their pilgrimages to *Rome*. And King *Oswald* so zealous, that himselfe was the interpretor of *Bishop Aidans* sermons vnto his people; and the people so desirous of Christianity, as that aboue ten thousand men, besides women and children, were in one day baptized in the riuer *Swale*, by *Paulinus* the first Arch-Bishop of *Yorke*.

Oswald usurped 28. dayes.
Ardulfe an exiled Duke
Alfwold
Eandred
Ethelred
Readalph
Osbert slaine by ye Danes
Elle slaine by ye Danes

Intruders vpon Northumbria

Elfled D. to Offa K. of Mercia
21 Ethelred slaine by his subiects
19 Edilwald or Mollo
18 Oswolf murthered by his seruts
Osrick murthered K. Osred

Etheldred D. to Ana K. of E. Angl.
Egfrid slaine by ye Redshas
Elswin slain in bat. by his b. E.
Elfled Abbese of Streashal
Osfrid Queene of Mercia
Ethelred King of Mercia
Cuthburg sister to Ina K. of West Sax.
13 Osred slayn by K. Osrick
17 Egbert became a Monk
Egbert Archbishop of York

Ethelhere King of the East Angles
Hereswith Queene of the East Angles
Hilda Abbese of Strenshalch very learned
Peada ye first Christian King of Mercia
Alkfled Querie of Mercia
21 Alkfrid an excellent Philosophe
Kenebur. D. to Penda K. of Merci
23 Osred expelled by his subiects
St Alhund. slaine by ye Danes
Alfus slaine by K. Ethelred.
Alfwin slain by K. Ethelred

Iffy died in France
Herefrik a most religious Prie.
Berdwith a vertuous Lady
Ethelwald deposed for his youngyers
Eanfled D. to Edwin K. of Northu.
10 Oswy built ye Cathedrall of Lich.
His Concubine
14 Kenred murthered K. Osred.
Eata in hum ye lyne continued
16 Ceolwulph to him Beda dedicat. his Hist.
20 Alured murthered K. Mollo
22 Alfwald traiterously murthered

Kenebur. D. to Kingils K. of west Sax.
Oswald slain in battle by Penda
Eanfrith King of Bernicia
Oslafe slaine in battle.
Offa a valiant ma. at armes
St Oswith a vailed Nun.
Ebba a Nun with her sister
Cuthwin of the blood royall.
Eanwin of the blood royall.
Leadwald the sone of Egwald
Brienha of the Bernicians
Egwald ye sone of Adelm
Rosa of ye blod royall

Osfak assisted his brother

Offrid slayn in battle w. his father
Edfrid murthered by Penda K. of Mer.
Ethelin. died shortly after Bapt: tisme
Vlkfrea died in France
Eanfled wife vnto Oswy K. of Northumb.
Etheldrid died an Infant
Acha D. to Ella ye first King
Ethelfrid slewe the Monkes of Bangor
A Concubine
Theobald slaine in battayle.
Adelm the sone of Oga.
Blakmor the sone of Ailrik

Adda K. of Bernicia.
Thedrick ayded his father Ida.
Bealrik assisted Ida in his warrs
Olmor a valiant Captaine
Ethelrik K. of Bernicia.
Thedred ayded his father.

Acha wife to Ethelfrid K. of Bernicia.
Quenburg D. to Cridan K. of Mercia
8 Edwin ye Christian King of Northumb.
Ethelburg D. to Ethelbert King of Kent
Oswin slaine by King Oswy
Osrick slaine in battle by Penda.
Ecca assisted his father
Oswald a valiant yong man
Sogoe mantained his fathers enterprise
Sogothee ayded his father Ida
Oga assisted his father
Ailrick a valiant man

Ella the first K. of Deira
Elfrik brother to K. Ella
His wiffe.
Ida ye first K. of Bernicia
His Concubine
3 Elappea King of Bernicia
4 Theodwald King of Bernicia
5 Frethulfe King of Bernicia

This Kingdome at first deuided into two Prouinces Diera and Bernitia, was gouerned by Kings, sometimes seuerally & sometimes ioyntly till lastly they fell both into one & by ye Saxons was made their Kingdome of Northumb.

Northumberland how diuided at first.

THis Kingdome of *Northumberland* consisted at first of two distinct Prouinces: whereof the one was called *Deira*, and the other *Bernicia*; and were gouerned sometimes by their Kings seuerally, and sometimes vnder one, as successe of warre, or other casualties incident did afford. The royall descents of whose Kings are brought by *Florentius* both from the *Fourth* and *Fifth* Sonnes of Prince *Woden*, after this manner. *Ella*, vnder whom the Kingdome of *Deira* beganne, was the sonne of *Iffi*, who was the sonne of *Wuskfrea*, the sonne of *Wilgils*, the sonne of *Westorwalchna*, the sonne of *Seomel*, the sonne of *Suearta*, the sonne of *Sapugell*, the sonne of *Seabalb*, the sonne of *Siggeot*, the sonne of *Suebdeg*, the sonne of *Siggar*, the sonn of *Weadeg*, the fourth sonne of *Woden*. And the descent of *Ida*, the raiser of the *Bernicians* kingdome, is brought from *Bealdeag* the fifth sonne of *Woden*; for *Bealdeag* was father to *Brand*, whose sonnes were *Beorn* and *Freodegar*, the latter of which twaine was the progenitour of *Cherdik* the first *West-Saxon King*: and his brother *Beorn* begat another *Beorn* also, and hee *Wegbrand* the father of *Ingebrand*, whose sonne was *Alusa*, the father of *Angengeal*, and this mans sonne *Ingengat*, the father of *Æthelbright*, whose sonne *Oesa* begat *Eoppa* the father of this *Ida*, the first King of *Bernicia*.

Florent. Wigorn. The pedegree of these Kings.

The time when this Prouince became a Kingdome. *VVil. Malmsb.*

The Prouince diuided into two Kingdomes. *Deira & Bernicia*

These Saxon Captaines *Ella* and *Ida*, about sixty yeeres after the death of king *Hengist*, changed the title of this Prouince from a Dukedome to a kingdome. For *Hengist* hauing giuen the possession of those North parts vnto *Otho* his Brother, and to *Ebusain* his sonne, their Successors held it, with many hostile irruptions the space of 99. yeeres. But now the *Britaines* subiected, and no resistance made, those Captaines diuide the Prouince into two parts, intituling either by the name of a *Kingdome*; the first *Deira*, was possessed by *Ella*, which stretched from *Tyne*, to the Riuer *Humber*; and the second *Bernicia*, enioyed by *Ida*, whose Continent lay betwixt the *Tyne* and the *Frith* of *Edenborough*. These together contained the Counties of *Westmerland*, *Cumberland*, *Northumberland*, *Yorkeshire*, *Lancaster*, and *Durham*: and was bounded on the West with the *Irish* Seas, on the North with the Wall of *Seuerus*, on the East with the *German Ocean*, and on the South with the Riuers *Mersey* and *Humber*. *Ida*, saith *Malmesbury*, raigned fourteene yeeres: and *Ella* by *Mathew of Westminster*, is said to succeed him for thirty yeeres. The issue of *Ida* legitimate, as *Huntingto* recordeth, were *Adda*, *Bealric*, *Thedrik*, *Ethelrik*, *Osmer*, and *Theodred*; illegitimate, *Oga*, *Ecca*, *Oswald*, *Ailrik*, *Sogoe*, and *Sogother*. These (saith *Matthew of Westminster*) arriued at *Flemisburke* with 40. Ships, and assisted their Father in manie of his enterprises. The issue of *Ella*, by *Florentius* his record, were *Acca*, Wife of *Ethelfrid*, King of *Bernicia*, and mother to the most Christian *Oswald*, Monarch of the *Englishmen*, and *Edwine* the Monarch and first Christian King of *Northumberland*. *Ida* is said to beginne his raigne Anno 547. And *Ella* in the yeere 559. No other particulars ascribed vnto either, besides the building of *Bamburge Castle*.

Ida his raigne. *Malmesbury*. *Ella his* raigne. *Ida* his issue legitimate and illegitimate.

They arriue at *Flemisbur*, e with forty ships. *Ella* his issue.

Bamburge Castel built by *Ida* and *Ella*.

With *Ella* raigned the two sonnes of *Ida*, namely *Adda* and *Thedrik*, with three others, *Elappea*, *Theodwald*, and *Frethulfe*, sprung from *Eoppa* the father of *Ida*, all fiue his substitutes ouer the *Bernicians*: but because there is no other mention of them besides their names and raignes, I will leaue as I finde them, and proceed to the more worthy of recitall.

2. *Adda* raigned 7. yeeres
3. *Elapea* raigned 5. yeeres
4. *Theodwald* raigned 1. yeere
5. *Frethulfe* raigned 7. yeeres
6. *Theodrik* raigned 7. yeeres

} King of *Bernicia*.

6. An. Do. 589. *Ethelrikes* youth obscuritie spent.

ETHelrik the sonne of *king Ida*, hauing outrun his youth in pernicious obscuritie, attained in his old yeres to the gouernment of both the *Prouinces*, and whole *kingdome* of *Northumberland*, wherein his time was so spent (saith *Malmesbury*) that had not his son in the glasse of his own worths shewed the face of his fathers remembrance, his acts & raigne might easily haue beene forgotten. His issue were *Ethelfrid* that succeeded him, and *Theobald* slaine in Battle against the *Scots*. He raigned fiue yeeres, and died, An. 593.

Beda hist. l. 1. c. 33. His raigne and death.

7. An Do. 593. *Beda hist. eccles. Angl. lib. 1. cap. 33* *Ethelfrid* very thirsty of fame.

Ethelfrid, a man very valiant, and thirsty for renowne, succeeded his father in the *Northumbrians kingdome*. Him *Beda* compares to *king Saul* in *Israel*, excepting onely in the knowledge of Gods true Religion: to whom (saith he) might be applied the saying of *Iacob* touching *Beniamin*, that like a rauening Wolfe he deuoured his prey in the morning, and diuided the spoile thereof in the euening. For he made greater Conquests ouer the daily afflicted *Britaines*, then all the *kings* of the *Angles* had done; and peopling their possessions with his *Saxons*, held the right owners vnder subiection and tribute. This his prosperitie *Edanaden king* of the *Scots* greatly enuied, & attempting to croppe it, and to plant himselfe vpon the roote of like honour, hee assembled a great and strong Army against him, and at the place called *Degsaston* strooke battle with him, wherein notwithstanding he was ouerthrowne, and his *Scots* discomfited, yet with such losse to *King Ethelfrid*, that *Theobald* his brother, with the part of the Army whereof he was *Generall*, were all vanquished and destroied. This battle went so sore against the *Scottish Britaines*, that (saith *Beda*) *no King of that Nation durst attempt to meet the English in the Field for a long time after*. And the fortune of the day did so much augment both his fame, and also his haughty spirit, that presently he re-enforced his power against the *Britaines*, that were at * *Cairlegion*, where of them hee made a most lamentable slaughter, and that not onely of the Souldiert prepared for fight, but also of those religious and harmlesse *Monkes*, there assembled for praier.

A greater Conquerour then all the rest.

Or. *Eden Martianus*. *Edenaden* cnuieth *Ethelfred*.

Edenaden ouerthrowne.

Theobald.

Ethelfrid proud of his victory. * *West. sheester*

These *Monks* were of the Monastery of *Bangor* in *Northwales*, famous for antiquity, forme of discipline, and spacious circuit. It was situated in the fruitful valley now called the *English Mailor*; and vpon the Bankes of the Riuer *Dee*, where it exteuded it selfe as in the circuit of a walled Citie, containing within it the quantity of a mile and halfe of ground: two of whose Gates may at this day easily be discerned; the one of them called *Port Hogen*, lying by North; and the other *Port Calais*, situate on the South; the Riuer *Dee* hauing now changed his Channell, runneth thorow the middest betwixt both the Gates, which stand asunder fiue hundred paces. This Monasterie, saith *Clariualentius*, was the Mother of al others in the World; who in memory of the * *Seuen Churches of Asia*, did distribute into seuen portions their *Monks*, euery one numbering three hundred soules, and al of them (as *Beda* saith) liuing by the labour of their own hands. Many of these assembling at *Cair-legion*, to assist their Brethren *Britaines* with their supplications vnto God against this *Ethelfrid*, surnamed the *Wilde*, & his fierce Souldiers the Infidell *Saxons*; with three daies fasts spent their time in continuall praiers. But King *Ethelfrid* beholding their maner, demanded the cause: and understanding that they called for assistance of their God against him and his Army, set first vpon their Guarder *Brockmal*, a man of Armes, who to saue his owne life, left all theirs to the sword, wherin perished one thousand and two hundred Christian Monks, besides the discomfiture of the *Britaines* Host. Many of these were interred in their owne Monasteries, whose bodies, saith *Leyland*, haue beene found in the memory of man, in the rotten weedes wherein they were slaine. But as his fame increased daily abroad, so were his feares augmented continually at home. For *Edwin* the sonne of *Ella*, and third King of *Deira*, a gallant young Prince; and newly seated in his fathers Kingdome, wrought many suspicions in *Ethelfrids* head; and though he was brother to his Wife *Acca*, yet the neerenesse of that alliance, no whit diminished his zealous conceits, whom therfore by priuy conspiracies and apparant pursuits hee to daily

The description of *Bangor* Monasterie.

Bernardus Clariualentius. *Bangor* Monastery the first in the world. *Beda hist. Eccles. Angl. lib. 2. ca. 2.* Her Monkes diuided into seuen portions. Liued by the labour of their hands. Their praier and fasting. *Ethelfrid* enquireth the cause of their praying. He slaieth a great number.

Ethelfred in feare of *Edwine*.

Edwine forced into exile.

daily molested, that he was forced to saue his life by auoiding the Country, and tossed in exile from place to place, was lastly receiued and succoured by *Redwald*, King of the *East-Angles*, who in his quarel forthwith assembled his forces, and meeting *Ethelfrid* in the field, slew him neere the Riuer *Idle*, after hee had raigned twenty three yeeres, in the yeere of Christ his incarnation 617. He had issue by his Wife *Acca* (the daughter of *Ella*) *Eanfrith* King of *Bernicia*, *Oslafe*, and *Oswald* King of *Northumberland*, *Oslake*, and *Offa*, with two Daughters canonized for Saints, *Oswith* and *Ebba* the Nunne; as also by his Concubine, *Oswy* the tenth Monarch of the *Englishmen*.

Succoured by *Redwald*.

Henry Hunt. *Ethelfrid* slaine. His raigne. *Florentius.* His issue. *Ioa. Capgraue.*

8.
An. Do. 617.
Beda hist. Eccles. Angl. lib. 2 ca. 12

EDwine thus raised by the helpe of King *Redwald*, returned to his Country, and was of the Inhabitants made king of *Northumberland*, and afterward Monarch of the *Englishmen*; as in their succession shall be declared. *Beda* (somewhat too much addicted to fabulous miracles) of him reporteth this story: That whilest hee lay banished in king *Redwalds* Court, *Ethelfrid* instigated his receiuer, by promises to take away his life: or if he refused, threatned him warres: for feare whereof, *Redwald*, partly inclining to this wicked purpose, reuealed the same to the queene his wife; which a friend of *Edwine* hearing, told him of his danger, and wished him to flie. *Edwine* thus perplexed with troubled thoughts in the dead of the night, sate solitary vnder a tree in dumps, musing what was best to be done; to suspect and flie from *Redwald*, that had honoured him so much, he held it a wrong; and to thinke himselfe safe in other Prouinces against so powerfull pursuers, he thought it was vaine. Thus distracted in casting what way might be safest, suddenly approached a man vnto him, vtterly vnknowne, who after salutation, demaunded the cause why hee sate at so vnseasonable a time, in so vncouth a place, and pensiue manner? *Edwine* thinking him to be his death's-man, resolutely answered; It nothing concerned him at all, either to aske, or to know his estate. Oh *Edwine* (said he) thinke not but that I know thy sorrow, and the cause of thy sitting thus vpon that stone; thy death is pretended, and euen at hand: but what wouldest thou giue to rid thee of that danger and to make king *Redwald* thy assured preseruer? Any thing, quoth *Edwine*, which is in my power. But what shall be his reward (said the other) that shall set thee vpon the throne of thy kingdome, and that with such glory, as none of thy Progenitors euer attained vnto? I would bee thankfull to that man, said *Edwine*, in all things, and at all times, as reason required, and of right I ought. But tell me *Edwine*, said he, what if the same man shew thee a more safe way to preserue the life of thy soule, then either thou at this present knowest, or any of thy Parents euer heard of, wilt thou consent and imbrace his counsell? Yea, said *Edwine*, God forbid that I should not bee ruled by him, that thus should free me from this present danger, set me vpon the throne of a kingdome, and after these great fauours, should also teach me the way to an eternall life. Vpon this answere, laying his right hand on *Edwines* head, he said vnto him; When these things shall in order come to passe, then call to minde this time, and what thou hast promised, and so vanished from his presence. The young Prince thus left betwixt hope and despaire, his friend that had forewarned him of his death: came hastily to him with a more cheerful countenance, Come in *Edwine* (quoth he) and surcease thy cares, for the queene hath not onely changed *Redwalds* mind to saue thy life, but he also hath granted to maintaine thy right against *Ethelfrid* thine enemy. Which shortly he did, and slew him as we haue said.

Edwine his answer.

The man shewed him his griefe vntold him.

He demandeth what he would giue to be eased.

Edwine his answer.

He promiseth to shew him how to saue his soule.

He suddenly vanisheth away.

Edwines friend bringeth him good newes.

Edwine thus placed vpon the Princely Throne, his first Wife *Quenburg* being dead in his exile, receiued in marriage *Ethelburga*, surnamed *Tace*, (a fit name for a woman) the Daughter of king *Ethelbert* and Sister to *Edbald* King of *Kent*, a most chaste and vertuous Christian Lady, whose teacher was *Paulinus*, and both of them Gods instruments for the Conuersion of the *Northumbrians* to the inbracement of Christian Religion. But because we shall haue occasion to speake of this *Edwine* as he was Monarch of the *Englishmen*, we will reserue his *Acts*, *Issues*, and *Raigne*, to be further related in the course of his Succession. He was slaine in battell against *Cadwall* king of the *Britaines* and *Penda* king of the *Mercians*, when he had prosperously raigned seuenteene yeeres, the twelfth of *October*; Anno 633. and was buried in *Saint Peters* Church at *Streanshall*, after called *Withby*. Vpon whose death, the kingdome of *Northumberland* was againe diuided.

His life in danger.

Edwine in doubt what to doe. One vnknowne came to him, demanding the cause of his sorrow.

Edwine his answer.

The man shewed him his griefe vntold him.

He demandeth what he would giue to be eased.

Edwine his answer.

He promiseth to shew him how to saue his soule.

He suddenly vanisheth away.

Edwines friend bringeth him good newes.

His wife a chaste Christian Lady

His death.

His raigne.

His place of buriall.

9.
An. Do. 633
Osrike King of *Deira*.
Eanfrith King of the *Bernicians*.

OSricke the Sonne of *Alfrid* (*Edwines* Vncle) succeeding in the Prouince of *Deira*, and *Eanfrith* the Sonne of *Ethelfrid the Wilde*, in the Prouince of the *Bernicians*; these with the rest of *Ethelfrids* Children, for the continuance of *Edwines* Raigne, had in banishment beene preserued among the *Scots* and *Red-shanks*, and there had receiued the Sacrament of Baptisme: but after the death of their Enemy, these Princes returned to their owne Country, and former superstitions, renouncing againe the profession of Christ. Yet this their Apostasie (saith *Beda*) remained not long vnpunished: *For Cadwalader King of the Britaines, with wicked force, but with worthy vengeance, slew them both the next Sommer ensuing. Osrike vnprepared, and his whole Army penned in the Suburbs of their owne City, he miserably slew; and possessing the Prouince of the Northumbrians, not as a King or Conqueror, but rather like an outragious Tyrant, destroied and rent in tragicall manner, all things before him. Eanfrith vnaduisedly with twelue chosen persons comming to * Cadwallader to intreat vpon peace, were cruelly put to death. This yeere* (saith hee) *continueth vnhappy and hatefull euen vnto this day, as well for the Apostasie of these English Kings, as also for the Britaine Kings furious tyranny. Wherefore the Historiographers of that time haue thought it best, that the memory of these Apostate Kings being vtterly forgotten, the selfesame yeere should be assigned to the Raigne of the next following King, Oswald, a man dearely beloued of God.*

Thy renounce the profession of Christ. *Beda. Hist. Angl. lib. 3 cap. 1.*

Cedwald Gods instrument to punish them.

* *Cedwall.*

The British Kings tyranny.

9.
An. Do. 634.
Oswald.

OSwald, the son of *Wilde Ethelfrid*, and brother to *King Eanfrith*, beganne his raigne ouer the *Northumbrains*, Anno. 634. having first embraced Christianity, and receiued baptisme in *Scotland*, wherein hee was secured all the raigne of king *Edwine*, and had withall learned some experience in warre. Hee comming vnlooked for with a small Army, but fenced (saith *Beda*) with the *Faith of Christ*, obtained against *Cedwald* king of the *Britaines* a great victory: the manner whereof, with his other acts atchiued, wee will further declare in his succession among the *Monarkes* of the *English-men*, whereof hee was the ninth from *Hengist*.

His conquest of the *Britaines*.

Oswald the ninth from *Hengist*.

He sent for *Aidan*, a *Scottish Diuine*, to teach his people the Doctrine of *Christ*, inlarged his kingdome, and reconciled the *Deirians* and *Bernicians*, who were at mortall enmity. He was slaine, and cruelly rent in peeces by the vnmercifull Pagan *Penda* the *Mercian*, at *Oswaldstree* in *Shrop-shire*, *Quinto Augusti*, the yeere of our Lord 642. when he had raigned nine yeeres, and was buried at *Bradney* in *Lincolne-shiere*. His wife was *Kineburg*, the daughter of *Kingils* King of the *west Saxons*; and his sonne *Ethelwald*, young at his death, and therefore defeated of his Kingdome by *Oswy* his Vncle, the *Naturall Sonne* of King *Ethelfrid the Wilde*. Notwithstanding when *Oswin* King of *Deira* was murdered by this *Oswy* of *Bernicia*, & he not past sixteene yeeres of age, entred by force vpon *Deira*, and kept the same Prouince by strong hand so long as he liued; and dying, left it to his cosen *Alkfrid*, the *Naturall Sonne* of the said King *Oswy*.

Hector Boet. His care of his people for religion. His death.

Raigne.

Buriall.

VVife.

Issue.

10.
An. Do. 643
Oswy the illegitimate of *Ethelfrid*

OSwy the illegitimate sonne of *Ethelfrid the wild*, at thirty yeeres of age succeded King *Oswald* his brother in the Kingdome of the *Bernicians*; at whose entrance, *Oswyne* the sonne of *Osrik*, (that had denied the

Beda hist. Eccles. lib.3.cap.1.

the Faith, and was slaine of king *Cedwall*) raigned in *Deira*. This *Oswine* was slaine of King *Oswye*: after whose death, seizing al *Northumberland*, he spread his terrour further into other parts, and was the *tenth Monarch* of the *Englishmen*, as in his succession we wil further speake. His wife was *Eanfled*, daughter to *Edwine* King of *Northumberland*, by whom he had many Children. His raigne was 28. yeeres, and death the fifteenth day of Februarie, in the yeere of grace 670 and of his age 58.

The tenth Monarch of the *English-men*.

His wife. Issue. Death. Beda lib. 4. ca. 4.

11 An. Do. 671. Beda hist. lib. 3. cap. 24. Egfrid.

EGfrid, the eldest sonne of King *Oswy* by Queene *Eanfled*, had beene *Hostage* in the kingdome of *Mercia*, and after his father was made King of *Northumberland*, in the yeere of Christ 671. Hee warred, but with great losse, against *Ethelred* King of *Mercia*, neere vnto the Riuer of *Trent*, wherein his younger brother *Elfwyne* was vnfortunately slaine, to the great griefe of both the Kings, the one being his owne brother, and the other his brother in law by marriage: whereupon a peace and reconciliation was made. But *Egfred* being by nature of a disquiet disposition, inuaded the *Irish*, and destroied those harmelesse and silly people, which (as *Beda* saith) *had beene great friends to the English*. Their resistance consisted chiefly in curses and imprecations for reuenge, which though they could not open heauen, yet (saith hee) *it is to be beleeued, that for their cause he was cut off the next yeere ensuing by the Picts or Red-shankes, against whom he prepared, contrary to the aduice of his Counsell, and by them was slaine among the strait and waste mountaines*, 20. *Maij*, the yeere of mans felicity 685. and of his age forty, after he had raigned fifteene yeeres. His wife was *Etheldred* the daughter of *Anna* King of the *East-Angles*: shee was both *Widow* and *Virgin*; first maried to *Tonbert* a Noble man that ruled the *Giruij*, a people inhabiting the fenny Countries of *Norfolke*, *Lincolne*, *Huntington*, and *Cambridge-shieres*; and after him also in virginity continued twelue yeeres with her husband King *Egfrid*, contrary ro his minde, and the *Apostles* precept, that forbibdeth such *defrauding either in man or woman, except it be with consent for a time*, and to the preparatiō of praier; affirming elswhere, that *Mariage is honourable, and the bed thereof vndefiled*, wherein the woman doth redeeme her transgression, through faith, loue, holinesse, and modesty, by bearing of children. This notwithstanding. she obtained licence to depart his Court, and got her to *Coldingham Abby*, where shee was professed a *Nunne* vnder *Ebba* the daughter of King *Ethelfrld*. Then went shee to *Ely*, and new built a *Monastery*, whereof she was made *Abbesse*, and wherein with great reuerence shee was intombed: whose vertues and remembrance remained to posterities by the name of *S. Audrie*, she being canonized among the Catalogue of English Saints.

Beda hist. Angl. lib. 4. cap. 26.

His death.

Raigne.

VVife, who was both a widow and a Virgin,

Beda hist. l. 4. c. 19.

1 Cor. 7. 5.

Heb. 13. 4.

1 Tim. 2. 15.

Canonized for a Saint.

12. An. Do. 686. Alkfrid.

ALkfryd, the illegitimate son of king *Oswy*, in the raigne of his half-brother king *Egfrid*, whether willingly, or by violence constrained, liued like a banished man in *Ireland*, where applying himselfe to study, hee became an excellent *Philosopher*, and (as *Beda* saith) was very conuersant and learned in the *Holy Scriptures*, and therefore was made king ouer the *Northumbrians*: where with great wisdome, though not with so large bounds as others had enioyed, he worthily did recouer the decaied estate of that Prouince, ruling the same twenty yeeres and odde moneths,, and departed this life, Anno 705. His Wife was *Kenburg*, the daughter of *Penda* king of the *Mercians*, and by her he had issue only one sonne; that succeeded him in his Kingdome.

Matth. Westminst. A great Philosopher.

Beda 4. 26.

His raigne. wife Issue. Beda hist l. 3 c 21.

3. An. Do. 705. Ofred. Beda hist. l. 5. ca. 9. Wil. Malmesbury.

OSred, a child of eight yeres in age, for the hopes conceiued from the vertues of his father, was made King ouer the *Northumbrians*; whose steps he no waies trod in, but rather in filthy abuse of his person and place, wallowed in all voluptuous pleasures and sensuall delight, violating the bodies of vailed *Nunnes*, and other religions holy women: wherein when hee had spent eleuen yeres more to his age, his kinsmen *Kenred* and *Osrike* conspired against him, and in battle by his slaughter made an end of his impious life. His wife was *Cuthburga*, the sister of *Inas* King of the *West-Saxons*, as by the time may be gathered, from the computation of *Marianus*, and the *Annales* of the *English-Saxons*, who vpon a loathing wearines of wedlocke, sued out a diuorce from her husband, and built a *Nunnery* at *Winburne* in *Dorset-shire*, where in a religious habit shee ended her life; and hee by *Kenrid* and *Osrike*, leauing his Kingdome to them that wrought his deaht.

His wife, who became a Nunne.

Marianus Scotus,

His death.

Raigne.

KEnred, the sonne of *Cuthwyne*, whose father was *Leolwald* the sonne of *Egwald*, and his father *Adelm* the sonne of *Oga*, the naturall sonne of *Ida*, the first King of *Deira*, after the death of *Osred* raigned two yeeres; no other remembrance left of him, besides the murder of his Soueraigne Lord and king.

14. An. Do. 716. Kenred.

His raigne.

15. An. Do. 718. Osrike.

OSrick, after the death of *Kenred*, obtained the kingdome of *Northumberland*, and raigned therin the space of eleuen yeeres, leauing to the world his name stained with bloud in the murder of young *Osred*, no other mention of parentage, wife or issue of him remaining; for want whereof, hee adopted *Ceolnulph*, brother to his predecessor *Kenred*, and died vnlamented the yeere of Grace seuen hundred twenty nine.

His raigne.

His adopted sonne.

His death.

16. An. Do. 729. Ceolnulph.

CEolnulph, the brother of *Kenred*, after the death of king *Osrik*, was made king of the *Northumbrians*; which Prouince he gouerned with great peace and victory the spaee of eight yeeres: but then forsaking the Royall Estate and Robes of Maiesty, put on the habit of a *Monke* in the Ile of *Lindesferne* or *Holy Iland*. These were the daies (saith *Beda*) *wherein the acceptable time of peace and quietnesse was embraced among the Northumbrians, who now laid their armour aside, and applied themselues to the reading of holy Scriptures, more desirous to be professed in religious houses, then to exercise feates of warre, or of armes.* For not onely Priests & Lay men vowed, and performed Pilgrimages to *Rome*, but *Kings*, *Queenes* and *Bishops* also did the like: so great (so blinde I might say) a deuotion was in their harts, and so holy a reuerence held they of the place. Vnto this king *Ceolnulph*, the said *Venerable Beda* (a Priest in the *Monastery* of *Peter* and *Paule* at *Werimouth* neere vnto *Durham*) a great Clerke, and VVriter of the English Historie, dedicated the same his Worke, which he continued till the yeereof Christ seuen hundred thirty one, & from the first entrance of the *Saxons*, cōtaining 285. yeeres, according to his owne account.

A merry Gladsome times.

Matth. West.

Bedaes booke to K Ceolnulph.

17 An. Do. 738. Egbert.

EGbert, the sonne of *Eata*, who was brother to king *Kenred*, succeeded his vncle *Ceolnulph* in the kingdome of *Northumberland*, and ruled the same with the like peace and piety, the time of twenty yeeres; and then following his example, also forsooke the world, and shore himselfe a *Monke*, as diuers other kings in those daies had done, whereof *Simon Dunelmensis* writeth, and noteth the number to be eight: as *Inas* king of the *West-Saxons*, *Ethelred* & *Kenred* kings of *Mercia*, *Sigebert* king of the *East-Angles*, *Sebbi* & *Offa* Kings of the *East-Saxons*, and *Ceolnulph* and this *Egbert* Kings of the *Northumbrians*. These forsaking the world (as they tooke it) left the Charge that God vpon them had imposed, whose authority in earth they swaied, and wherin they might much more haue aduanced Gods glory and Christs Gospel, then for a more easie priuate & safe life, not warranted by his word, but rather disliked, and perhaps foreshewed by those heauenly creatures the Sunne and Moone, which in those daies were fearefully darkned, and for a time seemed to haue lost their light: for Anno 733. 18. *Calend. Septemb.* the Sunne suffered so great an Eclipse, that the earth seemed to be ouer-shadowed as with sack-cloth. And Anno 756. 8. *Calend. Decemb.* the Moone being in her full, appeared both darke and

His raigne.

Simon Dunelm

Diuers Kings that became Monkes.

VVil. Malmes.

Eclipsis of the Sun and Moone.

andbloudy; for a Starre (though there be none lower then the Moone) ſeemed to follow her, and to depriue her of ligbt: but paſsing before her, ſhe againe recouered her former brightneſſe. This King *Egbert* had a brother that bore the ſame name, and was inſtalled *Archbiſhop of Yorke*, where he erected a beautifull Library (a worke well befitting a noble Prelate) and plentifully ſtored it with an infinite number of learned bookes. His ſonne was *Oſwulph*, that ſucceeded in the Kingdome.

His iſſue.

18. An. Do. 758. *Oſwulph. Simeon Dunelm. Henr. Hunt.* His raigne. Death.

Oswulph, when his father *Egbert* had put off the Robes of Maieſty, and clad himſelfe with a *Monks* Cowle, aſcended the Throne of *Northumberland*, and ſate therein only one yeere: for before hee had made attempt of any memorable act, he was traiterouſly murdered by his own ſeruants at *Mikilwongton*, the ninth Kalends of Auguſt, leauing the Crown vndiſpoſed of, vntill the Nones of the ſame moneth in the next yeere.

19. An. Do. 759. *Edilwald* or *Mollo. Wil. Malmes.* His raigne. His death.

Edilwald or *Mollo* was then made King of *Northumberland*, and with great valiance defended his Subiects. Some ſay, that at the end of ſix yeeres hee reſigned his gouernment; yet others affirme his raign to be eleuen yeeres, and laſtly that hee was ſlaine by *Alured* his Succeſſour.

20. An. Do. 765. *Alured. Simon Dunelm.*

Alured, the murderer of his Lord and maſter, beganne his raigne ouer the kingdom of *Northumberland*, the yeere of Chriſts Incarnation ſeuen hundred ſixty fiue, and continued the ſame with ſuch diſlikes, that he laſtly was expelled out of the Prouince by his own ſubiects, & enforced to abandon the ſame. He was the ſon of *Tanwin*, the ſon of *Bienhom*, the ſon of *Boſa*, the ſon of *Ailricke*, the naturall ſon of *Ida* the firſt King of *Bernicia*: And the ſonnes of this *Alured* were *Oſred*, afterwards King of *Northumberland*, and *Alhnud*, ſlaine by the *Danes*, and canonized a *Saint*.

Flor. Wigor.

His iſſue.

21. An. Do. 774. *Ethelred. Matth. Weſt.*

Ethelred, the ſonne of *Mollo*, was aduanced to the Regiment of *Northumberland*, and in the fifth yeere of his raigne, was driuen out of the ſame by *Edelbald* and *Herebert*, two Dukes thas warred againſt him; who hauing diſcomfited and ſlaine his General and ſouldiers in a fierce battle, ſo weakned the hopes of king *Ethelred*, that he fled his Country, and left the kingdome in a miſerable eſtate, through the diſſenſions of thoſe ambitious Princes.

22. An. Do. 778. *Alfwald.*

Alfwald the brother of the foreſaid king *Alured* aſpiring to the Soueraignty of the *Northumbrians*, ruled the ſame in great Iuſtice, to his worthy com-

mendations: notwithſtanding the wickednes of his people was ſuch, that without all guilt he was traiterouſly murthered by the conſpiracy of *Siga*, 21. *Sept.* the yere of Chriſts Incarnation, ſeuen hundred eighty eight, after he had raigned eleuen yeeres, and his body buried at *Hexham*. His ſonnes were *Alfus* and *Alfwin*, both ſlaine by king *Ethelred*.

His raigne.

His death.

His iſſue.

Osred the ſonne of king *Alured*, tooke vpon him the Rule of *Northumberland*, the yeere of grace ſeuen hundred eighty nine, and the ſame yeere finiſhed his gouernment thereof, being expelled by his ſubiects, and depriued of all kingly authority.

21. Ann. Do. 786. *Oſred.* His raigne.

Ethelred the ſonne of *Mollo*, reuoked from exile wherein he had liued the ſpace of twelue yeeres, was againe reſtored to the Crowne; but he minding the iniuries that his Lords had formerly done him, ſought the reuẽge by their deaths, as alſo to eſtabliſh his throne the ſurer, ſlew *Alfus* and *Alfwin*, the ſons of *Alfwald*, as we haue ſaid, the right heires to the Crowne, and inticing *Oſred* the former depoſed king into his danger, commanded him to be put to death at *Gunburge*, the fourteenth of *September*, and yeere of Chriſt ſeuen hundred ninety two. And to ſtrengthen himſelfe the more againſt all his oppoſites, the ſame yeere he maried Lady *Elfled*, the ſecond Daughter to great *Offa* king of *Mercia*, forſaking his former Wife without any iuſt cauſe giuen on her part.

Ann. Do. 794. *Ethelred.* *Wil. Malmeſb. Matth. Weſtmin. Henry Hunt. Simon Dun.*

These things ſate ſo neere the hearts of his ſubiects that after ſeuen yeeres from his ſecond eſtabliſhment they rebelliouſly roſe in Armes, and at *Cobre* miſerably ſlew him the eighteenth day of Aprill, the yeere of Chriſt Ieſus 794.

Randal. Higdenus Polycbro.

His raigne.

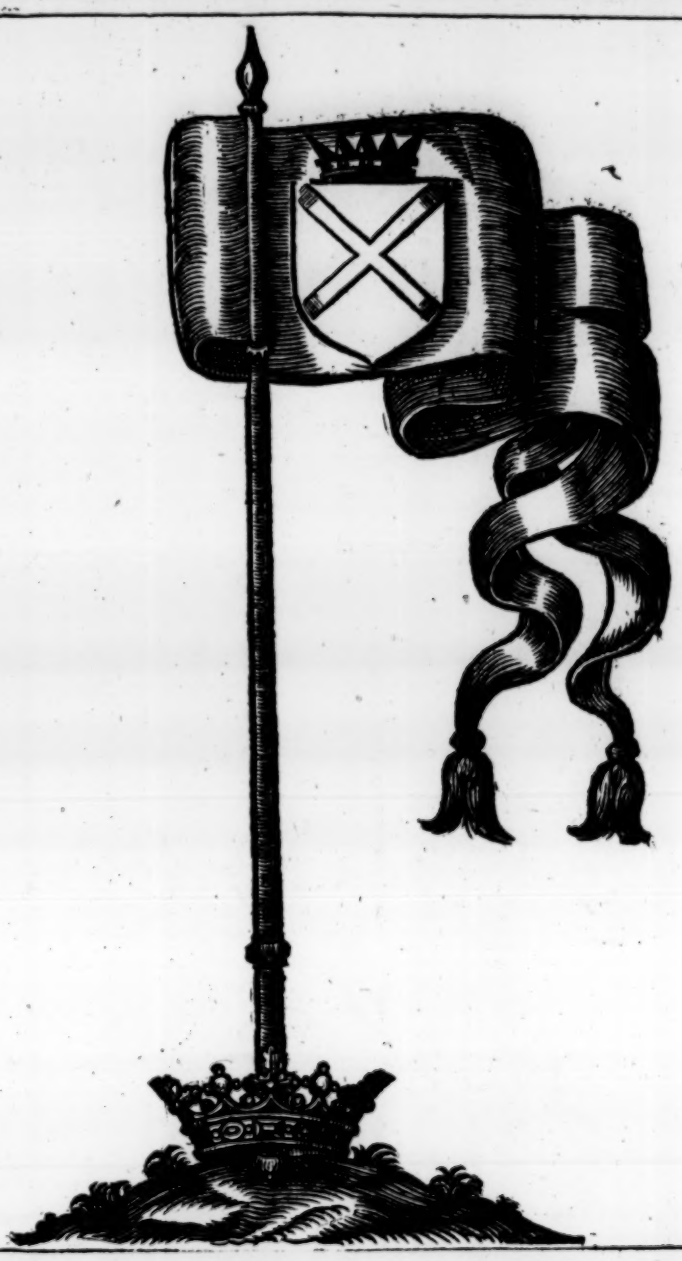
His death.

After whoſe death, the *Northumbrians* were ſore moleſted with many intruders, or rather Tyrãts, that banded for the ſoueraignty the ſpace of thirty yeeres. The firſt whereof was *Oſwald*, that held the title of *King* only twenty eight daies, & then was forced to ſaue his life by flight vnto the king of the *Picts*. Next, *Ardulfe* a Duke, reuoked from exile: then *Alfwold*, *Eandred*, *Ethelred*, *Readulph*, *Osbert*, and *Elle* ſlain by the *Danes* in *Yorke* at a place from *Elle* his ſlaughter called to this day *Elle-Croſte*; and the kingdome yeelded to the protection of *Egbert* king of the *Weſt-Saxons*, who was now become *England's* firſt abſolute monarch, (as holding all the reſt of the kings no longer for his Aſſociates, but his ſubiects) in the yeere nine hundred twenty ſix, after it had ſtood in forme of a *Kingdome* three hundred ſeuenty nine yeres, and was made a *Prouince*, and ioined with the reſt vnto the *Engliſh Monarchie*.

24. *Oſwald* King 28. daies.

The continuance of this kingdome.

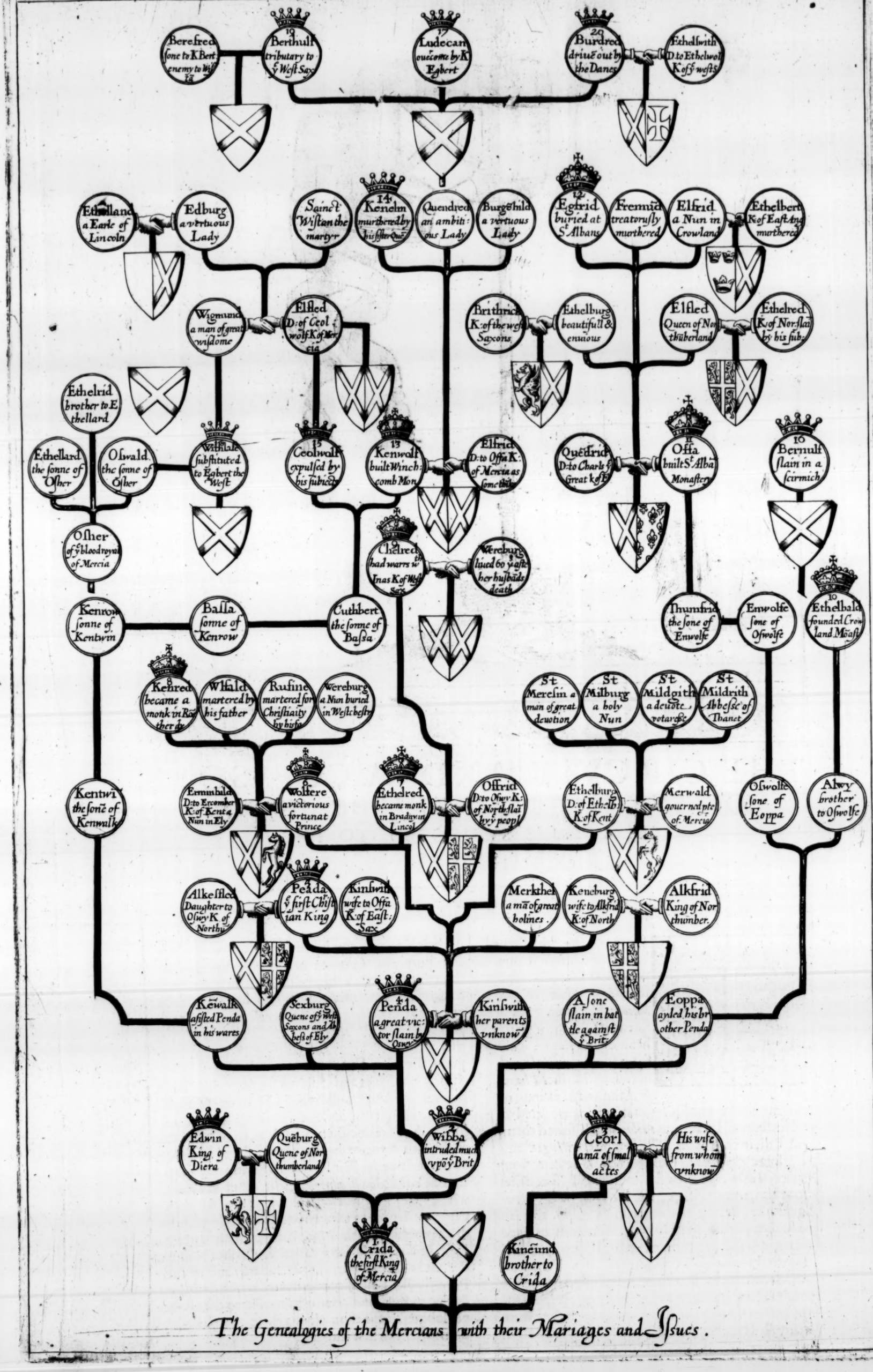
THE



THE CIRCVIT AND SVCCESSORS OF THE MERCIAN KINGDOME, VNTILL IT WAS SVBIECTED TO THE WEST-SAXONS.

CHAPTER X.

THe *Mercian* kingdome conteyned more Countryes,& circuit of ground, then any other of the *Saxons Heptarchy*. For it ſpread it ſelfe through the heart of the *Iland*, euen from *Humber* in the *North*, neer vnto the riuer *Thamesis* in the *South*: hauing no leſſe then ſeuenteene Shires(as now they are deuided) and ſix ſeuerall Eſtates, as *Ptolomy* hath ſeated them, vnder their command. The firſt *Saxon King* of this kingdome was *Crida*, the eleuenth in deſcent from Prince *Woden*: and the laſt in a lineall ſucceſſion from him, was *Ceolwulfe*, the fifteenth king of that kingdome, beſides fiue other collateralls, that by intruſion put on the Crowne. Their iſſues were many,as in the ſtemme annexed is to be ſeene, and therein their matches or mariages, their Armes or Atchiuements, as the ancient haue deliuered,and the modern haue receiued, are according inſculpted frō the authority of both. Theſe *Mercians* as they were many,ſo were they ſtrong, and by ſtrong hand eight of their kings in a continued ſucceſſion, got and kept the Emperiall Crowne of the Heptarchy. For though thoſe kings raigned as kings in their owne territories; yet among them euer one was the ſupreame head of the reſt,and was called king of *Engle lond*, till *Egbert* the *weſt-Saxon* laid all into one. Neither were their kings more ſtrong then they were pious,after they had beene wet in the Lauer of baptiſme, themſelues and children ſhewing their faith by their workes,in building of Churches, Monaſteries and Hoſpitalls; and ſome of them were ſo zealous in the doctrine then taught, as they laid away their robes,& tooke the tonſure or habite of monkes. For ſo did two of their Kings, *Ethelred* and *Kenred*; the one cowled in *Bradney*, and the other in *Rome*: where likewiſe great *Offa* through the like zeale, made his kingdom tributary to the yerely paiment of *Peter-pence* vnto the *Pope*. Two of their Queens, *Ermenheld*,and *Ethelſwith*,vailed themſelues Nunnes, the one in *Ely*, and the other in *Paduah*: and of their Princely iſſues,three were crowned with martirdom, & nine more canonized for Saints.But to detein thee no longer, ſee,if thou pleaſe, theſe *Mertian* Kings branched from firſt vnto laſt.



The Genealogies of the Mercians with their Mariages and Issues.

Mercia.

THis *Kingdome* of *Mercia* contained more Counties, & the skirts of that royall Tent were spread with a wider compasse then any of the rest in the *Saxons Heptarchy*: for in the middest of the Iland this *Kingdome* was seated, and from the verge of *Northumberland*, touched some part of *Middlesex*, which was the possession of the *East-Saxons*: The North thereof was bounded with *Humber* and *Mersey*; the East was inclosed with the *German Ocean*; the West extended to *Seuerne* and *Dee*; and the South part neerely touched the Riuer of *Thames*; containing the Counties now known by these names, *of Cheshire, Darby-shire, Nottingham, Stafford*, aud *Shrop-shire*, *Northampton, Leicester, Lincolne, Huntington*, and *Rutland-shires*; *Warwicke, Worcester, Oxford*, and *Glocester-shires*; *Buckingham, Bedford* and part of *Hertford-shire*.

The limits of it.

1. An.Do.582. *Crida.* *Flor.Wigor.*

The first raiser of that Title and name of a *Kingdome* was *Crida* the sonne of *Kenwald*, who was the sonne of *Cnebba*, the sonne of *Icbell*, the sonne of *Eomer*, the sonne of *Engengeate*, the sonne of *Offa*, the sonne of *Weremund*, the sonne of *Withleg*, the sonne of *Waga*, the sonne of *VVethelgeate*, the third of the fiue sonnes of *Prince Woden*. This man, without more fame of his further acts, is said to haue raigned the space of ten yeeres, and to haue died Anno 594, His issue was *Wibba* that succeeded him in his Kingdome, and a daughter named *Quenburg*, matched in mariage with *Edwin* afterwards King of *Northumberland*, with whom she liued in the Court of King *Redwald* in the time of his troubles, and died before him in that his banishment. She bore him two sonnes, *Osfrid* and *Edfride*, as in succession of *Edwins* Monarchy shall bee shewed: notwithstanding *Beda* reporteth this *Quenburge* to be daughter of *Ceorl*, the third King of *Mercia*, and grand-childe to this first *Crida*.

His raigne.

His issue.

2. An.Do.593 *Wibba.* *Matth.West.*

VV*Ibba*, the sonne of King *Crida*, not only held what his Father had gotten, but also inlarged his dominions by intrusion vpon the weake *Britaines*. His issue was *Penda, Kenwalke*, & *Eoppa*, all three Progenitors of Kings afterwards in that kingdome, with a daughter named *Sexburg*, maried to *Kenwald*, King of the *West-Saxons*, whom he without iust cause diuorced from him; for which cause great troubles afterwards ensued, as in the raignes of those Kings wee haue said. He in great honour raigned twenty yeeres, and giuing place vnto nature, left his kingdome to be enioied by another.

His issue.

Cap.7.Sect.7.

3. An.Do.614. *Ceorl.*

C*Eorl*, not the son, but the Nephew of *King Wibba*, succeeded in the dominions of the *Mercians*, about the yeere of grace six hundreth and fourteenth. He was sonne to *Kinemund*, the brother of *Wibba*, the younger sonne of *King Crida*, who was the first king of that kingdome. His raigne is set to be ten yeeres, without mention either of Act or Issue.

His raigne.

4. An.Do.626. *Penda.*

P*enda*, the sonne of *Wibba*, beganne his raigne ouer the *Mercians* the yeere of Christs Incarnation six hundred twenty six, & continued the same the space of thirty yeeres. He was a man violent in action, and mercilesse in condition, cruell and vnsatiate of blood: he shooke the Cities, & disturbed the borders of the *Saxon-Kings* more then any other in that Heptarchy before him had done. Against *Kingils* and *Quinchelme*, Kings together of the *VVest-Saxons*, he ioined battell neere vnto the City *Cirenchester*, where both the parties fought it out to the vtmost, with the effusion of much *Saxons* bloud: but those comming to concord, he with *Cadwallo* King of the *Britaines*, slew in battell *Edwine* and *Oswald*, Kings of *Northumberland*; *Sigebert, Egfrid*, and *Anna*, Kings of the *East-Angles*; and forced *Kenwald* King of the *West-Saxons*, out of his Country, in quarell of his Sister. Of these his prosperities he became so proud, that he thought nothing impossible for his atchieuement; and therefore threatning the destruction of the *Northumbers*, prepared his Army for that expedition. *Oswy* then raigning King of that Country, proffered great summes of mony, and most precious Iewels to purchase his peace: which being refused, and the battell ioined, more by the hand of God, then power of man, this Tyrant was slaine, and his whole Army discomfited. His Wife was *Kinswith*, and issue by her *Peada*, who after him was King: *Vlfere* and *Ethelred*, both Monarchs of the *English*, *Merkthel*, a man famous for his great holinesse; and *Merwald* that gouerned some part of *Mercia*, whose Wife was *Edburga*, the foundresse of *Minster* in *Tanet*, and daughter to *Egbert* King of *Kent*, by whom he had issue *Meresin*, a man of noted deuotion; *Milbury*, and *Mildgith*, both holy Virgins, and *Mildrith* also Abbesse of *Tanet*, all foure canonized for Saints. The daughters of King *Penda* were *Kineburg*, the Wife of *Alkfrid*, King of *Northumberland*, afterward a *Votaresse* in *Kinesburg Abbey*; and *Kineswith*, who married *Offa* King of the *East-Angles*, and became also a *Nunne* with her sister *Kineburgh*.

His death.

VVife. Issue. Ingilpbus.

5. An.Do.656. *Peada.*

P*Eada*, the sonne of *King Penda*, in the daies of his father, and with his permission, had gouerned the middle part of *Mercia*, and after his death, by the gift of *Oswy* of *Northumberland*, all the South of that kingdome from the Riuer *Trent*, vpon cõposition to marry his daughter, and to imbrace Christianity; which thing this *Peada* performed, and was the first Christian King of the *Mercians*. His Baptisme receiued, to witnesse the first fruits of his profession, hee laid the foundation of a faire Church at *Medeshamsted*, now called *Peterborow*, but liued not to finish the same, for that he was slaine by the treason of *Alkfled* his wife in the celebration of *Easter*, (as *Beda* saith) hauing had no issue by her. But *Robert de Swapham* (an Author of good antiquity, who saw the stones of that foundation to be so huge, as that eight yoke of Oxen could hardly draw one of them) saith, that *Peada* was brought to his end by the practise of his Mother, and not of his wife; as in these his word is manifest: *Peada* (saith he) *laid the foundation of a Monastery at Medeshamsted, in the Giruians or Fen-Country, which he could not finish, for that by the wicked practise of his Mother, hee was made away.* Whereby this blot is taken from this Christian Lady, and brands the face of her that most deserueth it. This King raigning as substitute to king *Oswy* of *Northumberland* aforesaid, by some is not accounted for a *Mercian* king, his regiment resting vnder the command of another.

Beda hist. Angl. l.3.c.21.

Hugo de Peterbor.

His wife.

His death.

Beda.hist. Angl. lib.3.c.24.

6. An.Do.659. *Vulfhere.*

V*Vlfhere*, the Brother of murthered *Peada*, set vp by the *Mercians*, against king *Oswy*, prooued a Prince most valiant and fortunate. For he expelled the *Northumbrians* Lieutenants forth of those dominions; fought victoriously against *Kenwald* King of the *West-Saxons*; conquered the *Ile of wight*, and attained to be sole Monarch of the *Englishmen*: whereof more shall be said when we come to the times and successions of their raignes.

This *Vulfhere* is said to raigne in great honour for seuenteene yeeres, and his body to be buried in the Monastery of *Peterborow*, which he had founded. His queene *Ermenheld* after his death, became a Nunne at *Ely*, vnder her Mother *Sexburg*, and there died. His children were *Kenred, Vulfald*, and *Rufin*, with a daughter named *Wereburg*, a Nunne in the Monastery of *Ely*.

His raigne.

His wife.

His issue.

7. An.Do.675 *Ethelred.* *Simon.Dunelm.*

E*Thelred* the third sonne of King *Penda*, in the nonage of yong *Kenred* the sonne of *Vulfhere*, (who in his tender yeeres rather desired a priuate life then any publike authority in the Common-weale) succeeded his brother both in the kingdome of *Mercia*, and Monarchy of the *Englishmen*. But when hee had raigned thirty yeeres, gaue ouer the Crowne to his Nephew the said *Kenred*, and became a Monke in the Monastery of *Bradney* in *Lincolne-shire*, where hee died Anno 716. His Wife was *Osfride*, Daughter to *Oswye* King of *Northumberland*: and issue, *Chelred*, that succeeded *Kenred* in the *Mercian* kingdome,

His raigne.

His wife.

His issue.

8. An.Do.470. *Kenred.*

KEnred the ſonne of *Wulfrere*, (his vncle *Ethelred* changing his Princely crown for a monks coule,) beganne his Raigne ouer the *Mercians*, and his Monarchy ouer the *Engliſh*, Anno 704 wherein hee raigned the ſpace of foure yeeres, and then with like deuotion of thoſe times, addicted to an eaſie and quiet Religion, abandoned both Crowne and Country, and went to *Rome*, where of Pope *Conſtantine* hee receiued the tonſure and habit of a Monke at the *Apoſtles Tombes*, and entring a Monaſtery, therein ſpent other foure yeeres of his life to the day of his death, which was Anno 708. hauing had neither wife nor iſſue to reuiue his name, or to rule his kingdome.

His raigne. *Beda hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. 5. cap. 20.* His death.

9. An.Do.709. *Chelred.*

CHelred receiuing the reſignatiõ of *Kenred* his Coſin-german when he went to *Rome*, and of ſufficient yeeres and diſcretion to haue ſucceeded *Ethelred* his Father, what time the ſaid *Kenred* was ordained King, raigned with great valour ouer the *Mercians*, and was likewiſe Monarch ouer the *Engliſhmen*. His peace was diſquieted by *Inas* & his *weſt-Saxons*, who for ſeuen yeeres continuance inuaded his kingdome. His Wife was *Wereburge*, ſaith *Marianus*, and *Florentius* the Monke, who aſcribe to her a long life, and to die without Children. This *Chelred* raigned the ſpace of eight yeeres, and died the yere of grace ſeuen hundred and fifteenth: whoſe body was buried in the Cathedrall Church of *Lechfeild*.

Monarch of the Engliſh-men. His wife. His raigne. Death.

10. An.Do.716. *Ethelbald.*

EThelbald, after the death of *Chelred*, was made king of the *Mercians*, and Monarch of the *Engliſh*, the yere of Chriſts Incarnation ſeuen hundred ſixteene. He was a Prince giuen to peace, but withall a moſt laſciuious Adulterer: inſomuch that *Boniface* Archbiſhop of *Mentz* wrote his Epiſtle vnto him in reprehenſion of the ſame; which tooke ſuch effect, that in repentance of his foule facts, he founded the Monaſtery of *Crowland*, driuing in mighty Piles of Oake into that mooriſh ground, whereon hee laid a great and goodly building of ſtone. He was the ſon of *Alwy*, the elder ſonne of *Eoppa*, the ſecond ſonne of King *Wibba*, the brother of King *Penda*: and raigned forty two yeres, in the end whereof he was ſlaine in a battel fought againſt *Cuthred* King of the *Weſt-Saxons*, by the treaſon of *Bernred* his Captaine, at *Secondone*, three miles from *Tamworth*, the yeere of Chriſt ſeuen hundred fifty fiue, and was buried at *Repton* in *Darby-ſhire*, hauing had neither Wife nor Children.

His raigne.

11. An.Do.758 *Offa.*

OFfa ſlaying *Bernred* the murtherer of King *Ethelbald*, entred vpon the gouernment of the *Mercians*, and the Monarchy of the *Saxons*, Anno 758. Hee inlarged his dominion vpon the *Britaines*, ouercame the *Kentiſh* in battell, put to flight the *Northumbrians*, and vanquiſhed the *Weſt-Saxons*: the *Eaſt-Angles* alſo he ſeiſed vpõ, after he had murthered *Ethelbert* their King. He reigned 39 yeeres, and died at *Oſley*, the 29. day of *Iuly*, the yeere of our Lord ſeuen hundred ninety foure, and was buried without the Town of *Bedford*, in a Chapell, now ſwalowed vp by the Riuer *Owſe*. He was the ſon of *Thingfryd*, the ſonne of *Eanulfe*, whoſe father *Oſmund* was the ſonne of *Eoppa*, the brother of King *Penda*, and ſon of King *Wibba*, whoſe Father was *Crida*, the firſt King of the *Mercians*. His wife was *Quendred*, & children many; of whom, and of them we will further ſpeake when we come to the time of his Monarchy.

His raigne. *Flor. VVigor.* His wife. His iſſue.

12. An.Do. 796. *Egfryde. Flaccus Albinus.*

EGfryde, the ſonne of great *Offa*, was by him made King at his returne from *Rome*, being the only ioy of his parents, and heire apparant to the *Saxons Monarchy*; vpon which he entred the day after his fathers death, and liued himſelfe but an hundred and forty daies after, deceaſing the ſeuenteenth of *December*, in the yeere of our Lord God ſeuen hundred ninety ſix, hauing had neither wife nor iſſue that wee reade of: and his body honourably interred in the Church of the Monaſtery of *Saint Albanes*, founded by *Offa*.

13. An. Do, 796 *Kenwolfe.*

KEnwolfe, the coſen (afarre off) to King *Egfrid* deceaſed, and both of them remooued in bloud no leſſe then ſix deſcents from *Wibba* the ſecond *Mercian King*, was the ſonne of *Cuthbert*, (as the Monke of *Worceſter* deriues him) the ſonne of *Baſſa*, the ſon of *Kenrowe*, the ſonne of *Kentwin*, the ſonne of *Kenwalk*, the ſon of *Wibba* aforeſaid, and ſucceeded King *Egfryd* in his dominions. But of this *Mercian Monarch* more ſhall be written in the ſucceſſions and time of that his gouernment. Hee raigned two and twentie yeeres, and deceaſed the yere of our Lord eight hundred and nineteene, and his body interred in the Monaſtery of *Winchcombe* in the County of *Gloceſter*, being of his owne foundation. His wife was *Queene Elfryde*, the daughter (as ſome ſuppoſe) of *Offa*, who had been betrothed to *Ethelbert* king of the *Eaſt-Angles*, ſlaine by her father; by whom he had iſſue, *Kenelm*, *Quendred*, and *Burgemhild*, of whom more followeth.

His raigne. His wife. His iſſue.

An.Do.798.

KEnelm, the ſonne of King *Kenwolfe*, a childe of ſeuen yeres old, ſucceeded in the *Kingdome* of *Mercia*, but not in the *Monarchy*, as his fathers had done, *Egbert* the *Weſt-Saxon* at that time being grown great in his fortunes. This young King *Kenelm* raigned only fiue moneths, and then by the ambitious deſire of *Quendrid* his ſiſter, who ſeeking the gouernment by the ſhedding of his guiltleſſe bloud, inſtigated one *Askbert* his Inſtructer, by promiſes of great preferments and rich rewards, to make him away, who only ſtood (as ſhe thought) in her way to the Crown. This wicked practiſe was forthwith as impiouſly performed: for hauing him forth vnder pretence of hunting, he ſlew the innocent King, whoſe vertuous inclination promiſed great hopes, and whoſe harmleſſe yeeres had not attained to any worldly guile. His bodie hee ſecretly buried vnder a buſh, and (if we will beleeue the *Golden Legend*; where his life is deſcribed) was thus found out: A white Doue (which belike had ſeene the deed done) and had got it ingroſſed in a ſcrole of parchment, poſted therewith to *S. Peter* in *Rome*, and vpon the *High Alter* laid it to bee read, where in the *Saxon* characters thus it was found: In Clenckon baꝺ Kenelme Kinbarne lieꝺ vnꝺeꝛ ꝥhoꝛne, heaueꝺ beꝛeaueꝺ: that is, *At Clenc in a Cow paſture Kenelme the Kings Childe lieth beheaded vnder a thorne.* But moſt true it is, that an obſcure ſepulcher the body had at the firſt, and howſoeuer found out, was afterwards with great honour and ceremony tranſlated to the *Monaſtery* of *Winchcombe*, which his father had founded. The murdereſſe *Quendrid*, for griefe and ſhame of ſo wicked an act, ended her life, without the attaining of her ambitious deſire, and hath left her name indelebly ſtained with his innocent bloud.

His raigne. *Roger Higden.* His death. *Legenda Aurea. fol. 175.*

15. Ann.Do. 820 *Ceolwulfe. Matth. Weſtminſt.*

CEolwulfe, the brother of *Kenwolfe*, and vncle to this murdered young King, as his neereſt in bloud was elected their *Gouernour* by the *Mercians*: but his glory was not great; nor his raigne long, being ſtil diſquieted by *Bernulfe*, that ſought his Crowne; and after one yeeres Regiment was expulſed by his people, and left the ſame to his purſuer, abandoning the Country for the ſafety of his life. One daughter hee had, named *Elfled*, who was the wife of *Wigmund*, the ſonne of *Withlafe*, the ſubſtitute King of *Mercia*, and himſelfe the laſt that held the *Mercian Kingdome* in a lineall ſucceſſion.

His raigne. His iſſue.

16. An.Do. 821. *Bernulfe.*

BErnulfe obtaining what hee ſo long deſired; made himſelfe King when *Ceolwolfe* was gone, and was the more approoued for his valour in Armes, and the leſſe reſiſted for his ancient deſcent, being ſprung from *Oſher*, a man reputed to be of the *Mercian* royall bloud. But *Bernulfe* perceiuing the fortunes of *Egbert*, accounted thoſe his happy ſucceſſes to be his owne ſhame, and by defiance chalenged the *Weſt-Saxons* to the field: which *Egbert* accepted, and vpon *Ellendon* ioined Batle with the *Mercians*, which was fought to the

Simon Dunelm. wil. Malmeſ.

the much loſſe of both their blouds. Notwithſtanding at laſt the *Weſt-Saxons* preuailed, *Bernulfe* being forced to flie with ſhame. The *Eaſt-Angles* that then had yeelded to *Egbert*, and but lately before had felt the fury of *Bernulfe*, thought the time fit to repay him againe, and therefore in warlike manner aſſaulted his Territories, where hee, in defending his Countrey againſt their attempts, was in a skirmiſh ſlaine, after he had raigned fully three yeres.

His death. His raigne. *Henr. Hunt.*

17. An. Do. 824. *Ludecan.*

Ludecan then was choſen King of the *Mercians*, whoſe bloud was not downe ſince their laſt loſſe, neither reuenge forgotten againſt the *Eaſt-Angles*; and therefore the yeere following made ſtrength (ſufficient to their ſeeming) to meet theſe their enemies. But the State of *Heptarchy* now drawne to the period, and the Supporters thereof weakned by their owne diuiſions, the Iland declined to a preſent alteration, & gaue place to a more abſolute kind of *Monarchy*, that in *Egbert* the *Weſt-Saxon* was now begun; who aiding the *Eaſte Angles* againſt the *Mercians*, *Ludecan* their king fought with no better ſucceſſe then *Bernulf* before him had done, whoſe raigne laſted not fully 2. yeeres; nor his memoriall reuiued either in *wife* or *iſſue*.

His raigny.

18 An. Do. 826. *Withlafe.*

VV*Ithlafe*, the ſon of *Oſwald*, the ſonne of *Oſher*, of the *Mercian* bloud-royall, intruding himſelfe (as it ſeemeth) into the gouernment of *Mercia*, was vnexpectedly vanquiſhed by *Egbert* the *Monarch* that had aſſumed from *Bernulfe* that Kingdome before: him hee made his *Subſtitute* and *Tributarie*, who ſo continued to *Egbert* and his ſonne the time of thirteene yeeres, leauing no other relation of his acts. His iſſue was *Wigmund*, the husband of Lady *Elfled*, the daughter of *Ceolwulfe* King of *Mercia*, the parents of *Wyſtan* the Martyr, and of Lady *Edburg*, maried to one *Etheland* an *Earle* in the Prouince of *Lincolne*.

His iſſue. *Ioh. Capgraue.*

19. An. Do 839. *Berthulfe.*

Berthulfe vpon the like compoſition of Tribute, and in thee like termes of ſubiection to the *VVeſt-Saxons* ſoueraignty, held the kingdome of *Mercia* as a Subſtitute, and without any notable report of his Acts, ſo raigned the ſpace of thirteene yeeres. At this time the Sea-rouers out of *Denmarke*, that had often infeſted this *Iland* with their many Inuaſions, got the head ſo ſtrong, and wing ſo farre, euen to the middle part thereof, (as this of *Mercia* was) that they filled with terror the hearts of the Inhabitants, and ſtained the ſoile with the bloud of their ſides; which in a moſt barbarous cruelty daily they ſhed: whoſe rage was ſo great, and mindes ſo vnſatiable, that *Berthulfe* was enforced to forſake the Country, and in a more priuate eſtate to ſecure his owne life. He had a ſonne named *Berefred*, who was the cauſer of *Saint Wyſtans* martyrdome.

Will. Malmesb. *Berefred* the cauſer of S. *Wyſtans* martyrdome.

20. An. Do. 852.

Burdred the laſt *Mercian* King, was thereunto deputed by *Ethelwolfe* the *VVeſt-Saxon* Monarch, as a ſhield of defence againſt the raging *Danes*, that made deſolations where they came. In continuall imploiments againſt them he ſpent his time; and that with ſuch noble reſolutions and manhood, that *Ethelwolfe* held him worthy of his alliance; and made him his ſonne in law, by giuing him Lady *Ethelſwith* his daughter to Wife, the marriage being ſolemnized at *Chipnham* in *Wiltſhiere*, with great eſtate. This *Burdred* with *Ethelwolfe*, warred againſt the *Britaines* with victory, and he with *Alured* compelled the *Danes* vnder the conduct of *Hungar* and *Vbba*, to diſlodge from *Nottingham*, and depart the Prouince. Yet laſtly, after twenty two yeeres raigne, he was ſo ouerlaid with their daily ſupplies, that three of their Kings (as our Writers terme them) whoſe names were *Godrun*, *Eſketell*, and *Ammond*, wintred at* *Ripindon*, and ſore waſted his Kingdome.

Matth. weſt. The *Danes* depart the Prouince. They returne with 3 Kings.

**Repton.*

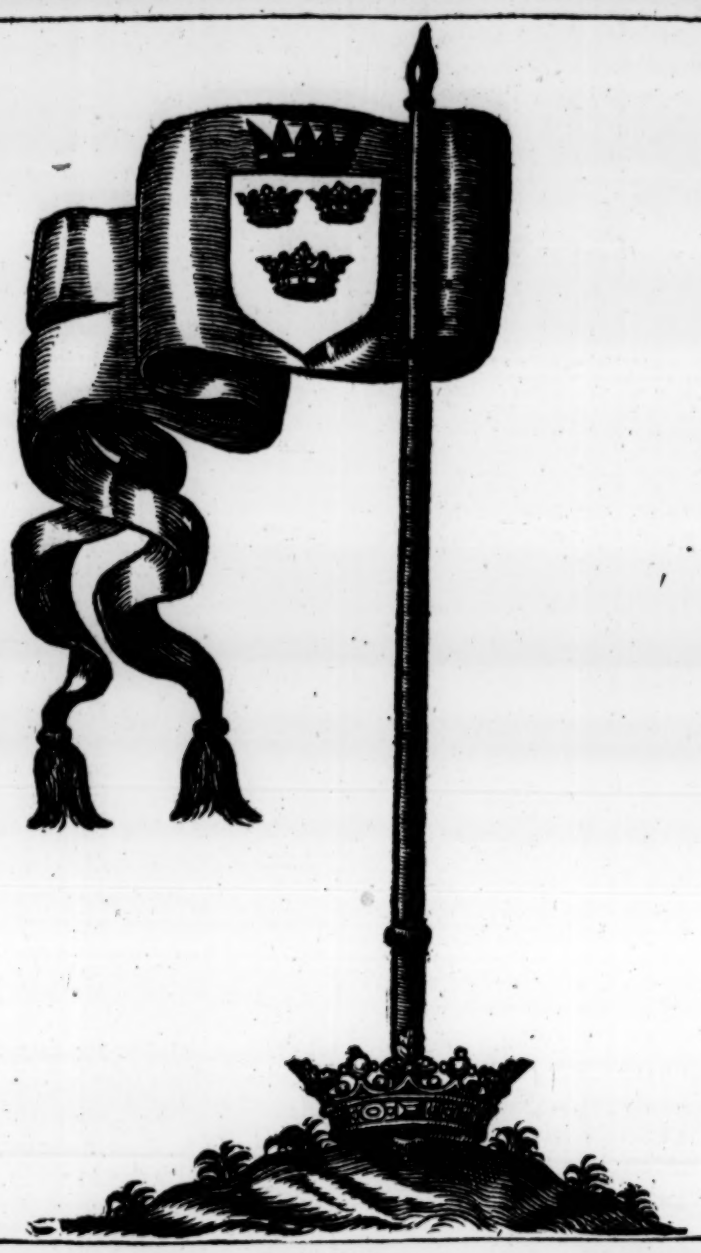
King *Burdred* at that time diſtreſſed, and himſelfe not able to withſtād their rage, with his wife Queene *Ethelſwith* fled the Realme, and the ſame yeere in *Rome* ended his life, and was buried in the Church of our Lady belonging to the *Engliſh College* there erected. His Queene in the habit of a *Nunne*, fifteene yeeres after his death, died at *Padua* in *Italy*, and was there honourably buried, the yere of our Lord eight hundred eighty nine. And now the fatall circle of this *Mercian* kingdome drawne to the full compaſſe, ſtaied the hand of al glorious motiō from proceeding any further, & with the lot of the reſt fel vnder the gouernment of the *Weſt-Saxons*, after one yeeres vſurpation of the *Danes*, when it had ſtood in ſtate of a kingdome the ſpace of two hundred and two yeeres, and ended in title and regall authority, the yeere of *Chriſts Incarnation* eight hundred eighty ſix.

Burdred and his wife flie the land

He buried at *Rome*.

Hls wife at *Padua*.

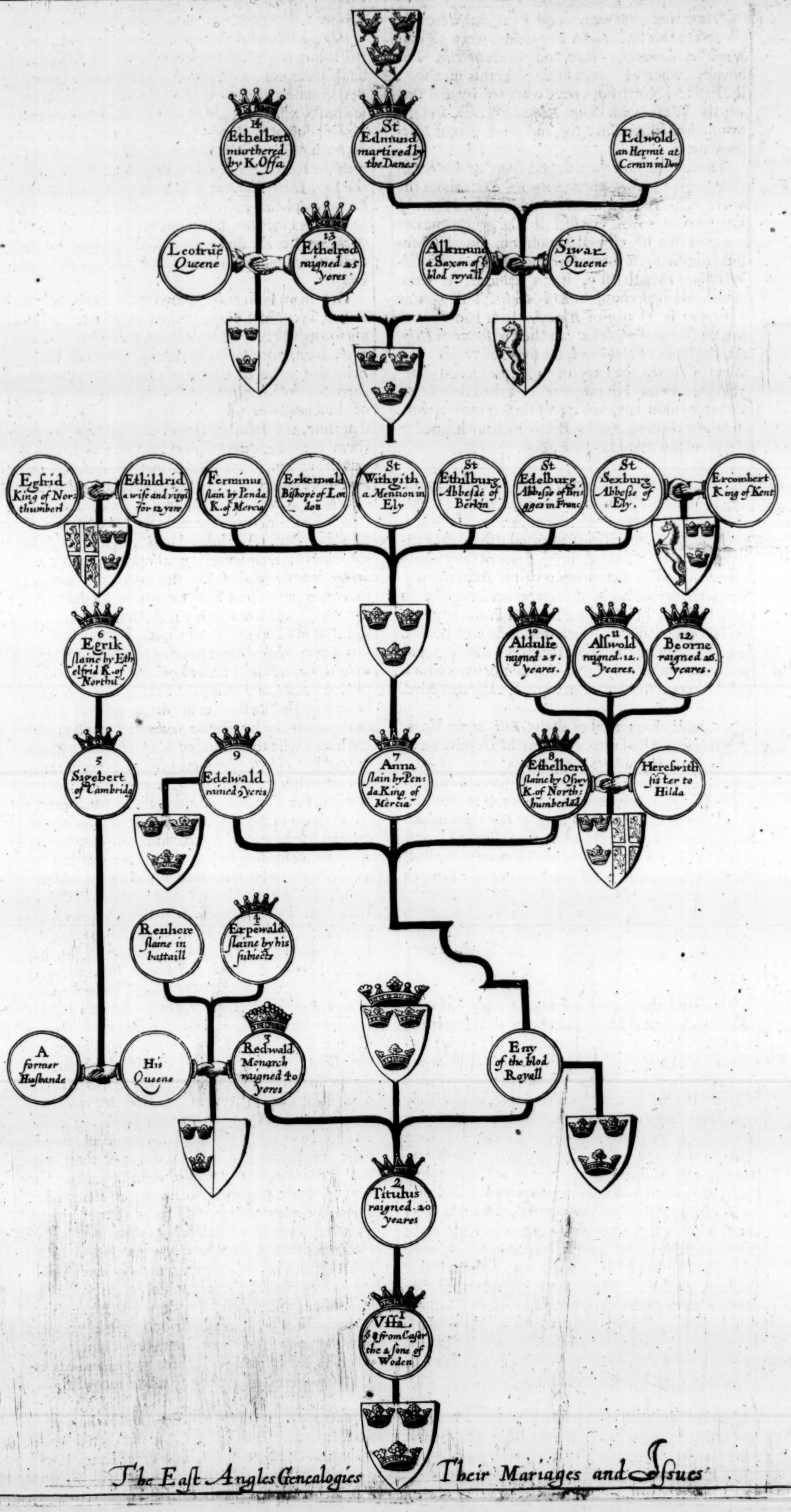
The kingdome of *Mercia* brought in ſubiection to the *Weſt-Saxons*.



THE KINGDOME OF THE EAST-ANGLES, THE CIRCVIT OF THAT PROVINCE, WITH THE SVCCESSION AND ACTS OF THEIR KINGS, SO LONG AS IT STOOD IN THAT REGALL ESTATE, AND VNTILL IT VVAS VNITED TO THE VVEST-SAXONS.

CHAPTER XI.

THE *East-Angles* kingdome (conteyning *Suffolke*, *Norfolke*, *Cambridg-ſhire*, and the *Ile* of *Ely*) was raiſed to the hight of a kingdom, by *Vffa* a *Saxon* Captaine, and the people thereof from him were called *Vffines* a long time after. But his greater by farre, was *Redwald*, the third King of this Prouince, who gote, and wore, the Emperiall Crowne of the Monarchy. Sixteene kings of this kingdome ſucceſſiuely raigned from *Vffa* to *Edmund*, whoſe matches, iſſues, and other collateralls, are in the draught annexed, preſented to thy ſight, with the Armes or Atchieuements, that the ancient haue giuen them, and the moderne admitted: which I for my part had rather ſubſcribe vnto, then to ranſcate the rubbiſh of times ruines, and get onely labour for my paines. The firſt king of the *East-Angles* that profeſſed Chriſtianity, was *Erpenwald*, but with ſuch diſlykes to his people, as they entred into conſpiracy, and traiterouſly murthered him. But his ſonne in law *Sigebert*, with a further foreſight, laid the fondation deeper, then the ſtepfather had done. For he built a Schoole, for the education of children, that the veſſell might be ſeaſoned to receiue that heauenly liquour, vnto which ceſterne, through the Conduits of *Felix* and others, thoſe waters of life, ſo plenteouſly ranne, that King *Sigebert* himſelfe deſcended his throne, and in *Cumbreburg* Abbey ſpent the reſt of his life in holy meditations. And *Anna* King of this Prouince, was ſo happy in his children, that moſt of them are commended vnto poſterities by the names of Saints. For ſo was Lady *Etheldrid*, who being twice married, and more then twelue yeeres in that eſtate, liuing in perfect virginity, and againſt the conſents of both her husbands, tooke the vaile of a Nunne at *Coldingham*, and afterwards became Abbeſſe of *Ely*. Her ſiſter *Sexburg* Queene of *Kent*, and a mother of foure children, after her husbands deceas, became a Nunne likewiſe, ſucceeding Queene *Segbur* Abbeſſe of the ſame Monaſtery, wherein Lady *Nithgith* their younger ſiſter with them was a *Menchion*. *Ethilburg* the third daughter of King *Anna*, was made Abbeſſe of *Berking*, a foundation of her brother *Erkinwalds* Biſhope of *London*. And Lady *Withburg* a naturall daughter of the ſaid King, with *Sedrido* the daughter of his wife, went into France, and in Saint *Brigges* Monaſtery, ſucceeded each others the Abbaſes; ſo full of deuotions, and ſo fruitleſſe of bodies, were all theſe Princes, excepting Queene *Sexburg*. But had not their guides bene blinded, and altogether ignorant in the Scriptures; they might haue knowne, that God in that ſexe required procreation. For, to increaſe & multiply was the womã created, & by faith and child bearing is to be ſaued. 1. Tim. 2. 15.



The East Angles Genealogies Their Mariages and Issues

The circuit of this Prouince.

THe Counties (as we now cal them) that were subiect to this *East-Angles* kingdome, were *Suffolke*, *Norfolke*, *Cambridge-shire*, and the Ile of *Ely*. The bounds whereof were limitted in this manner: the East and North sides were confined by the *Ocean*; the West, with Saint *Edmunds Ditch*, and the South altogether with *Essex*, and some part of *Hertfordshire*.

1. An. Do. 575. The first King of the *East-Angles*. *Beda hist. Angl. lib. 2. cap. 15.*

The first raiser of the title and State of this Kingdome, was a *Saxon* Captaine named *Vffa*, about the yeere of Christs Incarnation fiue hundred seuenty fiue; whose renowne was such, that he gaue name not onely to that his aspired Dominion, but also from him, the Subiects thereof were a long time after called *Vffins*: though lastly, it was reduced into the name and kingdome of the *East-Angles*. This *Vffa* (as *Florentius* the Monke of *Worcester* hath laid downe) was the sonne of *Withelin*, and he the sonne of *Hrippus*, the sonne of *Rothmund*, the sonne of *Trigils*, the sonne of *Titmon*, the sonne of *Caser*, the second sonne of Prince *Woden*. His raigne is accounted only seuen yeeres, without any mention of further matter, worthy the recording, and his death to haue hapned in the yeare fiue hundred eighty one.

East-Angles called *Vffines*.

Vffa his genealogie.

2. An. Do. 583. The second King of the *East-Angles*. His raigne.

Florent. Worcest.

Titulus, the second king of the *East-Angles*, and only sonne of *Vffa* that is read of, beganne his raigne the yeere of Christs Incarnation, fiue hundred eighty three, & continued the same for the space of twenty yeeres. And although the Writers of these times haue made no further mention of his Acts, yet may wee wel suppose that his daies were not altogether so quietly spent, both in the infancy of that newly erected kingdom, and when such wars were commenced for the obtaining the whole Iland. His issue was *Redwald*, that immediatly succeeded him, & from whom other kings of that kingdom were lineally descēded.

3. An. Do. 593 *Beda hist. l. 2. ca. 5.* The third King of this Kingdom. *Cap. 9. Sect. 7.* See more of him in Chap. 18. His raigne.

Redwald, the greatest of all the *East-Angles* kings, succeeded his father *Titulus* in the Dominions of the *East-Angels*, and *Ethelbert* of *Kent* in the Monarchie of the *Saxons*. He receiued and succoured in his Court *Edwyne* with his wife in their Exiles, and assisted him against *Ethelfrid* king of *Northumberland*, that sought his life, as before we haue shewed, and hereafter in the succession of his Monarchy we shall haue further occasion to shew. He raigned Monarch eight yeers, and king of the *East-Angles* 31. (by the account and computation of the Table annexed to *Malmesbury*, and others our *Engiish* Writers) and died the yeare of our Saluation six hundrd twenty three.

4. An. Do. 624. The fourth King of this Kingdom. The first of this Prouince that publikely professed Christ. *Matth. West. Beda hist. l. 2. ca. 15.* The people reiect Christ. The King slaine by a Traitor. His raigne.

Iohn Stowe.

Erpenwald, the younger sonne of King *Redwald*, (*Reynhere* his elder brother being slaine in battle by *Ethelfred* in the quarrell of distressed *Edwine*) succeeded his Father in the kingdom of the *East-Angles*, the yere of our Lord God six hundred twenty foure. He was the first king of that Prouince, that publikely professed the Christian Faith, which he receiued at the friendly motion and zealous exhortation of king *Edwine* of *Northumberland*; but so much to the discontentment & grudge of the people, as thereupon they presently entred into cōspiracy to practise his death; which a Pagan Ruffian named *Richebert*, not long after most traiterously executed. His raigne is placed in the foresaid Table of our writers, (as it is compared with the other Kings of those times) to extende twelue yeeres; after whose death, those people returned to their wonted *Idolatry*, and for three yeeres continuance embraced their former *Gentility*, from which they were reclaimed by *Sigebert* his brother in law, who succeeded him in his Throne, hee hauing no issue, to whom it might be left.

The Subiects reclaimed by *Sigebert*.

5. An. Do. 636. The fifth King.

Sigebert the sonne of the second Wife to *Redwald*, and by her born to a former husband, whose name as vnknowne, was greatly mistrusted by his Father in law, King *Redwald*, that he went about to aspire his Crowne, the motiues of which suspition, notwithstanding all the endeuors of innocent *Sigebert*, were still followed with an enuious eye, and his subiectiue semblances, as notes of popularity, were euer conceiued to aime at the supreme authority: which blot of iealousie, when it could no otherwise be wiped out, he abandoned the Court of the king, and Country of his birth; and in *France* as an exile, all the time of *Redwald* the Father, & likewise in the raigne of *Erpenwald* the son, spent his time in study of good Literature, & contemplatiue exercises, where learning the truth of Christs Doctrine, & hauing receiued the lauer of *Baptisme*, after the death of this said *Erpenwald* his allied Brother, returned, and was made King of the *East-Angles*.

Sigebert suspected of treason against *Redwald*.

He goeth into exile.

This man (saith *Beda*) following the examples of *France*, brought the light of the Gospell into his Dominions, and by the assistance of *Felix* Bishop of *Dunwich*, for a more firme plantatation thereof, built a Schoole for the education of children, appointing them Schoole-masters and Teachers after the maner of the *Kentishmen*; who are supposed to haue had at that time, the Liberall Sciences professed among them, in their *Metropolitane* City *Canterbury*, which was the pateme (saith that Countries *Perambulator*) that this *Sigebert* followed in the erection of his: but whether at *Cambridge* or elsewhere, hee leaueth for *Doctor Caius* of *Cambridge*, and *M. Key* of *Oxford*, to be disputed of. And indeed *Beda* assigneth not the place for this foundation, nor once nameth *Cambridge*, vnlesse you will say, that out of the ruines of *Grantcester*, an ancient City decaied in his daies, the same arose, and whereof hee maketh mention in his fourth Booke, vpon this occasion as followeth.

Beda hist. Angl. lib. 3. cap. 18. *Sigebert* with the assistance of a Bishop doth promote religion and learning.

Will Lambert in Peramb. of Kent.

Mr. *Caius*, and Mr. *Key*.

Beda. hist. Angl. lib. 4. cap. 19.

Queene *Ethelred* (saith he) that had been a Virgin, wife to *Egfrid* king of *Northumberland* the tearme of twelue yeeres, and *Abbesse* of *Ely* for seuen more, for her reputed holinesse after her death and buriall, was thought worthy by *Queene Sexburge* her sister (who had beene wife to *Ercombert* king of *Kent*, and succeeded her *Abbesse* in the same Monastery) to be remoued out of her wooden tombe & meane place of buriall, into the Church, & into a richer Monument; but for want of stone, which was scarce in those parts, certaine brethren were sent to finde out some for that vse, who comming to Gpantcearten, a little City left desolate and vninhabited, found by the walles a Tomb of white marble very faire, and couered with a like stone. This they thought to be found not without miracle, and therefore most fit to intombe her corps, which accordingly they did. But that this had beene the place of *Sigeberts* Schoole, he mentioneth not. But whether by him or no, wee know it now the other *Vniuersity* of *England*, a seed-plot of all diuine and humane *Literature*; and one of those springs whence issue the wholesome waters that doe bedew both the Church & Common-wealth, both, famous for the *Arts*, for *Buildings*, and *Reuenewes*, as their like is not to be found in *Europe* (saith *Peter Martyre*) and that most truly. But to returne: *Sigebert* being wearied with the waighty affaires of this world, laid the burden thereof vpon *Egricke* his kinsman, & shore himselfe a *Monk* in the Abbey of *Cumbreburg*, which himselfe had built: & wherein he liued, vntil that wicked *Penda*, the *Mercian King*, with his heathenish cruelty molested the peace of the *East-Angls*; who after long resistāce, finding themselues too weake, besought *Sigebert* for the better encouragement of their souldiers, to shew himselfe in field; which when he refused, by constraint (saith *Beda*) they drew him forth, where in the midst of them he was slaine in battle, vsing no other weapon for defence, sauing only a white wand, when he had raigned onely three yeeres, and left no issue to suruiue him, that is any where recorded.

Grantcester.

Beda maketh mention of *Grantcester*, but not of a Schoole there.

The *Vniuersities* of *England*, aboue all other in *Europe*.

Sigebert resigneth to *Egricke*, and liueth in a Monastery.

He is constrained to resume it againe, and is slaine in battle.

His raigne.

6. An. Do. 638. The sixth King. *Penda* a cruell

Egricke, cosin to king *Sigebert*, and by him made King, as we haue said, was sore molested by the continuall inuasions of *Penda*, the cruell King of *Mercia*; who lastly in a set battle slew him with *Sigebert*, about

King of *Mercia*, *Egrick* and *Sigebert* both ſlaine by *Penda*. His raigne.

about the yeere of Chriſt his incarnation ſixe hundred fifty two, hauing raigned foure yeeres, without mention either of wife or childe, that is read of, further to reuiue his memory to poſterities.

7. An. Do. 642. The ſeuenth King. *Beda hiſt. Angl. li. 3. cap. 18. Malmesb. de geſtis Regum Angl.*

ANna ſucceeded King *Egricke* in the Kingdome of the *East-Angles*, the yeere of grace ſixe hundred forty two, as the next in bloud to *Erpinwald*, being the ſonne of *Guido*, ſaith *Beda*, the ſonne of *Eni*, ſaith *Malmsbury*, who was brother to great *Redwald*; and both of them the ſonnes of *Titulus*, the ſecond King of that Prouince. This King, as the other two former had done, felt the fury of raging *Penda*, with his mercileſſe *Mercians*, that ſore aſſaulted his Territories with rapine and ſpoile. To withſtand whoſe further proceedings, King *Anna* drew the ſtrength of his *East-Angles* againſt them, and encountred *Penda* in a great and mortall battle, wherein they were all diſcomfited, and *Anna* among them ſlaine, when hee had raigned in continuall trouble the ſpace of thirteene yeeres. His iſſue were many, and thoſe of great holineſſe or ſanctity of life. Whereof *Ferminus* the eldeſt, and heire apparant, was ſlaine by *Penda* in the ſame battle with his Father, and was with him buried in *Blidribrugh*, now *Blibrugh*, but afterwards remoued to S. *Edmondsbury*. His other ſonne was *Erkenwald*, Abbat of *Chertſide*, and Biſhop of *London*, that lyeth buryed in the South Ile, aboue the Quire in Saint *Pauls* Church, where to this day remaineth a memoriall of him. His daughters were theſe; *Etheldrid* the eldeſt, was firſt marryed vnto a Nobleman, whom *Beda* nameth *Tonbert*, Gouernour of the Fenny Countries of *Northfolke*, *Huntington*, *Lincolne*, and *Cambridge-ſhires*: and after his death remaining a Virgin, ſhee was remarried to *Egfrid* King of *Northumberland*, with whom likewiſe ſhee liued in perfect virginity the ſpace of twelue yeeres, notwithſtanding his intreaty and allurements to the contrary. From whom, laſtly, ſhee was releaſed, and had licence to depart his Court, vnto the Abbey of *Coldingham*, where firſt ſhee was vailed a Nunne vnder Abbeſſe *Ebba*; and thence departing, ſhee liued at *Ely*, and became her ſelfe Abbeſſe thereof, wherein laſtly ſhee dyed, and was interred; remembred vnto poſterities by the name of S. *Audrie*. His ſecond daughter was *Sexburg*, who married *Ercombert*, King of *Kent*, vnto whom ſhee bare two ſonnes, and two daughters, as wee in that Kingdomes ſucceſſion haue ſhewed: after whoſe death, ſhee tooke the habite of a Nunne, and ſucceeded her ſiſter *Etheldrid*, Abbeſſe of *Ely*, wherein ſhee dyed and was interred: and their youngeſt ſiſter *Withgith*, was likewiſe a *Menchion* with them in the ſame Monaſtery, and all of them canonized for Saints. *Ethilburge* his third daughter was made Abbeſſe of *Berking*, neere *London*, built by her brother Biſhop *Erkinwald*, wherein ſhee liued, and laſtly dyed. A naturall daughter likewiſe he had, whoſe name was *Withburge*, that with *Sedrido* the daughter of his wife, were both of them profeſſed Nunnes, and ſucceeded each other Abbeſſes in the Monaſtery of S. *Brigges* in *France*. Such a reputed holineſſe was it held in thoſe dayes, not onely to be ſeparated from the accompanying with men, whereunto women by God were created, but alſo to abandon the Country of their natiuity, and as ſtrangers in forraigne Lands, to ſpend the continuance of their liues.

Anna ſlaine in battle by *Penda*.

Anna his iſſue. His raigne. *Ferminus* heire apparant.

Erkenwald Abbat of *Chertſide*, and Biſhop of *London*.

Etheldrid Abbeſſe of *Ely*.

Sexburge Abbeſſe of *Ely* after her ſiſter.

Withgith a Menchion in *Ely* Abbey.

Ethilburge Abbeſſe of *Barking*. *Beda lib. 4. cap. 6.*

Edelburge Abbeſſe of S. *Brigges* in *France*. *Beda lib. 3. cap. 8.*

8. An. Do. 654. *Ethelherd* the eighth King.

EThelherd, the brother of *Anna*, the yeere of Chriſts Incarnation ſixe hundred fifty foure, was made King of the *East-Angles*: the which it ſeemeth he had attempted in the raigne of his brother; for that hee had aſſiſted *Penda* in his warres againſt him; and was the motiue (ſaith *Beda*) of the warres againſt *Oſwin* King of *Northumberland*; wherein ſiding with the heathen *Penda*, he was worthily ſlaine, the fifteenth day of *Nouember*, when he had raigned onely two yeeres, leauing his name to the blot of infamy, and his Crown to be poſſeſſed by his younger brother. His wife was *Hereſwith* ſiſter of *Hilda*, the famous learned Abbeſſe of *Streanſhale*, and great grand-childe to *Edwine* King of *Northumberland*, who bare vnto him *Aldulfe*, *Elfwolfe*, and *Beorne*, all three ſucceeding *Edilwald* in the Kingdome of the *East-Angles*.

Beda hiſt. Angl. li. 3. cap. 24.

His raigne.

Hereswith the wife of *Ethelherd*.

Their children.

9. An. Do. 656.

EDelwald the brother of *Ethelherd* entred his gouernment of the *East-Angles* the yeere of our Lord ſixe hundred fifty ſixe, and continued the ſame the ſpace of nine yeeres, without either mention of any other memorable act: from whom (as is ſuppoſed) iſſued *Ethelred* that ſucceeding King after *Beorne*.

10. An. Do. 664

ALdulfe, the eldeſt ſonne of *Ethelherd* and Queene *Hereſwith*, after the death of his vncle King *Edelwald*, obtained the Kingdome of the *East-Angles*, and therein raigned without any honour or honourable action by him performed: Onely his name and time of his raigne, which was nineteene yeers, is left of him by Writers: and affordeth no further relation of vs here to be inſerted, beſides his Coine here ſet.

11. An. Do. 683.

His raigne.

ELſwolf the ſonne of King *Ethelherd*, and brother to this laſt mentioned *Aldulfe*, began his raigne ouer the Kingdome of the *East-Angles*, the yeere of Chriſt his Incarnation, ſix hundred eighty three, and continued in the ſame, the time of ſeuen yeeres, without record of any memorable *Act*, *Wife*, or *Iſſue*, to reuiue his name.

12. An. Do. 714. *Beorn* the twelfth King.

BEorne, the yongeſt ſonne of King *Ethelherd*, ſucceeded his brother King *Elfwolfe* in the Kingdome of the *East-Angles*; no further mention being made of him, his wife, nor Iſſue, which are all together periſhed, and laid long ſince in their graues of obliuion.

13. An. Do. 714. *Ethelred* the thirteenth King.

He raigned two and fifty yeeres.

EThelred, after the death of his coſen *Beorne*, ſucceeded him in the Kingdome of the *East-Angles*, iſſuing (as is ſuppoſed) from *King Edelwald* the brother of *Ethelherd*, and of *Anna*, both of them Kings in that Prouince. His raigne by Writers is ſaid to be fifty two yeeres, which notwithſtanding was paſſed ouer without any memorable note: for albeit that his gouernment was long, and the declining *Heptarchy* not vnlikely to haue miniſtred matters of remembrance to poſterities, yet is the ſame paſſed ouer by the ſilence of our Writers, and no further mention made of him, beſides the education of his yonger ſonne *Ethelbert*, who proued a moſt worthy King. His wife, and the mother of this vertuous ſonne, was *Leofrun*, ſaith the Writer of his life, without further mention of her parentage, or other iſſne. This King deceaſed the yeere after Chriſts natiuity, ſeuen hundred forty eight, the ſame yeere that *Ethelbert* entred his Kingdome of *Kent*.

His ſonne *Ethelbert*. His wife *Leofrun*. *Flores Vigor. Iohn Capgraue.*

14. An. Do. 749. *Ethelbert* the foureteenth King.

EThelbert, the ſonne of King *Ethelred*, after his Fathers death was ordained King of the *East-Angles*, whoſe dayes of youth were ſpent in learning and deeds of charity, and the whole time of his gouernement in continuall tranquility; for hee is recorded to be a Prince religious and charitable, ſober, profound, and wiſe in counſell. This King being incited by *Offa* the *Mercian* (that ſtill thirſted after greatneſſe) to marry *Elfryd* his Daughter, a Lady of great beautie, came vpon that purpoſe to *Offa* his Court, then ſeated at *Sutton Wallis* in the County of *Hereford*, and was by him there cruelly murthered at the inſtigation of *Quendrid* his vnkind (intended) mother in Law; no other occaſion miniſtred, but the greatneſſe of his Port, that much in her eyes ouer-heighted her husbands. His *Bride-bed* (the graue) was firſt at *Merden*, north from *Sutton* vpon the Riuer *Lug*. But afterwards vpon repentance, *Offa* remoued it vnto *Hereford*; ouer whom, *Milfrid* an vnder King of the *Mercians*, built a moſt faire Church in memoriall of him, which yet beares his name, and is the Cathedrall of that See. His Bride, Lady *Elfrid*, much lamenting his contriued murther, with-drew her ſelfe to *Crowland* in the *Fennes*, and there vowed chaſtity all the dayes of

Giral. Cambrenſis.

Ethelbert murdered by *Offa* King of *Mercia*.

Buried at *Merden*.

After at *Hereford*, ouer whom was built a faire Church. *Iohn Capgraue.*

Elfrid his eſpouſall vowed chaſtity. *Oſberi de Clere.*

of her life; notwithstanding some affirme that shee was wife to King *Kenwolfe*, the successor of her brother *Egfrid*. This King raigned the space of forty fiue yeeres, as is set in the Table of our English Writers, and died the yeere of Christs incarnation seuen hundred ninety three, the eighteenth day of *May*; and his Kingdome intruded vpon by the *Mercians*, hauing had neither wife nor children, that *Historians* make mention of: after whose death the Kingdome of the *East-Angles* was brought to decay, both by the *Mercians*, *West-Saxons*, and them of *Kent*; so that by meanes of their violence, that Prouince was destitute of her owne Gouernours, the space of seuenty seuen yeeres, vntill lastly the assaults of the *Danes* (a new-come *Guest* and most dangerous Enemy) caused the other Kings to stand vpon their Guards, and rather to defend what they already had gotten, then to seeke inlargement, to the hazard of all: at which time, it is said one *Offa*, to whom the right of that Crowne belonged, vpon a religious deuotion, tooke his pilgrimage to the Sepulcher of Christ, and visiting in his way a kinsman of his, whose name was *Alkmund*, at the Citie *Norhenberge* in *Saxonie*, there made his will, wherein he adopted young *Edmund* his Heire, the sonne of *Alkmond*: and accomplishing his voiage, in his returne died at the Port *Saint George*, from whence hee sent young *Edmund* his Ring, and therewith ordained him King of the *East-Angles*. *Alkmund* a Prince of great power in those parts, maintained his sonnes rightfull election, and with a sufficient power sent him to claime the Kingdome. These landing in the East of *England*, at a place called *Maydenboure*, built a royall Tower, which hee named, and to this day is called, *Hunstantone*, situated vpon the North-west point of *Norfolke*, that beareth likewise his owne name.

He raigned forty fiue yeeres.

Offa heire to the Crowne, adopteth *Edmund* the son of *Alkmond*.

15. An. Do. 870. *Edmund* the fifteenth King. The *Danes* inuasion. *Polydor. Virg.*

EDmund thus arriued, was as willingly receiued, and by the *East-Angles* made their King; in whose time *Hungar* and *Hubba*, two *Danish* Captaines, with an innumerable multitude of *Heathen Danes*, entred the Land at the mouth of *Humber*, and from thence inuaded *Nottingham*, *Yorke*, and *Northumberland*, where (without respect of age or sex) they laid all waste, and left the Land whence they departed like to a desolate Wildernesse. From thence they came with the like fury into *Edmunds* Territories, and sacked *Thetford* a frequent City in those dayes: but he not able to withstand their violence, fled into his Castle at *Framingham*, wherein he was of them besieged; and lastly, taken (saith *Abba Floriacensis*) in a village then called *Hegliſdune*, of a wood bearing the same name; or rather yeelded himselfe to their torments, to saue more Christian bloud: for it is recorded, that because of his most constant *Faith* and *Profession*, those *Pagans* first beat him with bats, then scourged him with whips, he still calling vpon the name of *Iesus*, for rage whereof, they bound him to a stake, and with their arrowes shot him to death; and cutting off his head, contemptuously threw it into a bush, after he had raigned ouer the *East-Angles* the space of sixteene yeeres, hauing had neither wife nor issue that is read of. His body and head (after the *Danes* were departed) were buried at the same royall Towne, as *Abba* termes it, where *Sigebert* the *East-Anglean* King, and one of his predecessors, at his establishing of Christianity, built a *Church*, and where afterwards (in honour of him) was built another most spacious, of a wonderfull frame of Timber, and the name of the Towne, vpon the occasion of his buriall, called vnto this day, *Saint Edmondsbury*. This Church and place, *Suenus* the *Pagan Danish* King in impiety and fury burned to ashes. But when his sonne *Canute* had made conquest of this Land, and gotten possession of the *English Crowne*, terrified and affrighted (as saith the *Legend*) with a vision of the seeming *Saint Edmund*, in a religious deuotion to expiate his Fathers sacriledge, built it anew most sumptuously, enriched his place with Charters and Gifts, and offered his owne Crowne vpon the Martyrs Tombe. After the death of this *Edmund*, the *East-Angles* Country was possessed by the *Danes*, and so continued about some fifty yeeres, vntill that *Edward* surnamed the *Elder*, expulsed these *Danes*, and ioyned that Kingdome a Prouince to the *West-Saxons*, after it had stood three hundred fifty three yeeres.

Fabian.

Edmund taken of the *Danes*, and put to death for the faith of Christ.

Malmes. Hist. raigne.

A Church at S. *Edmondsbury* builded in honour of *Edmund*. This Church razed to the ground by *Suenus* a Danish King.

Reedified and richly endowed by *Canutus* his sonne.

The *Danes* expulsed hence by *Edward*.

A CATALOGVE OF SVCH BRITISH PRINCES AS VVITHSTOOD THE SAXONS IN THEIR CONQVESTS, FROM VORTIGERNE THEIR FIRST MAINTAINER, VNTO CADVVALLADER THEIR LAST RESISTER.

CHAPTER XII.

NOw as we haue ſpoken of euery ſeuerall *Saxon* King, that attained vnto, and held poſſeſſion of any part in the Eaſt & South of this Iland, vntill ſuch time as their Crownes were worne by their Conquerors, and the ſeuenfold diuided Heptarchy, vnited into an abſolute Monarchy: ſo by order of Hiſtory it is required, that their oppoſers (the *Britaines*) ſo long as they kept their ground, & ſtood in defence of their owne rightful inheritance, ſhould be ſhewed: who with a great diſdaine, and valorous reſiſtance, vnder-went the yoake of the *Saxons* ſubiections, as their ancient Anceſtors had endeauored to cleere themſelues from the chaines of the *Romans* captiuity. And vntill God and deſtiny withdrew from them the hand of defence, they mated the *Saxons* in all their deſignes. For albeit that the *Romans* had robbed the land of her ſtrength, and the aſpired *Vortigern*, called in theſe Strangers for his defence: yet their purpoſes being wiſely perceiued, the preuention thereof was preſently practized, and eargerly purſued, whileſt the pillars (that ſupported the frame of their gouernment) ſtood vpon their owne *Baſes*. But the ground-worke failing, and thoſe props not many, the waight of all fell vpon ſome few, whoſe acts and manly reſiſtance (Chriſt aſſiſting) ſhall further bee related, as time ſhall bring them to the yeeres of their aduentures, and carry our Hiſtory thorow the affaires of their times. Meane while, as we haue recorded the names of their Anceſtors, and worthy forerunners, the reſiſters of the *Romanes*: ſo now if you pleaſe, behold the Catalogue of their Kings, from the foreſaid *Vortigern* (the firſt ſubdued by theſe *Saxons*) vnto *Cadwallader* the laſt of thoſe *Britiſh* Princes; who left to them his Land, and went himſelf to *Rome*: whoſe times & ſtories, according to thoſe Guids that lead vs, we will declare, referring the credit therof to our *Britiſh* Hiſtorians; againſt whom howſoeuer ſome exceptions are, and may be iuſtly taken; yet are they not altogether to be caſt off, in the affaires of theſe enſuing Princes, eſpecially *Gyldas* and *Ninius*, who liued in, and preſently after the times of thoſe reſiſters. Neither is it to bee doubted, but that many others there were of that Nation, no leſſe carefull for tranſferring the remembrance of their Anceſtors actions to poſterity, (no Nation liuing, being more zealouſly deuoted in that kinde,) though their writings haue in Times ruines beene buried, and their remembrances preſerued onely by perpetuity of traditions. And although wee haue ſhewed the ancient Coines of the *Britaines*, and obſerued a ſeries thorow the *Romanes* ſucceſſion: yet be not offended, that I leaue onely Blanks for theſe latter Princes; as alſo the firſt *Saxons*, wanting the Monies of their owne ſeuerall Mintes.

Such therfore as I haue found of any Kings ſtamp, raigning whileſt the land was deuided and enioied amongſt them, I haue in the margent of their remembrances affixed, with the Armes attributed to euery ſeuerall kingdome: and hence will obſerue the ſame order, without any inuention or fained inſcription: which howſoeuer wee want to furniſh their ſucceſſions, yet this I am ſure of, no Nation in *Europe* can ſhew the like, or can come to ſo true a ſeries of their Soueraignes Coines, as *England* is able at this day to doe.

Hitherto the *Saxons* Heptarchy.

The Britiſh Oppoſers.

Reſiſters of the Saxons.

Vortigern the firſt and *Cadwallader* the laſt reſiſter of the *Saxons*.

A ſucceſſiue Series of Great *Britaines* Coines

VORTIGERN. I.

VOrtigern among the many moleſtatiõs of the *Scots* and *Picts*, was ordained ſupreme Gouernor of theſe affaires; and to that end, with the *Britaines* full conſent was elected their King. For as touching that

Monkiſh *Conſtantine*, the ſon of *Conſtantius*, who is ſuppoſed to be the brother of *Aldreonus*, king of *Litle Britaine* in *France*, ſent for and made king by theſe *Britaines*, whoſe ſimplicity this *Vortigern* is ſaid to abuſe, and laſtly to cauſe his murther and death; I rather thinke the ſtory to be the ſame that happened aboue forty yeeres before, in the daies of *Honorius* the Emperor, whē *Conſtantius* among the other conſpirators was raiſed vpon a hopefull expectation conceiued of his name.

This *Conſtantius* indeed had a ſonne that bare his name, a man of a ſoft ſpirit, and no deepe reach, and therefore in his youth was made a Monke. But his father riſen to his aſpiring honour, created him firſt his *Ceſar*, and next *Auguſtus*, till Fortune turned thoſe ſmiles into frownes, and ſtained their purple robes in both their own blouds. For not only the ſame names induceth this doubt, but the place, which was *Winchester*; and the Abbey *Amphibilus*, where this Imperiall Monke was ſhorne, doth not a little confirme the ſame: the remaines of which Colledge, by that ſtrong and thicke wall ſtanding to this day at the Weſt gate of that Cathedrall Church, doth not a little confirme. But wanting better directions to our proceedings, we muſt follow for theſe times men of later yeeres, and not without ſome ſuſpect of vncertainty. The rather, for that the *Saxons* as then the chiefe Actors in this Land, haue purpoſely concealed all Victors and Victories againſt themſelues, neither but ſparingly haue recorded their owne.

Saxons haue concealed all victories againſt themſelues.

This *Vortigern*, howſoeuer attaining the Crowne, was ouer-awed (ſaith *Ninius*) *by the Picts & Scots, ſtood in feare of the Roman forces, dreading much the returne of Aurelius Ambroſius, with his brother Vter, ſurnamed Pendragon*: and therefore wanting ſtrength of his owne to maintaine his ſtanding, ſent for the *Saxons*, as wee haue ſaid. *He* (ſaith the *Britiſh Story*) *was Earle of Cornwall*, of an houourable Family and noble deſcent, his Lady euery way anſwerable to both; by whom hee had three ſonnes, *Vortimer*, *Catigern*, and *Paſcentius*. His ſecond wife, or rather Concubine, (hauing caſt off this firſt) was *Rowena*, the daughter of *Hengiſt*, which Pagan mariage prooued not only the bane of the Land, but ſo ruinated the Church of Chriſtianity, that a Prouinciall Councell of the *Britaines* was aſſembled in Ann. 470. to repaire thoſe things that this mariage had decaied.

The cauſe of *Vortigerns* feare, and his ſending for the *Saxons*.

Beda lib. 1. cap. 14.

Vortigern his children by his firſt Wife. *Rand. Higdone, li. 5 cap. 1.*

His ſecond wife a Heathen.

By this Heathen Damoſell he had a daughter, who (againſt the law of *God* & *Nature*) was his third wife, that *kings* (as he pretended, to excuſe his inceſt) *might be deſcended from the right iſſue of Kings*; vpon whom he begot his ſad lamenting ſonne *Fauſtus*, a vertuous Impe of thoſe impious parents, that ſpent his life in a ſolitary place neere to the Riuer *Llynterrenny*, as wee haue ſaid; who abandoning the company of men, among thoſe mountaines ſerued God in continuall teares and praiers, for remiſſion of the fault committed in his inceſtuous generation, for the recalling of his parents to a better life, and for the reſtitution of his Country to her former liberty.

His third wife was his owne daughter.

Fauſtus the ſonne of Vortigerne by his third wife.

This *Vortigern* raigned firſt ſixteene yeeres, and then depoſed for his fauors to the *Saxons*, was retained in durance all the raigne of *Vortimer* his ſonne, after whoſe death he was reeſtabliſhed: but oppreſſed by his *Saxons*, & purſued by *Aurelius*, withdrew himſelfe into *Wales*, & among thoſe vaſt mountains built a Caſtle by *Merlins* direction, wherof we haue ſpoken, and more we would ſpeake, were thoſe fantaſticke fictions vnderſet with any props of likelihood or truth, which *Rand. of Cheſter* in his daies vtterly reiected.

Vortigern how long he raigned. *Fabian, Cobr.*

Vortigern depoſed and impriſoned.

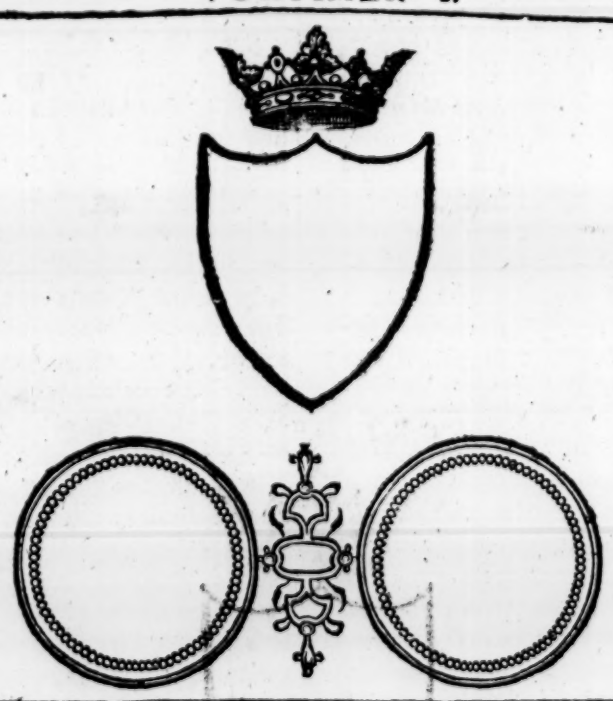
He flieth into *Wales*.

In this Caſtle, *Vortigern* with his inceſtuous wife, after he had ſecondly raigned the ſpace of ſix yeeres was conſumed to aſhes, by the iuſt reuenging hand of God, by fire from heauen, as ſome haue written; or elſe kindled by *Aurelius* and *Vter*, as heauens Miniſters to execute wrath.

Ploychr. l. 5. cap. 1.

Vortigern and his wife deſtroyed by fire from heauen *Henr. Hunt. Ran. Higil. 5. c. 1.*

VORTIMER. 2.



12. An. Do. 452. *Vortimer* the ſecond reſiſter of the *Saxons*.

Vortimer how long he maintained warre againſt the *Saxons*. Foure chiefe battles, and the ſucceſſe of the firſt.

Vortimer, the eldeſt ſon of king *Vortigern*, through the abuſe of his fathers gouernment, for which he was depoſed by his owne ſubiects, was erected King of the *Britaines* the yeere from Chriſts birth 454. a man of great valour, which altogether he imploied for the redreſſe of his Country, according to the teſtimony of *William Malmesbury*. *Vortimer* (ſaith hee) *thinking it not good to diſſemble the matter, for that hee ſaw himſelfe and Country daily ſurpriſed by the craft of the Engliſh, ſet his full purpoſe to driue them out, and from the ſeuenth yeere after their firſt entrance, for twenty yeeres continuance fought many Battles with them, and foure of them with great puiſſance in open field; in the firſt whereof, they departed with like fortune, and loſſe of the Generals brethren, Horſa and Catigern: in the other three the Britaines went away with victory, and ſo long vntill Vortimer was taken away by fatall death.*

Huntington, *Monmouth*, *Randulphus*, and *Fabian*, name both the places and ſucceſſe of thoſe Battles: The firſt was in *Kent*, and vpon the Plaine nere vnto *Ailsford*, where the memoriall of *Catigern* to this day remaineth; & *Horſted* doth as yet reliſh of *Horſa* there interred. The ſecond Battle was, fought likewiſe in *Kent* at *Crocanford* (now *Craford*) where many periſhed as well *Britaines* as *Saxons*. The third was at *Wepped Fleet*, with great loſſe to the *Britaines*: and the fourth vpon *Calmore*, where many of the *Saxons*, after long and ſore fight were ſlaine, and more drowned in flight, and laſtly driuen into the *Ile of Thanet*, their firſt

The place of the firſt battle. *Beda lib. 1. cap. 15.*

The place of the ſecond battle.

The place of the third battle.

The place of the fourth battle.

The Saxons quite dispossessed.

first assigned habitation (if not ouer the Seas) so that small hope rested for them so long as this valiant *Vortimer* liued, who had now dispossessed them of all their footing in the Continent, and often assailed them in the *Ile of Thannet* likewise, as *Fabian* confidently affirmeth.

Vortimer made away by *Rowena*.

But destiny going forward for the downfall of *Britaine*, remooued these rubbes out of her way: for *Rowena*, the mother of the *Britaines* mischiefe, and the maintainer of the *Saxons* residence, found the meanes to make this worthy *Vortimer* away, and by poison caused the end of his life, after hee had valiantly raigned the space of foure yeeres: all which time, by the testimony of an old Chronicle that *Fabian* had seene, *Vortigern* the father remained in durance, and vnder assigned Keepers in the City *Caerlegeon*, now *Chester*, and so demeaned himselfe towards his sonne (then his Soueraigne) in dutifull obedience and faithfull counsell, that hee wonne againe the hearts of the *Britaines*, and was againe re-established their King.

Vortimer the continuance of his raigne. *Fabian. Chro. par. 5. cap. 89*

Vortigern reestablished King.

It is recorded by *Ninius*, that *Vortimer* after his last victory ouer the *Saxons*, caused his Monument to be erected at the entrance into *Tanet*, euen in the same place of that great ouerthrow, which by the said Author is called *Lapis Tituli*, of vs the *Stoner*, where for certaine it seemes hath been an hauen. In this Monument he commanded his body to be buried, to the further terror of the *Saxons*, that in beholding this his Trophey, their spirits might be daunted at the remembrance of their great ouerthrow. As *Scipio Africanus* conceited the like, who commanded his Sepulcher to be so set, that it might ouerlooke *Africa*, supposing that his very Tombe would be a terror to the *Carthaginians*. But how that desire of *Vortimer* was performed, I finde not, but rather the contrary: for an old Manuscript I haue, that cõfidently affirmeth him to be buried in London: yet others from *Ninius* the disciple of *Eluodugus*, hold the place to bee *Lincolne*. But howsoeuer his graue is forgotten, yet let this be remembred, that *Sigebertus* hath written of him, that *After hee had vanquished the Saxons* (saith hee) *whose drift was not onely to ouer-runne the Land with violence, but also to erect their owne Lawes without clemency, he restored the Christian Religion then sorely decaied, and new built the Churches that those enemies had destroied,*

Ninius.

Vortimer his monument die *Stoner.*

Vortimer supposed to be buried in *London.*

Sigebertus.

AVRELIVS AMBROSIVS. 3.

3. An. Do. 466. The third resister of the *Saxons.*

A *Aurelius Ambrosius*, verily descended of that *Constantine* who in the fourth Consulship of *Theodosius* the younger, was elected here in *Britain*, only in hope of his lucky name, succeeded *Vortigern* the Father in the Gouernment of *Britaine*, and *Vortimer* the sonne, in affection and defence of his Country. Hee with *Vter* (saith *Geffrey Monmouth*) when their brother *Constantine* was murthered by *Vortigern*, fled into *France*, where they remained the yeeres of his first raigne; whose returne (as we haue heard from *Ninius*) he greatly feared, & whose force at the last he felt to his smart. For hauing againe resumed his Crowne, he liued in his old sinnes, and suffered the *Saxons* to be Lords of his Land: to preuent which (saith *Beda* from *Gildas*) *the Britaines by little and little beganne to take strength, and with some courage to come forth of their Caues, who with one vniforme consent, called to God for his heauenly helpe. They had* (saith he) *for their Captaine a Roman called Ambrosius Aurelianus, a gentle natured man, which onely of all the bloud of the Romans remained then aliue, his parents being slaine, which bore the name of King of the Country. This man being their Leader, prouoked the Victors to the fight, and through Gods assistance atchieued the victory. From that day forward now the Britaines, now the Saxons did preuaile, vntill the yeere that Bathe was besieged, which was forty foure yeeres after their first comming into the Iland.*

Galfrid Mon.

Beda hist. Ang. lib. 1. cap. 16.

His first expedition (as our British Historians report) was against *Vortigern*, and his Castle in *Wales*, wherein that incestuous King was consumed to ashes by lightning from heauen, as we haue said: and then following the *Saxons*, made toward *Yorke*, & at *Maesbel* beyond *Humber*, encountring *Hengist*, became his Victor: vnto whose mercy (say they) his sonne *Occa* yeelded himselfe, and obtained in free gift the Country *Galloway* in *Scotland* for him and his *Saxons*. But these his affaires thus prospering against the common Enemy, was enuied at by *Pascentius*, the youngest son of King *Vortigern*, who not able either to mate the *Saxons*, or after his Brethrens deaths to recouer the Kingdome to himselfe, ambitiously sought to prefer his base humor before the recouery of his Countries liberty, which then lay gored in her owne bloud. For hauing gotten the aid of *Gillamare* King of *Ireland*, whither hee had fled vpon the death of his Father, and now returned into the West of *Wales*, first indammaged the City of *S. Dauids*, and thence proceeded with fire and sword. *Aurelius* then sicke in the City of *Winchester*, sent his brother *Vter* to withstand his force, who slew both *Pascentius* and the *Irish King* his partaker, in a set & sore battell fought betwixt them. But before this battell, *Pascentius* had sent a *Saxon*, whose name was *Eopa*, in shew a *Britaine*, and in habit a Physitian, to minister poison in stead of physicke, which accordingly was effected with *Ambrosius* his death.

Geffry Caxton, p. 5.

Hector Boetius.

Vnto this *Aurelius Ambrosius* is ascribed the erection of that rare and admirable monument, now called *Stonhenge*, in the same place where the *Britaines* had been trecherously slaughtered and interred, whose manner

Aurelius Ambrosius erected Stonhenge.

The deſcription of the Mounment of *Stonehenge*.

manner and forme in our draught of *Wiltſhire* wee haue inſerted. The matter being Stones of a great and huge bigneſſe, ſo that ſome of them containe twelue tunne in waight, and twenty eight foote or more in length, their breadth ſeuen, and compaſſe ſixteene. Theſe are ſet in the ground of a good depth; and ſtand in a round circle by two and two, hauing a third ſtone ſomewhat of leſſe quantity laid gate-wiſe ouerthwart on their toppes, faſtned with tenons and mortaiſes, the one into the other; which to ſome ſeeme ſo dangerous, as they may not ſafely be paſſed vnder, the rather for that many of them are fallen downe, and the reſt ſuſpected of no ſure foundation: notwithſtanding, at my being there, I neither ſaw cauſe of ſuch feare, nor vncertainty in accounting of their numbers; as is ſaid to be. The ſtones are gray, but not marbled, wherein great holes are beaten euen by force of weather, that ſerue for Rauens and other birds to build in, and bring foorth their young. The ground-plot containeth about three hundred foot in compaſſe, in forme almoſt round, or rather like vnto a horſe-ſhooe, with an entrance in vpon the eaſt-ſide. Three rowes of ſtones ſeeme formerly to haue beene pitched, the largeſt outwards, and the leaſt inwards; many whereof are now fallen downe: but thoſe that ſtand, ſhew ſo faire an aſpect, & that ſo farre off, that they ſeeme to the beholders to bee ſome Fortreſſe or ſtrong Caſtle. A Trench alſo is about them, which hath beene much deeper: and vpon the plaines adioining, many round copped hilles without any ſuch trench, (as it were caſt vp out of the earth) ſtand like great hay-cocks in a plaine meadow. In theſe, and thereabouts, by digging haue beene found peces of ancient faſhioned armour, with the bones of men, whoſe bodies were thus couered with earth that was brought thither by their welwillers and friends, euen in their head-peeces; a token of loue that then was vſed, as ſome imagine.

Ancient faſhioned Armor found at *Stonhenge*.

This Trophey, *Aurelius Ambroſius* (in memoriall of the *Britaines* maſſacre) erected, and is worthily accounted for one of the Wonders of this Iland, & are in the verſes of *Alexander Necham* called *The Giants Daunce*; wherein this *Ambroſius* was interred after hee had raigned thirty two yeeres, and wherof the towne *Ambresbury* beares the name. Others report, that the *Britaines* erected this moſt ſtately Sepulcher ouer the body of *Ambroſius* there ſlaine by the ſword of his enemies; that his Countries loue, in ſuch a coſtly peece of worke, might remaine vnto poſterities in this, the *Altar of his vertue and manhood*: for *Paulus Diaconus* ſaith, that *this man, in ſuccouring his decaied Countrie, tooke vpon him the imperiall Robe, and againſt the violent rage of thoſe German enemies, oft times ouerthrew their puiſſant armies, but was laſtly ſlaine by them vpon the plaines of Salesbury.* I cannot with ſilence let paſſe the ridiculous reports of the bringing of the Stones out of *Africke* into *Ireland*, and from thence, vnder the conduct of *Vter* the brother of *Ambroſius*, vnto this *Plain*, by the induſtrious meanes of *Merlin*, ſurnamed *Ambroſe*, borne in the ancient City *Merdhyn*, and as *Humfrey Lhnyd* ſaith, *of a noble virgin, whoſe father, for his skill in the Mathematicks, and wonderfull knowledge in all other kinde of learning, was by the rude common people reputed to be the ſonne of an Incubus, or a male Diuell, which in the ſimilitude and likeneſſe of men doe vſe carnally to company with women.* But how this may agree with his diuine mouth, who telles vs that *Spirits* haue neither fleſh nor bones; and the whole Scriptures, that man is carnally begotten, conceiued and born, I leaue for others further to diſpute. Onely I know, that ſuch begettings as *Merlines* is reported to bee, without father, and *Simon Magus* alſo, that before him would needs be the ſonne of a *Virgin*, doe not a little contradict our *Chriſtian Profeſſion*, who acknowledge onely the conception of *Chriſt*, to be conceiued without the ſeed of man, or of ſinne. But to our purpoſe: *Ambroſius Aurelius* (by *Panuinius* accounted the laſt Emperour of the Britiſh bloud) is ſaid to raigne in *Britaine* thirty two yeeres, and to die in that of Chriſts Incarnation foure hundred ninety ſeuen.

Paulus Diacon.

Geff. Monmouth. Giral. Camb. Geruaſ. Doro.

Breviary of *Britiane. pag. 79.*

Luke 24. 39.

Clemens in his *Recognitions.*

Aurelius Ambroſius, the continuance of his raigne.

VTER PENDRAGON. 4.

An. Do. 498.

Mat. Weſtminſter.

Hect. Boetius.

Vter, ſurnamed *Pendragon*, the brother of *Ambroſius*, ſucceeded him both in valour, & in the Gouernment of *Britaine*. His entrance was with troubles againſt the *Saxons*, who vnder the leading of *Eske* and *Octa*, the ſonnes of King *Hengiſt*, had paſſed with ſpoile to the City *Yorke*, whither this new-made Generall preſently repaired; and giuing them battell, with the diſcomfiture of their whole Army, tooke both the brethren priſoners, and committed them to ſafe cuſtody.

But the *Britaines* (ſaith *Boetius*) becomming diſloiall to their Prince, ſeldome aſsiſted him with preuenting counſell: and the Prince enamored vpon the Duke of *Cornwals* Wife, conſulted more with *Merline* to transforme himſelfe from himſelfe, then to giue direction againſt the common enemy. For comming to *Tindagell* Caſtle in *Cornwal*, poſſeſſed by *Gorlois*, Duke of that prouince, beheld (in his eye) the *paragon* of Nature, which was lady *Igren*, his Dutches and wife. *Vter*, whoſe thoughts till then had bin free, and from his child hood had euer followed *Mars* in the field, was now ſurpriſed ſo far with her loue, that his Shield and Armes were both neglected and vnworne, & all his thoughts ſet on worke to purchaſe his moſt wiſhed deſire; which laſtly, by *Merline* & *Magick* was effected, and that after this manner (if we will

Alex. Neckam. Vter Pendragon in loue with lady *Igren.*

Geffry. Mon.

will beleeue him of *Monmouth*, who is the reporter.) His ſuites & hopes failing (ſaith hee) to win her vnto diſhonor, *Merline* altogether new-moulded the ſhape of King *Vter*, and printed in his face the feature of *Gorlois* her owne Lord, by which meanes, and without ſuſpect the King diſhonourably violated this Ladies chaſtity, in which Bed of deceit, the famous *Arthur* was begot. The captiue Captaines *Eske* and *Octa* in theſe looſe times of his loue, gat looſe from their Keepers, and with their ratling armour rouſed *Vter* from this wanton Lullaby: who with troopes of ſtrength, and trumpets of defiance, met theſe *Saxons* face to face in the field, where betwixt them was fought a moſt bloudy battell, and that euen almoſt to the laſt ſtroke; and wherein, if fatall deſtinie had withdrawne her hand, the Iland had been rid of theſe Intruders for euer. For therein (ſay our Authours) the *Saxons* periſhed by the *Britaines* ſwords; vpon whoſe points alſo *Eske* and *Octa* paid their eſcapes with the loſſe of their liues. This field was at *Verolam*, whither *Vter* ſicke, and in his Horſe-litter, was borne among his Army, and after long and ſore ſiege, wonne from them that City. Finally, when this King had raigned the ſpace of eighteene yeeres, he died by poiſon put into a wel, whereof vſually he dranke, and was buried at *Stonhenge* with his brother *Ambroſius*.

An Ancient Manuſcript.

Of his ſurname *Pendragon*, theſe ſuppoſals are made. At his natiuity (ſay ſome) appeared a fierie Comet, in ſome part reſembling a *Dragons Head*: whereupon that great reputed Prophet *Merline*, attributed this heauenly Meteor vnto this Princely new-borne Babe, and gaue him the name of *Vter-pendragon*. Others for his *ſerpentine wiſedom*, deriue the ſurname of this Sepents Head, who like vnto that of *Dan*, *bit the horſe heeles, ſo that the riders fell backward*. For in all his warres againſt the *Saxons*, hee was moſt fortunate and victorious, with their great ouerthrowes. But others will haue him ſo named from his *Royall Banner*, borne euer before him, wherein was portraied a *Dragon* with a *Golden Head*; of which *Standard* ſince, neighbour Nations haue had good experience, and in far Country it hath been diſplaied in the cauſe of *Chriſtianity*, to the terror of the *Pagans*, as in *Syria* by that *inuincible Engliſh King*, *Richard the firſt* ſurnamed *Cur-de-lion*; in *Scotland* & *Wales* by that conquering Prince *Edward the firſt*, and the ſame as yet is in field borne for an *Imperiall Standard* in our *Engliſh Campes*.

Gen. 49. 17.

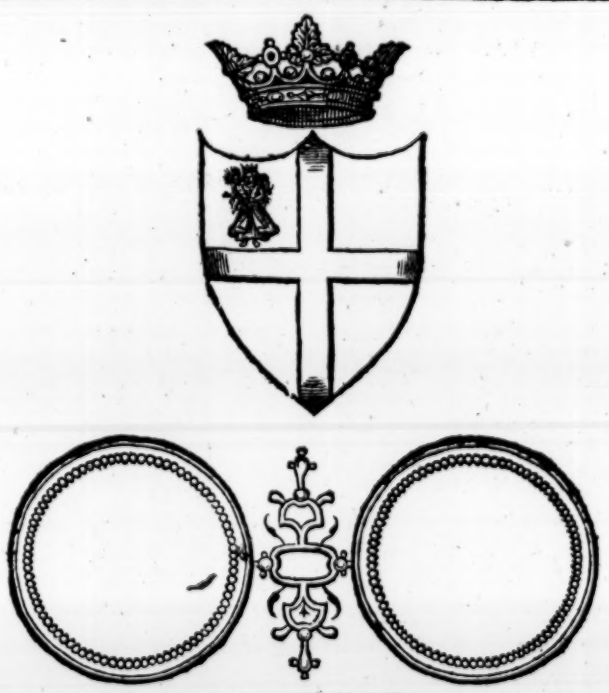
Geffrey. &c.

In gold and iewels, as Harding ſaith.

Iohn Harding.

Pendragon the continuance of his raigne.

KING ARTHVR. 5.



5. An. Do. 516.

Arthur the ſonne of *Vter*, begotten as is ſaid of Ladie *Igren* Dutcheſſe of *Cornwall*, was crowned King at fifteene yeeeres of age; about the yeere of *Chriſt* fiue hundred and ſixteene; or as *Mathew of Weſtminſter* hath it, fiue hundred and eighteene. His proſperous entrance was enuied at by *Lotho* King of the *Picts*, and by *Gouran* King of the *Scots*, who had married his owne Aunts, *Anna* and *Alda*, the two ſiſters of *Ambroſe* and *Vter*, each of them expecting the Crowne before him, through the opinion and repute of his baſtardy; eſpecially *Lotho*, who had iſſue by *Anna*, *Mordrad*, and *Gawan*: the latter of which ſpent his life in the cauſe of that quarrell. His firſt proceedings were againſt the common enemie the *Saxons*, whoſe Captaine *Colgerne*, he chaſed from *Northumberland* into *Yorke*, which City likewiſe he girt with a ſtrait ſiege, notwithſtanding *Colgerne* thence eſcaped into *Germany*, and of King *Cherdike* got ſuccour for his *Saxons*, who with ſeuen hundred ſaile arriued in *Scotland*. *Arthur* aduertiſed of his great power, raiſed his ſiege, and drew towards *London*, and thence ſent for aid to his Nephew *Howell*, King of *Little Britaine* in *France*, who came himſelfe in perſon to ioyne with his Vncle.

Matth. Weſtm.

Theſe from *South-hampton* marched to *Lincolne*, which City *Cherdik* had ſtrongly beſieged, but was thence forced by *Arthurs* cõquering ſword. Twelue battles he fought againſt theſe *Saxons* (as *Ninius* recordeth) with great manhood and victory, The firſt was at the mouth of the Riuer *Gleyne*: the ſecond, third, fourth, and fifth, vpon the Banks of *Douglaſſe*, in the County of *Lineux*: the ſixth vpon the Riuer *Baſſus*; the ſeuenth in the wood *Calidon*; the eighth neere to the Caſtle *Guynien*, the ninth in *Wales*, at the Towne *Cairlien*: the tenth at *Trachenrith*, or *Rithowode* vpon the Sea ſide: the eleuenth vpon a hill named *Agned Cathergonien*; and the twelth at *Bathe*, or *Bathen-hill*, where the *Britaines* (as *Beda* ſaith) gaue the *Saxons* a very great ouerthrow; which (by *Gyldas* report) happened forty foure yeeres after the *Saxons* firſt arriuage into *Britaine*, the yeere wherein himſelfe was borne.

Beda hiſt. Angl. lib. 1. cap. 16.

Of *Arthurs* ſucceſſe both at home and abroad, his great magnificence in *Court* and *Country*, his *Banners*, and foure *Golden Swords* borne before him, his *Round Tables*, and challenges of *Martiall Honour*, let *Monmouth* the Writer, *Newbery* the Reſiſter, and *Leiland* the Maintainer, be heard for me. But certaine it is (by the report of *Malmesbury*) *that Arthur was a Prince more worthy to be aduanced by the truth of recorde in warrantable credit, then by fables ſcandalized with poeticall fictions and hyperbolicall falſhods*. Whoſe Banner was ſo often ſpread for the cauſe of *Chriſtianity*, and defence of his *Country*, being *the only proppe that vpheld the ſame*. And lamentable it is, that *the fame of this puiſſant Prince had not beene ſounded by a more certaine Trumpet*: for to ſay the truth of his Writer euen in a word, he was well skilled in *Antiquities* of tradition; but

Monmouth. Wil. Newb. Leiland.

Wil. Malmeſ.

Of Ieffrey de Arthur, or Monke of Monmouth.

but as it seemeth, not any of ancient credit, so many toies and tales he euery where interlaceth out of his owne braine, wherewith he was charged while himself liued, insomuch as he is now ranged among those writers whom the *Roman Church* hath censured to be forbidden.

This hurt therefore those our zealous *Monkes* haue done to the *Subiect* whereof they wrote, that through an ouer-much conceited opinion, with the vertue and fame of the person, they haue mingled such matters as may iustly be reiected, whereby their worths are not only depriued of their truly-deserued honours, but which more is, euen their persons suspected to be nought else but fictions, as *Hercules* in *Ouid*, or *Hector* in *Homer*. And so hath *Geffrey* done by this most worthy *Prince Arthur*, whose warres against the *Saxõs* for defence of this *Iland*, he hath enlarged with the Conquests of other kingdomes and Countries, wherein he neuer came: which hath made not onely his Acts to be doubted of, but euen his person to be called in question, whether any such *Arthur* euer ruled in *Britaine*. Yet with better regard to the *Recorders* of his spreading fame, we grant both the man, and many honourably parts in him, though not in the like manner as they haue laid them downe: Neither are we straied so far ftom the steps of credulitie, that we can beleeue no more then we see; or that seeing, bee fore-stalled with a preiudicate opinion: for though we consent not to the fables of *Homer*, neither to the inuentions that *Euripides* and *Sophocles* made vpon the *Battles of Troy*, yet we deny not but that there were *Warres* and *Battles* at *Troy*, wherein many martiall acts vndoubtedly were performed: neither doubt wee of his person, as *Seneca* seemeth to doe of *Iupiters*, but acknowledge it with reuerence for truth, yet with this reseruation, that all is not Gospell which is written in Greeke. And had there not beene a truth of things whereupon Poets made their fables, there had beene at this day no fables of Poets in the world. And as *Geffrey* wondreth, that neither *Gyldas* nor *Beda* doe mention *Arthur* nor his great deeds, so, saith *Randulphus*, may we at *Geffry*, that hath augmented them aboue the pitch of credulity. But for the truth of this Prince, besides a Charter exemplified vnder the seale of King *Edward* the Third, wherin mention is made of King *Arthur*, to haue beene a great Benefactor to the *Abbey* of *Glastenbury*, who as *Iohn Rouse* reporteth, had giuen *Bren-March* and other Demaines, to the value of fiue hundred Markes yeerly, to the said Monastery. His *Armes* (being an *Escocheon*, whereon a *crosse* with the *Virgin Mary* bearing *Christ* in her armes) cut in stone, and standing ouer the first gate of entrance as yet, is said to be the *Armes* of that *Abbey*. And *Ioseph*, the iudicious Monke of *Exceter*, who followed King *Richard* the first in his warre for the Conquest of the *Holy Land*, in his poeticall verses extolleth *Arthur* with *Alexander*, *Cæsar*, and *Hercules*; yea and *Ninius*, farre his ancient, calleth *Arthur* an *Iron Mall*, that both bruised and brake the Lions iawes asunder.

Therefore of his person we make no doubt, though his acts haue beene written with too lauish a pen; neither consent we with those *Historians* that naturalize him for a *Britaine*, seeing thar *Ninius*, *Beda*, *Malmesbury*, and himselfe seeme to speake the contrary: for *Ambrosius* being the brother of *Vter Pendragon*, as we already from *Beda* haue shewed, was a Captaine descended from the bloud of the *Romans*, whose parents saith *Ninius*, had worne the *Purple Robe*, and both of them the sonnes of *Constantine*, whose father in *Britaine* against *Honorius* the Emperour had put on the said *Robe*. And by his naturall descent from the *Romans*, *Arthur* not only denied them Tribute, but also threatned to haue a Tribute from *Rome*: for in his Letters to that end sent vnto the *Senate*, thus in an old Manuscript we find it indited: *Vnderstand among you of Rome, that I am King Arthur of Britaine, and freely it hold and shall hold; and at Rome hastily will I bee, not to giue you truage, but to haue truage of you: for Constantine that was Helens sonne, and other of mine Ancestors, conquered Rome, and thereof were Emperours, and that they had and held I shall haue yourz Goddis grace.* Whereby is manifest his bloud was from the *Romans*. Let not therefore any of our *Britaines* take exceptions against me for this; neither that I enlarge not his fame, by the enlargement of his Empire in *Russia*, *Lapland* and in making *Norway* his Chamber of *Britaine*, as if that Kingdome and Title should be giuen him by the *Pope*, that indeed cuts large thongs out of other mens Leather: his Conquests of thirty kingdomes, and killing of *Denabus* the huge *Spanish Giant*, & his combat with *Frolo* Gouernor of *France*, and with *Lucius Iberus* the Roman Legate, whose slaine body he sent to the *Senate* for the tribute of *Britaine* by them demanded: seeing that others before mee, farre more ripe Historians, haue made both doubts and obiections against them. And therefore I conclude with this *Arthur*, as *Saint Augustine* with the *Athenians*, *Whose men* (saith hee) *were euer greater in fame then in deeds.* And with *Ninius* will end with his saying; *Arthurus pugnabat contra illos in diebus illis, & licet multi ipso nobiliores essent, ipse tamen duodecies Dux belli fuit, Victorque bellorum: Arthur made warre against them in those daies, and though many were more noble then he, yet was hee twelue times Generall in the Field, and returned Conquerour.* But more constant is the memory of his death, and place of his buriall, both which are reported vpon warrantable credite: for *Mordred* the sonne of *Lotho*, whereof we haue spoken, affecting the Crown, vpon a pretence of right from King *Vter*, and supposed bastardise of *Arthur*, gaue many attempts, through the aid of his *Picts*, and assistance of the *Saxons*, to dispossesse him of that wherein he was seated: and lastly at * *Kambulan* or *Cambula* in *Cornwall* (saith *Leiland*) *this British Hector encountring Mordred, slew him out-right, and receiued of him his owne deaths wounds.* The witnesse of this Field as yet are those peeces of Armour, horse-harnesse, and other habiliments of Warre, which are daily digged vp in tillage of the ground; vnlesse those reliques of battle be the seales of that fight which *Marianus* writeth to haue beene in this place betwixt the *Britaines* and *Saxons*, in the yeere of our Lord eight hundred and twenty.

If then it bee true that *Arthur* heere died, this place we may say seemeth to be consecrated vnto *Mars*: for *Tindagell Castle*, standing hard by, first brought into the world this glorious *Prince*, for one of her nine *Worthies*; and *Cambula* againe receiued his last bloud. But from this place he was carried vnto *Glastenburie* in *Somerset-shire*, where he died the one and twentith of May, in the yeere of our Saluation fiue hundred forty and two, after he had most victoriously raigned twenty six yeeres. His body was there buried, and six hundred yeeres after was taken vp, and found vpon this occasion: When *Henry* the second, and first *Plantagenet*, had swaied the *English Scepter* to the last of his raigne, it chanced him at *Penbrooke* to heare sung to the Harpe certaine Ditties of the worthy exploits & acts of this *Arthur*, (by a *Welsh Bard*, as they were termed, whose custome was to record and sing at their Feasts the noble deeds of their Ancestors) wherein mention waas made of his death, and place of buriall, designing it to be in the Church-yard of *Glastenbury*, and that betwixt two *Pyramides* therein standing: wherupon King *Henry* caused the ground to be digged, and at seuen foot depth was found a huge broad stone, wherein a leaden Crosse was fastned, and in that side that lay downward, in rude and barbarous letters (as rudely set and contriued) this inscription written vpon that side of the Lead that was towards the stone:

HIC IACET SEPVLTVS REX ARTVRIVS IN INSVLA AVALONIA.

Heere lieth King Arthur buried in the Ile of Aualonia.

And digging nine foot deeper, his body was found in the trunke of a Tree, the bones of great bignesse, and in his scull perceiued ten wounds, the last very great, and plainely seene. His Queene *Gueneuer*, that had beene neere kinswoman to *Cador* Duke of *Cornwall*, a Lady

Hom. Iliad. lib. 5. Euripedes. Sophocles.

Seneca in his Morals.

Iohn Rouse.

The Armes of *Arthur.*

Iosephus Iscanus.

Arthur an Iron Mall.

Ninius. Malmesb. de gestis Reg. Angl.

A nameless old Manuscript, Chap. 154.

Augusti. de Ciuit. Dei. lib. 10.

* *Camelford.*

Marianus Scotus.

Wal. Conuen. Antiq. Glasten. Arthur the continuance of his raigne.

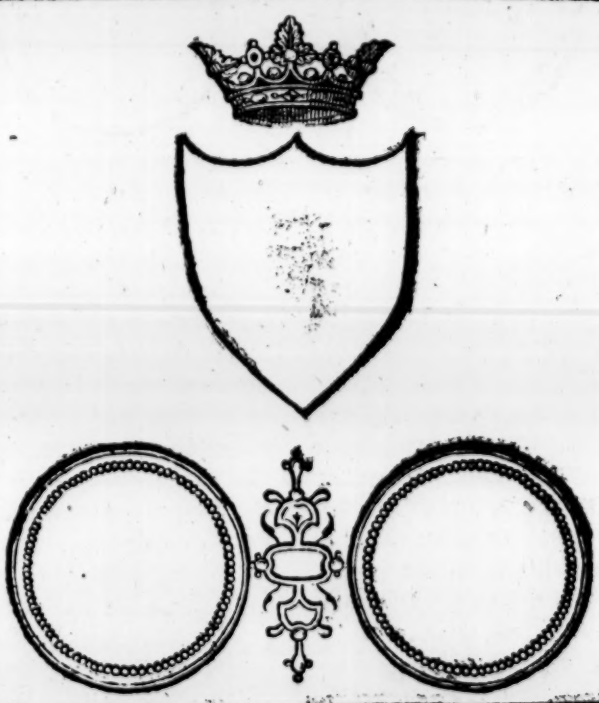
The like treſſes of haire my ſelfe ſaw in a coffin digged vp in an old houſe neere ...ulls in *London*, very beautifull in ſhew, but being touched, was nothing but duſt.

Lady of paſſing beauty, lay likewiſe by him, whoſe treſſes of haire finely platted, and in colour like the gold, ſeemed perfect and whole vntill it was touched, but then (bewraying what all beauties are,) ſhewed it ſelfe to be duſt. *Giraldus Cambrenſis*, a worthy Author and an eye-witneſſe, is the reporter of this finding of *Arthurs* bones. And the Croſſe of Lead, with the Inſcription, as it was found and taken off the ſtone, was kept in the Treaſury or Reueſter of *Glaſtenbury* Church, ſaith *Stowe*, till the ſuppreſſion thereof in the raigne of King *Henry* the eight, whoſe forme and rude letters we haue here expreſſed to thy ſight. *Iohn Stow.*

Arthurs bones intombed.

The bones of King *Arthur*, and of Queene *Guinever* his wife, by the direction of *Henry de Bloys*, Nephew to King *Henry* the ſecond, and Abbat of *Glaſtenbury*, at that preſent, were tranſlated into the great new Church, and there in a faire Tombe of Marble, his body was laid, and his *Queenes* at his feete; which noble Monument among the fatall ouerthrowes of infinite more, was altogether raced at the diſpoſe of ſome then in Commiſſion; whoſe too forward zeale, and ouer-haſty actions in theſe behalfes, hath left vnto vs a want of many truths, and cauſe to wiſh that ſome of their imployments had been better ſpent.

CONSTANTINE. 6.



An. Do. 542.

Hyst: booke.

Constantine the ſonne of *Cador* Duke of *Cornwall*, and coſin to King *Arthur* by his alliance in mariage, at his death was appointed by him to ſucceede in his Dominions, and moſt ioyfully receiued of the Commons, as the man, in the opinion of his worthy elector and themſelues, accounted moſt fit to defend the Land from the many oppreſſions of the *Saxons*, who now beganne to ſpreade the wing as farre as to *Tyne* in the *North*, and to ſet downe the limits of their ſeuerall Kingdomes; which notwithſtanding, theſe ſtrangers daily enlarged vpon the home-bred Inhabitants, the ciuill warres of the *Britaines* giuing way to the ſame; and that not onely among themſelues, but by the *Picts* alſo; in the behalfe of the two ſonnes of *Mordred*, that fought to diſpoſſeſſe him of his *Crowne*. In which quarrel many battles were fought, but with ſuch ſucceſſe to the attemptors, that theſe two Competitors were forced for refuge into *London* and *Winchester*- *Cyldas. aber ſu. teſt.*

chester, where taking Sanctuary in those Churches, neere vnto the Altar *Constantine* slew them: for which deede, the Priest *Gyldas*, that flourished in those daies, in his *Inuective reprehensions*, thus writeth: *Britaine hath Kings, but they are Tyrants: Iudges it hath, but they are wicked, pilling and harming the innocent people; reuenging and defending, but whom? Such as be guilty and robbers. They haue many wiues, yet breake they wedlocke; many times swearing, yet periure themselues; vowing, but for the most part with dissembling lies; warring, but still maintaining vniust and ciuill broyles; abroad pursuing theeues, and yet at home cherish them, euen at their owne Tables, and sometimes also reward them. They giue large almes indeed, yet heape they vp sinnes high as the Mountaine. They sit in the Seat of sentence, yet seldome seeke the rule of right iudgement, despising the humble and innocent persons, and extolling vp to Heauen proud and bloudy Murtherers, Theeues, and Adulterers, yea, and if he woisld permit them, the very enemies of God. Many they keepe in prison, and load them with irons, more to serue their owne purposes, then for any guilt in the person, taking solemne Oathes before and vpon the Altars, and yet despise they the Altars, as altogether vile, and but filthy stones.*

In his Booke *De excidio Britan. Hum. Lluyd. Bre. Brit.*

Of this hainous and wicked offence, Constantine the tyrannicall whelpe of the Lyoneſſe of Deuon-shire is not ignorant, who this yeere, after the receiuing of his dreadfull Oath, whereby he bound himselfe, that in no wise he should hurt his Subiects, (God first, and then his Oath, with the company of Saints, and his owne mother being present) did notwithstanding in the reuerend laps of both his Mothers, the Church, and her by nature, and that vnder the vesture of an holy Abbat, deuoure with sword and speare, in stead of teeth, the tender sides and the entrailes of two children of noble and Kingly race, and likewise of their two Gouernours, yea, and that (as I said) before the sacred Altars; the Armes of which persons so slaine, not stretched forth to defend themselues with weapons (which few in those dayes handled more valiantly then they) but stretched forth to God, and to his Altar, in the day of Iudgement shall set vp the reuerend ensignes of their patience and faith at the Gates of the City of Christ, which so haue couered the seate of the Celestiall Sacrifice, as it were with the red Mantle of their cluttered bloud.

These things he did not after any good deedes done by him deseruing praise: for many yeeres before ouercome with the often and changeable filths of adultery, and forsaking his lawfull wife (contrary to the Law of God) being not loosed from the snares of his former sinnes, he increaseth the new with the old. Thus farre *Gyldas*, for this time, and for the raigne of *Constantine*; whose life being no better, was cut off in battell by *Aurelius Conanus*, when he had raigned fully three yeeres, and without issue was buried at *Stonhenge*.

Constantines raignes continuance.

AVRELIVS CONANVS. 7.

7. An. Do. 545. *Mat. Westminster.*

Avrelius Conanus, the Nephew of King *Arthur*, after he had slaine his Cosen *Constantine* in battell, was made King ouer the *Britaines*, in the yeere after Christs Natiuity fiue hundred forty fiue. He was of disposition free and liberal, but therewithall of a light credit, and very suspicious, cherishing them that accused others, without respect of right or wrong, putting some to death, and retaining others in perpetuall prison, among whom his own vncle was one, whose two sons he caused to be slain, no cause obiected, but that these three were in truth betwixt him & the Crown: for which, and other the like impious parts, the said *Gyldas* continueth the tenor of his vehement reprehension in this manner. *And thou Lyons whelpe* (as speakes the Prophet) *Aurelius Conanus, what dost thou? art thou not swallowed vp in the filthy mire of murthering thy Kinsmen, of committing fornications and adulteries, like to the others before mentioned, if not more deadly, as it were with the waues and surges of the drenching Seas, ouerwhelming thee with her vnmercifull rage? Dost thou not in hating the peace of thy Country, as a deadly Serpent, and thirsting after ciuill warres and spoiles (often times vniustly gotten) shut vp against thy soule the Gates of celestiall peace? Thou being left alone, as a withering tree in the middle of a field, call to remembrance (I pray thee) the vaine youthfull fantasie, and ouer timely deaths of thy Fathers and thy Brethren: shalt thou being set apart, and chosen forth of all thy lineage for thy godly deserts, be reserued to liue an hundred yeeres, or remaine on earth till thou be as olde as Methusela? Nothing lesse.* And thus with exhortations for his amendment, turneth his speech to his Successor.

Gyldas.

The raigne of this King, among the vncertainties of other proceedings, is ranged by our owne Historians, as vncertainly. For some hold him to rule onely two yeeres, and no more, being then cut off by the iust reuenging hand of God for his sinnes: others allow three yeeres for his raigne, wherein, as they say, most viciously hee liued: and yet *Matthew of Westminster* will haue him continue in gouernement no lesse then thirty yeeres; and *Iohn Stow* addeth three more: such extremes are wee driuen vnto, that haue our relations onely from them.

Holinsh.

Lanques.

Conanus the continuance of his raigne.

VORTIPORVS. 8.

8. An.Do.578.

Vortiporus, after the death of *Aurelius*, ſucceeded him in the Kingdome of the *Britaines*, which then was much ſcantled by the intruſions of the *Saxons*, whom in many battels (as ſay the Britiſh Hiſtorians) he vanquiſhed, and valiantly defended his Land and Subiects, from the danger of them and of their Allies: notwithſtanding theſe reported actions thus honorably atchieued, yea and his Parentage with ſucceſſion of gouernment, may be both ſuſpected and iuſtly called in queſtion, as by the words of *Gyldas* is manifeſt; who ſuffered not this King alſo to paſſe vntouched in his *Inuectiue* and lamentable paſſions. And *thou* (ſaith he) *Vortiporus the Tyrant of South-wales, like to the Panther in manners and wickedneſſe, diuerſly ſpotted, as it were with many colours, with thy hoary head in the Throne full of deceits, crafts, and wiles, and defiled euen from the loweſt part of thy body to the crowne of thy head, with diuers and ſundry murthers committed on thine owne kin, and filthy adulteries, thus prouing the vnworthy ſonne of a good King, as Manaſſes was to Ezechias; how chanceth it that the violent ſtreames of ſinnes, which thou ſwalloweſt vp like pleaſant wine, or rather art ſwallowed vp by them, (the end of thy life by little and little now drawing neere) cannot yet ſatisfie thee? What meaneſt thou, that with fornication, of all euils as it were the full heape, thine owne wife being put away, with her death, which thou wroughteſt, doſt oppreſſe thy ſoule with a certaine burthen that cannot be auoided?*

Gyldas.

2 King. 20. 21.

By this teſtimony of *Gyldas*, this *Vortiporus* could not be the ſonne of bad *Conan*, as *Geffrey Monmouth* and *Matthew* of *Weſtminſter* affirme him: his Father being compared to godly *Ezechias* King of *Iudah*, and himſelfe continuing his gouernment, as is ſaid the ſpace of foure yeeres, ended his life without iſſue to ſucceed him.

Vortiporus, the continuance of his raigne.

MALGO CANONVS. 9.

9. An.Do.581: *Mat. Weſtminſter.*

Malgo Canonus, the Nephew of *Aurelius Conanus*, as ſome write, ſucceeded *Vortiporus* in the Kingdome of *Britaine*, a man of a moſt ſeemely preſence, but withall, charged with many vnbeſeeming and foule ſinnes, by ancient *Gyldas*, the onely recorder of the Actions in theſe times; who calleth him the *Dragon of the Iles, greater in power then many, but exceeding all in miſchiefe and malice; a large giuer, but more lauiſh and prodigall in all ſinnes and licenciouſneſſe: in Armes and dominions more ſtrong, and greater then any other Britiſh Potentate; but ſtronger in the deſtruction of his owne ſoule, in committing the grand abhorred ſinne of Sodomie. In his youthfull dayes, with ſword and fire he brought to deſtruction his Vncle by the Mothers ſide (being then King) together with many others, and after vpon a ſhew-ſeeming remorſe of Conſcience, vowed the profeſſion and life of a Monke; but returned ſhortly after to his owne vomit, and became worſe then he was before: for deſpiſing his firſt mariage, hee became enamored vpon the wife of his brothers ſonne, whiles hee was liuing; and after that he had kept her a certaine time, murthered them both. In theſe ſinnes hee continued the terme of fiue yeeres, and dying without iſſue, left his Crowne to another.*

Malgo Canonus, the continuance of his raigne.

By theſe reprehenſions of *Gyldas* it ſhould rather

seeme that these Princes liued altogether at one and the same time, vnto whom he spake personally, and mouth to mouth, which could not be, if such successions and such yeeres had beene expired, as here is laid downe. And therefore not without cause some haue affirmed, that these Captaines vsurped authority together in diuers parts of the Iland, and not successiuely one after another; neither indeed as Kings, but rather Tyrants, polluted with these grieuous sinnes, as you haue heard, and are so termed by their own Historian, that bringeth * one more to tyrãnize, whom neither *Monmouth* nor he of *Westminster* hath spoken of, which is *Cuneglasus*, whom hee calleth a *Lion tawney Butcher, a Beare, a Contemner of Religion, an Oppressour of the Clergy, that fought against God with his many grieuous sinnes, and warred vpon man with his martiall weapons. He* (saith he) *did put away his lawfull wife, prouoked the godly with many iniuries, was proudly conceited of his owne wisedome, and set his whole hope in vncertaine riches.* If then the head was so sicke, could the body be sound, that as (*Beda* saith) *were so set to breake all orders of truth and iustice, that scant any token or remembrance thereof remained?* And for witnesse against them, called their owne Historian *Gyldas*, that accused them of many impieties, and this not the least, that those *Britaines neglected the preaching of the Gospell to the Saxons.*

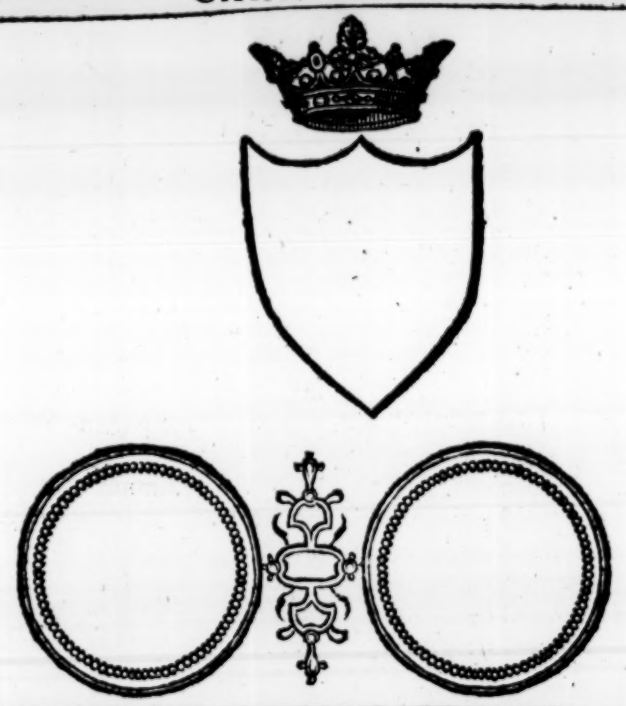
Beda hist. Angl. lib. 1. cap. 22.

For these sinnes assuredly, God gaue their Land to another Nation, and themselues to exile, or to the swords of their enemies. Howsoeuer, some latter *Britaine* hath rather excused their sinnes by the ouer-rash zeale of *Gyldas*, whom he termeth a *Pulpit-Priest* (but no *perfect Historian*) that beat downe sinnes with an ouer-sharpe censure of the sinners, as the maner of many Preachers is at this day. But (saith he) let the true renowne of the *Britaines appeare to the world*: and surely so shall it doe for me. And againe I returne to my intended purpose.

Hum. Lluid. Bre. Brit.

*If *Cerdix* be not another whom *Beda* calleth a *Britons* King, lib. 4. cap. 23.

CARETICVS. 10.



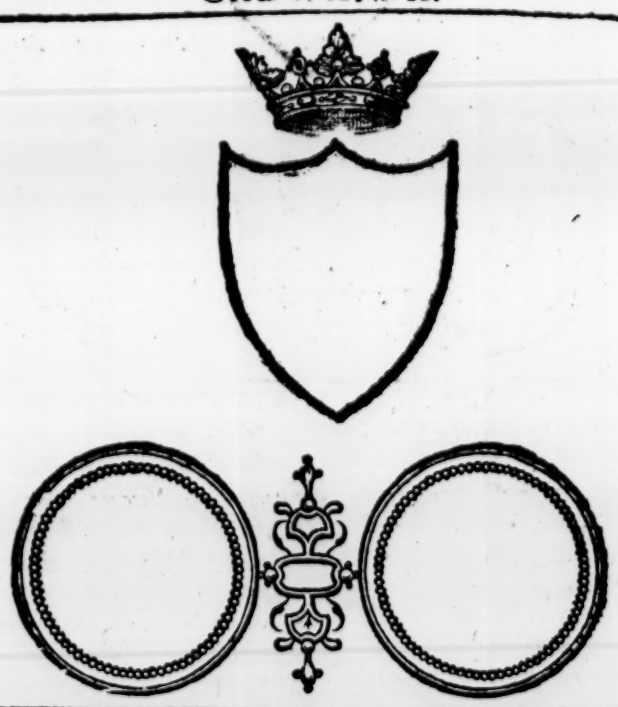
10. An. Do. 586.

Careticus succeeded *Malgo* in the gouernment of *Britaine*, as destitute of vertue and fluent in vice, as any of these his preceding Kings: for it is recorded that he was a nourisher of dissensions, and sowed ciuill warres among his subiects; a sinne odible to God and Man, and vnto the vnconstant *Britaines* gaue occasion of his hatred: which when the *Saxons* perceiued, was further instigated, and with the assistance of *Gurmund* an *Arch-pirate*, and Captaine of the *Norwegians*, followed against the King; who not able to resist them, fled into the Towne of *Chichester* for safety, but by the deuice of his pursuers, certaine sparrowes being caught, and fire fastned to their feete, were let flie into the Towne; where lighting vpon straw and other matter fit for flaming, burnt in short space the whole City; and *Careticus* flying beyond *Seuerne*, secured himselfe among the Mountaines of *Wales*, wherein he died, after he had vnprosperously raigned three yeeres: and from that time foorth (saith *Randulphus*) the *Britaines* lost their whole Kingdome in the East part of the Iland, and were confined in the West by the Riuers *Seuerne* and *Dee*.

See Cra.

Careticus, the continuance of his raigne. *Polych. lib. 5. cap. 6.*

CADWAN. 12.



11. An. Do. 613

Cadwan, after foure and twenty yeeres ciuill dissension maintained among the *Britaines*, euer since they had forgone their Country, and betaken themselues to those vaste, but securing Mountaines; of a Ruler

Wil. Malmesb.

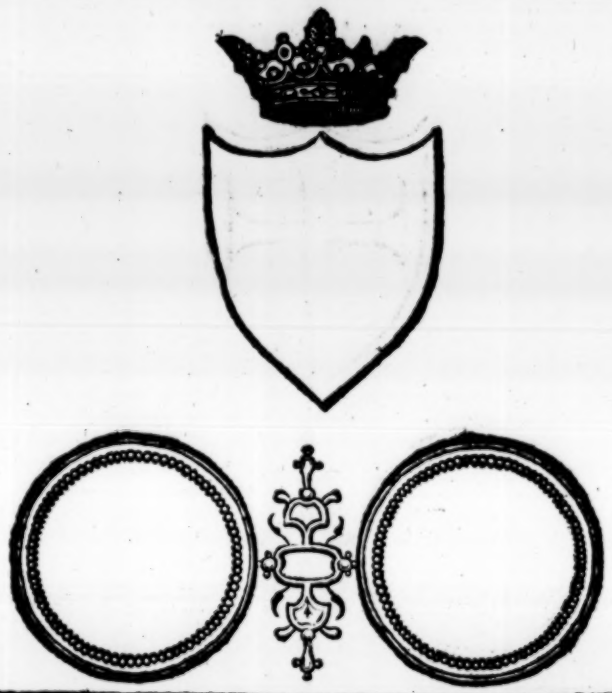
Ruler only of *North-Wales*, was made Gouernour of all thoſe parts; a man deſeruing well before he came to that eſtate, and being riſen, maintained himſelfe and ſubiects in great honour and peace. His firſt affaires againſt the *Saxons*, was to reuenge the deaths of his *Britaines*, and harmeleſſe *Monkes* of *Bangor*, ſlaine (as we haue ſaid) by wild *Ethelfrid*, the mighty king of *Northumberland*. Theſe in Field had aſſembled all their powers, wherein the fatall end either of the *Britaines* or *Northumbrians* muſt needs haue enſued, had not the quarrell beene ſtaied by the mediation of friends. Theſe Kings, then, and there reconciled, embraced peace, with ſuch true friendſhippe, that they continued amity together ſo long as they liued.

Harding ſaith, that this Britiſh king *Cadwan*, honorably receiued and worthily cheriſhed *Acca*, whom this King *Ethelfrid* had put from his bed, for the loue he bare vnto his Concubine; but is deceiued in making her the mother of *Edwin*, that was his ſiſter, and *Cadwan* to raigne but thirteen yeeres, wheras others allot him two and twenty-

Cadwan the continuance of his raigne. *Iohn Harding, Chro. cap. 90.*

Paulus Diaconus.

CADWALLO. 12.



12. An. Do. 635

Cadwallo or *Cadwallin*, the ſonne of *Cadwan*, was made King ouer the *Britaines*, the yeere of *Chriſts* Incarnation ſix hundred thirty fiue; Hee warred moſt ſtrongly againſt the *Saxons*, and either by Conqueſt or Alliance ioined amity with *Penda* the cruell King of the *Mercians*, a Pagan Idolater himſelfe, by the report of *Beda*, *although a Chriſtian in name and profeſſion, yet in minde and manners ſo rude and outragious, that he ſpared neither womens weakneſſe nor childrens innocency, but put all to death with greeuous and bitter torments, to fulfill his cruell and vnmercifull tyranny, waſting a long time, and raging ouer the Prouinces, purpoſed to exterminate out of the borders of Britanny the whole Nation of the Engliſh, and to extinguiſh the very name of them. Neither did he ought eſteeme any reuerence or honour to the Chriſtian Religion, which thoſe men embraced: ſo that euen to this day* (ſaith he) *the Britaines cuſtome is to ſet light by the Faith or Religion of the Engliſhmen; neither will they communicate with them more then with Heathens or Pagans.* Theſe two cruell Kings ſlew the moſt Chriſtian *Edwyn* King of *Northumberland* with his ſonne Prince *Oſfride*, in a great and bloudy battle at *Hethfield*, the yeere of Chriſts incarnation ſix hundred thirty three: and the yeere following, with wicked force (ſaith *Beda*) *but with worthy vengeance, Cadwallo the Britaine ſlew Oſrike and Eanfrid, Kings of Deira and Bernicia, that were become Apoſtataes from their Chriſtian Faiths, and that with cruelty and loſſe of the Saxons, as their owne Hiſtorians held it fit neither to mention their names in their monethly Calendar, nor regiſter the yeere wherein they were ſlaine, in account of their gouernment, but aſſigned it vnto the raigne of their Succeſſour King Oſwald, which was ſo obſerued vnto his daies; ſo terrible was this worthy Cadwallo, and odious the remembrance of this vnfortunate Battle. But this curſed Captaine* (ſaith he) *enioied not this felicity long: for the ſaid Oſwald, to reuenge his brothers death, came with a ſmall power, but ſtrongly fenced in the faith of Chriſt, and neere to the Riuer Deniſe gaue him battle, wherein himſelfe and late-victorious Hoſt were all ſlaine and confounded.*

Beda hiſt. Angl. lib. 2 cap. 20.

Beda hiſt. Angl. lib. 3 cap. 1.

But we muſt remember that *Beda* was a *Saxon*; in whoſe behalfe his penne hath ſomewhat paſſed the bounds of equitie (if not verity) in charging this moſt valiant Conqueror with tyranny, and his Martiall Sword with cruelty, that was drawne and ſtrucke in defence of his natiue Country, wherein the *Saxons* claime ſtood only vpon vniuſt intruſion. So likewiſe himſelfe being a Monke & Prieſt, hath euery where blamed the *Britaines* for diſſenting from the *Roman* Church, in celebration of Eaſter and other Ceremonies; whereas in doctrine they were as ſincere, which is the true ſubſtance of the Goſpell. But the *Britaines* record that this valiant *Cadwallo* died not in *Hethfield*, neither by the hand of King *Oſwald*, but that he raigned in great honor the ſpace of eight and forty yeeres, and in peace died 22. of *Nouember*, in the yere of Chriſt Ieſus ſix hundred ſeuenty ſeuen. His body the *Britaines* buried in *S Martins*, Church in *London*, neere *Ludgate*; whoſe image great and terrible, triumphantly riding on horſeback, being artificially caſt of Braſſe, they placed vpon the ſame Weſt gate, to the further feare and terror of the *Saxons*, as *Vortimer* before had commanded, his at *Stonar*. But this relation, as alſo that he married the ſiſter of king *Penda*, as my often named Manuſcript reporteth, I leaue to the beſt liking of my Reader.

Geffry Monm.

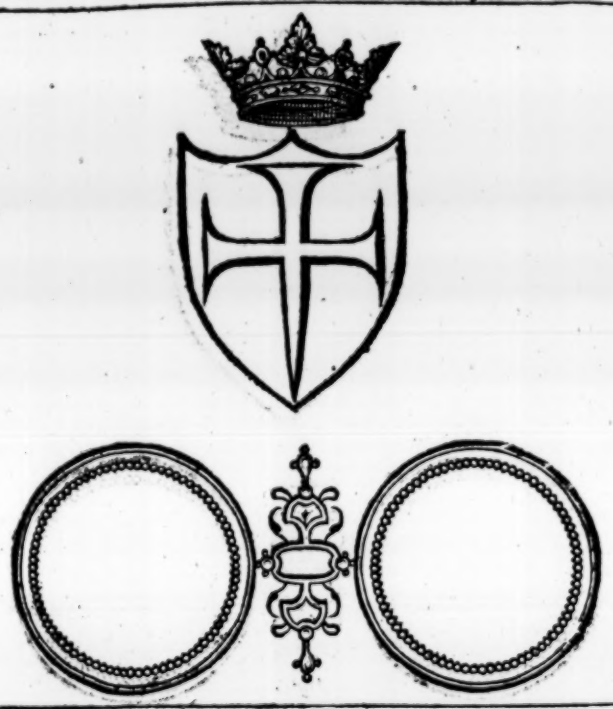
Cadwallo or *Cadwan*, the continuance of his raign

About this time the moſt blaſphemous doctrine of *Mahomet* began to infect all the Eaſterne World. For although himſelfe liued ſome nine yeeres before the gouernment of this *Cadwallo*, yet preſently after his death, his doctrine was more publikely imbraced. He was borne in *Arabia*, of a poore and baſe ſtocke, and being fatherleſſe, was ſold for a bondſlaue vnto an *Iſmaelite*, whoſe name was *Abdemonaples*, a man of exceeding great riches, & in great trade of merchandizing; and *Mahomet* for his ſubtilty in wit, was his fit inſtrument, and greatly in his fauor. The Maſter dying, left *Mahomet* his chiefe Factor, who hauing great riches in his keeping, married his Miſtris, and ſo became heire of all; with whom conſorted one *Sergius* a Monke, which for hereſie was fled into *Arabia*, who inſtructed *Mahomet* in the hereſie of the *Neſtorians*: and now for his wealth and Magicall Arts, wherewith hee bewitched the minds of the people, aſſumed

assumed to himselfe the name of the great Prophet of God, and began to be famously publishly for the doctrine which he taught: the which was none other but a confused *Chaos* of all the heresies that had beene before him: for with the *Sabellians* he denied the Trinity; with the *Maniches*, he affirmed but two persons to be in the Deity; with *Eunomius*, he denied the equality of the Father and the Sonne; and with *Macedone*, taught that the Holy Ghost was a creature. He borrowed of the *Iewes* Circumcision, of the *Nicholaitans*, pluralitie of wiues; and of the *Gentiles*, much Superstition; and more to cloake his diuelish inuented fatasies, somewhat he tooke from the verity of the Gospel. Of these compounded, he deuised a law, and wrote this his religion in the booke called his *Alcaron*; and those his Professors he named *Saracens*, from *Sara* the wife of *Abraham*. An. Do. 62.

He died of the falling sickneſſe, which long time hee had dissembled, saying forsooth after his trances, that the Angel *Gabriel* had conference with him, the brightnesse of whose glory he could not behold.

CADWALLADER. 13.



13. An. Do, 685.

Geffry Moum.

Cadwallader, the sonne of *Cadwallo*, and last King of the *Britaines*, after the death of his Father, succeeded him in his dominions, and with great valour fought against the *Saxons*, as hee of *Monmouth* affirmeth, of whom heare him speake in his owne words. *Cadwallader* (saith he) *raigning victoriously the time of twelue yeeres, fell lastly into a dangerous sickneſſe, with despaire of recouery and vnable to gouerne. Much debate & strife arose among his great Lords, & others of high estate, insomuch that they warred each against other to the no small annoiance and detriment of the whole Country.* At which very time likewise, so great a dearth of corne and victuall raigned, that herbes and roots were the Commons chiefest sustenance: whose third calamity was mortality and pestilence, raigning so sore, and so suddenly, that in their eating, drinking, walking, and speaking, they were surprised with death, and in such number, that the liuing were scarce able to bury the dead; which miseries lasted no lesse then eleuen yeres continuance, whereby the Land became desolate, & brought forth no fruit at all, insomuch that the king and many of his Nobles were driuen to forsake their natiue Country, and to seeke releefe in forraine parts. *Cadwallader* repaired to the Court of *Alan* his cosen, the King of *Litle Britaine* in *France*, where he was honourably receiued and maintained.

But now the Angell of God sheathing his sword from slaughter, and the earth answering man againe with her former abundance, those *Saxons* that were escaped, sent for more of their Nation to their further supply; who repleniſhed the Cities, and manured the Country, at this day called *Lhyoyger*, containing all the Land that lay on the East of *Seuerne* and *Dee*, dispossessing the poore *Britaines* of their rightfull inheritance, and deuiding their Lands vnto their owne vse. *Cadwallader* hearing of their daily arriuage, and their vniust intrusion vpon his home-bred subiects, minded their redresse by his present returne, and to that end had wrought King *Alan*, for his succour & assistãce. But see how it chanced: He being now ready to imbarke his Host, and to hoise vp his sailes for *Britaine*, the silent night being much spent in praier & supplication, that God would prosper with good successe these his great affairs, behold an Angell appeared to him, or at leastwise to his seeming he heard a voice, that forbad him the enterprise, declaring that it was not Gods will that hee should vndergoe that Voiage, or that the *Britaines* should rule their Land any longer; but contrariwise bade hie him to *Rome*, and of *Pope Sergius* receiue the habit of Religion, wherein he should die, and rest in peace.

This dreame (for I hold it no other) being told vnto *Alan*, search was made into the Bookes of both the *Merlines*, as also into the speech of the *Eagle* at *Shaftesbury*, pronounced eight hundred and eighty yeeres before the birth of our Sauiour Christ (if we doe beleeue these to be true) wherein it was propheciedforsooth, that the *Britaines* should lose their kingdome, and that the same should be possessed of others, vntill the time that the bones of *Cadwallader* should be brought from *Rome*. By such toies and ilusions in those daies of darknesse, the euer-erring minds of men were content to be ledd; for not onely *Cadwallader*, a quiet and meeke-spirited man, was possessed with this conceit, that it came vnto him by a diuine prouidence, but also King *Alan* perswaded him to obey his Oracle; and thereupon preparing for his Pilgrimage, gaue ouer his expedition for *Britaine*, and left his distressed Subiects to bee ouer-runne by strangers, and the Land to be enioied by a forraine Nation: and receiuing the habit of seeming religion at the hands of *Pope Sergius*, died soone after in the yeere of our Lord six hundred eighty nine, and there was bured in *S. Peters* Church, being the last king of the *Britaines* bloud, that had held possession thereof the space of one thousand one hundred thirty and seuen yeeres before the Natiuity of Christ, and six hundred eighty eight yeres after his Birth, as the Chronicler of *Wales*, with other *Britain* writers, haue calculated, though (as is said) after the largest size: but howsoeuer, this sudden alteration was wrought in *Cadwallader*, yet whiles he continued a king in health: he raigned (saith *Geffry*) in great magnanimitie, the

D. Powel. Chron. of Wales.

terme

Cadwallader, the continuance of his raigne.

terme of three yeers, & fought many Battles againſt the *Saxons*, whoſe ſword was euer ſheathed with victory; for *Lothaire* King of *Kent* he ſlew in the Field, and *Edilwach* alſo King of the *South-Saxons*, with the ruine of his Country, as the *Britiſh Hiſtorians* report, and would haue it.

Beda hiſtor. lib.4.cap.26.

Cap.15.

But *Beda*, vnto whom more credit is heerein to be giuen, telles vs, that *Lothaire* was ſlaine by *Edrik*, his Nephew and Succeſſour, declaring the manner and day of his death; and that *Ceadwall*, a young man of the *Weſt-Saxons* bloud royall, being baniſhed from among them, fell vpon the *South-Saxons*, harrying the Country and killing their king. But afterwards lamenting the bloud he had ſpilt, whereat euen Nature her ſelfe ſeemed to be offended, in great repentance abandoned his kingdome, and pilgrim-like went vnto *Rome*, where of *Pope Sergius* he was baptized vpon *Eaſter Euen*, the yeere from Chriſts Natiuity ſix hundred eighty nine. The times thus agreeing, their names ſo neer, their deuotions alike, *Sergius* the ſame ghoſtly father to both, their ſepulchers in one & the ſame Church, doe ſtrongly confirme that they both were the ſame & one only man, as we formerly haue ſaid. But with this man *Cadwallader*, whereſouer he died, lay buried the laſt bloud of their kings, their gouernment, and immediatly the very Name of *Britaine*, for many hundred yeeres enſuing, as in the ſequell of this Hiſtory (Chriſt aſsiſting) ſhall bee ſhewed.

Beda hiſt. lib.5. cap.7.

And now at laſt, according to my firſt intendment, I am come to ſpeake of the ſucceſſion of *Great Britaines Monarkes*, from which (vpon the fore-ſhewed occaſions of the *Ilands* diuiſion, the *Saxons* poſſeſsions, and theſe *Britaine* Reſiſters) I haue beene ouerlong ſtaied, and am forced to returne againe to king *Hengiſt*, the firſt of the *Saxons*, that I may ſhew their ſucceeding ſucceſſion in this *Engliſh Monarchy*; wherein of neceſsity I muſt deſire the patience of my Reader, if ſome things be againe touched that formerly haue beene ſpoken, the Matter of Hiſtory ſo much requiring, and the Methood that to my proceeding I haue propoſed, enforcing it.

Saxon Monarchs.

THE SAXONS SVCCESSIONS IN THE MONARCHY OF GREAT BRITAINE, VVHEREOF HENGIST THE FIRST KING OF KENT BECAME THE FIRST MONARCH of the Engliſhmen.

CHAPTER XIII.

An.Do.450. *Beda. Milmesb.*

Engiſt, a Prince of the *Engliſh-Saxons*, hauing the Command ouer certaine forces planted in the low-countries of *Germany*, in the yeere of *Chriſts Incarnation* foure hundred and fifty, tranſported them ouer into *Britaine*, where the fifth yere after his arriuall, he began his kingdome in *Kent*; & hauing ſurpriſed his ſon in law king *Vortigern*, ſlain his *Britaines*, and ſeized into his poſſeſſion the beſt of the Iland, he laid the foundation of a Monarchy, and deſerueth to be reputed the firſt Monarch of the *Engliſh Nation*.

Floren. Wigorn.

(2) He (as all the *Saxon* Kings beſides) doth claime his originall from Prince *Woden*, and his wife *Fria*, by *Wechta* the eldeſt of their ſeuen ſonnes, being the fifth in iſſue from them; as thus: Himſelfe was the ſon of *Withgils*, who was the ſonne of *Witha*, and he the ſon of *Wechta*, the eldeſt ſonne of the *Deified Woden*.

Hengiſt, how long he raigned

This Prince held the ſupreme Scepter of this Iland for thirty foure yeeres continuance, and therein died honorably, ſaith *Marianus Scotus*. But *Peter de Ikham*, *Polydore*, and others ſay, that he was ſlaine in battell, or elſe taken by *Edol*, Earle of *Gloceſter*, and beheaded at *Conesborow*.

Mary. Scot. Peter Ikham.

His iſſue.

He left iſſue behind him two ſons and one daughter, whoſe names were *Hatwaker*, *Eske*, & *Rowena*.

Geffry Mon. Polydor Virgil.

(3) *Hatwaker* his eldeſt ſonne, is reported by *Petrus Albinus* of *Wittenberg*, a great Genealogiſt and Hiſtorio-

Petrus Albinus.

Historigrapher also) to be Duke of the *Saxons* in *Germanie*, and there left to gouerne the people at his Fathers departure for *Britaine*. And if *Albinus* authority be sufficient, he was the Father of Duke *Hatwegat*, and grandfather of *Hilderik* King of the *Saxons*, ancestor to the valiant *Witikindus*, the principall progenitor of the most noble Family of the Dukes of *Saxony*.

(4) *Eske*, the second sonne of King *Hengist*, came ouer with his Father into *Britaine*, and was his assistant in all his warres, wherein he gaue worthy testimony of his valour: whose Kingdome of *Kent* after his death he enioyed, and gaue name to that Countries Inhabitants, who were from him called *Eskings*, ouer whom he raigned peacably twenty yeeres.

Beda hist. Angl. lib. 3. cap. 8 *Eske*, how long he raigned.

(5) *Rowena*, the daughter of King *Hengist*, was borne in *Germany* before her Fathers departure, and afterwards sent for by him into *Britaine*, to further his designes. At whose surpassing beauty and feature *Vortigern* so viciously gazed, that he put from him his lawfull and louing wife, to inioy the pleasures of her Paganish bed, and to the great decay of Christianity and griefe of the Nobility, she became the Kings second wife, and the principall cause of the Lands destruction. By her he had a daughter, who contrary to all lawes either of God or man, was likewise his third wife; by whom he had issue *Faustus*, that as vertuously spent the daies of his life, as he was incestuously begot in that wicked bed.

This *Rowena*, whom some call *Ronixa*, by *Vlitarpius* is accounted the Neece, & not the Daughter of *Hengist*. But seeing his opinion is grounded vpon the youth of *Hengist*, as not sufficient in yeeres to haue a daughter so mariageable, I rather thinke and hold his bare testimony vnable to turne the great streame of other Writers out of their vsual course and receiued chanell.

Vlitarpius.

ELLA THE FIRST KING OF THE SOVTH-SAXONS, AND SECOND MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN.

Ella Monar.

CHAPTER XIV.

An. Do. 581. *Beda hist. lib. 4. cap. 5.*

Ella a noble *Saxon*, being sent for by King *Hengist*, about the three and twentieth yeere of his raigne, brought a fresh supply of those *Germans* to the relief of his Countrymen, who with his forces landed at the hauen now called *Shoreham* in *Sussex*, where putting backe the Inhabitants in many skirmishes, lastly chased them into a great wood then called *Andredsiege*; whence often being assailed by the sudden assaults of the *Britaines*, (wherein, as may be thought, he lost the liues of his two elder sonnes) was so hardly beset, that he sent for more aid of his *Saxons*, who came to his supply.

Matt. Westminst.

(2) His strength thus augmented, and ambition still encreased, he fought three cruel and bloudy battels, but the last of them most fatall against the *Britaines*, in the place then called *Macrodesburne*, and besieging the ancient and famous City *Andred-Chester* (situated in the said great forest, and chiefe defensible fortresse in all those Southerne parts) intercepted the *Britaines* that came to their relief, and entring the same by an assault, put to the sword all that were found within it. After which great losse, the *Britaines* sought rather to prouide for their own safety by flying into desert places, then by making opē resistance to procure their owne too apparant destruction.

Henry Huntington

(3) *Ella* in this state continued the time of fiue yeres before he assumed the name of King, or the limits of that Prouince assigned vnder his gouernmēt: but then without any shew of resistance laid the foundation of this kingdom, which was the second of the *Saxons*; and as *Hengist* held *Kent*, so he had *Sussex* and *Surrey* for his Possession, wherein for six yeeres space with *Hengist*, hee liued, with such approbation of valour as that, after his death, hee became the second *Saxon* Monarch of the *Englishmen*, in the yeere of grace 488.

An. Do. 488

Ella, how long he raigned.

(4) He is said to be the elder son of *Osa*, & *Osa* his genealogy *Florentius* of *Worcester* thus deriueth: *Osa* (saith he) was the sonne of *Etherbert*, and he the son of *Ingengeat*, who was the sonne of *Angengiat*, whose father was *Aluſa*, the sonne of *Ingebrand*, the sonne of

Florent. Wigorn.

of *Wegbrand*, the ſonne of *Beorn*, the ſonne of *Beornus*, the elder ſonne of *Brand*, the ſonne of *Bealdeag*, the ſixth ſonne of Prince *Woden* and of Lady *Fria* his wife.

His Iſſue.

(5) His iſſue were *Kymen*, *Plenching*, and *Ciſſa*, three valiant ſonnes, that came ouer with him, and aſſiſted him in his enterpriſes for *Britaine*. From *Kymen*, the port wherein they arriued, was called *Kymeniſhore*; by the *Britaines*, *Cuneneſhore*, which time and Seas hath both ſhortened, and altered: and now it is called *Shoreham*, a well knowne hauen in *Suſſex*. This Prince came to his graue before his Father, either by the ſtroke of warres, or by the courſe of nature, without further mention of his acts, and his ſucceſſion, cut off by his death. *VVil. Malmsb.*

(6) *Plenching* his ſecond ſonne, was borne vnto him in the Lowe Countries of *Germany*, and with his brethren aſſiſted his Father to the attaining of the *South-Saxons* Crowne; but being cut off by vntimely death, whether by the hand of the enemy, or by natures appointment, it is vncertaine. *Florent. VVig.*

(7) The youngeſt ſonne of King *Ella*, was *Ciſſa*, whom death ſpared to liue a long life; but fame as ſparing to adorne it with memory of his acts: for nothing of him is left memorable, beſides the building of *Chicheſter*. Fortune indeed ſet his Fathers Crowne on his head, but kept the Imperiall Diademe in her owne hand, to adorne the head of a worthier bearer, which was *Cherdik* the *weſt-Saxon*, vnto whom *Ciſſa* gaue yeerely contribution, to ſecure him from the *Britaines*, as before and after hath beene, and ſhall be ſhewed.

(8) This *Ella* his entrance and erection of his Kingdome, for time is vncertaine; but his raigne therein, as alſo in his Monarchy, is more certainely knowne: for he was King of the *South-Saxons* the ſpace of thirty two yeeres, and Monarch of the *Engliſh-men* ſixe and twenty, dying in the yeere of Chriſts Incarnation fiue hundred and foureteene, which was the thirty ſixth after his firſt arriuall into *Britaine*. See Chap. 8.

CHERDIK THE FIRST KING OF THE VVEST-SAXONS, AND THIRD MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN. *Cherdik.*

CHAPTER XV.

1. An. Do. 495. THE *Saxons* Sunne, thus riſen and high aſcended vpon the South of *Britaine*, beganne now to ſpread his beames towards the *Weſt*; for *Kent* being quietly poſſeſſed by King *Eske*, and *South-Saxia*, with all the ſubdued, at the diſpoſe of great *Ella*; *Cherdik* a valiant Captaine of the Low Country *Germans*, thought himſelfe as ſufficient in warres, and as able for reach, to weare, and to weild a Crowne of Eſtate, as either of them that had ſo done before him: And ſeeing that *Britaine* was now the ſeede-plot for *Diademes*, ſet his affection and preparation that way.

(2) He with his forces entred in the Weſt of that Iland, where hee in his firſt battell ſo danted the Inhabitants, that apparant ſignes of approching glory, were added to his aſpiring hopes: for therein he ſlew *Natanleod*, otherwiſe called *Nazaleod*, a mighty King of the *Britaines*, whereby an eaſie entrance was laid open to his deſired Empire, and a more eaſie warre left to his poſterity. This battle chanced about the yeere of Chriſt Ieſus fiue hundred and eight, and was fought in the region of *Natanleod*, (which Country bare the name of the King) and neere vnto a brooke of water in the Weſt of *Hampſhire*, which from *Cherdik* began to bee called *Cherdiks-ford*, where now a Towne of the ſame name ſtandeth, but by contraction and ſhortneſſe of ſpeech, is called *Chardford*. *Mat. Weſtm.* *Henry Hunt.*

(3) *Florentius* of *VVorceſter*, the *Saxons Genealogiſt*, (as I may well terme him) bringeth this *Cherdik* (as he doth the reſt of the *Saxon* Kings) from the ancient Prince *Woden*, and that in this manner: *Cherdik* (ſaith he) was the ſonne of *Eliſius*, and he the ſonne of *Eſla*, the ſonne of *Geriſius*, the ſonne of *VVigga*, the ſon of *Friaiirin*, the ſonne of *Freodegar*, the ſonne of *Beorn*, the progenitor of *Ida* the firſt King of *Bernicia*; and *Flor. Wigorn.*

both of them the ſonnes of *Brand*, the ſonne of *Bealdeag*, the fift ſonne of the foreſaid *Woden*.

(4) In the ſeuenth yeere of *Ella* his Monarchie, was his arriuage, and ſixe yeeres after he beganne his Kingdome of the *weſt-Saxons*; ſeating himſelfe and the foundation thereof betwixt the *Britaines* and the *South-Saxons*; for whoſe further ſecurity, *Ciſſa* King of that Prouince, gaue him an yeerely contribution towards the maintenance of his charge in warre; wherein he got ſuch reputation, that after the death of *Ella*, and the thirteenth of his owne raigne, he aſſumed the Monarchie vnto himſelfe, and was both the firſt King of the *Weſt-Saxons*, and the third Monarch of the *Engliſhmen*, wherein hee continued the ſpace of twenty one yeeres, and deceaſed in the yeere of our Lord fiue hundred thirty fiue, being the three and thirtieth of his Kingdome, and the fortieth after his firſt arriuall.

Cherdit, how long he raigned.

His Iſſue.

(5) His iſſue were two ſonnes, *Kenrik* and *Chelwolfe*: the one immediately, and the iſſue of the other collaterally attained to the ſame poſſeſſion and title that *Cherdike* here firſt laid.

(6) *Chelwolfe* his ſecond ſonne (for of *Kenrik* the eldeſt we are hereafter to ſpeake) hath little mention made of among our writers: more then that hee was the Anceſtour of *Eskwin*, the eight King of the *Weſt-Saxons*, that is to ſay, the father to *Kenfrid* the father of *Kenſy*; which *Kenſy* had iſſue the ſaid *Eskwin*, who was the ſucceſſor of King *Kenwalk*, and predeceſſor of King *Kentwin* in the Kingdome of the *Weſt-Saxons*. See Chap. 7.

KENRIK THE SECOND KING OF THE VVEST-SAXONS, AND FOVRTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN.

Kenrik.

CHAPTER XVI.

1. An. Do. 534.

Enrik, the eldeſt ſonne of King *Cherdick* (as is ſaid) being borne in *Germanie*, and following his Father into *Britaine*, valiantly ſerued vnder him, as well in the Battle fought againſt King *Natanleod*, the firſt day of his arriuage, as in other battles againſt the *Britaines* in other places; namely, at *Cherdiksford*, *Cherdisley*, and in the Conqueſt of the *Ile of Wight*. Immediately vpon the death of his Father, he ſucceeded in his whole dominions, and was ordained the ſecond King of the *weſt-Saxons*, and the fourth Monarch of the *Engliſhmen*, beginning his raigne ouer both at one and the ſame time, the yeere of Chriſt his Natiuity fiue hundred thirty foure.

Mat. Weſtm.

(2) And enlarging his confines vpon the Territories of the *Britaines*, gaue them two great ouerthrowes; the one at *Searesbury* in *Wilt-ſhire*, and the other at *Banbury* in *Oxford-ſhire*, which was fought the two and twentieth of his raigne, whereby his fame grew more renowned, and his Kingdome in more quiet after. He raigned the ſpace of twenty ſix yeeres, and left this life in the yeere of our Lord God fiue hundred ſixty. An. Do. 556. *Kenrik*, how long he raigned.

His Iſſue.

(3) He had iſſue three ſonnes, *Chelwin*, *Cuthwolfe*, and *Cuth*. *Chelwin* the firſt, ſucceeded his Father in the Monarchie, and *Weſt-Saxons* Kingdome.

(4) *Cuthwolfe*, the ſecond, aſſiſted his brother in many victories, as preſently in his raigne ſhall follow. And *Cuth*, the third brother, famous in his iſſue, though mentionleſſe for action in himſelfe, whereof more largely hath beene ſpoken in the raigne of *Kenrik*, as hee was King onely of the *Weſt-Saxons*. In Chap. 7. Sect. 2.

CHEV-

Cheuline.

CHEVLINE THE THIRD KING OF THE VVEST-SAXONS, AND FIFTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN.

CHAPTER XVII.

An. Do. 561.

Heuline, the eldeſt ſonne of King *Kenricke*, ſerued with great commendations vnder his father, in all his warres againſt the *Britaines*, and is ſpecially mentioned at the Battle of *Banbury in Oxfordſhire*; & after his fathers death became the third King of the *Weſt-Saxons*, and the fift Monarch of the *Engliſhmen*. Hee much enlarged the bounds of his Kingdome, and increaſed the power and glory of the *Weſt-Saxons*.

Mat. VVeſtm.

Henry Hunting.

(2) For continuing the warres where his Father left, did not onely ſubdue the *Britaines* in many Battles, but alſo ſet himſelfe againſt his owne Nation the *Saxons*, and ſought to impoſe the ſcope of his power vpon the South of the Riuer *Thames*: for entring *Kent* (whoſe King was then a childe, by name *Ethelbert*, the ſonne of *Imerik*) at *Wiphandun* or * *Wilbandun* in *Surrey*, in a ſet and ſore Battle, defeated all his forces; whence the young King was chaſed, and two of his greateſt Captaines, bearing the names of *Dukes*, were ſlaine, as we haue ſaid.

* VVimbledon.

(3) Not long after this victory, he ſet his minde to inlarge his *weſt-Saxons* Dominions vpon the poſſeſſion of the declining *Britaines*, and to that end furniſhed forth a great Band of his Souldiers, whereof he made his brother *Cuthwin* chiefe *Generall*. Theſe marching to *Bedford*, gaue Battle to the *Britaines*, where they ſlew them downe-right; and ſurprized foure of their chiefeſt Townes, at that time called *Liganburge*, * *Eglesbourgh*, *Benſington*, and *Eueſham*; which they fortified, to their owne ſtrength, and the *Britaines* great loſſe.

* Aldbury.

(4) And following the Tract of his fore-going fortunes, about ſix yeeres after ſent forth againe his *Saxons*, vnder the conduct of the foreſaid *Cuthwin*, who encountred the *Britaines* at *Dierth* or *Deorham*, with ſuch valour and ſucceſſe, that beſides great ſlaughter of the *Britiſh Souldiers*, three of their Kings, whoſe names were, *Coinmagill*, *Candidan*, and *Farinmagill*, fell in the field, with the ſurprizal of theſe three Cities, *Gloceſter*, *Bathe*, and *Cirenceſter*. *Then* (ſaith *Gyldas*) *euidently appeared the Lands deſtruction, the ſins of the Britaines being the onely cauſe, when neither Prince nor people, Prieſt nor Leuite, regarded the Law of the Lord, but diſobediently wandred in their owne waies.*

Mat. VVeſtm.

Gyldas.

(5) But no greater were the ſinnes of the *Britains*, then the vnſatiable deſires of the *Saxons* were to conquer: for *Cheuline* about the laſt of *Malgoe* his gouernment, met the *Britaines* at *Fetanleah*, in the face of a Field, which was fought out, to the great ſlaughters of them both, and with the death of *Prince Cuth*, king *Cheulins* ſonne: notwithſtanding the victory fell on his ſide with great ſpoiles obtained, and poſſeſſions of many Prouinces, which himſelfe no long time enioied.

Tho. Redborne.

(6) For growne proud through his many proſperous victories againſt his enemies, & tyrannizing ouer his own Subiects, the *VVeſt-Saxons*, fell into ſuch contempt, that they ioined with the *Britaines* for his deſtruction. The greateſt againſt him, was diſloyall *Chell* or *Cealrick*, his nephew, the ſonne of *Cuthwin* his moſt loyall brother, whom both the Nations had elected for *Generall*. Vnder him they muſter and march into *Wilt-ſhire*, and at *Wednesbeath* (now *Wannes-ditch*) pitch downe their Standards. *Cheuline* that thought hee led fortune in a leaſe, with confident boldneſſe built his preſent proceedings vpon his former ſucceſſe, and in the face of his enemies diſplaied his colours. But the Battles ioined, and the Field goared with bloud, the day was loſt vpon the Kings ſide, and he in diſtreſſe ſaued himſelfe by flight. Heere might you haue ſeene the world, as it is, vnconſtant and variable; for he a *Mars*, that had ouer-borne the *Britains* in ſo many Battles, and had raiſed his *Saxons* vnto ſo great a height, is forced to flee before his conquered Captiues, and to exile himſelfe from the ſight of his owne Subiects, after he had glorioufly raigned thirty one yeeres, or (as ſome will) thirty three, and as a

Leyland.

both of them the ſonnes of *Brand*, the ſonne of *Bealdeag*, the fift ſonne of the foreſaid *Woden*.

(4) In the ſeuenth yeere of *Ella* his Monarchie, was his arriuage, and ſixe yeeres after he beganne his Kingdome of the *weſt-Saxons*; ſeating himſelfe and the foundation thereof betwixt the *Britaines* and the *South-Saxons*; for whoſe further ſecurity, *Ciſſa* King of that Prouince, gaue him an yeerely contribution towards the maintenance of his charge in warre; wherein he got ſuch reputation, that after the death of *Ella*, and the thirteenth of his owne raigne, he aſſumed the Monarchie vnto himſelfe, and was both the firſt King of the *Weſt-Saxons*, and the third Monarch of the *Engliſhmen*, wherein hee continued the ſpace of twenty one yeeres, and deceaſed in the yeere of our Lord fiue hundred thirty fiue, being the three and thirtieth of his Kingdome, and the fortieth after his firſt arriuall.

Cherdik, how long he raigned.

His Iſſue.

(5) His iſſue were two ſonnes, *Kenrik* and *Chelwolfe*: the one immediately, and the iſſue of the other collaterally attained to the ſame poſſeſſion and title that *Cherdike* here firſt laid.

(6) *Chelwolfe* his ſecond ſonne (for of *Kenrik* the eldeſt we are hereafter to ſpeake) hath little mention made of among our writers: more then that hee was the Anceſtour of *Eskwin*, the eight King of the *Weſt-Saxons*, that is to ſay, the father to *Kenfrid* the father of *Kenſy*; which *Kenſy* had iſſue the ſaid *Eskwin*, who was the ſucceſſor of King *Kenwalk*, and predeceſſor of King *Kentwin* in the Kingdome of the *Weſt-Saxons*. See Chap. 7.

KENRIK THE SECOND KING OF THE VVEST-SAXONS, AND FOVRTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN.

Kenrik.

CHAPTER XVI.

1. An. Do. 534. *Mat. Weſtm.*

Enrik, the eldeſt ſonne of King *Cherdick* (as is ſaid) being borne in *Germanie*, and following his Father into *Britaine*, valiantly ſerued vnder him, as well in the Battle fought againſt King *Natanleod*, the firſt day of his arriuage; as in other battles againſt the *Britaines* in other places; namely, at *Cherdiksford*, *Cherdiſley*, and in the Conqueſt of the *Ile of Wight*. Immediately vpon the death of his Father, he ſucceeded in his whole dominions, and was ordained the ſecond King of the *weſt-Saxons*, and the fourth Monarch of the *Engliſhmen*, beginning his raigne ouer both at one and the ſame time, the yeere of Chriſt his Natiuity fiue hundred thirty foure.

(2) And enlarging his confines vpon the Territories of the *Britaines*, gaue them two great ouerthrowes; the one at *Searesbury* in *Wilt-ſhire*, and the other at *Banbury* in *Oxford-ſhire*, which was fought the two and twentieth of his raigne, whereby his fame grew more renowned, and his Kingdome in more quiet after. He raigned the ſpace of twenty ſix yeeres, and left this life in the yeere of our Lord God fiue hundred ſixty. An. Do. 556. *Kenrik*, how long he raigned.

His Iſſue.

(3) He had iſſue three ſonnes, *Chelwin*, *Cuthwolfe*, and *Cuth*. *Chelwin* the firſt, ſucceeded his Father in the Monarchie, and *Weſt-Saxons* Kingdome.

(4) *Cuthwolfe*, the ſecond, aſſiſted his brother in many victories, as preſently in his raigne ſhall follow. And *Cuth*, the third brother, famous in his iſſue, though mentionleſſe for action in himſelfe, whereof more largely hath beene ſpoken in the raigne of *Kenrik*, as hee was King onely of the *Weſt-Saxons*. In Chap. 7. Sect. 2.

CHEV-

Cheuline.

CHEVLINE THE THIRD KING OF THE VVEST-SAXONS, AND FIFTH MONARCH OF THE ENG-LISHMEN.

CHAPTER XVII.

An. Do.561.

Heuline, the eldeſt ſonne of King *Kenricke*, ſerued with great commendations vnder his father, in all his warres againſt the *Britaines*, and is ſpecially mentioned at the Battle of *Banbury in Oxfordſhire*; & after his fathers death became the third King of the *Weſt-Saxons*, and the fift Monarch of the *Engliſhmen*. Hee much enlarged the bounds of his Kingdome, and increaſed the power and glory of the *Weſt-Saxons*.

Mat. VVeſtm.

(2) For continuing the warres where his Father left, did not onely ſubdue the *Britaines* in many Battles, but alſo ſet himſelfe againſt his owne Nation the *Saxons*, and ſought to impoſe the ſcope of his power vpon the South of the Riuer *Thames*: for entring *Kent* (whoſe King was then a childe, by name *Ethelbert*, the ſonne of *Imerik*) at *Wiphandun* or * *Wilbandun* in *Surrey*, in a ſet and ſore Battle, defeated all his forces; whence the young King was chaſed, and two of his greateſt Captaines, bearing the names of *Dukes*, were ſlaine, as we haue ſaid.

Henry Hunting.

*VVimbledon.

(3) Not long after this victory, he ſet his minde to inlarge his *weſt-Saxons* Dominions vpon the poſſeſſion of the declining *Britaines*, and to that end furniſhed forth a great Band of his Souldiers, whereof he made his brother *Cuthwin* chiefe *Generall*. Theſe marching to *Bedford*, gaue Battle to the *Britaines*, where they ſlew them downe-right; and ſurprized foure of their chiefeſt Townes, at that time called *Liganburge*, * *Eglesbourgh*, *Benſington*, and *Eueſham*; which they fortified, to their owne ſtrength, and the *Britaines* great loſſe.

* Ailsbury.

(4) And following the Tract of his fore-going fortunes, about ſix yeeres after ſent forth againe his *Saxons*, vnder the conduct of the foreſaid *Cuthwin*, who encountred the *Britaines* at *Diorth* or *Deorham*, with ſuch valour and ſucceſſe, that beſides great ſlaughter of the *Britiſh Souldiers*, three of their Kings, whoſe names were, *Coinmagill*, *Candidan*, and *Farinmagill*, fell in the field, with the ſurprizal of theſe three Cities, *Gloceſter*, *Bathe*, and *Cirenceſter*. *Then* (ſaith *Gyldas*) *euidently appeared the Lands deſtruction, the ſins of the Britaines being the onely cauſe, when neither Prince nor people, Prieſt nor Leuite, regarded the Law of the Lord, but diſobediently wandred in their owne waies.*

Mat. VVeſtm.

Gyldas.

(5) But no greater were the ſinnes of the *Britains*, then the vnſatiable deſires of the *Saxons* were to conquer: for *Cheuline* about the laſt of *Malgoe* his gouernment, met the *Britaines* at *Fetanleah*, in the face of a Field, which was fought out, to the great ſlaughters of them both, and with the death of *Prince Cuth*, king *Cheulins* ſonne: notwithſtanding the victory fell on his ſide with great ſpoiles obtained, and poſſeſſions of many Prouinces, which himſelfe no long time enioied.

Tho. Redborne.

(6) For growne proud through his many proſperous victories againſt his enemies, & tyrannizing ouer his own Subiects, the *VVeſt-Saxons*, fell into ſuch contempt, that they ioined with the *Britaines* for his deſtruction. The greateſt againſt him, was diſloyall *Chell* or *Cealrick*, his nephew, the ſonne of *Cuthwin* his moſt loyall brother, whom both the Nations had elected for *Generall*. Vnder him they muſter and march into *Wilt-ſhire*, and at *Wodnesbeoth* (now *Wannes-ditch*) pitch downe their Standards. *Cheuline* that thought hee led fortune in a leaſe, with confident boldneſſe built his preſent proceedings vpon his former ſucceſſe, and in the face of his enemies diſplaied his colours. But the Battles ioined, and the Field goared with bloud, the day was loſt vpon the Kings ſide, and he in diſtreſſe ſaued himſelfe by flight. Heere might you haue ſeene the world, as it is, vnconſtant and variable; for he a *Mars*, that had ouer-borne the *Britains* in ſo many Battles, and had raiſed his *Saxons* vnto ſo great a height, is forced to flee before his conquered Captiues, and to exile himſelfe from the ſight of his owne Subiects, after he had glorioufly raigned thirty one yeeres, or (as ſome will) thirty three, and as a

Leyland.

Cheuline, how long he raigned

meane man, died in his baniſhment, the yeere of grace fiue hundred ninety two.

His Iſſue.

(7) He had iſſue two ſonnes, which were *Cuth* and *Cuthwin*, the elder whereof had valiantly ſerued in his fathers warres, namely at *Wimbledone* in *Surry*, againſt King *Ethelbert* and his power of *Kentiſhmen*, in the yeere of Chriſt fiue hundred ſixty ſeuen; and laſtly in the Battle at *Fethanleah*, where the *Britaines* receiued a great ouerthrow. Notwithſtanding hee valiantly fighting among the thickeſt of his enemies, was there ſlaine, in the yeere of our LORD fiue hundred eighty foure, being the fiue and twentieth yeere of his Fathers raigne, and that without iſſue.

(8) *Cuthwin*, the yonger ſonne of King *Cheuline*, ſuruiued his Father, but ſucceeded him not, becauſe of his young yeeres; or elſe (and that rather) for the hatred that his father had purchaſed of his Subiects; which they repaied him in his owne expulſion, and in this his ſonnes depriuation. But although the wreath of the *Weſt-Saxons* did not adorne this *Cuthwines* head, yet ſhone it more bright, and ſtood with greater maieſty vpon the browes of *Ina*, the warlike and zealous King of *weſt-Saxons*; and of *Egbert* the victorious and firſt ſole abſolute Monarch of the *Engliſh Empire*: both of them in a right line iſſued from this *Cuthwin*, as in the ſeuenth Chapter wee haue ſaid.

ETHELBERT THE FIFTH, AND FIRST CHRISTIAN KING OF KENT,

AND THE SIXTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN, HIS WIVES AND ISSVE.

CHAPTER XVIII.

An. Do. 561.

THe flame of the *Weſt-Saxons* for a time thus quenched, the Lampe of *Kent* began againe to ſhine, and to aſſume the Title of the Monarchie, after it had beene ſuppreſſed in them through the raignes of theſe foure laſt Kings: for young *Egberts* entrance, with the great loſſe of his *Kentiſh*, ouerthrown by king *Cheuline*, gaue rather inducemẽts to a tributary ſubiection, then any apparant hopes to purchaſe an Empire.

vvil. Malmeſ.

(2) But ſuch is the diſpoſe of God in his hidden Counſell, that things of leaſt appearance many times become the greateſt in ſubſtance, as in this Prince it was euidently ſeene, who making vſe of his owne youth and loſſe, got thereby experience, both to defenſe himſelfe, and to prouoke others, and with ſuch victories abroad, repaired his loſſes at home, that as farre as *Humber* he made all ſubiect to *Kent*.

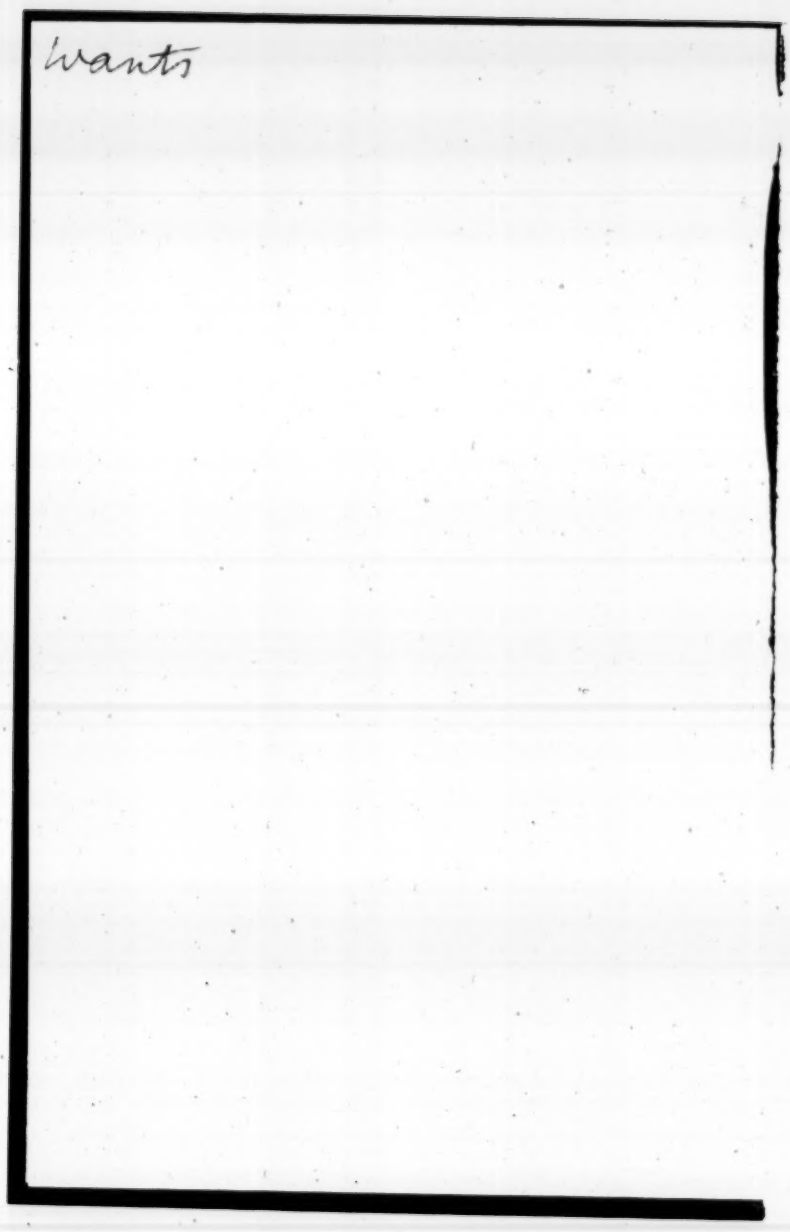
Beda hiſtor. lib. 1. cap. 25.

(3) Thus growne to be the greateſt of any *Saxon* before him, hee ſought to hold it vp by forraine alliance, and to that end became ſuter for *Berta* a moſt vertuous Chriſtian Lady, the Daughter of *Chilperik* King of *France*; vnto whom by her father ſhe was laſtly granted, but with theſe conditions, that ſhee might reſerue her *Chriſtian Profeſsion*, enioy the preſence and the inſtructions of *Luidhard* her learned Biſhop, with the place of his Queene.

(4) Theſe couenants concluded, and many *French* Chriſtians attending her in his Court, by their daily ſeruice of God, and continuall practiſe of piety, drew many of the *Engliſh* to fauour their Religion, yea and the King alſo to be inclined that way. And as theſe were working the ſaluation of *Kent*, behold Gods proceedings for the conuerſion of the reſt.

(5) It chanced great *Gregory* (then Arch-deacon of *Rome*) to ſee certaine youths of this Iland brought to that City, to be ſold for ſlaues: His Chriſtian heart pitying at ſuch heatheniſh tyrannizings, and beholding ſtedfaſtly their faces to bee faire and Angellike, demanded of their Merchants, from what Nation, and whence they were; who made him anſwer, that they were *Angles*, and by that name known in the *Ile* of *Britaine*. Indeed, ſaid *Gregory*, and not without cauſe are they ſo named, their reſemblance is ſo Angelicall, and fit it is that they bee made inheritours with the Angels in heauen. But of what Prouince in *Britain* are they, ſaid *Gregory*, of *Deira*, ſay they, a country in the North of that cõtinent. Now ſurely, ſaid he, it is great pity but that theſe people

Augustine & others Melitens
Justus & John landed in Thanet
in the month of July 596
14 y since Angles came to Brit
had immediate access. tal in
open field he feared to converse
in any house. lest by sorcery
he as he fondly assumed he
might be overcome
he could not consent to their
doctrine. neither to forsake
his ancient religion but desired
you tell us strange things & give us
fair promises of after life after
this life as indeed We permit no
to preach to our people &
convert as many as they can


Wants

people ſhould be taken from *Dei ira*, *the ire of God*. And farther asking, what was the name of their king, it was anſwered, that he was called *Ella*; whereunto he alluding, ſaid, that *Alleluia*, to the praiſe of God, in that Princes Dominions ſhould ſhortly be ſung.

Auſtine commeth into *England*.

(6) And to that purpoſe himſelfe, being afterwards Pope, ſent *Auſtine* a Monke, with forty others his aſsiſtance, whereof *Melitus*, *Iuſtus*, and *Iohn* were chiefe. Theſe landing in *Tanet*, in the moneth of *July*, about fiue hundred ninety and ſix yeres after the Incarnation of Chriſt, and one hundred forty and ſeuen after the firſt ariuage of theſe *Angles* into *Britaine*, had immediately acceſſe vnto the preſence of king *Ethelbert*, but yet in the open Field; for he feared to conferre with them in any houſe, leſt by ſorcery (as hee fondly ſurmiſed) he might be ouercome.

(7) Theſe preaching vnto him the word of life, his anſwer was, that preſently he could not conſent to their Doctrine, neither raſhly forſake his ancient and accuſtomed religion. But ſeeing (ſaid hee) you tell vs ſtrange things, and giue vs faire promiſes of after life, when this life ſhall be ended, wee permit you to preach the ſame to our people, and to conuert as many as you can; and wee our ſelues will miniſter all things behooueſull for your liuelyhood. Which promiſe hee inſtantly performed, and in *Canterbury* his head City, allowed them fit places for reſidence, and ſufficient prouiſion for their maintenance, wherein theſe religions men, following in ſome meaſure the examples of the Apoſtles, ſpent their times in preaching and praiers, watching for the peoples conuerſions, and exerciſing the workes of true piety, as examples and motiues vnto others, to embrace the Goſpel which they ſought to plant.

Auſtine and his followers maintained in *Canterbury*.

Beda hiſtor. lib.2. cap.26. Beda hiſt. lib.1. cap.26.

(8) Neere vnto the Eaſt part of the City ſtood an ancient Church, built by the *Chriſtian Romans*, whiles they had dwelt in *Britaine*, and by them dedicated to the honour of *S. Martin*, and is ſo yet called. To this Church the Chriſtian queene *Berta*, with her Communicants the *French*, daily reſorted to pray; and vnto theſe, and in this Church, *Auſtine* and his fellowes began daily to preach: vnto whoſe Sermons ſo many of the *Kentiſh* alſo reſorted, that a plentifull harueſt in ſhort time appeared, vpon the ſeed-plot of their tillage; for it is reported that ten thouſand of the *Engliſh* people were baptized there in one day, inſomuch that the King himſelfe forſooke his *Heatheniſh Idolatrie*, and likewiſe receiued the Sacrament of *Baptiſme*, vnto his ſaluation in *Chriſt*: in witneſſe whereof, hee gaue the Lordſhip and Royaltie of his chiefe City *Canterburie*, vnto *Auguſtine* and reſigned his Princely Palace therein vnto him; who in the Eaſt of this City laid the foundation of that great, and afterwards magnificent Church, dedicated to the ſeruice & name of *Chriſt*, which at this day is the Cathedrall of that *Metropolitan See*: and *Ethelbert* to giue him more roome, withdrew himſelfe vnto *Reculuer* in *Tanet*, where hee erected a Palace for himſelfe and his Succeſſours; the compaſſe wherof may be traced by an old wal, whoſe ruines remaine there yet to this day.

Gregory lib.7. cap.26.

Canterbury giuen to *Auſtine*.

Wil. Lambert Peramb. of Kent.

(9) *Auſtine* thus ſeated, and in the well-deſerued fauor of King *Ethelbert*, got one requeſt more, which was this; that whereas by the Law of the *Twelue Tables*, it was forbidden to bury the dead within the walles of any City, (the practiſe whereof, wee daily finde by monuments taken vp in the fields adioining) it would pleaſe him to giue to that vſe, an old Idoll-Temple ſtanding without the Eaſt wall of the City; wherin the King himſelfe had wontedly worſhipped his Idols. This obtained, and the Church purged from that profane exerciſe, to the ſeruice of God, being honored with the name of *S. Pancras*, king *Ethelbert* added thereunto a moſt faire *Monaſterie*, built vpon his owne coſt, and dedicated it vnto the name of *Peter* and *Paul* the *Apoſtles*, appointing it to bee the place for the *Kentiſh* kings Sepulchers; and *Auſtine*, likewiſe meant it for the burials of his ſucceſſours in that See. But firſt it became the monument of his owne name: for in regard of the Procurer, both *Pancras*, *Peter*, and *Paul* were ſoone ſwallowed vp, and the whole called onely by the name of *S. Auſtines*. In this place, eight Kings of *Kent* had their bodies interred, and tenne of their *Archbiſhops* therein laid, vntil that *Cuthbert* the eleuenth in ſucceſſion, in fauour of *S. Iohns*, a new Church by him erected, procured of King *Egbert* the ſonne of *Ercombert*, that the ſucceeding *Archbiſhops* might be buried there. This *Monaſtery*, as all the reſt did, came to her fatall period in the daies of King *Henry* the eighth; whoſe vncouered walles ſtood ſo long languiſhing in time and ſtormes of weather, that daily increaſed the aſpect of her ruines, till now laſtly they are made ſubiect to other publike vſes, and the whole tract of that moſt goodly foundation in the ſame place no where appearing. Onely *Ethelberts Tower*, in memory and honour of the man, as yet hath eſcaped the verdict and ſentence of deſtruction; whoſe beauty, though much defaced and ouerworne, will witneſſe to ſucceeding ages the magnificence of the whole, when all ſtood compleat in their glory together.

S. Auſtines Monaſtery.

Ethelberts Tower yet ſtanding.

The buriall of the dead granted within the City.

(10) Theſe his happy beginnings, *Auſtine* ſignified by Letters to *Rome*, and withall demanded directions, how he might further proceed: which queſtions, were they not written by the *Venerable Beda*, wee could hardly beleeue that ſuch idle conceits ſhould haue place in the minde of a man ſo well and fruitfully buſied: as, *whether a woman with child might receiue the Sacrament of Baptiſme, or in her monethly diſeaſe, the holy Communion, or enter the Church: How long after her deliuerance, the husband ought to refraine her Bed: How the Gifts that were offered on the Altar, ought to bee deſtributed: and vnto what degree of conſanguinitie Chriſtians might marie*: and many others ſuch like, as though himſelfe had neuer read either *Moſes* or *Paul*. But of the thing then more needfull, for that at that time it ſtirred moſt contention, it ſeemeth he was ſufficiently inſtructed; neither among his other queſtions is it once named: and that was, the due time for the celebration of *Eaſter*: the difference whereof, betwixt the *Britaines* and the *Romans* was ſuch, that it cauſed Lord-like *Auſtin* to prophecy (if not to ſeeke) their deſtructions; and they in their opinions, to hold him no better then the Man of Sinne: for thus the Story is reported.

Beda hiſt. lib.1. cap.27.

Auſtines queſtions to the Pope.

(11) *Auſtine*, by the aſsiſtance and authority of King *Ethelbert*, called an Aſſemblie of the *Britiſh Biſhops* and *Doctours*, that had retained the Doctrine of the *Goſpell* amongſt them, euen from the firſt plantation thereof by the *Apoſtles* themſelues, to be holden in the Borders of the *Victians* and *Weſt-Saxons*, and at the place vpon that occaſion callled **Auguſtines Oake*: *thither reſorted ſeuen Britiſh Biſhops, and many other well-learned men* (ſaith *Beda*) *out of their greateſt Monaſterie at Bangor, where at that time Dinoth was Abbat. Theſe men now ready to goe to the foreſaid Synod, came firſt to a certaine holy and wiſe man, which liued thereabout an Anchorets life, to aske his counſell, Whether they ought at Auſtins preaching and exhortation, leaue their Traditions or no: The Anchoret replied, If hee be a man of God, follow him. But how ſhall we proone (ſaid they) that hee is a man of God? The Anchoret anſwered, Our Lord ſaith, Take yee on you my Yoke, and learne ye of me, for I am milde and humble of heart. If therefore this Auſtine bee milde and humble of heart, it is like that himſelfe beareth the Yoke of Chriſt, and will offer you the ſame to beare. But if hee bee curſt and proud, it is certaine that he is not of God, neither muſt we much eſteeme his words. Then they enquired, how they might know whether this Auſtine were proud or no: Prouide* (quoth he) *that he and his companie may come firſt to the place of the Synod or Councell-houſe: and if it bee ſo that when you approch neere him, hee ariſe courteouſly, and ſalute you, then thinke him to be the ſeruant of Chriſt, and ſo heare him, and obey him: but if when you approch, hee deſpiſe you, and will not vouchſafe to riſe at your preſence, which are the greater number, let him likewiſe bee deſpiſed of you. And truly* (ſaith hee) *as this Anchoret bade them, ſo did they: for it happened, that when they came thither, S. Auſtine was already ſet in his chaire, and ſtirred not: which*

Beda hiſt. lib.2. cap.2. Rand Coſt. Sigebertus. Galfrid. lib.8. cap.4.

* About *Southhampton* as is thought.

The Anchorites counſell.

which when they ſaw, forthwith waxing wroth, they noted him of pride, and therefore endeuoured to ouerthwart and gainſay whatſoeuer he propoſed. And ſo the *Synod* brake vp without any thing done.

Thus then wee ſee, that the ſubſtance of doctrine was embraced in *Britaine*, before the ſending of *Auſtin* from *Rome*: only in ceremonies they diſſented, as the moſt of Chriſtian Churches, without derogation to the Goſpell, at this day doe. And this for the celebration of *Eaſter*, a matter of no great moment (if we conſider our Chriſtian liberty, and the *Apoſtles* feare, that the obſeruations of dayes, moneths, times, and yeeres, turne the hearts after *beggerly rudiments*, bring againe into bondage, and make his labours for Chriſt in vaine) yet for the different obſeruation only of this Feaſt from the *Romans*, how oft are the *Britaines* tearmed by *Beda*, a wicked people, a curſed nation, and well deſeruing thoſe calamities which the Lord did inflict vpon them? This controuerſie for *Eaſters* celebration, thus begun, continued no leſſe then ninety yeeres after, and was laſtly concluded in manner as followeth.

Gala. 4. 9.

Beda hiſt. lib. 3. cap. 25.

(12) This variance (ſaith *Beda*) made not onely the people to doubt and feare, leſt bearing the name of *Chriſtians*, they did and had *runne in vaine*, as the Apoſtle ſpeaketh, but alſo good *Oſwy* King of *Northumberland*, and learned Prince *Alkfryd*, with Queene *Eanfled*, were much diſtracted and perplexed: for by this variance (ſaith he) it often times hapned, that in one yeere two *Eaſters* were kept; for the King breaking vp his Faſt, and ſolemnizing of the Feaſt, the Queene with Prince *Alkfrid*, continued their Faſt, and kept that day their *Palme-Sunday*. To conclude which contrariety, a *Synod* purpoſely was called, and the queſtion diſputed by their beſt Diuines. The place was *Stranſhalch* or *Whitby*, wherof *Hilda* was Abbeſſe. The chiefe parties for, and againſt the accuſtomed time of keeping that feaſt, were King *Oſwy* and Prince *Alkfrid* his ſonne. The Diſputers for *Oſwy* and the eſtabliſhed orders, were *Colman* Arch-biſhop of *Yorke*, with his *Scotiſh Clergie*, and *Hilda* the vertuous and learned Lady Abbeſſe of the place. For *Alkfrid* and the attempted alteration, were *Agilbert* Biſhop of the *Weſt-Saxons*, *Wilfrid* Abbat of *Rippon*, with *Iames* and *Romanus*, two learned men, and the reuerend *Cedda* newly conſecrated Biſhop, appointed *Prolocutor* of the Aſſembly.

Stranſhalch Synode.

King *Oſwy* perſwadeth to vnion.

The *Conuocation* ſet, King *Oſwy* made a ſolemne Oration, wherein he vrged a neceſſity, that thoſe people which ſerued one God, ought to celebrate his heauenly Sacraments alike, and ſhould keepe one order and rule in the ſame: the truth of which ſeruice, and ſurceaſe of that long vnchriſtian variance, for the Chriſtian celebration and time of *Eaſter*, was then preſently by thoſe learned men to bee handled, and by beſt approouements to be determined; whereunto hee requeſted their vttermoſt endeuours, and to that purpoſe commanded his Arch-biſhop *Colman* firſt to ſpeake: whereupon *Colman* with reuerence ſtood vp and ſaid: *The Eaſter which I obſerue, I receiued of my Fore-fathers, of whom I was conſecrated, and ſent hither for your Biſhop. They all (you know) were godly men, and obſerued the Feaſt as wee doe now; neither thinke you they kept this tradition without ſure warrant from greater then themſelues, which was Saint* Iohn *the Euangeliſt, and the Diſciple whom Ieſus eſpecially loued, who in the Churches which himſelfe planted, celebrated the Feaſt of Eaſter, as we doe now. Therefore knowing the man ſo worthy, and the manner ſo ancient, I hope you will all confeſſe, it is not ſafe for vs now to reiect it.*

Colmans ſpeech to the Synode.

Wilfrides anſwer.

Wilfride the declaimer, appointed to anſwer, ſtood vp and ſaid: *The Eaſter which wee obſerue, wee our ſelues haue ſeene obſerued in Rome, where the bleſſed Apoſtles* Peter *and* Paul *liued, preached, ſuffered, and are buried: and in our trauels thorow France and Italy, either for ſtudie or vpon pilgrimage, wee haue ſeene the ſame order kept: and we know by relation, that in Africke, Aſia, Ægypt and Greece, nay thorow out all nations and tongues in the world where Chriſt hath his Church, that this our time and order is obſerued. Shall then theſe obſtinate Picts (I meane the Britaines) & theſe remote Ilands in the Ocean Sea, and yet not all of them neither, fondly contend in this point againſt the whole world?*

Colmans temerity.

But here *Colman* interrupted him, and ſaid, *I much marueil, brother, that you terme our doings a fond contention, ſeeing we haue for our warrant ſo worthy an Apoſtle as Iohn was, who onely leaned vpon our Lords breſt, and whoſe life and behauiour all the world acknowledgeth to be moſt wiſe and diſcreet.*

Wilfrides moderation.

God forbid (ſaid *Wilfrid*) *that I ſhould accuſe Iohn: but yet we know that he kept the decrees of Moſes literally, & according to the Iewiſh Lawes; and ſo the reſt of the Apoſtles were conſtrained in ſome things to doe, for the weakeneſſe of them who accounted it a great ſin to abrogate thoſe rites that God himſelfe had inſtituted; and for that cauſe S. Paul did circumciſe Timothy, offred bloudy ſacrifices in the Temple, ſhaued his head at Corinth with Aquila and Priſcilla: vpon which conſideration alſo ſpake Iames vnto Paul, You ſee brother how many thouſand of the Iewes haue receiued the faith, and all of thoſe are yet zealous followers of the Law. But the light of the Goſpell now ſhining thorow the world, it is not lawfull for any Chriſtian to be circumciſed, or to offer vp bloudy ſacrifices of Beaſts. Saint Iohn therefore, according to the cuſtome of the law, in the fourteenth day of the firſt moneth, at euen began the celebration of Eaſters Feſtiuitie, regardleſſe whether it fell vpon the Sabbath day, or any other of the weeke. But S. Peter preaching the Goſpell in Rome, remembring that our Lord aroſe from his graue the firſt day after the Sabbath, giuing thereby vnto vs certaine aſſurance of our reſurrection, obſerued the Feaſt of Eaſter according to the Commandement of that Law he looked for, euen as S. Iohn did, that is to ſay, the firſt Sabbath after the full Moone of the firſt moneth. Neither doth this new obſeruation of the Goſpell, and Apoſtles practiſe, breake the old Law, but rather fulfilleth it; for the Law commandeth the Feaſt of Paſſeouer to bee kept from the fourteenth day of that moneth, to the twenty and one of the ſame. And this hath the Nicene Councell not newly decreed, but rather confirmed (as the Eccleſiaſticall Hiſtorie witneſſeth) that this is the true obſeruation of Eaſter, and of all Chriſtians after this account is to bee celebrated: and thereupon charged Biſhop Colman, that hee neither obſerued it according to Iohn nor Peter.*

Aſt. 21. 20.

Exod. 12.

Ruffinus lib. 10. cap. 6.

Colman.

To this the Biſhop replied, that *Anatholius for his holineſſe much commended by the ſaid Eccleſiaſticall Hiſtorie, and Columba a Father of like ſanctitie, by whom miracles were wrought, kept the Feaſt according as he then did, from whoſe imitation he durſt not digreſſe.*

vVilfrid.

Your Fathers, which you pretend to follow, how holy ſoeuer they bee (ſaid *Wilfrid*) *and what miracles ſoeuer they haue wrought, yet this I anſwer, That in the day of iudgement many ſhall ſay vnto Chriſt, that they haue prophecied, caſt out Diuels, and wrought miracles in his name; to whom our Lord will anſwer, I know you not. And if your Father Columba (yea and our Father, if hee be the true ſeruant of Chriſt) were holy and mighty in miracles, yet can hee by no meanes bee preferred to the moſt bleſſed Prince of the Apoſtles, vnto whom our Lord ſaid, Thou art Peter, and vpon this roche I will build my Church, and the gates of hell ſhall not preuaile againſt it, and to thee will I giue the keyes of the Kingdome of Heauen.* Thus ſaid, the King asked *Colman*, *whether our Lord indeede ſpake thus vnto Peter, who anſwered. He did. But, Can you* (ſaid hee) *giue euidence of ſo ſpeciall authority granted to your Father Columba?* The Biſhop ſaid, *No. Then* (quoth the King) *doe you both agree confidently, that theſe words were principally ſpoken vnto Peter, & that vnto him the keyes of the Kingdome of Heauen were giuen?* They all anſwered, *It is moſt certaine.* Whereupon the king concluded this great controuerſie, and ſaid, *Then will not I gainſay ſuch a Porter as this is, but as farre as I know, and am able, I will couet in all points to obey his ordinance, leſt perhaps when I come to the Doores of Heauen, I finde none to open vnto mee, hauing his diſpleaſure, which is ſo eſpecially prooued to beare the keyes thereof.*

Matth. 7.

Matth. 16.

The Synod mildly diſmiſſed by King *Oſwy*.

And with this ſo ſimple a collection of king *Oſwy*, concluded this long and great contention for the celebration of *Eaſter*; which heere, as borne before the time,

time, I haue inſerted, to continue the narration there of together, & to auoid repetition of the ſame things, which I ſeeke purpoſely to ſhunne; and ſo returne againe to King *Ethelbert*.

(13) Who now became an inſtrument himſelfe for the conuerſions of his Nation the *Saxons*. The firſt fruits of his intendments were wrought vpon *Sebert* king of the *East-Angles*, his own ſiſters ſon, whom not only he conuerted to Chriſtianity, but therin aſsiſted him in the building of the Cathedral Church of *S. Paul* for *Miletus* his Biſhop; as alſo the Church of *S. Peters* on the Weſt of *London* then called *Thorny*, with the aſsiſtance of a *London* Citizen, as ſome haue ſaid; & himſelf at *Rocheſter* built the Cathedral Church there which he dedicated to the *Apoſtle S. Andrew*.

Holinſh. hiſt. Angl. lib. 5. cap. 1. Beda hiſtor. l. 2. c. 3.

(14) This noble King hauing a care for them that ſhould come after, brought the lawes of his Country into their owne mother tongue, and left no thing vnattempted, that might aduance the glorious *Goſpell of Chriſt*, or with honour adorne his owne temporall raigne; and is worthily an example to all ſucceeding Princes, in all true piety and heroicall parts of a true Chriſtian king: He died the foure & twentieth day of February, in the yeere of our Lord God ſix hundred and ſixteene, being the one and twentieth of his *Chriſtianity*, the three and twentieth of his *Monarchy*, and the fifty ſixth of his Kingdome of *Kent*, and was buried at *Canterbury* in the Church of *S. Peter* and *Paul*, afterwards called *S. Auguſtines*, in the Chappell of *S. Martines*.

Wil. Malmeſ. Wil. Thorne. Regiſter. Cant.

His wiues.

(15) His firſt wife was *Berta*, the daughter of *Chilperike* king of *France*, as we haue ſaid, who was the ſon of king *Clotayre*, the ſonne of *Clodoue*, the firſt Chriſtian King of that Country. Shee deceaſed before the King her husband, and was buried in the Church of *S. Peter* & *Paul* at *Canterbury*, within the Chappell of *S. Martines* there.

Beda hiſt. l. 2. ca. 5. Ethelbert, how long he raigned.

(16) He had a ſecond wife, whoſe name is not recorded by any Writer, being, as is thought, vnworthy of remembrance, becauſe of the vnnaturall contract and mariage of *Edbald* her husbands ſonne; a ſinne that both law and religion doe condemne: and laſtly by her conuerted husband was forſaken, without either note of her iſſue or death.

His iſſue.

(17) The iſſue of king *Ethelbert* by Queene *Berta* were *Edbald* that ſucceeded him in the *Kentiſh* Kingdome, *Ethelburge*, and *Edburge* two daughters.

(18) *Ethelburge*, the elder, was a Lady of paſsing beauty and piety, and ſurnamed *Tace*, who greatly deſired & intended a Virgins life; had not her minde been auerted by the intreaty of her brother, the perſwaſions of Biſhop *Paulinus*, and the earneſt ſuit of *Edwine* king of *Northumberland*; vnto which *Edwine* laſtly ſhe yeelded to be his wife in hope of his cõuerſion, & vnto whom for that purpoſe Pope *Boniface* directed his Epiſtle from *Rome*, earneſtly exhorting her that ſhe ſhould be diligent for the kings ſaluatiõ: which ſhe ſoon after effected, to the great ioy of both the Kings; and to the comfort and increaſe of the Chriſtian Faith thorowout *England*.

Who ſent her a looking glaſſe & an Iuery combe, which my ſelfe hath ſeene, in Sir *Robert Cottens* Library. *Beda hiſt. lib. 2. cap. 11.*

(19) *Edberge*, another daughter of king *Ethelbert*, is warranted only by the teſtimony of *Iohn Capgraue*, a great traueller in Antiquities, and ſhould be moſt skilfull in his own County of *Kent*: notwithſtanding he is to be ſuſpected in this, that he reporteth her to haue beene a Nunne in the Monaſtery of *Minſter* in the Ile of *Thanet*, vnder the Foundreſſe *Domneue*: being the daughter of her nephew *Ermenred*, and that ſhe ſucceeded in the gouernment of that houſe, *Mildred* the daughter of the ſame *Domneue*. Hee reporteth alſo, that ſhee died and was buried in the ſame place, and that her body was from thence mooued by the Arch-biſhop *Lankfrank*, to his Church of *S. George in Canterbury*.

Capgraue.

Redwald.

REDVVALD THE THIRD KING OF THE EAST-ANGLES, AND SEVENTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN, HIS WIFE AND ISSVE.

Monarch 7.

CHAPTER XIX.

An. Do. 616.

REdwald, the ſonne of *Titulus*, and the third King of the *East Angles*, had been a ſubſtitute vnder *Ethelbert* King of *Kent*, and ſerued a long time as his Vice-roy ouer all his dominions, whereby he gained ſuch reputation to himſelfe, that either for his owne valour, or *Edbalds* vices, (contemned of the people for his Apoſtacy, frenſie, and inceſtuous bed) became the ſeuenth Monarch of the *Engliſhmen*, about the yeere of Chriſt his Incarnation ſix hundred and ſixteene; and the twentieth and fourth of his raigne ouer the *East-Angles*.

(2) This *Redwald* (ſaith *Beda*) had receiued Baptiſme in *Kent*, but in vaine, and without zeale, as it afterwards appeared. For returning to his Country, through the perſwaſion of his wife, returned againe

Beda hiſt. Angl. lib. 2. cap. 15.

to his superstitious worships; and in one and the same Temple, after the manner of the old *Samaritans*, hee erected an Altar for the seruice of Christ, and another litle Altar for burnt sacrifices to his Idols, which stood vnto the daies of *Beda* himselfe. But as she was an instigator to the *East-Saxons* idolatry, so was shee an instrument to the further spreading of Christianity (though not by her so purposely meant) in saueing the life of *Edwine*, who afterwards planted the Gospell in all the North parts of the *Saxons* gouernment.

(3) For *Edwyne* flying the rage of wilde *Ethelfrid* was succoured and maintained in the Court of King *Redwald*, vnto whom lastly, the *Northumbrian* sent both threats and rewards to haue him deliuered, or else put to death: And surely had not the Queene stood for his life, he had presently died. But she alleaging the law of humanity, the trust of a friend, and the royalty of a Prince, preuailed so farre, that *Redwald* did not onely saue his life, but assisted him in battell, to the destruction of his enemy, and the gaining of *Northumberlands* Crowne. For vpon the return of *Ethelfrids* Ambassadors, vnto whom *Redwald* yeelded not to make *Edwin* away, he with his power of the *East-Angles* were at their backes, and as an enemie made towards *Northumberland*.

Beda hist. Angl. lib. 2. cap. 12.

(4) *Ethelfrid*, whose rage and reuenge was ready enough vpon lesser occasions, with such sudden preparation as hee was able to make, met the *East-Angles* almost at *Notingham*, and that not farre from the Riuer *Idle*, where boldly encountring his vnequall enemie, at the first brunt slew *Reynhere* the sonne of King *Redwald*, to the great griefe of him & his whole host: whose reuenge was so volently sought, that they slew King *Ethelfrid* in the Field, and established *Edwine* to be his successor; which was the second yeere of *Redwalds* Monarchy.

Hen. Hunting.

(5) Wherein he raigned the space of eight yeeres, and was King of the *East-Angles* thirty one, and deceased in the yeere of our Lord six hundred twenty foure: the eighth of *Edbalds* king of *Kent*: the thirteenth of *Kingils* king of the *VVest-Saxons*, and the eighth of *Edwines* ouer the *Northumbrians*.

Redwald, his raigne.

His Wife.

(6) The Queene and wife of this king is not named by any of our Writers, but that she had bene the widow of a Nobelman, descended of the bloud-royall of that Nation, and was a Lady that had deserued great commendations for the many vertues by her possessed, had she been a Christian, or a fauorer of the Christians, or had not beene an vter enemy to their faith. Notwithstanding by her first husband she had a sonne named *Sigebert*, that proued a learned and most religious Prince, of whom we haue spoken in Chapter eleuenth.

His issue.

(7) His issue were *Reynhere* and *Erpenwald*. *Reynhere* the elder, & Prince of the *East-Angles*, was slaine as you haue heard, in the battel that his father fought against wilde *Ethelfrid*, neere vnto the Riuer *Idle* in *Notingham-shire*.

(8) *Erpenwald* the younger succeeded his father *Redwald* in the kingdome of the *East-Angles*, and was the fourth king of that Nation, whose life and raigne we haue declared in the succesion of the *East-Angles* kings: Chapter, 11.

Edwine.

EDVVINE THE GREAT KING OF NORTHVMBERLAND, AND THE EIGHTH SOLE MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN, HIS RAIGNE, WIVES, AND ISSVE.

Monarch. 8.

CHAPTER XX.

An. Do. 617.

THe Monarchy reuerted from the *East-Angles*, was next possessed by the *Northumbrians*, wherein it was held with greater glory and for longer time. For *Edwine* in king *Redwalds* life growne very potent, after his death became his successor in the *English* Monarchy, & most worthily did adorne the same by his ciuill iustice and diuine piety: his exile, visions & obtaining of the *Northumbrians* Crowne, we haue already spoken of, and therefore without repetition will passe on to his end.

(2) This *Edwine*, the sonne of great *Ella*, the first King of the *Deirians*, was the third king that possessed the same, the eighth of *Bernicia*, the second (and first Christian) king of all *Northumberland*, at the age of twenty three, and in the yeere of Christ six hundred twenty foure, succeeded *Redwald* in the Monarchy, and was the greatest king of all the *Saxons*. For

An. Do. 624.

as

Beda hiſt. Angl. lib.2.cap.9.

(as *Beda* ſaith) he ſubdued all the coaſts of *Britannie* whereſoeuer any Prouinces were inhabited, either of *Engliſh* or of *Saxons*, which thing no King of the *Engliſh* before him had done; and added the * *Meuian Iles* vnto his owne Dominions. The firſt of them, next the South, was large and fertile, affording roome for nine hundred and ſixty of his Engliſh Families, and the ſecond, gaue ground for aboue three hundred Tenements.

Hebrides.

(3) His firſt wife dead, he became ſuiter for Lady *Ethelburg*, daughter to *Ethelbert* King of *Kent*, deceaſed, and ſiſter to King *Eadbald* then raigning: whoſe Ambaſſadours were anſwered, that it was not lawfull for a *Chriſtian Virgin* to be eſpouſed to a *Pagan*, leſt the faith and ſacraments of the heauenly King ſhould be prophaned, by the matching with that earthly King, which knew not to worſhip God aright. But *Edwine* hearing of the Virgins beauty, integrity, and piety, was ſo farre ouergone and rauiſhed therewith, that hee condeſcended, ſhee ſhould with her place retain her owne *Chriſtian Profeſsion*, and enioy the *Chriſtian* ſociety both of her men, women, Prieſts, and ſeruants her attendants in his Court. Theſe couenants thus confirmed, the Lady accompanied with *Paulinus* the reuerend Biſhop, and an honourable retinue, all of them Chriſtians, came to King *Edwins* Court, and with great ioy ſhee was eſpouſed his Queene.

Ethelburgs good parts.

(4) The greatneſſe and proſperity of this *Northumbrian* King, was both feared by them afarre of, that raigned in no ſuch power; and beheld by his neerer, with an enuious eye: among whom, *Quinchelme* that raigned with his father king ouer the *Weſt-Saxons*, ſent a deſperate Ruffin, whoſe name was *Eumerus*, to murder *Edwin* the next yeere of his mariage; who repairing to his Court, then reſident neere the riuer *Deruent*, at the place that is now called *Aldeby* in *Yorkſhire*, with a double-edged ſhort ſword, the point thereof poiſoned, and girt vnder his garment, vpon *Eaſter* day entred his Palace, as an Ambaſſadour, and with crafty ſpeech retained the Kings attention; where getting occaſion, and ſtepping forward, drew his ſword, which one *Lilla* the Kings ſeruant ſaw, and wanting wherewith to defend his perſon, put himſelfe betwixt the King and the ſword: and thorow his body ſo ſlaine, the ſame was ſo farre runne, that it dangerouſly wounded the King with his point, and with the ſame ſword, before he could be beaten down by the *Guard*, ſlew another ſeruant, whoſe name was *Fordhere*.

A conſpiracie.

Beda hiſt. Angl. lib.2.cap.9.

(5) It happened the ſame night, being holy *Eaſter* Sunday, that Queene *Ethelburg* was brought to bed of a daughter: for ioy whereof, and her ſafe deliuerance, the King gaue thankes to his *Idols*; which Biſhop *Paulinus*, then in preſence, greatly reproued, and bade *Edwin* to giue thankes vnto *God*, from whom onely all goodneſſe came; and ſpake vnto him of our new birth in Chriſt: at which conference the King much reioyced, and promiſed that he would euer after renounce all his *Idols*, and worſhip that *Chriſt* whom he preached, if that God would grant him his life, and giue him victory againſt that King, who had ſent this Manqueller to murder him; in pledge whereof, he aſſigned *Paulinus* to baptize his daughter, the which vpon *Whitſunday* following was performed in her, by the name of *Eanfled*, and ſhee the firſt of the *Northumbrians* which receiued that *Sacrament*. At which time alſo, *Edwin* being recouered of his wound ſo lately receiued, made an Army, and marched forth againſt the *Weſt-Saxons*, and in battle either ſlew or took priſoners all them that had conſpired his death, and as a victorious Conquerour, returned to his Countrey.

Biſhop Paulinus.

(6) Where continuing in honour, and his affaires proſpering to his owne deſires, hee was yet in minde diſtracted, and his thoughts continually perplexed, what God hee ſhould worſhip. The ſanctity of the *Chriſtians* moued him much, and the ancient cuſtomes of his Anceſtours ſate neere his heart, betwixt whom there ſeemed a combate in himſelfe. And in theſe dumps ſitting one day alone, it chanced Biſhop *Paulinus* to haue acceſſe to his preſence, where laying his right hand vpon the Kings head, demanded of him whether he remembred that ſigne: whereat *Edwine* ſuddenly fell at the Biſhops feete, whom he in haſte and reuerence preſently lifted vp, and ſpake vnto him as followeth.

Beda hiſt. Angl. lib.2.cap.12.

Behold O Soueraigne (ſaid he) *by the bountifull hand and power of our God, you haue eſcaped the hand and vengeance of our moſt hated and dreadfull enemie. Behold alſo, by his moſt gracious goodneſſe you haue obtained the ſoueraign tie of raigne and rule of the Kingdome. Remember now therefore the third thing which you promiſed him, and deferre no longer to accompliſh the ſame by receiuing his faith, and keeping his Commandements, who hath deliuered you from your temporall aduerſities, and exalted you to the honour and Maieſty of a King; whoſe holy will if you hereafter obey, and doe his precept which by me is preached, he will alſo deliuer you from the perpetuall torment of Hell, and make you partaker with him in his heauenly Kingdome, and eternall bliſſe without end.*

Edwine put in minde of couenants.

(7) Whereupon conferring with his *Counſell*, whereof Biſhop *Coyſi* was chiefe, for the eſtabliſhing of the Goſpell, and ſuppreſſing of Idolatry, it was then concluded, that the true God ſhould be worſhipped, and the Altars of their wonted Idols ouerthrowne: vnto which action, *Coyſi* himſelfe became the firſt man; for mounted on horſebacke in armour, with a girt ſword and launce in his hand (all which was vnlawfull for thoſe *Idoll-Prieſts*) hee brake downe their Altars, Grates, and Barres, and deſtroyed their Temples whereſoeuer he came. Some ruines thereof not farre from *Yorke*, and neere vnto the riſing of the riuer *Derwent*, remained to be ſeen vnto the dayes of *Beda*, and were then called *Gotmund* in *Gaham*. And king *Edwine* himſelfe, with all his Nobility, and moſt of the Commons, receiued the lauer of *Baptiſme*, the eleuenth yeere of his raigne, and of Chriſts Incarnation ſix hundred twenty and ſeuen, one hundred and eighty yeeres after the *Saxons* entrance into *Britaine*. The king was baptized the twelfth of *Aprill*, being Eaſter Sunday, at the City *Yorke*, in the Church of *S. Peters*, built then of wood, and was the Kings Oratory, which hee encloſed about with a deepe foundation; and laying the walles with ſquared ſtones, made it the Cathedrall Church, and his Conuerter *Paulinus* Arch-biſhop of that See.

Idolatry aboliſhed.

Beda hiſt. Angl. cap. 13.

(8) The Goſpell thus eſtabliſhed in theſe Northerne parts, ſpread daily further into other Prouinces, and with ſuch fruit of peace, that in the raigne of this *Edwin*, and thorowout his Dominions, a weake woman with her new-borne babe might haue paſſed without dammage or danger ouer all the Iland, and from Sea to Sea. And ſo much did the King tender his Subiects, that his prouident care was extended to the way-faring paſſengers, for whoſe vſe he encloſed cleere Springs by the wayes, where hee ſet great Baſens of braſſe, both to waſh and to bathe in; which either for loue or diſpleaſure of the King, no man defaced, or tooke away.

Beda hiſt. Angl. lib.2.cap.16.

And ſo great was the magnificence of this *Monarch*, that (according to *Bede*) he had not onely in Battle the Enſignes proper to battle borne before him, but in his ordinary paſſages thorow the Cities and Townes of his kingdome, there alwayes went an Enſigne-bearer before him. And (to vſe the words of the ſame venerable Author) he went not in any ſtreet, in which there was not borne before him that kinde of Standard which the *Romans* called *Tufa*, and the *Engliſh Thuuf*. That the *Romans* had ſuch an Enſigne, as that which here is called *Tufa*, *Iuſtus Lipſius* in his Commentary vpon that place in *Vegetius* (*lib.* 3. *cap.* 5.) where the ſeueral Enſignes of the *Romans* are recited, doth declare, correcting that place of *Vegetius* (where *Rufa* was ſet for *Tufa*) by this place of *Bede*, and in the ſame ſhewing, that *Tufa* ſignified a *Ball*, as the *Ball* (by the example of *Auguſtus*) was an Enſigne of Monarchy, or abſolute gouernment.

Tufa the Romans Enſigne.

Iuſtus Lipſius.

(9) But as the Sunne hath his riſing; his height

and deſcent, and euer is mooving in the circle of his celeſtiall orbe; ſo man hath his birth time, being, and death, and till then is neuer ſtayed in one certaine point. Kings therefore, as they be Kings, are the Suns of their owne world, but as they are men, goe to the ſhadow of death: neither can the ſtrength of their power, wiſdome, or policie, loue or applauſe, ſtay the hand heere that holds the fatall knife; for ſo in this King *Edwin* we ſee, raiſed aboue hope to attaine the Diademe, and ruling in loue and liking of the people, was notwithſtanding cut off in the midſt of his glory and greatneſſe of ſtrength.

(10) For *Penda* the ſtout *Mercian*, enuying his peace, and *Cadwallo* the *Britaine* ſeeking to receiue his right, ioyned in friendſhip againſt this Monarch, and met him as his enemies in the face of a Field. The plaine was large, and called *Hethfield*, where after a long and moſt bloudy fight, King *Edwin* was ſlaine, with Prince *Offryd* his ſonne, his whole Hoſt put to the ſword, or moſt ſhamefull flight: which chanced the fourth of October, the yeere of our Lord ſix hundred thirty three, the ſixth of his *Chriſtianity*, the ſeuenth of his *Monarchie*, the ſeuenteenth of his Kingdome, and the forty ſeuenth of his age. His body was laſtly buried in *S. Peters* Church at *Streanſhall*, after called *whitby*.

His Wiues.

(11) *Quenburge* his firſt wife, was the daughter (as *Beda* reporteth) of *Ceorle*; but as all other Writers doe witneſſe, of *Crida* King of *Mercia*. Shee was married vnto him in the beginning of his youth, (and when he was diſpoſſeſſed of his inheritance by the Tyrant *Ethelfrid*, as we haue ſaid:) with him ſhee liued a great part of his baniſhment, and in the Court of *Redwald* King of the *Eaſt-Angles* deceaſed, before her husband could recouer his Kingdome.

* *Tace.* (12) *Ethelburg*, ſurnamed * *Tate*, was the ſecond wife of this King, who was the daughter of *Ethelbert* King of *Kent*, and of Queene *Berta* his firſt wife. Shee was married vnto him in the yeere of grace ſixe hundred twenty fiue, being the ſecond of his Monarchy, and was his wife ſixe yeeres: but ſuruiuing him, and deſirous to liue a religious life, ſhee returning into *Kent*, withdrew her ſelfe to a place not farre from the Sea-ſide, called *Lymming*, wherein ſhee built a Monaſterie of Nunnes, and among them ſpent the reſt of her life, and therein dyed, and was there buried.

His Iſſue.

(13) *Offride*, the eldeſt ſonne of King *Edwine*, and *Quenburg* his firſt wife, was borne in the time of his fathers exile among the *Eaſt-Angles*. He was baptized in the faith of Chriſt by *Paulinus* the firſt Archbiſhop of *Yorke*, and was ſlaine the ſame day, and in the ſame battell that his father was. He had a ſonne named *Iffy*, who was baptized alſo by Biſhop *Paulinus*, and after the death of his Father and grand-father, for feare of King *Oſwald*, was conueied ouer the Seas into *France*, to bee brought vp in the Court of King *Dagobert*, where he died in his childhood, and was there honorably interred.

(14) *Edfrid*, the ſecond ſonne of King *Edwine* and Lady *Quenburg* his firſt wife, was borne in the time of his fathers exile, and baptized with his brother *Offrid* by Biſhop *Paulinus*. After his Fathers death, for feare of King *Oſwald*, hee fled to *Penda* King of *Mercia*, who was his fathers enemy, and his mothers kinſman; by whom he was moſt treacherouſly murthered. He left behind him a ſon named *Hererik*, who by his wife *Bertſwith* had iſſue the vertuous and learned Lady *Hilda*, Abbeſſe of *Streanſhalch*: and Queene *Hereſwith* her ſiſter, the wife of *Ethelhere* King of the *Eaſt-Angles*, brother to King *Anna*, by whom ſhee had iſſue *Aldwolfe*, *Elfwold*, and *Beorne*, all three ſucceeding Kings of the *Eaſt-Angles*.

(15) *Ethelme*, the third ſonne of King *Edwine*, and the firſt of Queen *Ethelburg* his ſecond wife, was baptized by *Paulinus* Archbiſhop of *Yorke*, not long after his father and halfe-brethren; but in ſhort ſpace after his baptiſme, hee departed out of this world, euen in the time that he wore the white attire, which in thoſe dayes was vſed to be worne by ſuch as were newly baptized for a certaine ſpace. His body was with all due funerall obſequies enterred within the new Church of *S. Peter* in the City of *Yorke*, which his father had newly founded.

(16) *Vskfrea*, the fourth ſonne of King *Edwine*, and the ſecond of Queene *Ethelburg* his ſecond wife, and the laſt and youngeſt of them both, bare the name of his fathers great grand-father. He was baptized by the Archbiſhop *Paulinus* at one time with his brother *Ethelme*. After the deceaſe of his father, his mother carried him with her out of *Northumberland* into *Kent*, and from thence conueyed him ouer into *France* with his Nephew *Iffy*, the ſonne of his halfe-brother *Offrid*; where hee continued in the cuſtody of King *Dagobert*, being his mothers coſen-german, and there died, and was honourably buried in a Church with his Nephew *Iffy*.

(17) *Eanfled*, the elder daughter of King *Edwine*, and Queene *Ethelburg* his ſecond wife, was borne the night following that her father was wounded, and baptized, he being a Pagan. Shee was afterwards married to *Oſwy*, the fourth King of *Northumberland*, and tenth Monarch of the *Engliſhmen*, as ſhall bee ſaid. *Beda hiſtor. Ang. lib. 3. cap. 15.*

(18) *Etheldrid* the younger daughter, the fifth and laſt-borne child to King *Edwine* and of Queene *Ethelburg*, was baptized at the ſame time with *Ethelme* and *Vskfrea* her brethren. Shee died an infant, the white clothing not yet put off, which in thoſe dayes was vſually worne at certaine ſet times after their baptiſme, and was with like funerall obſequies buried by her brother *Ethelme* in the Church of *S. Peters* in *Yorke*, which their father had founded.

OSWALD

Oſwald.

OSVVALD KING OF NORTHVMBERLAND, AND THE NINTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN, HIS RAIGNE, WIFE, AND ISSVE.

Monarch 9.

CHAPTER XXI.

An.Do.634. OSwald, the fifth King of *Deira*, the ninth of *Bernicia*, the third of *Northumberland*, and the ninth Monarch of the *Engliſhmen*, began his raigne the yeere of Chriſts incarnation ſixe hundred thirty foure. He with *Eanfrith* and his brethren, the ſonnes of wilde *Ethelfrid*, and *Oſrik* alſo the ſonne of *Alfrid* King *Edwins* Vncle, had been ſecured in *Scotland* all his raigne, and among the *Red-ſhankes* liued as baniſhed men, where they learned the true Religion of Chriſt, and had receiued the Lauer of Baptiſme. But *Edwines* death wrought and divulged, theſe Princes returne again to their Country, and the *Northumbrians* Kingdome lately gouerned by one, was now againe diuided into two ſeuerall parts, as formerly it had beene.

(2) Ouer the *Deirans*, *Oſrik* was made King, and of *Bernicia*, *Eanfrid* aſſumed the raigne; but Gods iuſtice ouer-taking their Apoſtaſie, neither their liues nor this diuiſion laſted long. For *Cadwall* the Chriſtian, and *Penda* the Pagan, were Gods inſtruments, that with worthy vengeance in the firſt yeere of their gouernment, cut the one off in battell, and the other by trechery; whoſe names & yeeres of raigne as vnhappy and of hatefull remembrance, the Hiſtoriographers of thoſe times would haue to be omitted.

Beda hiſt. Ang. lib. 3. cap. 1.

(3) But religious *Oſwald* lamenting the effuſion of his Countries bloud, long ſlept not their reuenge. For aſſembling his power, which was not great, hee ſuddenly and vnlooked for came vpon *Cadwallo*, and at *Deniſeburne* pitched downe his tents. The place (ſaith *Beda*) ſtood neere the wall that *Seuerus* had made, where *Oſwald* for the firſt day forbare to fight, and among his Souldiers for his Standard ſet vp a Croſſe of wood; wherunto it ſeemeth thoſe dawning daies of Chriſtianity were ouermuch addicted. Here *Oſwald* making firſt interceſſion to God, the onely preſeruer of his people, in ſore and long fight obtained great victory, with the ſlaughter of *Cadwallo*, and of all his Britiſh Army: which ſo accompliſhed, many haue attributed the vertue of that Croſſe to bee no ſmall cauſe of that great ouerthrow. This Croſſe ſo ſet vp, was the firſt we reade of to haue been erected in *England*, and the firſt Altar vnto Chriſt among the *Bernicians*, whoſe pretended miraculous cures, not onely in the wood it ſelfe, but in the moſſe, and in the earth wherein it was ſet, let *Beda* report them, and *Stapleton* vrge them, yet for my part, I hold them no Article of our canonicall Creed.

(4) But certaine it is, that *Oſwald* himſelfe was a moſt religious and godly King, and tooke ſuch care for the conuerſion and ſaluation of his ſubiects, that he ſent into *Scotland* for *Aidan* a Chriſtian Biſhop, to inſtruct his *Northumbrians* in the Goſpell of truth. And whereas the Biſhop could not ſpeake their language, the King himſelfe was interpreter at his Sermons, and gaue his words in the *Engliſh*, as he ſpake and pronounced them in the *Scotiſh*; which language *Oſwald* perfectly ſpake, hauing beene there the ſpace of eighteene yeeres.

Beda hiſt. Ang. lib. 3. cap. 3.

Hect. Boetius.

Thus the godly proceedings of the King and Biſhop, produced ſuch increaſe of their heauenly ſeed, that it is reported in ſeuen dayes ſpace, fifteene thouſand Chriſtians receiued Baptiſme; and many of them forſaking the pleaſures of the world, to haue betooke themſelues to a religious and ſolitary life.

(5) At this time the whole Iland flouriſhed both with peace and plenty, and acknowledged their ſubiection vnto King *Oſwald*. For, as *Beda* reporteth, *all the Nations of Britannie which ſpake foure languages, that is to ſay, Britaines, Redſhankes, Scots, and Engliſhmen, became ſubiect vnto him. And yet being aduanced to ſo royall Maieſty, he was notwithſtanding (which is marueilous to be reported) lowly to all, gracious to the poore, and bountifull to ſtrangers.* The fruits whereof the ſame Author

Beda hiſt. Angl. lib. 3. cap. 6.

exemplifieth in his bounty and humility towards the poore; who vpon a ſolemne feaſt day, ſeeing many ſuch at his gates, ſent them both the delicates for himſelfe prepared, and commanded the charger of ſiluer to be broken, and diuided among them. The Biſhop much reioycing thereat, tooke the King by the right hand, and prayed that it might neuer conſume; as after his death it did not, but was ſhrined in ſiluer, and in *S. Peters* Church at *Bebba*, now *Bambrough*, with worthy honour was worſhipped for the many miracles and cures that it did, as likewiſe the earth wherein his bloud was ſpilt: with ſuch lauiſh enlargements haue thoſe Writers enterlined the deeds of Gods Saints.

(6) But as the Sunne hath his ſhadow, and the higheſt tide her ebbe, ſo *Oſwald*, how holy ſoeuer, or gouernment how good, had emulators that ſought his life, and his Countries ruine: for wicked *Penda* the *Pagan Mercian*, enuying the greatneſſe that King *Oſwald* bare, raiſed warres againſt him, and at a place then called *Maſerfield* in *Shrop-ſhire*, in a bloudy and ſore fought battell ſlew him; and not therewith ſatiſfied, in barbarous and brutiſh immanity, did teare him in peeces; the firſt day of Auguſt, and yeere of Chriſt Ieſus ſixe hundred forty two, being the ninth of his raigne, and the thirty eight of his age: whereVpon the ſaid place of his death is called to this day *Oſwaldſtree*, a faire Market Towne in the ſame Countie.

Beda hiſt. lib. 3. cap. 9.

(7) The diſmembred limmes of his body were firſt buried in the *Monaſtery* of *Bradney* in *Lincolnſhire*, ſhrined, with his ſtandard of Gold and Purple erected ouer his Tombe, at the induſtry and coſt of his Neece *Offryd*, Queene of *Mercia*, wife vnto King *Ethelred*, and daughter to *Oſwyn* that ſucceeded him. From hence his bones were afterwards remoued to *Gloceſter*; and there in the North-ſide of the vpper end of the Quire in the Cathedrall Church, continueth a faire Monument of him, with a Chappell ſet betwixt two pillars in the ſame Church.

His Wife.

(8) *Kineburg*, a moſt vertuous Lady, and daughter to *Kingils* the ſixth, and firſt Chriſtian king of the *Weſt-Saxons*, was the wife of king *Oſwald*, who became both his father and ſonne in the day of her mariage, by receiuing him at the Font, and her of his gift. Shee was maried vnto him in the ſecond yeere of his raign, which was the yeere of Chriſts Incarnation ſix hundred thirty ſixe: no other relation made of her beſides the birth of his ſonne.

His Iſſue.

(9) *Ethelwald*, the onely child of King *Oſwald* and Queene *Kineburg* his wife, was borne in the yeere of our Lord ſixe hundred thirty ſeuen, being the third yeere of his Fathers raigne; and but an Infant at his Fathers death, was diſappointed of the *Northumbrian Kingdome* by the fraud of his Vncle *Oſwin*. Notwithſtanding at the death of *Oſwin* king of *Deira*, and then not aboue ſixteene yeeres of age, he tooke the ſame kingdome, and by ſtrong hand held it againſt his Vncle ſo long as he liued, and at his death left it to his coſen *Alkefrid*, the naturall ſonne of king *Oſwine*, as in the ninth Chapter we haue ſaid.

Oſwy.

OSVVY KING OF NORTHVMBERLAND, AND THE TENTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN, HIS ACTS, WIFE, AND CHILDREN.

Monarch 10.

CHAPTER XXII.

An. Do. 643.

OSwye, the illegitimate ſonne of King *Ethelfrid*, ſurnamed the *Wilde*, at thirty yeeres of age ſucceeded *Oſwald* his halfe brother in his Dominions, being the fourth King of *Northumberland*, and the tenth Monarch of the *Engliſhmen*, entring his gouernement the thirteenth day of October, and yeere of Chriſts Incarnation ſixe hundred forty three. His firſt beginnings were much diſquieted by *Penda* the *Heathen Mercian*, by the rebellions of his baſe ſonne *Alkfrid*, and by the oppoſitions of *Ethelwald* the ſon of King *Oſwald*: but none ſate more neere his heart then *Oſwin* king of the *Deirians* did, whoſe vertuous gouernment did much darken (as he tooke it) his owne, and the free loue of thoſe ſubiects, daily to leſſen his, among the *Berhicians*.

Oſwyes enuie.

Beda hiſt. Angl. lib. 3. cap. 24.

(2) This *Oſwyn* of *Deira* was the ſonne of *Oſricke* (who

Oſwyn King of the *Deirians*.

Oſwyne King of the *Deirians.*

(who did apoſtate from his faith) and ruling his Prouince in plenty and peace the ſpace of ſeuen yeeres, was therefore greatly enuied by *Oſwy* of *Bernicia*, and laſtly by him prouoked into the field. Their hoſts met at the place then called *Willfares Downe*, ten miles weſt from the village *Cataracton*, and there attended to hazard the day. But *Oſwyn* finding himſelfe too weake for *Oſwy*, alſo to ſaue the effuſion of Chriſtian bloud, forſooke the field; accompanied onely with one Souldier, and wont to Earle *Hunwald* his friend as he thought, to ſecure his life. But contrary to truſt, hee deliuered him vnto King *Oſwy*, who cruelly ſlew him the twentieth of *Auguſt*, and ninth of his raigne, at the place called *Ingethling*; where afterwards for ſatisfaction of ſo hainous an offence, a Monaſtery was built, as vpon like occaſions, many the like foundations were laid; whoſe ſtones were thus ioyned with the morter of bloud.

Cataracton Village.

Oſwyn betrayed into the hands of *Oſwy.*

(3) Of this *Oſwyne* thus ſlaine, *Beda* reporteth the Story following: *Among his other rare vertues and princely qualities, his humility* (ſaith he) *and paſſing lowlineſſe excelled*: whereof he thus exemplifieth: *The reuerend Chriſtian Biſhop Aidan vſing much trauel to preach the Goſpell throughout that Prouince, the king for his more eaſe, gaue him a goodly Gelding with rich and coſtly trapping. It chanced one day, as the Biſhop rode to miniſter the word of life, that a poore man demanded his almes: but hee not hauing wherewith to releeue him, and pitying his diſtreſſed poore eſtate, preſently alighted, and gaue vnto him his horſe and rich furniture; whereof when the king heard he blamed him, and ſaid, What meant you (my Lord) to giue to the begger the horſe that I gaue you, with my ſaddle and trapping,? Had we horſes of no lower price to giue away to the poore? To whom the Biſhop replied, And is the brood of a beaſt dearer in your ſight, then this poore man the childe of God? The King thus reprooued, turned himſelfe towards the fire, and there ſadly pauſing vpon this anſwer, preſently gaue from him his ſword, and in haſte fell at the Biſhops feet, deſiring forgiueneſſe in that he had ſaid. The Biſhop much aſtonied, ſuddenly lift vp the King, deſiring him to ſit to meat, and to be merry; which the King immediatly did, but the Biſhop contrariwiſe began to be penſiue and ſadde, and the teares to tricle downe his cheekes: in which paſſion hee burſt out into theſe ſpeeches, and ſaid to his Chaplaine in an vnknowne tongue, I neuer till this time haue ſeene an humble King; and ſurely his life cannot bee long, for this people are not worthy to haue ſuch a Prince to gouern them.* But to returne to king *Oſwy*.

Beda hiſt. *Ang.* lib. 3. cap. 14. *H. Hunt.* hiſt. *Ang.* lib. 9.

His gift to the Biſhop *Aidan.*

The Biſhops Almes to a poore man.

King *Oſwines* repentance.

Biſhop *Aidans* teſtimony of King *Oſwynes* piety.

(4) Who after many cruell inuaſions of the mercileſſe *Penda*, was forced to ſue vnto him for peace, with proffers of infinite treaſure and moſt precious iewels: all which reiected, and the Tyrant comming on, *Oſwy* ſought his helpe by ſupplication to God, & with ſuch zeale as then was embraced, vowed his young daughter *Elfled* to be conſcrated in perpetuall virginity vnto him, with twelue Farmes and their lands, to the erection and maintenance of a Monaſtery: and thereupon prepared himſelfe for battle.

Beda hiſt. *Ang.* lib. 3. cap. 24.

Elfled the daughter of King *Oſwy.*

(5) The Army of this enemy is reported to redouble thirty times his, all well appointed and old tried ſouldiers: againſt whom *Oſwy* with his ſonne *Alkfryd* boldly marched, *Egfryd* his other ſonne then being an hoſtage with *Cinwiſe* an vnder Queene of the *Mercians*: *Ethelwald* the ſonne of *Oſwald*, tooke part with *Penda*, againſt his naturall Vncle and natiue Country: ſo did *Ethelherd* the brother of Chriſtian *Anna*, ſide with this heatheniſh and cruell *Mercian.*

Alkfrid.

Ethelwald.

(6) The battle was fought neere to the riuer *Iuuet*, which at that time did ouerflow his bankes, ſo that the victory falling with *Oſwy*; more were drowned in the water then ſlaine with the ſword. And heerein proud *Penda* loſt his life, with the diſcomfiture of al his *Mercian* power. Heerin alſo died *Ethelherd*, the *Eaſt-Angles* king, who was the onely motiue to theſe warres: and *Ethelwald* eſcaping, returned with diſhonour vnto *Deira*. The day was thus gotten the thirteenth yeere of king *Oſwy* his raigne: the fifteenth day of Nouember, and yeere of Chriſt his Incarnation ſix hundred fifty fiue.

Iuuet Riuer.

Penda ſlaine.

Ethelwald his eſcape.

(7) After this victory, king *Oſwy* raigned in great glory the ſpace of three yeeres, ſubduing the *Mercians*, the ſouth parts of the *Engliſh*, and made the northerne parts likewiſe ſubiect vnto him. He it was that decided the long controuerſy for Eaſters celebration, and founded the Cathedrall Church in *Lichfield* for a Biſhops See: which City, with all *South-Mercia*, diuided from the north by the riuer *Trent*, hee gaue to *Peada* the ſonne of king *Penda*, in mariage with his naturall daughter *Alkfled*, on condition that he ſhould become a Chriſtian: all which the ſaid king not long enioied, but was murdered in his owne Court. And the *Mercians* erecting *Vulfhere* his brother and their natiue country-man for king, rebelled againſt *Oſwy*, & freed themſelues from a forraine ſubiection.

Liber Lichfeldenſis. Tho. Rudborne.

Oſwy his gift of *Penda*

(8) Thus *Oſwy* ending in troubles as he began in warres, raigned the ſpace of twenty eight yeeres, & then falling ſicke, was ſo ſtrucke with remorſe for the death of good *Oſwyn*, and bloud which he had ſpilt, that hee vowed a pilgrimage to *Rome*, in which reputed holy place hee purpoſed to haue ended his life, and to haue left his bones there in to reſt: but his diſeaſe increaſing; and that purpoſe failing, he left this life the fifteenth of February, and his body to remaine in *S. Peters* Church at *Streanſhalch*, the yeere after Chriſts birth ſix hundred ſeuenty, and of his own age fifty eight.

Beda hiſt. *Angl.* lib. 4. cap. 5.

The time of king *Oſwys* raigne.

His iſſue.

(9) *Eanfled*, the wife of this king, was the daughter of *Edwin* and *Ethelburg*, king and Queene of *Northumberland*. She was the firſt Chriſtian that was baptized in that Prouince, and after her fathers death, was brought vp in *Kent* vnder her mother, and thence maried vnto this *Oſwy*, whom ſhe ſuruiued; and ſpent the whole time of her widowhood in the Monaſtery of *Steanſhalch*, where her daughter *Elfred* was *Abbeſſe*, wherin ſhe deceaſed, and was interred in the Church of *S. Peter*, hard by her husband king *Edwin.*

Eanfled.

Streanſhalch Monaſtery.

His iſſue.

(10) *Egfryd*, the eldeſt ſonne of king *Oſwy* and of Queene *Eanfled*, was borne in the third yeere of his fathers raigne, being the yeere of grace ſix hundred forty fiue. In the twenty fifth yeere of his age, and of our Lord God ſix hundred ſeuenty one, he ſucceeded his father in *Northumberland*, but not in his *Monarchy*: of whoſe life and acts, wee haue further ſpoken in the ſeuenth Chapter of this Booke.

Egfryd the eldeſt ſonne.

(11) *Elſwine*, the ſecond ſonne of king *Oſwy*, and of Queene *Eanfled*, was borne in the yeere of our Lord ſix hundred ſixty one, being the ninth of his fathers raigne; at whoſe death he was nine yeeres old: and in the ninth yeere after, being the eighteenth of his age, was vnfortunately ſlaine in a battell, wherein he ſerued his brother *Egfryd*, againſt *Ethelred* king of the *Mercians*, to the great griefe of them both, the yeere of Chriſts natiuity ſix hundred ſeuenty nine.

Elſwine the ſecond ſonne.

Beda hiſt. *Angl.* l. b. 4. cap. 21.

(12) *Elfled*, the eldeſt daughter of king *Oſwy* and queene *Eanfled*, was borne in the month of *September*, the yeere of grace ſix hundred fifty foure, being the twelfth of her fathers raigne; & when ſhe was a yere old, by him committed to the cuſtody and bringing vp of the renowned Lady *Hilda*, Abbeſſe of *Streanſhall*, wherein ſhe liued vnder her a Nun, and after her death did ſucceed her, Abbeſſe of the place; and in great holineſſe and vertue, ſpent therein her life, vnto the day of her death, which was the yeere of Chriſt Ieſus ſeuen hundred fourteene, and of her owne age ſixty, being interred in *S. Peters* Church within the ſame Monaſtery.

Elfled his eldeſt daughter.

Hilda Abbeſſe of *Strearſhall.*

(13) *Offrid*, the younger daughter of king *Oſwy* and Queene *Eanfled*, was borne about the fifteenth yeere of her fathers raigne, which was the yeere of our Lord ſix hundred ſixty ſeuen: and when ſhe was fully twenty, was married vnto *Ethelred* king of *Mercia*, the twelfth Monarch of the *Engliſhmen*, in the third yeere of his raigne, and of Chriſt ſix hundred ſeuenty ſeuen.

Offrid the younger daughter.

(14) *Alkfrid*, the naturall ſonne of king *Oſwy*, did firſt ſucceed his coſen *Ethelwald*, ſonne of king *Oſwald* his

Alkfryd a naturall ſonne

his Vncle in part of *Northumberland*, and held the ſame by force againſt his father, which afterwards he peaceably inioyed both with him and his halfe brother king *Egfrid*, whom laſtly hee ſucceeded in the whole kingdome of *Northumberland*, as more at large in the ſame ſtory we haue declared.

Chap. 7. ſect. 12.

(15) *Alkfled*, the naturall daughter of king *Oſwy*, borne before her father was king, in the yeere of Chriſts incarnation ſix hundred fifty three, and the eleuenth of her fathers raigne, was married to *Peada* the ſonne of *Penda*, that by his permiſsion had gouerned ſome part of *Mercia*, and by *Oſwy* his gift with this *Alfled*, all the ſouth of that Prouince. Shee was his wife three yeres, and is of moſt writers taxed to be the actor of his death, being wickedly murthered in the feaſt of *Eaſter*, the yeere of grace ſix hundred fifty ſixe, and the foureteenth of her Fathers raigne.

Alkfled a naturall daughter.

Wulfhere.

VVLFHERE THE SIXTH KING OF THE MERCIANS, AND THE ELEVENTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN, HIS RAIGNE, ACTS, WIFE, AND ISSVE,

Monarch 11.

CHAPTER XXIII.

An. Do. 659

Vlfhere, after the murther of his brother *Peada*, aduanced againſt *Oſwy* by the Nobles of *Mercia*, maintained his title and kingdome for twelue yeeres continuance, in the life time of that *Northumbrian* Monarch; and after his death tranſlated the Monarchy from thoſe Kings, & Country, vnto himſelfe and his ſucceſſors the *Mercians*, who now wore the Imperiall Diademe without reuerſement, vntill ſuch time as great *Egbert* ſet it vpon the *weſt-Saxons* head.

Beda hiſt. Ang'. lib. 3. cap. 24.

Vulfheres parentage.

He was the ſecond ſonne of *Penda* King of *Mercia*, and the ſixth in ſucceſſion of that kingdome, beginning his raigne the yeere of Chriſt his Incarnation, ſix hundred fifty nine; and twelue yeeres after, *Anno* ſix hundred ſeuenty one, entred his Monarchy ouer the *Engliſhmen*, and was in number accounted the eleuenth Monarch of the Land.

Linſey Iland loſt to the *Northumbrians.*

(2) His entrance was with trouble againſt the *Northumbrians*; for vnto *Egfrid* their king he had loſt the poſſeſsion of the Iland *Linſey*, and was expelled the Country: yet three yeeres after he fought againſt the *weſt-Saxons* with better ſucceſſe, whoſe Country with conqueſt he paſſed thorow, and wan from *Renwald* their King the *Ile of Wight*, which Iland he gaue to *Edilwach* the *South-Saxons* king, whom he receiued his God-ſonne at the Font-ſtone: notwithſtanding himſelfe had lately beene a prophane Idolater, and moſt cruell Heathen, as by the Liger booke of the Monaſtery of *Peterborow* appeareth, whoſe ſtory is this.

Beda hiſt. Angl. lib. 4. cap. 12.

Lib. Peterbur.

Vulfercheſter Caſtell.

(3) King *Vulfhere* of *Mercia* remaining at his Caſtell in *Vlfcheſter* in *Stafford ſhiere*, and vnderſtanding that *Vulfald* and *Rufin* his two ſonnes, vnder pretence and colour of hunting, vſually reſorted to reuerend *Chad*, to bee inſtructed in the fruitfull faith of Chriſt Ieſus, and had at his hands receiued the Sacrament of Baptiſme, at the perſwaſion of one *Werebod*; ſuddenly followed, & finding them in the Oratory of that holy man, in deuout contemplations, ſlew them there with his owne hands. Whoſe martyred bodies Queene *Ermenhild* their mother cauſed to be buried in a Sepulcher of ſtone, and thereupon a faire Church to be erected, which by reaſon of the many ſtones thither brought for that foundation, was euer after called *Stones*, and now is a Market Towne in the ſame County. But King *Vulfhere* repenting this his moſt vnhumane murther, became himſelfe a Chriſtian, and deſtroied all thoſe Temples wherein his heathen gods had beene worſhipped; conuerting them all into Chriſtian Churches, and religions Monaſteries: and to redeeme ſo hainous an offence, vnderwent the finiſhing of * *Mediſham*, his brothers foundation, enriching it largely with lands and poſſeſsi-

Vulfhere ſlaieth his two ſonnes.

Iohn Capgraue.

Vulfheres repentance

*Now Peterborow.

ons

Wil. Malmesbury

ons: notwithstanding hee is taxed by *William of Malmesbury* with the foule sinne of Symony, for selling vnto *Wyna* the Bishopricke of *London*.

The time of his raigne.

(4) He raigned king ouer the *Mercians* the space of seuenteene yeeres, and Monarch of the *English* fully foure; leauing his life in the yeere of our Lord six hundred seuenty foure, and his body to be buried in the Monastery of *Peterborow*, which was of his brothers and his owne foundation.

His Wife.

Ermenhilds parentage.

(5) *Ermenhild*, the Wife of King *Vulfhere*, was the daughter of *Ercombert*, the seuenth king of *Kent*, and sister to *Egbert* and *Lothair*, both kinges of that Countie. Her mother was *Sexburg*, daughter to *Anna*, the seuenth King of the *East-Angles*, whose sisters were many and most of them Saints. Shee was maried vnto him in the third yeere of his raigne, and was his wife fourteene yeeres. After his decease, she went to her mother Queene *Sexburg*, being then Abbesse of *Ely*, where she continued all the rest of her life, and therein deceased and was buried.

Queene Sexburg Abbesse of Ely.

His issue.

Kenred the first sonne.

(6) *Kenred* the son of King *Vulfhere* and of Queen *Ermenhild*, being the heire apparant of his fathers possessions, was vnder age at his fathers decease, and by reason of his minority, was withheld from the gouernment, which *Ethelred* his vncle entred into, without any contradiction of this *Kenred*, who held himselfe contented to liue a priuate life: notwithstanding *Ethelred* taking the habit of a Monke, left the Crowne to him who was the right heire.

(7) *Vulfald* a young Gentleman conuerted to the Christian faith by Bishop *Chad*, and martyred for profession of the same by King *Vulfhere*, is reported by *Walter of Wittlesey*, a Monke of *Peterborow*, in a Register which he wrote of that Monastery, to bee the supposed son of King *Vulfhere* himselfe, and to haue been slaine by him in his extreme fury before he was a Christian, or could endure to heare of the Christian faith. He was buried in *Stone*, as we haue said, where his father built a Colledge of Canons regular, which was afterwards called *S. Vulfaldes*.

Vulfald a supposed sonne. Walter Wittlesey.

S. Vulfaldes Colledge.

(8) *Rufine* the fellow martyr of *Vulfald*, is by the same Writer reported to be his brother, and the supposed sonne also of *Vulfhere* the king. Their murthers, as he saith, was committed the ninth Calends of *August*, which is with vs the foure and twenty of *July*, vpon which day there was yeerly celebrated a solemne memoriall of their martyrdomes in the same place, where they both suffered, & where their Monument was then remaining.

Rufine another supposed sonne.

(9) *Wereburg*, the daughter of King *Vulfhere* and Queene *Ermenhild*, was in her childhood committed to the bringing vp of Queeen *Etheldred* her mothers Aunt, in the Monastery of *Ely*, by whose perswasion she professed virginity, and returning to her Country in the raigne of King *Ethelred* her vncle, was by him made ouerseer of all the Monasteries within his dominions. She deceased at *Trickingham* (now called *Trentham*) in *Stafford-shire*, and was buried at *Hanbery*. Her body was afterwards remooued to *Westchester*, where *Leafricke* the Earle built in honour of her a goodly Church called *S. Wereburgs*, which to this day is the Cathedrall Church of that City.

Wereburg the daughter of Vulfhere.

Buried at Hanbery.

S. Wereburgs Church.

ETHELRED THE SEVENTH KING OF MERCIA, AND TVVELFTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISH: HIS ACTS, WIFE, AND ISSVE.

Ethelred. Monarch 12.

CHAPTER XXIV.

An. Do. 675.

ETHELRED, the third sonne of King *Penda*, and brother to the last deceased *Vulfhere*, in the yeere of Christ Iesus six hundred seuenty fiue, beganne his raigne in the kingdome of *Mercia*, and at the same time in the Monarchy of the *Englishmen*, being the seuenth king among them that wore their diademe, and the twelfth person that bare the Imperiall title of the whole: his claime was not immediatly nor next in succession, young *Kenred* his Nephew standing betwixt him and the Crowne. But himselfe a childe in yeres, and in them also addicted vnto a priuate life, he gaue his vncle way to vndergo so publike a charge which without contradiction was likewise accepted of the subiects.

Circumstances belonging to the beginning of his raigne.

(2) His entrance was with warre against the *Kentish Lothaire*, whose country he destroied, sparing neither Churches nor religious Abbeyes, the king not dari g

Henry Hunt.

Putta Bishop of Rochester.

daring to appeare in field. The City *Rochester* felt also his fury, whose Citizens were ransacked, their buildings ruinated, and their Bishop *Putta* driuen to such distresse, that he became a Teacher of good Arts and Musicke in *Mercia*, to maintaine his aged yeres from the necessity of perishing want. These stirres (saith *Beda*) happened in the yeere of grace six hundred seuenty seuen; and the next following, so fearefull a Blazing starre, as was wonderfull to behold, first discouered in the moneth of *August*, and for three moneths together continued rising in the morning, and giuing forth a blazing pile very high, and of a glittering flame.

Beda hist. Ang. lib. 4. cap. 12.

A blazing starre.

(3) The remorse of conscience for the bloud hee had spilt, and the places of Oratories by him destroied, (besides his intrusions into another mans right) strucke so deepe a wound into King *Ethelreds* breast, that euer hee bethought him what recompence to make. First therefore building a goodly Monastery at *Bradney*, and that most fruitfully seated in the County of *Lincolne*, he thought that not sufficient to wash away the scarres of his foule offence, but determined in himselfe to forsake the world, for that was the terme attributed to the monasticall life: wherein notwithstanding, in lesse cares they liued, and their persons more safe from all dangers attempted, then when they publikely administred their lawes to their people, the iust executions whereof, many times breed the ouerthrow of their Princes, and their Persons neuer secure amids their owne guards.

The occasion of founding *Bradney* Monastery.

(4) But such was the religion then taught, and the godly zeale of the good Princes then raigning, whose works haue manifested their vertues to posterities, and saith in Christ the saluation of their soules, in whose Paradise we leaue them, and *Ethelred* to his deuout intent: who to reconcile himselfe first vnto *Kenred*, bequeathed the Crowne solely to him, although he had a sonne capable thereof: then putting on the habit of religion, became himselfe a Monke, in his owne Monastery of *Bradney*, where he liued a regular life the terme of twelue yeeres, & therein lastly died Abbat of the place, when hee had raigned thirty yeeres, the yeere of Christs natiuity, seuen hundred sixteene.

Ethelred resigneth his Crowne

The continuance of his raigne.

His Wife.

(5) *Offryd*, the wife of King *Ethelred*, was the daughter of *Oswy*, and of Lady *Eanfled*, King and Queene of *Northumberland*. She was married vnto him in the yeere of our Lord six hundred seuenty seuen, being the third of his raigne, and the twentieth of her age. Shee was his wife twenty yeeres: and passing thorow the north parts of *Mercia*, shee was set vpon and slaine by the people of that Country, in reuenge of the death of *Peada* their King, who had long before bin murthered by *Alkefled* his wife, & her halfe sister, as we haue said. And thus strangely came she to her vntimely end, the yere of our Lord six hundred ninety seuen, the twenty three yeere of her husbands raigne and the fortieth of her owne age.

Offryd. *Beda. hist. Angl. lib. 3. cap. 11.*

Beda in Epit. *Offryd* slaine.

His issue.

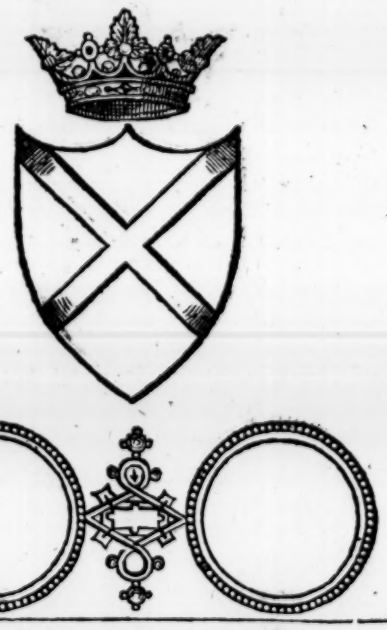
(6) *Chelred* the sonne of King *Ethelred*, and of Queene *Offryd* his wife, was the heire apparant of his fathers kingdome, and of sufficient yeeres to haue succeeded him, when he entred into religion; but that it was his fathers wil to make amends to his Nephew *Kenred*, son to his elder brother king *Vulfhere*, that now he might raigne before his sonne, who should haue raigned before himselfe.

Chelred the first sonne.

Kenred.

KENRED THE EIGHTH KING OF MERCIA, AND THE THIRTEENTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN.

Monarch 13



CHAPTER XXV.

An. Do. 704.

Kenred the sonne of *Vulfhere*, because of his minority at his Fathers death was defeated of his dominions by his Vncle *Ethelred*, and vntill it pleased him to resigne his Crown liued a priuate life, whereunto by nature, he was most inclined. But king *Ethelred* for the wrongs to him committed, & to redeeme the time that in warre and wealth he had prodigally spent, yeelded the Scepter vnto his hand, and set his seeming ouer-heauy Crowne vpon his Nephew *Kenreds* head: who began his raigne at one & the same time, both ouer the *Mercians* and Monarchy of the *Englishmen*, which was the yere of Christs Incarnation seuen hundred and foure.

The matters pertaining to his entrance into gouernment.

(2) He is in account the eighth king of that Prouince, and the thirteenth Monarch since *Hengist* the *Saxon*. He raigned in peace the space of foure yeres; then weary of gouernment, and desirous of contemplation

The continuance os his raigne.

platiõ,after the example of his vncle,ſought a more priuate and religious life:and thereupon appointing *Chelred* his coſen germane to rule in his place, in the fifth yeere of his raigne, abandoned his kingdome and Country, and departed for *Rome*, accompanied with *Offa* King of the *Eaſt-Saxons*, and with *Edwine* Biſhop of *Worceſter:* where both theſe Kings were made Monks in the time of Pope *Conſtantine* the firſt, *Iuſtinian* the younger then wearing the Imperiall Crowne;and in a Monaſtery at that City,both theſe penitent Conuerts in the Coules and Orders of Monks, ſpent the reſt of their liues, and therein died and were enterred;this *Mercian* king *Kenred* hauing had neither wife nor child,that I can reade of.

Bed.1.hiſt.Angl. lib.5.cap.20.

Kenred and *Offa* turne Monks.

(3) It is not greatly to be wondered at,that in theſe times to much ouerſhadowed with ſuperſtitious zeal the holy acts of men,which no doubt were many,& the habit of Monks,the accounted holy garments of humility,were ſo meritoriouſly reſpected and reputed in the deuout hearts of the religious,when by the Clergy(that are accounted the light of the world)in a Councell at *Rome* held vnder this Pope *Conſtantine* the firſt,it was decreed and commanded,that carued Images,which neither had action,nor life,not could ſaue themſelues from the ſtroke of deſtruction, ſhould be made to the memoriall of Saints, and ſhould be ſet vp in Churches,with reſpectiue adoration, contrary to Gods moſt expreſſe commandement,and condemned for idolatry by the warrant of ſacred Scriptnre.

Bale.

Leuit.26.

Cheired.

CHELRED THE NINTH KING OF THE MERCIANS, AND THE FOVRTEENTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN, HIS RAIGNE AND SVCCESSION.

Monarch 14

CHAPTER XXVI.

An. Do. 709.

Helred, the ſonne of King *Ethelred*,was of ſufficient yeeres, and well able of rule,at ſuch time as his father reſigned his Scepter vnto his Nephew *Kenred*, had not the pricke of that ſinne touched his conſcience, which made him to beſtow the ſame as he did notwithſtanding the Crown being too waighty for *Kenred* to weare, he as freely againe gaue it the ſon, as he had receiued it of the father before, and relinquiſhed his claime and title thereto.

The appendances of his ingreſſe into gouernmẽt.

(2) *Chelred* thus aduanced before he it expected, entred his gouernment with great applauſe of the people,in whoſe opinions he was held the only man worthy of their Crowne.Ouer the *Mercians* he raigned the ninth King,and of the *Engliſh* Monarchs the fourteenth in number,beginning them both in the yeere of grace ſeuen hundred & nine,and the fourth of *Iuſtinian* the youngers,Empire.

Chelred worthy of the Crowne.

(3) His quietnes was diſturbed by *Inas* the *weſt-Saxon*, whoſe fame for his fortunes beganne then to grow great.For *Kent* he had forced to buy their peace with money: the *Britaines* ſubdued,and had inlarged his confines vpon them;and now againſt *Chelred* this new riſen Monarch, hee meant to try chance, whoſe glory he looked at with an ouer enuious eye.

Inas King of the *Weſt-Saxons.*

(4) His greatneſſe likewiſe *Chelred* ſuſpected, who either to himſelfe or ſucceſſors, (by the foundation which he laid)would diuert the monarchy from him and his *Mercians*, and entaile it to himſelfe and his *Weſt-Saxons*.Hereupon great preparation was made, & each ſet forward with all their powers,the one to attaine, and the other to keep,the glory & title that both of them ſo much thirſted after. At *Wodensbury* they met, and with vndaunted ſpirits ſo fought, that the victory was doubtfull, for neither could ſay the battell was his, or that he departed with the leſſer loſſe.

Chelred prepareth againſt *Inas.*

Henry Hunting.

Mat. Weſtminſter.

(5) Theſe emulations were followed betwixt theſe two Princes the ſpace of ſeuen yeeres, and longer had done, if *Chelred* had liued, or *Inas* not been ſtrucke with remorſe of conſcence for his ouermuch ſpilling of bloud. Of this *Chelred*, ſome Authors haue cenſured, that he was maruellous in proweſſe, and valiant of courage, but his Country miſerable

Iohn.Stow.

The continuance of his raigne.

by his vntimely death, whose raigne lasted only seuen yeeres: and death in the yeere of our Lord seuen hundred and sixteene, dying without issue: his body was buried in the Cathedrall Church of *Lichfield*.

His wife.

Chelred his wife. *Marian Scot.*

(6) *Wereburg* the wife of King *Chelred*, is mentioned by *Marianus* the learned *Scottish* Historian, and by *Florence of Worcester*, who was the follower and continuer of his History, whom we may reasonably credit in this matter, being not incredible, although she must of necessity be thought to haue been married very young, or to haue died very old, because they record her decease to haue beene in the yeere of Christ seuen hundred eighty one: which was almost sixty yeeres after the death of her husband, and towards the end of the long reigne of King *Offa*.

She died sixty, yeeres after her husband.

Ethelbald.

ETHELBALD THE TENTH KING OF THE MERCIANS, AND THE FIFTEENTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN: HIS RAIGNE AND ACTS.

Monarch 15.

CHAPTER XXVII.

n.Do.716.

Ethelbald, Cosen german once remoued vnto King *Chelred*, succeeded him in the kingdom of the *Mercians*, whereof he was the tenth in number, and of the Monarchs ouer the *Englishmen* the fifteenth in account. He beganne his raigne in the yeere of grace seuen hundred sixteene, and with great honour raigned ouer all the Kings on the South side of *Humber*, whose time for the most part was spent in peace; yet some warres he had, and those with variable euents.

The precedents of his raignes initium.

(2) For in the eighteenth yeere of his raigne; he besieged *Sommerton*, and wonne it: and inuading *Northumberland*, without proffer of resistance, returned with great riches by spoile. The *Britains* also that were ioined confederates with the *West-Saxons*, hee molested and ouercame, for whose reuenge King *Cuthred* gaue him battell neere vnto *Burford*, where he with his *Mercians* receiued the foile, the thirty seuenth yeere of his raigne.

Rand. Ceſtern.

Henry Hunting. lib. 4.

(3) The sinnes of these times both in Prince and people, were many & great, as by the Epistles of *Boniface* an *Englishmen*, and Archbishop of *Mentz*, is most manifest, wherein he reproued his adulterous life, who refrayning to marry, wallowed in filthy lecheries; by whose example the Noblemen of *Mercia* did the like, *and their women, as well Nunnes as others made away their children borne out of wedlock, whereby the graues were filled with dead bodies, as hell it selfe with damned soules.* And in another Epistle sent vnto *Cuthbert*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, he complaineth of the *English Nunnes, who wandring in pilgrimage vnder shew of deuotion, liued in pleasure and wanton fornications through all the Cities of* France *and* of Lombardy.

Chron. of *Holl.*

Ro. Mai.

Nunnes infamy.

(4) This his Epistle tooke so good effect, that in repentance king *Ethelbald* released and priuiledged the Church from all tributes to himselfe; and built the Abbey of *Crowland* in *Lincolnshiere*, for the pacifying of Gods wrath towards his sinnes, when also it was enacted by *Cuthbert* and his Clergy, in a Conuocation held in his Prouince, *that the sacred Scriptures should be read in their Monasteries, the Lords Praier and Creed, taught in the English tongue*: which accordingly was done. Which Councell was held in the thirty yeere of this Kings raigne, and of Christs incarnation seuen hundred forty eight.

Crowland Abbey built.

(5) Finally, when he had ruled forty two yeers, fighting against *Cuthred* the *West-Saxon*, in a war not prudently vndertaken, he was traiterously slaine by his owne subiects, at the procurement of *Bernred* a Leader of them, who affecting the kingdome by this stratagem of Treason, sought to attaine it, but was himselfe slaine by *Offa* the *Mercian*, before that this ill sowen seed could take any roote. The place of this *Great Ethelbalds* death, was *Secondone*, three miles from *Tamworth* in the County of *Warwicke*; and of his buriall, *Repton* in *Darby-shire*, where with honourable obsequies he was enterred, the yere of Christs humanity seuen hundred fifty eight, hauing had neither Wife nor Children.

The continuance of his raigne.

VVil. Malm. lury.

OFFA THE ELEVENTH KING OF THE MERCIANS, AND THE SIXTEENTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN, HIS ACTS, RAIGNE, WIFE AND ISSVE.

Offa. Monarch. 16

CHAPTER XXVIII.

An. Do. 758.

OFfa, the coſen of King *Ethelbald*, after ſome time of *Inter-regnum*, ſucceeded him in his dominions of *Mercia*; a man of ſo high ſtomacke and ſtoutnes of mind, that he thought nothing vnpoſſible for him to attaine: and for vertue and vice, ſo equally compoſed, that hardly could bee iudged to whether of them the ſcale of his carriage moſt inclined, although the Monke of *S. Albans* and writer of his life, doth blanch out his graces with ſuperlatiue praiſes.

Wil. Malmesbury. *Liber* M.S.

(2) His Parents he nameth *Twinfreth* and *Mercella*, and himſelfe hee ſaith to haue been firſt named *Pinered*, borne both lame, deafe, and blinde, wherein he ſo continued vnto his mans eſtate. The rage of *Bernred* (ſaith the ſame Author) had forced all three into a ſolitary place, where ſuddenly by miracle *Pinered* was reſtored, and for that cauſe called another *Offa*; who preſently aſſailed, and in a great battel manfully fought, ſlew the vſurping *Bernred*. The Nobles of *Mercia* being rid of that Tyrant by the valour of *Offa*, gladly imbraced & receiued him for their King; who began his raign with greater ſhew of glory, then any *Mercian* before him had done, being in number the eleuenth that had raigned in that Prouince, and is accounted the ſixteenth Monarch of the *Engliſhmen*.

The parents of *Offa*.

Bernred ſlaine.

(3) His neighbour Kings foreſeeing whereat his eye glanced, ſollicited by Letters *Charles the Great* then King of *France*, againſt him; who wrote vnto *Offa*, in their behalfe, and in threatning wiſe commanded him to deſiſt. But he was ſo farre from fearing of his threats, that to his contempt he was the more eager.

King *Charles* the Great.

(4) The firſt that felt his fury, were the *Kentiſhmen*, vnder *Alrike* their King, whoſe ouerthrow was the leſſe diſhonourable (ſaith *Malmesbury*) *for that they were vanquiſhed by ſo great a Monarch*. The place was *Otteford*, vnfortunate to them, where their King was ſlaine by the hand of *Offa* himſelfe, their forces quite diſcomfited by the loſſe of this field, and their Country trodden downe vnder the feet of the *Mercians*.

Malmesbury.

(5) From South to North King *Offa* then marched, and beyond *Humber* made hauocke of all that ſtood againſt him; whence returning triumphant, he ſet vpon the *weſt-Saxons*, that had formerly ioined with his enemies: the place was *Benſinton*, which Caſtell King *Offa* tooke, with the diſcomfiture of King *Kenwolfe*, and all his *weſt-Saxons*, who ſought their reuenge by the aides of the *Britaines* in *Wales*. Their *King* (ſaith mine Author) was then *Marmodius* betwixt whom ſome intercourſe by letters paſſed, & great preſents to king *Offa* ſent, onely to protract time, and to worke vpon aduantage.

Benſinton Caſtel taken by King *Offa*.

Liber S. Albani, M.S. *Marmodius* a Welſh King.

(6) In this *Interim* of complements for a further ſecurity, *Offa* cauſed a great *ditch* to be drawn betwix his and the *Britaines* borders, which worke began at *Baſingwarke* in *Flint-ſhire*, and *North-wales*, not farre from the mouth of *Dee*, and ranne along the mountaines into the *South*, & ended neer *Briſtow* at the fall of *Wye*; the tract whereof in many places is yet ſeene, and is called to this day *Clawdh Offa*, or *Offaes* ditch. *Marmodius*, who openly bare ſaile to this wind, and ſeemed to winke at *Offaes* intents, ſecretly called a Counſell of *State*, wherein he declared how the Act thus in working, would ſoone proue the bane of liberty vnto their country, and the marke of diſhonor to thẽſelues & poſterity for euer; therefore his aduice was, that by ſome ſtratagem it might be ſtaid betime.

Offaes ditch.

Chron. Walliæ.

Marmodius trecherie.

(7) To this his *Britaines* conſented, the truce yet laſting, and the feaſt of *Chriſts Natiuity* euen then at hand; in the celebration wherof was held the greateſt aduantage with leaſt ſuſpect, to put themſelues in action againſt it; and ſecretly working the aſſiſtance of their allies the *Saxons*, both of the *South*, the *weſt*, and the *North*, vpon Saint *Stephens* day at night, ſuddainly brake downe the banke of this Fortification, filling vp againe a great part of the *Ditch*, and in the morning moſt furiouſly ruſhed into *Offa* his Court, put-

The *Britaines* acceſſary to it.

Saxons aſſiſtance.

Offaes people blame.

putting a great number to the sword, who were more intentiue and regardfull to the Feast, then to any defence from their cruell and mercilesse swords.

Armodus vanquished by *Offa*.

(8) These wrongs King *Offa* delaied not to requite, first making their hostages his vassals and slaues, and then with a great army entring Wales, in a bloudy and sore-fought battle hee ouercame *Marmodius* and all his associates in the field. Thus then as a Conquerour ouer all his enemies, triumphantly after ten yeeres wars abroad, returned he to his owne Kingdome, neither puffed with pride, nor suffering his title to be enlarged according to his cõquests: yet he was not neglectiue of regall state, by the report of the Ligger booke of *S. Albans*, which saith, *that in regard of his great prerogatiue, and not of any pride, he first instituted and commanded, that euen in times of peace also, himselfe and his successors in the Crowne, should as he passed through any Citie, haue Trumpeters going and sounding before them, to shew that the person of the King should breed both feare, and honor in all which either see him or heare him.*

The Ligger of *S. Albans* M.S.

King *Charles* congratulateth *Offa*.

(9) Vnto King *Charles* of *France* he wrote in excuse of his warres, and desire of his amity; whom *Charles* againe congratulated with letters of gladnes, both for his victories, and the Christian piety in his land embraced; desiring of *Offa* safe conduct for such his subiects, as came to his country in deuotion to God, and withall sent to him, (for a present) a Booke of the Decrees of the second Councell of Nice. Which *Synodall Booke* (to vse *Roger Houedens* owne words) *was sent vnto King* Charles *from* Constantinople, *Wherein* (saith he) *alas for pity, by the vnanimous assertion of three hundred Bishops or more congregated in that Councell, were decreed many things inconuenient, yea and quite contrary to the true faith, as is most especially the worshipping of Images, which the Church of God doth vtterly detest. Against which Booke* * Albinus *wrote an Epistle, admirably strengthned by the authority of the holy Scriptures, which together with the foresaid Booke himselfe presented in the name of the Princes & Bishops of this land, vnto the foresaid* Charles *King of* France. Such intercourse both for State and Church had this great *Offa* with that great *Charles*.

Ro. Houed. Annal. par. 1. The second Councell of *Nice*.

* *Alcuinus*.

Offaes last wars.

(10) His last warres (according to mine Author) were against the *Danes*, whom he forced to their ships with the losse as well of their booties, as of many of their liues; and then (saith he) with the spirit of humility, both to recall himselfe from the trace of blood, and to the better establishment of his kingdomes peace, he ioined in affinity with his neighbour Princes, vpõ whõ he bestowed his daughters in mariage.

Offa went to Rome.

(11) And making *Egfryd* his sonne a King with himselfe, in great deuotion went to *Rome*, where with the like zeale and example of *Inas* the *West-Saxon*, he made his Kingdome subiect to a Tribute, then called *Peter-pence*, afterwards *Rom-Scot*; besides other rich gifts that he gaue to Pope *Hadrian* for canonizing *Albane* a Saint: in honour of whom, and in repentance of his sinnes, at his returne (ouer against *Verolanium*, in the place then called *Holmehurst*, where that *Protomartyr* of *Britaine*, for the constant profession of Christ, lost his head) *Offa* built a magnificke Monastery in Anno 795, indowing it with lands and rich reuenewes for the maintenance of an hundred Monks: vpon the first gate of entrance in stone standeth cut a *Saltier Argent* in a field azure, & is assigned by the iudicious in Heraldry to bee the Armes that he bare.

His repentance.

(12) Also in testimony of his repentance for the bloud he had spilt, he gaue the tenth part of all his goods vnto the Churchmen, and vnto the poore. At *Bathe* he also built another *Monastery*, and in *Warwickeshiere* a church, where the adioining town, from it and him beareth the name *Off-Church*.

Off-ley Towne.

(13) Finally, when he had raigned thirty nine yeares, he died in peace at his towne *Off-ley* the nine and twentieth of Iuly, the yeare of Christ Iesus, seuen hundred ninety foure: and with great solemnity his body was buried without the towne of *Bedford* in a Chappel standing vpon the Bank of *Owse*, which lõg since was swallowed vp by the same riuer: whose Tombe of lead (as it were some phantasticall thing) appeareth often (saith *Rouse*) to them that seek it not, but to them that seeke it, is altogether inuisible.

Ex lib. S. Albans. M.S. Iohn Rouse.

His issue.

(14) *Quendrid* the wife of king *Offa* hath not her parentage set down by any of our Writers: notwithstanding, the recorder of this his life, saith that her name was *Drida*, and that she was the kinswoman to *Charles the great* King of France, and by him for some offence banished his Realme, who arriuing vpon the coasts of *England* in a ship without tackle, was taken thence, and relieued by *Offa*, being then a young Nobleman, where shee changed her name vnto *Pretronilla*, with whom hee fell so farre in loue that hee made her his wife, contrary to the liking of his parents. She was a woman of condition ambitious, couetous, and cruell, as appeared specially in the death of *Ethelbert*, King of the *East-Angles*, that came to her husbands Court to marry their daughter; whose port shee so much enuied, that she procured him to be treacherously murdered: the manner the foresaid Author declared to be by his fal into a deepe pit, purposely made in his bed-chamber and vnder his chaire of estate. That his head was cut off, and found by a blind-man; that the well which beares his name sprung vp presently in the place where it lay, that the bloud thereof gaue the blinde man his sight, and that *Dryda* died in the same pit which shee had digged for *Ethelbert*, I leaue to the credite of my author, and the liking of my Reader: but certaine it is that Gods vengeance followed this heynous fact within one yeare after the same was committed, by the death of her selfe, her husband, & her sonne, and the translation of that Kingdome from the *Mercians* to the *West-Saxons*.

In the life of S. *Albane*, prefixed before the Ledger booke of that Abbey.

Offa affected vnto *Quendred*.

Quendred her treachery.

An ancient Saxon coine inscribed with her name, *CENEDRED REGIN*. we haue found and here placed, which the iudicious suppose to be hers, and that not vnlikely, shee being so powerfull, proud and ambitious.

Quendred rewarded with the like paines.

His issue.

Egfryd the only sonne of *Offa*.

(15) *Egfryd* the onely sonne, and heire apparant of King *Offa* and Queene *Quendred*, was the onely ioy and pride of his parents, who succeeded his Father in his dominions and title, and in the same yeare also in the shades of death.

Ethelburga the first daughter.

(16) *Ethelburga*, the eldest daughter of King *Offa* and Queene *Quendred*, was maried to *Brithrick* the sixteenth King of the *West-Saxons*: shee was a Lady of passing beauty, but withall of an insolent disposition, hating all whom her husband loued, and practising the deathes of them that she hated; Shee departed into *France* after the poisoning of her husband, & for that her offence, a law was enacted to the great preiudice of the *west-Saxons* Queenes, as in the raigne of *Brithrik* we haue declared.

Chap. 7. fe & 16.

Polychr. *Elfled* the second daughter.

(17) *Elfled* the second daughter of King *Offa*, and Queene *Quendred*, by the report of *Randulph Higden* the monke of *Chester*, was the second wife to *Ethelred* King of *Northumberland*; who in regard of her had put from him his former wife, for which his subiects rose in Armes against him, and slew him in the last yeare of King *Offa*, his raigne.

Elfrid the third daughter.

(18) *Elfrid* the third and youngest daughter of King *Offa*, and Queene *Quendred*, being promised in mariage, and assured vnto *Ethelbert* King of the *East-Angles*, after the murther of her hoped Bridegroom with great lamentations, and prophesying threats of reuenge, abandoned the society of men, and withdrew herselfe vnto the monastery of *Crowland* in the

Fennes,

Fennes; where in contemplation and ſolitary ſadnes ſhe ſpent the remainder of her life; and yet there are that ſuppoſe her to bee the wife of King *Kenwolfe*, who was the founder of *Winchcombe* Monaſtery, and the ſucceſſor of his brother *Egfryde*.

(19) *Fremund* by *Iohn Capgraue* is ſuppoſed to be the ſonne of King *Offa*, who, as he ſaith, was traiterouſly murdered by one *Ofwy* that enuied his victories which hee gat againſt the *Danes*: his body was buried at *Offchurch* in *Warwickſhire*, and neere vnto the Palace of *Offa*; alleadging for his Author one *Burghard*, who was at his death, and wrote his life; yet ſome there that are thinke him miſtaken, for that hee calleth him a young man, when as thoſe warres hapned an hundred yeeres after King *Offa* his life.

Iohn Capgraue.

Burghard.

Egfrid.

EGFRID THE TVVELFTH KING OF THE MERCIANS, AND THE SEVENTEENTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN.

Monarch 17

CHAPTER XXIX.

An.Do.794.

Gfride, the ſonne of King *Offa*, ſucceeded his father in the *Mercians* kingdom, wherof he was the twelfth in number, and in the Monarchy of the *Engliſhmen*, ranked in account the ſeuenteenth. Hee began his reigne the 13. day of *July*, in the yeere of Chriſt his natiuity, ſeuen hundred ninety foure. The firſt buſineſſe that he vndertooke after hee came to the Crowne, was the reſtauration of ancient priuiledges to the Church, which his father had depriued them of; and great hope was conceiued of his further proceedings, had not God cut him off by vntimely death. For hauing reigned onely foure moneths, hee gaue place vnto nature, and to another ſucceſſour, the ſins of the people deſeruing no ſuch Prince: for whoſe cauſe, and his fathers great bloudſhed, as *Alcuine* wrote to *Osbertus*, he was taken away ſo ſoone.

Egfrid reſtoreth antike priuiledges.

(2) He deceaſed the ſeuenth day of *December*, and in the firſt of his reigne, hauing had neither Wife nor Iſſue that wee reade of. His body with all due obſequies was honourably buried in the Abbey Church of *S. Albans*, of his fathers foundation.

Flecus Albinus.

The continuance of his reigne.

Kenwolfe.

KENVVOLFE THE THIRTEENTH KING OF THE MERCIANS, AND THE EIGHTEENTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN.

Monarch 18

CHAPTER XXX.

An. Do. 794.

KEnwolfe, not ſo neere in blood to King *Egfryd*, as he was like him in all vertuous conditions, by him was ordained to ſucceed in his Dominions, whereby hee became the thirteenth King of the *Mercians*, and the eighteenth Monarch of the *Engliſhmen*, in the yeere of our Lord ſeuen hundred ninety ſeuen. At home he was an example of piety, peace, and religion, & ſet the ſcale of iuſtice without reſpect to all alike; abroad temperate, humble, and courteous, without vain oſtentation or ambitious conceits; in warres hee was ſtout and victorious; in peace ſtudious to enrich his ſubiects: briefly, at all times ſo carrying himſelfe, that enuy could not touch him with her tongue.

Kenwolfes praiſe.

(2) Whether vpon a new quarrell begun, or the old retained, (as inheritable to the *Mercians* againſt thoſe of *Kent*) I cannot ſay; but true it is, that in the entrance of his reigne, he entred that Prouince with a great hoſt of men, and in a ſore fought field diſcomfited the *Kentiſh*, and carried away priſoner their King, whoſe firname was *Pren*. His kingdome hee gaue to *Cuthred*, and kept him captiue in *Mercia*, to his great griefe, and his ſubiects diſhonour.

Wil. Malmeſburie.

(3) But *Kenwolfe* in peace, & minding the works of true piety, gaue himſelfe to the building of a goodly Church at *Winchcombe* in *Gloceſterſhire*; where vpon the day of dedication, in the preſence of *Cuthred* (aſſigned his Viceroy in *Kent*,) thirteene Biſhops, ten Dukes, many Nobles, and a great concourſe of people, hee led *Pren* this *Kentiſh* captiue vp to the *high Altar*, and there without either his entreaty, or ranſome for Redemption, releaſed and ſet him free; ſhewing thereby his deuotion to God, and the heroicall parts of a magnanimous Prince.

Winchcombe Monaſtery

(4) His reigne was twenty two yeeres, and *death in Anno* eight hundred nineteene, beeing ſolemnely buried in the Church of the *Monaſterie* of *Winchcombe* aforeſaid which himſelfe had founded.

Kenwolfes burial.

His wife.

(5) *Elfryd*, the wife of King *Kenwolfe*, hath not her parentage certainely reported by any of our Hiſtorians; yet ſome later vpon a likelihood of her name, the place and time agreeing, haue thought her to bee the daughter of *Offa*, affianced to King *Ethelbert*, as hath beene ſaid: but in theſe obſcurities, coniecture may wander aſtray.

Elfrids parents vnknowne.

His children.

(6) *Kenelm* the ſon of King *Kenwolfe*, and of Queen *Elfryde* his wife, was very yong at his fathers death, and ſucceeded him in the *Mercians* kingdome, but not in the *Monarchy* of the *Engliſh*; King *Egbert* the *weſt-Saxon* King then growne too great. And in the ſame yeere that he beganne his reigne, by the treaſon of his vnnaturall ſiſter hee was murthered, and firſt obſcurely buried, but afterwards ſolemnly remoued and repoſed neere to his Father in the *Monaſterie* of *Winchcombe*, as in the *Mercian* Kings ſucceſſions wee haue ſaid.

Kenelms death.

Chap: 10. ſect. 14.

(7) *Quendred* the eldeſt daughter of King *Kenwolfe*, and Lady *Elfryd* his Queene, after the deceaſe of her father, ambitiouſly aſpiring to compaſſe the ſway of the *Mercian* Kingdome wholy to her ſelfe, wickedly conſpired the death of her brother king *Kenelme*, which was traiterouſly acted by *Askebert* her inſtrument, who had the charge of him: but the ſame turning to her reproch, for very ſhame of ſo damnable a deed, ſhee within ſhort time after ended her life, but not her ignominie.

Quendred the eldeſt daughter of *Kenwolfe*.

(8) *Burgenhild*, the yonger daughter of king *Kenwolfe*, and of Queene *Elfryd*, hath not been ſo famous to poſterity as her ſiſter *Quendred* was for her infamous Act; notwithſtanding, ſhee may reaſonably bee ſuppoſed to haue ledde a better life, and to haue died a better death; eſpecially of vs, who find her not ſtained with any aſperſion of miſdeſeruing.

Burgenhild the yonger daughter.

EGBERT

Egbert.

EGBERT THE NYNTEENTH KING OF THE VVEST-SAXONS, THE NINETEENTH, BVT FIRST SOLE AND ABSOLVTE MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN, HIS ACTS, VVIFE, AND ISSVE.

Monarch 19

CHAPTER XXXI.

An. Do. 800.

THe *Saxon Heptarchy* drawing now to a period, the ſpring of an entire Monarchie began to ſhew it ſelfe, and the glory of the Engliſhmen more cleerely to ariſe: for though they had weakned each other by their own wars, yet ſtood their power ſtrong in the poſſeſſion of the whole, and the ouerborne *Britaines* held ſtill at the worſt.

(2) But ſuch is the diſpoſe of the ſole diſpoſer of Empires, that they haue their riſings, their fuls, and their fals: neuer ſtaying in one and the ſame point, neither entailed to one and the ſame Nation, how ſtrong, politicke or populous ſoeuer. The prooſe whereof is apparant in all the Kingdomes of the earth, and this of ours as mutable as any; whoſe change of State vnto, and in, this *ſeuen-fold* Gouernment hath hitherto beene ſeene: the ſeuerall Kings thereof long contending to branch their owne fountaines furtheſt and faireſt, laſtly let them fall into one ſtreame, which ſo meeting, made a more famous influence in this *Monarchy*, then the *ſeauen heads* of *Nilus* in the *Egyptian Sea*.

The ſeuen fold gouernment mutable.

(3) Formerly, the *Kentiſh*, *South-Saxons*, *East-Angles*, *Northumbrians*, and the *Mercians*, who through no leſſe then eight deſcents had worne the Emperial Diademe, whoſe rayes ſhone now ſo bright in the *weſt-Saxons* eyes, that they againe ſought to reeſtate themſelues in ſo glorious a poſſeſſion. For, whereas *Brightrik* was poſſeſſed and contented with the *weſt-Saxon* Crowne, neither that worne without iealouſie and feare; yet others of the blood royall from *Cherdik* raiſed the wings of their ſoaring thoughts much higher, among whom *Egbert* was one, neither the laſt nor the leaſt in the opinion of the people, or ſuſpect of his Prince.

Weſt-Saxons ambition.

(4) This *Egbert* hauing commaund of ſome part of that Prouince, ſo carried himſelfe, that his fame grew fearefull to *Brightrik* the King, and hatefull to the enuious *Ethelburg* his moſt proud Queene, by whom hee was enforced firſt to ſecure himſelfe with the *Mercian Offa*; and laſtly conſtrained to flie into *France*: where vnder *Charles the Great*, hee turned his aduerſity into an occaſion of his valour, by ſeruing in his warres, and learned by his politicke gouernment, how to rule a quiet or diſturbed Sate.

Egberts exigents and reliefes.

(5) But King *Brightriks* death acted, and his Queene the contriuer baniſhed, *Egbert* is ſolicited to the wearing of the *Weſt-Saxon* crowne, where hee became the eighteenth *King* in number, and nineteene yeeres after the nineteenth *Monarch* of the *Engliſhmen*; entring his reigne the yeere of Chriſt Ieſus, eight hundreth, beeing the ſame yeere that *Charles* was made Emperour of the *Weſt*, and *Conwall* then ruling ouer the *Scots*.

Simon Dunel. ſaith 802. *Mat. weſtminſter*, ſaith 801.

(6) His firſt warres were againſt the *Corniſh*, and their aſſociats the *Welſh*, both of them a remnant of the old *Britaines*, who had beene oftentimes vanquiſhed, but neuer would ſeeme to bee ſubdued, and for foureteene yeeres continuance held ſide againſt *Egbert*; which their reſiſtance ſo prouoked his furie that hee enacted a moſt ſeuere law againſt them, commanding that no *Britaine* ſhould preſume to paſſe ouer great *Offaes* ditch, and preſent death to them that durſt ſet foot vpon any Engliſh ground. Their great *Caer-legion* (now *Weſt-cheſter*) hee tooke from them, and at *London* from their *weſt gate* caſt downe the braſen Image of *Cadwallo* there ſet vp by the *Britaines* for a terrour to the *Saxons*, as wee haue ſaid.

Iohn Deuer.

Chap. 12.

(7) His warres thus proſpering, his puiſſance grew dreadfull, and his glory much enuied at by the other Princes, whereof *Bernulfe* of *Mercia* was the firſt attempter that ſought to plucke the wing of this *weſt-Saxon* Eagle, but thereby wrought his owne downefall; for *Egbert* ioyning battaile with him at *Ellenden* ouerthrew his power, and in that quarrell *Bernulfe* was laſtly ſlaine.

Chap 10. ſect. 8.

(8) *Kent* was the next, and faireſt marke in *Egberts*

Vil. Malmsbury.

berts eye, whose king not gracious in his own subiects sight, was the easier to be subdued; him he chased ouer Thamisis, and added not onely that County, but also Sussex and Surrey, for Prouinces vnto his owne Kingdome: next were the *East-Saxons*, the *East-Angles*, & in truth all, that both vpon the *North*, and the *South* of *Humber* gaue him obedience; so that the bounds of his dominion were greately enlarged, and his royall authority by those seuerall Kings acknowledged.

Egbert the first sole Monarch.

(9) Then to confirme his estate he called an assembly vnto the City *Wincheſter*, where causing himselfe to bee solemnly crowned, became the first Saxons absolute Monarch of the whole Iland, so reducing the Monarchiall title from the *Mercians* to the *West-Saxons*, in whose Progeny it continued without reuersement vntill the *Danes* first got, and againe lost it, and the *Saxons* issue failing, the same fell to the *Normans* Duke by Conqueſt, as in continuance of our history, Christ assisting, shall be seene.

An. Do. 816.

(10) His Coronation was at *Wincheſter*, and entrance in the yeare of grace, eight hundred and nineteene, at which time by his Edict in that City dated, he caused all the South of the Iland to be called *England*, according to the *Angles*, of whom himselfe came, and promising great felicity to his State and Successors, was therein not so happy as in his affaires he had beene fortunate.

(11) For those *Saxons* that by warre and blood, had made themselues Lords of other mens rights, and of one Kingdome no lesse then seuen, are now endangered to bee made seruants vnto subiection, and by warre and bloud their seuen-fold Kingdome brought againe vnto one; neither yet freed from the reuenge of bloody violence: for that a fierce and cruell nation (the *Danes*) ceased not continually to inuade them, till they had subdued and set the crowne thereof vpon their owne heads, who in King *Brightrick* dayes, and about the yeere seuen hundred eighty seuen, hauing with three vessels landed in the *West* of *England*, at three seuerall times, in so many seuerall places, sought the ruine of the land in the raigne of this *Egbert*.

Floren. Wigorn.

Simon Dun. Henry Hunting. Mat. West.

(12) The first was in his thirty third yeare, when with thirty fiue ships they layded at *Lindisferne* vpon the *North* of *England*, where they were met and fought with at *Carham*, but with such losse to the *English*, that two chiefe Captaines, *Dudda* and *Osmond*, two Bishops, *Herefrid* of *Wincheſter*, and *Vigferd* of *Shirborne*, with many Souldiers were therein slaine, King *Egbert* himselfe hardly escaping by the couert of the night.

(13) Their second attempt was in the second yeare following, when in *West-wales* they landed, vnto whom the *Britaines* there ioyned, and at the place called *Hengiſtenton* abode the King in field, where *Egbert* with prosperous fortune vanquished and slew both the *Danes* and the *Welsh*.

(14) The third place of their arriuage was *Sheepie* in *Kent*, which Iland they sacked, and with much adoe were expelled in the last of King *Egberts* raign, and but the new beginning of their sauage cruelties.

(15) This *Egbert* by *Florentius* of *Worceſter* is said to be the sonne of *Alkemund*, who was the sonne of *Eafa*, and he the sonne of *Eoppa*, the sonne of *Ingils*, the brother of *Ine*, the eleuenth King of the *West-Saxons*, and both of them the sonnes of *Kenred*, descended from *Cherdik* the first King of that Prouince: he was but low of stature, yet well composed and strong of limme, very valiant, wise and politicke, a skillfull souldier, and as great in mind, as fortunate in warre; he raigned ouer the *West-Saxons* the space of thirty six yeares and seuen monethes, and *Monarch* of the whole *Iland* seuenteen yeres: his death hapned the fourth day of February, and yeare of Christs Incarnation eight hundred thirty six.

The continuance of his raigne.

(16) His body was with all obsequies solemnly buried at *Wincheſter*, and his bones since taken vp, remaine with others in that Cities Cathedral Church, bestowed in Chests set vpon the wall of each side the *Quier*, with these verses neither ancient, nor elegant, thereon inscribed:

Hic Rex Egbertus pausat cum Rege Kenulpho,
Nobis egregia munera vterque tulit.

His wife.

(17) *Redburg*, the wife of King *Egbert*, was the first of the *West-Saxons*, that by their new made law was depriued of title, authority, or place of a Queene; notwithstanding it seemeth shee bare a great stroke with her husband, in that *Iohn Beuer* the Monke of *Weſtminſter* reporteth, that shee procured a law to be made against the *Britaines*; the penalty whereof was present death for any of them to set footing within the realme of England, or to passe the *Ditch* that King *Offa* had made.

Redburgs cruelty.

His Issue.

Ethelwolfe eldest sonne.

(18) *Ethelwolfe*, the eldest sonne of King *Egbert*, and Lady *Redburg* his wife, was in his childhood committed to the charge of *Helmestan* Bishop of *Vincheſter*, vnder whom hee was carefully trayned vp in learning and vertue, who comming to mans estate proued also a perfect Souldier, and had the leading of his fathers power against *Baldred* King of *Kent*, whom hee forced to flie ouer the Thamisis, and to abandon his kingdome, which hee subdued to the subiection of his father, and afterwards succeeded him in the *Monarchy* of the Englishmen.

Ethelstan yonger sonne.

(19) *Ethelstane*, the younger sonne of King *Egbert*, and of the Lady *Redburg* his wife, was by his father deputed King ouer the *Kentishmen*, the *South-Saxons*, and the *East-Saxons*, after hee had brought them vnto his subiection; which people hee most valiantly defended against the inuasions of the *Danes*, defeating their forces both by sea and land, and at *Sandwich* gaue them a most memorable ouerthrow, in the yeare of our Lord eight hundred fifty one, being the sixteenth of his brother King *Ethelwolfes* raigne; in whose time hee deceased, and is reported to haue left a sonne named *Oſtride*, who by reason of his minority succeeded not in his fathers dominions which *Ethelbert* the second sonne of King *Ethelwolfe* entred vpon, and being *Monarch* reunited these kingdomes inseparably vnto the *Monarchy*.

Edgith a daughter.

(20) *Edgith*, commonly called Saint *Edith* the daughter of King *Egbert*, was in her childhood by her brother *Ethelwolfe* committed to the charge and bringing vp of a Lady in *Ireland*, greatly renowmed for her holinesse of life, named *Modewine*, by whom she was afterwards recommended to a Discipleſſe of the said Lady, named *Athee*, and made Gouernesse of a *Monaſtery* of the Ladies, by her planted in a place which the King her brother had giuen her, called *Polleſworth*, situated in *Arden* in the north verge of the County of *Warwicke*, wherein she liued, died, and was honourably buried, and the place in regard of her afterwards called Saint *Ediths of Polleſworth*.

Ethelwolfe.

ETHELVVOLFE THE NINTEENTH KING OF THE VVEST-SAXONS, AND THE TWENTIETH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISMEN: HIS WARRES, ACTS, WIVES, AND CHILDREN.

Monarch 20

CHAPTER XXXII.

An.Do.837.

ETHELWOLFE, the eldeſt ſonne of King *Egbert*, committed in his youth to the care of *Helmeſtan* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and by him vnto *Swithun* a famous learned Monke of that time, tooke ſuch a liking vnto the quiet and ſolitary life, (onely enioyed by men of Religion, all other eſtates moleſted to withſtand the intruding *Danes*) that hee vndertooke the Monkiſh vow and profeſſion, and was made Deacon; ſhortly after which degree taken, *Helmeſtan* died, in whoſe place Prince *Ethelwolfe* was conſecrated, as *Reger Houeden* affirmeth, or at leaſt elected, (as *Iohn Brampton* Abbat of *Iaruaux* writeth) Biſhop of *Wincheſter*. But the death of his Father King *Egbert* immediately following, by great intreaty of the Nobles, and partly by conſtraint of the Clergie, hee was made King, and was by the authority of Pope *Gregory the fourth*, (whoſe creature in both profeſſions he was) abſolued and diſcharged of his vowes.

Roger Houeden. *Iohn Brampton.*

Henry Hunting. *Mat. Weſtminſter.*

(2) Hee entered his *Monarchy* the fourth day of *February* in the yeere of *Chriſts* Incarnation, eight hundred thirty ſeuen, and was the nineteenth *King* of the *Weſt-Saxons*, and the twentieth *Monarch* of the *Engliſhmen*. His Biſhopricke he gaue vnto *Swithun* his Tutor, and according to his place, combined all his powers to withſtand the dangerous *Danes*, that attempted the vtter ſubuerſion of his faire land: whoſe *fift inuaſion* in his firſt yeere happened; which drew the *Saxons* ciuill warres vnto a conſtrained peace, hauing more then they could well doe to defend their liues from their ſlaughtering ſwords, or to ſaue their vniuſtly gotten land from the ſpoiles of thoſe common enemies; who, not like Conquerours, but deſtroying Caterpillers, left nothing vndeuoured whereſoeuer they came, and had now begunne their mercileſſe depopulations in diuers places at once, ſo that the diſtracted *Engliſh* were to ſeeke where was moſt need firſt to withſtand.

Wil. Malmesbury.

(3) At *Hampton* & *Porteſmouth* many of theſe *Norway* Pirates had entred; at *Hampton* with their ouerthrow, at *Porteſmouth* with victory; & the ſame time at *Carrum*, a Troupe of theſe *Danes* diſcomfited King *Ethelwolfes* power. The next yeare at *Merſeware*, *Lindſey*, in *Eaſt-Angle*, and *Kent*, they did much miſchiefe, and harried all the Country before them: yet in his tenth yeare at *Pedredeſmouth*, the *Somerſet* and *Dorſetſhiere* men gaue them a memorable ouerthrow, vnder the conduct of Earle *Enwulfe*, Biſhop *Adelſtan*, and *Oſred* their captaines.

Simon Dunelm. *Hen. Hunting.*

An.Do.838.

(4) But in the ſixteenth yeare of this king, the great Planet *Mars* ſeemed to predominate continually, and *Fortune* to caſt the chance of victory euer on his ſide: for two hundred and fifty ſhips, (ſome reckon a hundred more) entred into *Thamiſis* mouth and ſet on ſhore an infinite number of theſe deſtroying *Danes*. *London* and *Canterbury* they had ſacked and left waſt, had pierced into *Mercia*, and chaſed *Berthulfe* their king out of his Country, and now in *Southery* had pitched their battle, as able and reſolute to abide all the power of the *Engliſh*; whither king *Ethelwolfe* with his ſonne prince *Ethelbald* repaired, and tooke the field at the place called *Ocley*; wherein after a long and ſore fight, the victory fell to the *Engliſh*, with ſuch ſlaughter of theſe *Norway* inuaders, as is incredible to report, and the ſame held as great and famous, as euer had hapned in the land before.

Henry Hunt. *Aredus Rival.*

(5) With the like ſucceſſe his Brother *Athelſtan* king of *Kent*, fought with the *Danes* at *Sandwich*, where chaſing them to ſea, tooke nine of their ſhips; and in *Deuonſhiere*, Earle *Ceorle* at *VVinleſhore* ſo ouerthrew their whole power, that in deſpaire they with-drew themſelues into the Ile of *Thanet*, where they made their abode all the winter ſeaſon; and if deſtiny had not withſtood the *Engliſh*, the *Danes* had beene expulſed for euer. But the *Saxons*

seeming cleared of this common enemy, fell to their wonted quarrels with the euer depreſſed *Britaines*, againſt whom *Burthred* the *Mercian* obtained the aſſiſtance of *King Ethelwolfe* in his eighteenth yeare, whoſe daughter *Ethelſwith* hee had obtained in mariage; whereby for a while was encreaſed the fame and power of that valiant, but vnfortunate King.

Simon. Dun.

See Chap. 20. Sect. 20.

(6) In this State the affaires of the land ſtood vnto the nineteenth yeare of *King Ethelwolfes* raigne, who now remembring his former Eccleſiaſticke profeſſion, ordained that tithes and Lands due to holy Church ſhould bee free from all Tributes or Regall ſeruices; and in great deuotion went himſelfe to *Rome*, where hee was both honourably receiued, and entertained the ſpace of a whole yere; in which time hee new built the *Engliſh Schoole* that *Offa* the *Mercian* before had there founded, and lately was fired, bearing the name of *Thomas the Holy*; confirming alſo his Grant of *Peter pence*, and further couenanting in lieu of his Kind entertainement to pay yeerely three hundred markes to *Rome*, thus to hee emploied; one hundred to Saint *Peters* Church, an other hundred to Saint *Pauls Light*, and the third to the *Pope*: the Bride that euermore muſt be kiſſed and largely paid.

VVil. Malmsbury. Simon Dun.

(7) His returne from *Rome* was through *France*, and being a Widower, hee there married *Iudith* the moſt beautifull daughter of *Charles the Bald* then *Emperour*; in honour of whom in his owne Court, he euer placed her in a Chaire of Eſtate, with all other maieſtall complements of a *Queene*, contrary to the law of the *weſt-Saxons* for *Ethelburgaes* offence, formerly made. Which his doing ſo diſliked the *Nobles*, that Prince *Ethelbald* his eldeſt Sonne, *Adelſtan* Biſhop of *Shirborne*, and *Ermulfe* Earle of *Somerſet* roſe vp rebelliouſly in Armes and ſought to depoſe him; yet by mediation of friends, the matter came to a comprimize, and the land to be diuided betwixt the *Father* and *Sonne*, but with ſuch partiality that the better part *weſt-ward* was allotted to *Ethelbald*: which vnequality gaue great ſuſpition, that this reuolt was rather grounded vpon ambition, then any inclination they had for the defence of their lawes, which commonly is the pretence and vaile for all diſloyall attempts of ſeditious ſubiects againſt their ſoueraigne Lords.

Wil. Malmsb.

(8) Howſoeuer it was, long after this he liued not, but left his *Monarchy* vnto his eldeſt ſonne *Ethelbald*: and by will appointed *Ethelbert* his ſecond, to be King of *Kent* and *Eſſex*, which countries he had conquered. He raigned twenty yeares, one moneth, and nine dayes, and deceaſed at a place called *Stamrige*, the thirteenth day of *Ianuary*, in the yeare of our Lord, eight hundred fifty ſeauen, being the twenty one of his raign. His body was firſt buried at the place of his deceaſe, and afterwards remoued into the *Cathedrall Church* at *Wincheſter*.

Ethelwolfes time of raigning.

His wiues.

Osburgs parents.

(9) *Osburg*, the firſt wife of king *Ethelwolfe*, was the daughter of a Nobleman named *Oſlake*, who had the Office of *Creat Butler of England*, and was deſcended of the ſtocke of *Stuffe* and *Withgar* two brethren, being noblemē of the people called *Iutes*, who were the firſt Princes of the Ile of *VVight*; and Nephewes to *Cherdike*, and coſen germans to *Kenrike* the firſt and ſecond kings of the *VVeſt*-Saxons, and the third and fourth *Monarches* of the *Engliſhmen*. She was the ſecond kings wife that was debarred of the title and place of *Queene*. Shee deceaſed three years before the king her husband, in the ninteeenth yeare of his raigne, being the yeare of Chriſts Natiuity eight hundred fifty fiue.

Iudith a ſecond wife.

(10) *Iudith* his ſecond wife, was the daughter of *Charles* the Emperour, and king of *France*, as wee haue ſaid: her Mother was Queene *Ermentrude*, the daughter of *Vodon* Earle of *Orleance*. Shee was a Lady of paſſing beauty, and marryed to this king in France; and when ſhee came into England was receiued with the title and place of a Queene, in abolishment of the peruerſe law of the *Weſt-Saxons*, made againſt the Kings *Wiues*, as before was touched. She was his wife three yeares, and ſuruiued him without any iſſue.

His iſſue

Ethelbald the firſt Sonne.

(11) *Ethelbald*, the eldeſt ſonne of King *Ethelwolfe* and of Lady *Osburg* his firſt wife, was brought vp in his youth iu the exerciſe of warre, and ſerued vnder his Father in the great victory obtained againſt the *Danes* at *Ocley* in *Surry*, in the yeare eight hundred fifty one: afterwards hee turned his force againſt his Father; and at his returne from *Rome*, practiſed to defeat him of his Kingdome, and was ready to haue giuen him battaile, had not his father parted with him his Dominion.

Ethelbert the ſecond ſonne.

(12) *Ethelbert*, the ſecond ſon of King *Ethelwolfe* and Lady *Oſburg* his firſt wife, was in the life time of his Father, after the deceaſe of his vncle *Ethelſtan*, appointed and placed his Succeſſor in his *Kingdome* ouer the *South-Saxons*, the *Kentiſh*, and the *Eaſt-Saxons*, without any mention or meaning (as it ſeemeth) that he ſhould intermeddle further with any other part of *England*. Notwithſtanding after the death of his brother *Ethelbald*, it was generally holden of all men for law, equity, and reaſon, that he ſhould ſucceed him in the *Monarchy*: and ſo he did, with the conſent of his brethren, and without reſiſtance, or contradiction of any other.

Ethelred a third ſonne.

(13) *Ethelred* the third ſonne of King *Ethelwolfe* and Lady *Osburg* his firſt wife, had by the diſpoſition of his Father in his laſt will, the one halfe of his Fathers proper inheritance; which was all ſuch land as King *Egbert* his Grandfather had before hee was King, and was no part of the Demaines of the *Kingdome*; and this was diuided betwixt him and his brother *Elfred*, as the kingdome was betweene their elder Brethren *Ethelbald* and *Ethelbert*: with an intent that this *Ethelred* ſhould ſucceed his brother *Ethelbald* in the kingdome of the *weſt-Saxons*; notwithſtanding, his brother *Ethelbert*, after the deceaſe of *King Ethelbald*, entred into the other part, adoining it to his former kingdome, and was king of the whole, and after left it entire to this *Ethelred*, who ſucceeded him in the *Monarchy*.

Elfred a fourth ſonne.

(14) *Elfred* the fourth ſonne of *King Ethelwolfe* and of Lady *Osburg* his firſt wife, was borne at *wantage* in *Barkeſhiere*, in the yere of our Lord God, eight hundred forty nine; and the thirteenth of his fathers raign. Being a child of fiue yeeres old, he was ſent very honourably attended to the City of *Rome*, wher *Leo* the *fourth* then Biſhoppe confirmed him, was his Godfather at the confirmation, and annointed him to the expectation of a kingdome. Growne in yeares, he grew ſo in diſcretion, magnanimity and fauour of all men, that in the ſucceſſiue raignes of his three elder Brethren, he ruled as a Vice-roy or ſecondary king vnder euery of them, and after them at the laſt ſucceeded in the Engliſh *Monarchy*.

Ethelſwith a daughter.

(15) *Ethelſwith*, the daughter of King *Ethelwolfe* and Lady *Osburg*, was maried to *Burthred* the twentieth King of *Mercia*, which mariage was ſolemnized at the towne of *Chippingham* in *VViltſhiere*, in the moneth of Aprill, and yeare of Chriſts Natiuity eight hundred thirty fiue, and the fifteenth of her father raigne; but within twenty two years after, they were both forced by the *Danes* to abandon their kingdom, and departed into *Italy*, where the king died the ſame yeare in the Engliſh Colledge at *Rome*: ſhee liued after him fifteene yeares in the habite of a *Nunne*, at the City of *Padua*, and there died, and was honourably buried in the yere of our Lord God eight hundred eighty nine, which was the eighteenth yeare of her brother *King Elfreds* raigne.

Neote a ſuppoſed ſonne.

(16) *Neote*, ſuppoſed by *Iohn Capgraue* the *Legend writer*, to bee the ſonne of *King Ethelwolfe*, was in his youth brought vp at *Glaſtenbury* vnder *Dunſtan*, who was afterward *Archbiſhop* of *Canterbury*. He proued a man of great learning, and was one of the firſt Readers of *Diuinity* in the Vniuerſity of *Oxford*, at the foun-

foundation, or as as ſome will haue it, the reſtauration thereof by King *Elfred*; hee planted a *Monaſterie* in *Cornwall*, whereunto hee vſed for deuotion and ſtudious meditations often to withdraw himſelfe, which of his abode there, was afterward called *Neoteſtocke*; and when hee was dead, his body was with great honor enterred in the County of *Huntingdon*, at a place then called *Anulfesberie*, and afterward in regard of his enterment, Saint *Neotes*, and now Saint *Needes*. S. Needes Towne.

Ethelbald.

ETHELBALD THE TVVENTIETH KING OF THE WEST-SAXONS, AND THE TWENTY ONE MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN, HIS ACTS, AND RAIGNE.

Monarch. 21

CHAPTER XXXIII.

An. Do. 857. *Flores, Wigorn.*

Ethelbald, the eldeſt ſonne of king *Ethelwolfe*, hauing had part of the kingdome in the life time of his Father, after his death entred vpon the whole, and was the twentieth king of the *Weſt-Saxons*, and the twenty one Monarch of the *Engliſhmen*, beginning his reigne in the yeere of Chriſts incarnation eight hundred fifty ſeuen.

His wars againſt the *Danes*.

(2) His youth he had ſpent in the exerciſe of war, hauing made proofe of valour in his ſeruice againſt the *Danes* in many battles; and likewiſe attempted (though not in ſo good a cauſe) to haue fought againſt his own father. Which his aſſaies, as they ſeemed violent and vnnaturall, yet beeing in the quarrell of the *Weſt-Saxons* law, enacted in preiudice of their Queenes, he was both ſided and approued, as hath been ſaid.

Wil. Malmsbury.

(3) But howſoeuer vnwilling hee was this faire Queene ſhould [illegible]tate by his fathers ſide, yet contrary to all lawes either of God or man, hee laid her by his owne, and by nuptiall rites, brought her to his ſinfull and inceſtuous bed. Which act, though foule enough, ſome haue made worſe, in reporting his Wife to be his own Mother, whom King *Ethelwolfe* kept for his Concubine. And ſurely this his ſinne was not long vnpuniſhed by the ſhortneſſe of his raigne and life, leauing no other memory of his acts, beſides this foule blot to his faire name.

The time of his raigning.

(4) His raigne was onely two yeeres and an halfe, and death chanced vpon the twentieth day of *December*, the yeere of Chriſts aſſuming our fleſh, eight hundred and ſixty. His body was firſt buried at *Shirburne* in the County of *Dorſet*, where at that time was the Cathedrall Church and Epiſcopall See; but afterwards was remoued and enterred at *Salesburie*, in the County of *Wiltſhire*.

His wife.

1. Cor. 5. 1.

(5) *Iudith*, the Wife of King *Ethelbald*, was the widow of his owne Father, a moſt vnlawfull matrimony contracted againſt all law of God or of nature; which being both diſſolued and puniſhed by the haſty death of the King, and ſhee returning towards her father and Country in *Flanders*, was rauiſhed by *Baldwin* the Foreſter of *Arden* in *France*, and by him forcibly kept vntill ſhee conſented to become his wife, who in regard of that marriage, when he was reconciled to the Emperor *Charles* her Father, was by him created the firſt Earle of *Flanders*, by whom ſhe had iſſue *Baldwin the ſecond*, who eſpouſed Lady *Elfrid*, the youngeſt daughter of *Elfrid* King of *England*; from whom, through fiue deſcents lineally, *Maud* queene of *England*, Wife to *William* the *Conquerour*, deſcended, and from her, all our *Norman Engliſh* Kings vnto this day.

Ethelbert.

ETHELBERT THE TVVENTIETH ONE KING OF VVEST-SAXONS, AND THE TWO AND TWENTIETH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN: HIS RAIGNE AND ISSVES.

Monarch 22

CHAPTER XXXIV.

An.Do.860.

ETHELBERT, the ſecond ſonne of King *Ethelwolfe*, who had ſucceeded his Vncle *Ethelſtan* in the kingdome of the *South-Saxons*, *Kentiſh*, and *Eaſt-Saxons*, and for fiue yeeres continuance, ruled thoſe Countries with great equity and valour; after the deceaſe of his brother *Ethelbald*, ſucceeded him alſo both in the *Weſt-Saxons* kingdome, and the whole Lands Monarchy: whereof hee was the one and twentieth King, and the two and twentieth Monarch.

(2) His raigne began in the yeere after Chriſts natiuity, eight hundred ſixty, and was diſquieted from firſt to laſt by the inuaſions of the bloudy *Danes*. For preſently after his coronation, theſe common enemies entred the Land, ruinating all before them vnto the City *Wincheſter*, which they ſacked, and left it troden vnder their deſtroying feete, euen to the ground. But in their returne were encountred by the *Barke-ſhire men*, vnder the leading of *Oſrick*, Earle of *Hampton*, by whom they were vanquiſhed, the prey recouered, and a great number of thoſe Infidels ſlaine.

Hen. Hunting.

(3) In his firſt yeere alſo a nauie of *Danes* and *Normans* entred into the Iland *Tanet*, and began their wonted ſpoiles among thoſe people: whereupon the *Kentiſh* compounded their peace for a great ſum of money giuen. Notwithſtanding theſe miſcreants, which knew not God, gaue little regard to their promiſed couenants, and before the daies of truce were expired, like a ſudden floud ouer-bare all before them. Theſe their irruptions to withſtand, the *Kentiſh* then prepared, rather aduenturing themſelues vpon the chance of battell, then to reſt vpon a ſeeming truce, wherein their deſtruction was too apparant, and forthwith aſſembling all their powers together, ſet vpon thoſe truce-breakers, and with much ſlaughter forced them at length out of their Country.

The Kentiſhmen compound for their peace.

(4) But the date of King *Ethelberts* life being expired, hee yeelded his body to the courſe of nature, and his Kingdomes to his next brother, after he had raigned ouer the *Kentiſh*, *South*, and *Eaſt-Saxons*, the terme of ten yeeres, and had ſate Monarch of the whole onely fiue. He died the yeere of grace eight hundred ſixty ſix, and was honourably buried in the Cathedral Church of *Shirborne* in *Dorſet-ſhire*, by his brother King *Ethelbald*.

Ethelberts time of raigning.

His ſuppoſed Iſſue.

(5) *Athelm*, the brothers ſonne of King *Elfred*, mentioned in the laſt will and teſtament of the ſame King, ſeemeth by all likelihood to be the eldeſt ſon of this king *Ethelbert*, elder brother to the ſame king *Elfred*, although hee ſucceeded not his father in his kingdome. For in thoſe daies, if the kings ſonne were vnder age, the ſucceſſion went to the next brother; and if that brother left his ſonne at full age, then it went vnto him; otherwiſe it reuerted to the elder brothers ſonne.

Athelm the eldeſt ſonne.

(6) *Ethelwald*, ſurnamed *Clito*, which is a word of addition giuen to all the *Saxon* kings ſonnes of *England*; is mentioned in king *Elfreds* will to be his brothers ſonne, and is moſt likely to be the ſonne of this king *Ethelbert*: he prooued a moſt deadly enemy to his coſen king *Edward*, the ſonne of king *Elfred* his Vncle, deſtroying his townes in *Dorſet-ſhire*; and being driuen out of *England*, ioined himſelfe with the *Danes*, who made him their king in *Northumberland*, aud vnder his leading, greeuouſly aſſailed the Countries of the *Eaſt-Saxons*, *Eaſt-Angles*, and *Mercians*; wherein hee was laſtly ſlaine, the yeere of our Lord nine hundred and fiue, being the fourth of king *Edward* his coſen-germans raigne.

Ethelwald the ſecond ſonne.

Henry. Hunting.

ETHELRED THE TVVO AND TWENTIEETH KING OF THE VVEST-SAXONS, AND THE TWENTY THIRD MONARCH OF THE ENGLISH-MEN, HIS ACTS, AND ISSVE.

Ethelred. Monarch 23

CHAPTER XXXV.

An. Do. 866.

Ethelred, the third ſonne of King *Ethelwolfe*, after the deceaſe of his brother ſucceeded him in his Dominions, and was in number the two and twentieth King of the *Weſt-Saxons*, and the twenty third *Monarch* of the *Engliſhmen*; hee beganne his raigne in the yere of our ſaluation eight hundred ſixty and ſixe, and for the time that hee was *King*, raigned in continual warres againſt the Pagan *Danes*, whoſe numbers now were greater, and footing ſurer in this land then formerly had beene.

Hunger and Hubbe.

(2) In the firſt yeere of his raigne, there arriued vpon the *Engliſh* coaſts a huge Army of theſe *Danes*, whereof *Hungar* and *Hubba*, men of incredible ſtrength and cruelty, were the Captaines: Theſe wintred in *Eaſt Anglia*, made truce with the inhabitants vpon certaine conditions, and forbare a time from their wonted rauening.

(3) But in the next yeere, the King beeing buſied to put backe a freſh inrode of *Danes* in the *South* and *VVeſt* of the *Iland* then entred; theſe deuourers tooke aduantage vpon the ciuill broiles commenced among the *Northumbrians*, who in theſe turmoiled times ſought to withdraw their ſubiection from the *VVeſt-Saxons*, and to ſet vp Kings againe of their owne. The foreſaid Captaines *Hungar* and *Hubba*, hauing in time of their truce ſtrengthned themſelues with new ſupplies of aid, marched further into the *North*, where finding the people vnprouided of ſtrength, and the two Kings *Osbright* and *Ella* of reconciled enemies to be made no ſure friends, they harried the Country before them, and entring *Yorke* ſlew the two Kings, with infinit number of the *Engliſh*; which City they conſumed with fire, and burnt therein all thoſe that had fled thither for ſuccour.

The Danes march Northward.

(4) The State thus ſtanding, and their forces encreaſing euery day, brought new feares vpon the inhabitants, when euery late victory with increaſe of Captiues and rich ſpoiles, miniſtred occaſion and meanes of ſome other conqueſt to follow; which theſe Pagans ſo purſued, till laſtly they ſet a ſubſtitute King to raigne vnder them, ouer all the *North* Borders beyond the riuer *Tyne*; and ſo retiring themſelues out of *Northumberland* into *Mercia*, came to *Nottingham*, which City they wonne, and therein wintred the third of King *Ethelreds* raigne, who with the aid of *Burthred* the *Mercian* King, conſtrained the *Danes* to ſue for peace, and ſafe departure, yeelding the City, and againe retyring themſelues ouer *Tyne*, remained in *Yorke* all the next winter. *Ingulphus.*

(5) The Summers opportunity approching, their wonted deſire for ſpoile was with it increaſed, and to cut off long trauell, theſe *Danes* by boates paſſed *Humber*, where *Hungar* and *Hubba* beganne with fire and ſword to lay all waſte before them, ſparing neither Perſon, ſexe nor age. The places reſpected for publike good, and ſacred Temples conſecrated onely to God, which all other Tyrants haue forborne, theſe ſauage men as the earths deſtroiers caſt downe and trampled vnder their prophane feete: among which for note were the goodly Monaſteries of *Bradney*, *Crowland*, *Peterborow*, *Ely*, and *Huntington*, all laid in leuell with the ground, and their Votaries, aſwell the *Nunnes* as the *Monkes*, murthered with their vnhumane and mercileſſe ſwords; to auoid whoſe barbarous pollutions, the chaſt *Nunnes* of *Coldingham* deformed themſelues to their laſciuious eys, by cutting off their vpper lips and noſes; but to euerlaſting remembrance they remaine moſt faire, and well beſeeming faces of pure Virgins. An. Do. 780. *Flores Hiſtor.*

(6) Theſe *Pagans* piercing further into the Iand, came into the territories of the *Eaſt-Angles*, wherein holy *Edmund* raigned King, whoſe *Martirdome* in moſt cruell manner they wrought, he conſtantly calling vpon the name of Chriſt; whereof wee haue already

ready ſpoken, and ſhall bee occaſioned hereafter to ſpeake.

(7) But in the laſt yeare of this Kings raign, their raging power was moſt great: for with a new ſupply, two *Daniſh* Kings, *Sreeg*, and *Halden*, entred into *Weſt-Saxia*, and at *Reading* the Kings towne intrenched themſelues: theſe forraging the Country, were encountred with at *Engleſield* by *Ethelwolfe* Earle of *Barkeſhiere*, and his men, who in skirmiſh ſlew one of their leaders; and chaſed the reſt backe to their Trench.

(8) Theſe *Danes* fearing leſt delaies would proue dangerous, and knowing that the firſt ſucceſſe is commonly ſeconded with further courage of hope; foure dayes after ſhewed themſelues in field ready to fight: their hoaſt they deuided into two battalians; whereof the one was guided by two of their *Kings*, and certaine *Earles* were leaders of the other; which when the Engliſh perceiued, they alſo diuided theirs, whereof King *Ethelred* had the leading of the firſt, and *Elfred* his brother was *Generall* of rhe ſecond; the place was *Aſſendon*, where their Tents were pitched, and the day approached for bataile: King *Ethelred* in his Tent ſtaid ſo long in praiers that *Elfred* vpon a forward courage haſted to encounter the enemy, and that with a moſt fierce and ſharpe fight, wherein hauing ſpent the moſt of his ſtrengthes, and ready to decline, and giue backe: *Ethelred* manfully entred the battaile, and ſo ſeconded his brother, and ouer-tyred Souldiers, that hee made way by dint of his ſword through the thickeſt of their almoſt-conquering enemies, and with ſuch loſſe of the *Daniſh* bloud, drawne from the ſides of one of their *Kings*, fiue *Earles*, and an infinite number of the common Souldiers, that the ſtreames ther of ſeemed as an ouer-ſwelling tide, altogether to couer the face of the field, and is accounted for the nobleſt victory that the Engliſh till then had gotten of the *Danes*.

Aſſendon battle.

Scala Chronicon.

(9) Yet were not theſe *Pagans* therewith diſcouraged, but gathering more ſtrengthes and ſupplies from other parts; fourteene dayes after, made head againe againſt the *Engliſh*, and pitching downe their ſtandards at *Baſing*, abode the cõming of *Ethelred* and triall of battle: wherein ſucceſſe was altogether altered; for herein the Kings part was diſcomfited, and the *Danes* the winners of the day.

Baſing Batale.

(10) Thus both ſides borne vpon rage & hope, in their heate of bloud prepare for new fight. The *Danes* power was augmented with a further ſupply ſent from beyond Seas, and the *Engliſh* confirmed with hope of Succeſſe: Theſe meeting at *Merton* (two moneths after the battaile of *Baſing*) encountred each others both boldly and bloodily; wherein at firſt the *Engliſh* preuailed, and the *Danes* were chaſed; but their numbers the greater, and freſh ſupply maintaining their battaile, they recouered themſelues, and wonne the day; wherein King *Ethelred* receiued his deaths wound, with ſuch ſlaughter of his people, that little wanted the end of all encounters, to haue been afterwards attempted any more by the *Engliſh*.

Polydore Virg.

(11) Great was the valour and reſiſtance of this King; for in his ſhort time of Raigne as Writers record, no leſſe then nine ſet battales againſt the *Danes* he fought in one yeare, to the great effuſion of Chriſtian bloud, and to no little loſſe of the *Daniſh* power; for in his raigne fell of them one *King*, nine *Earles*, and of the common ſort without number.

Wil. Malmsb.

(12) He died at *Wittingham* of his wound receiued the three and twentieth day of April, in the yeare of our Lord God eight hundred ſeauenty two, and was buried in the Collegiat Church of *Winburne* in *Dorſetſhiere*, where remaines his *Tombe* and his *Armes* vnto this day, with this Inſcription.

In hoc loco quieſcit corpus Sancti Ethelredi Regis Weſt-Saxonum Martyris, qui Anno Domini 872. 23. *die Aprilis, per manus Dacorum Paganorum occubuit.*

Scala Chron. Marian. Scot.

His Iſſue.

Elfred, the eldeſt ſonne of King *Ethelred* ſeemeth to be Grandfather to the noble and learned *Ethelward*, who being kinſman, Counſellor and Treaſurer to king *Edgar*, wrote an hiſtory of his Country, beginning at the firſt arriuall of the *Saxons* into *England*, and continuing vnto his owne time: which hiſtory he dedicated to his kinſwoman, and coſen germane the Lady *Maude* Abbeſſe of *Quedlingburg* in *Saxony*, being the daughter of the Emperour *Otho*, by *Edgith* his Wife, daughter of king *Edward* the elder, and ſiſter of *Ethelſtane* and *Edmund*, kings of England.

Elfred the eldeſt ſonne.

The Abbeſſe of *Quedlingburg.*

Oſwald, a young ſonne of King *Ethelred*, is mentioned in a Chapter of his Fathers, by which he gaue lands to the *Monaſtery* of *Abingdon* neere *Oxford*; & to which this ſonne of his hath his name ſet downe for a witnes; which Charter is yet extant, recorded in a great Legier-booke, and Regiſter of the Euidences of the lands, ſometime belonging to the ſaid *Monaſtery*.

Oſwald a yonger ſonne.

Thyre, the daughter of king *Ethelred*, is reported by the hiſtories of *Ireland* to bee maried to *Gormon* king of the *Danes*, and to haue had iſſue *King Harald*, which *Harald*, by Queene *Gonhild* his wife, had iſſue *Sweyn* king of *Denmarke*, *Iringe* king of *Northumberland*, and *Gonhild* Queene of *North-Wales*. King *Sweyne* by Queene *Sigred* his wife, had iſſue *Cnute King* of *England* and *Denmarke*, *Oſtryde* wife of Duke *Wolfe*, and mother of *King Sweyne* the younger, and *Thyre* the firſt wife of Earle *Goodwin of Kent*.

Thyre a daughter.

Elfred.

ELFRED THE TVVENTIE THIRD KING OF THE VVEST-SAXONS, AND TWENTIE FOVRTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN, HIS ACTS, RAIGNE, WIFE AND ISSVE.

Monarch 24

CHAPTER XXXVI.

An.Do.872.

Marianus. Florentius.

ELfred, or *Alfred*, the fourth ſonne of *King Ethelwolfe*, though he had beene annointed king at *Rome* by Pope *Leo* in his young years & fathers life time, yet raigned he in no part of his dominions, before the deaths of all his Brethren, vnder whome hee ſerued in moſt of their warres, aſſiſting them likewiſe in all their counſels. The land now miſerably torne by the cruell intruſions of the bloudy *Danes* was left vnto him, both to redeeme, and to raigne ouer, by the death and Teſtament of king *Ethelred* his laſt brother.

(2) Hee beganne his raigne in the yeare of his age twenty two, and of our Lord God eight hundred ſeuenty two, being crowned in the City of *VVincheſter*, the twenty third king of the *VVeſt-Saxons*, and the twenty fourth *Monarch* of the *Engliſhmen*: but of ſome Hiſtorians he is famouſed by the ſtile of the *firſt abſolute Monarch*.

Aſſer.

(3) His raigne beganne with troubles and warre in defence of the land which the *Pagan Danes* intended to deſtroy; and though his powers were ſmall, yet was he forced into the field within one moneth after his coronation; the place was *Wilton* in the County of *Wiltſhiere*, on the ſouth-banke of the riuer *VVily*: where the *Danes* at firſt gaue backe and fled. But ſeeing the fewnes of their purſuers, reenforced their battle, and got the field, with whom the *VVeſt-Saxons* entred league, and compounded for their departure from among them.

Speculum hiſt. Ricardus Cirancestrencis.

(4) Theſe Rouers then with their aſſociates at *Reading*, got themſelues into *London*, where they wintred (with whom the *Mercians* likewiſe compounded for their peace; which proued ſhortly to bee the deſtruction of their princely blood; and laſtly, the lands ſubuerſion by a forraine Nation. For the *Danes* hauing got footing in the *North*, the *Weſt*, and the *South* of this land, (vnto whoſe aide many new-come gueſts from their *Eaſterne* countries were arriued vnder the leading of other three Kings, *Gurthrun*, *Esketel*, and *Ammond*) all together ſet their griping tallents with ſuch faſt hold vpon *Mercia*, that at *Rependon* they conſtrained *Burthred* the King with his Queene *Elſwith* out of the land, and in his ſtead placed a King of their owne choiſe, vpon condition to deliuer vp the ſame againe vnto them when they would demaund it.

Mat. Weſt.

Polychro. lib. 6. c. 1

(5) In the fourth yeere of King *Elfred* their armies diuided themſelues into two parts, the one of them guided by *King Halden*, returned into *Northumberland*; where hee beſtowed that Country among his followers, and therein remained for two yeeres continuance, doing much harmes both to the *Engliſh* and *Picts*. The other part led by the laſt new-come King, came to *Grandbridge*, where they wintered and ſpoiled the Country, and there ſpreading themſelues as Graſhoppers vpon the face of the earth, eate vp all where they came; ſo that *King Elfred* was enforced to compound for their departure out of his kingdome *Weſt-Saxia*; to which couenants they promiſed and ſwore; yet contrary to both, tooke into *Deuonſhire*, and wintred at *Exceſter*: vnto whom a further ſupply by ſea ſought to ioine themſelues, but met which ſuch boiſterous blaſts, that one hundred and twenty of their ſhips were caſt away by tempeſt at *Swanwicke* vpon our coaſts, and their land-army marching towards *Exceſter*, were there welcommed with ſo ſharpe an encounter by *King Elfred*, that they gaue him both pledges and oath to depart with all ſpeed.

An.Dom.875.

Elfreds compoſition.

(6) But Fortune euer dallying with them whom ſhee meanes to down-caſt, ſet the chance of loſſe preſently

Three Kings against *Elfred.*

sently vpon the *Saxons* side: for now the three Kings, *Gurthrun, Esketel,* and *Ammond* thought it not good to let *Elfred* thus rest, and thereupon drew their forces westwards towards him, where at *Chipingham* (a Mannor of his) they wintered, and compelled the *West-Saxons* there, either to yeeld, or to forsake the Country.

An.Do.876.

(7) King *Elfred* therefore, with such strength as he had, hasted towards them, and seuenteene miles from *Bristow* pitched downe his tents euen in the face of the enemy; where betwixt these fierce nations a great battaile was fought, to the infinite losse of bloud on both sides, and that vpon such equall departure, as neither could challenge to bee masters of the field; yet the report went, that King *Elfred* was discomfited, which turned greatly to his aduantage; for thereupon many of the English hasted to his succour, left the ouerthrow of him should be the bane of them all; his strengthes thus renued with an vnexpected supply, no time was detracted to stay the *Danish* rage, who were now returned further into the heart of the land, and at *Abington* by *Oxford* had pitched their standerds for fight.

Abington.

(8) Thither the English repaired, & the next morning *Elfred* ordered his Army; neither were the enemies vnprepared, but with braues stood ready to receiue the encounter. The battaile ioyned, continued with such losse of bloud, that it is accounted one of the sorest that euer betwixt them before had beene fought, and onely parted by the approch of the night, neither party challenging the honor of the day, the losse being so great vpon both sides.

Seuen Battails in one yeare.

Seuen of these battles are reported to be fought in that yeare, whereby both their strengths were much abated, and their spilt bloud soo cooled their liuers; that lastly they concluded vpon a peace: one article was this, that *the Danes should admit no more of their nation to arriue in this Iland*: but how soone that was broken, the sequels did shew.

An.Do.876. *Simon Dunel.*

(9) For in the yeare eight hundred seuenty six (saith *Simon Dunelmensis*) *Rollo* a noble man of *Denmarke* with a great army entred into *England*, with no lesse spoile and destruction then other of those *Danes* before him had done, notwithstanding the truce: with whom king *Elfred* met, and gaue him so hoat welcome, that he liked not greatly his entertainment) & being warned (forthsooth) in his sleepe that better fortune attended him in *France*, hee left his conntrymen to tugge with the *English*.

(10) The *Danes* then accounting the peace to be broken, like Bees from the Hiue, infest all the land, insomuch that this vndaunted *King Elfred* was ofttimes brought to such extremities, that hee hid himselfe out of sight, and in the Fens and Marsh grounds was forced with such small companies as he had, to liue by fishing, fowling, and hunting of wilde beasts for his food, hauing no more of his great *Monarchy* left him but *Somerset, Hampton*, and *Wiltshires* only, neither yet them free from the incursions of the *Danes*.

Elfrids exigents.

(11) The solitary place of his most residency, was an *Iland* inclosed with the two riuers, *Thone* and *Parret*, at their meeting in the County of *Sommerset*, commonly called *Edelingsey*, where he in very poore attire disguised, was entertained into a Cowheards house (if not into his seruice,) where on a time as he sate by the fire in trimming of his bow and shafts, a cake of dow baking vpon the hearth before him, chanced to burn; the Cowheardesse coming in, and seeing him mind more his bow then his bread, in a great fury cast away both his bow and arrowes, and checking him as her Groom, said, *Thou fellow, doest thou see the bread burne before thy face, and wilt not turne it? and yet art thou glad to eate it before it bee halfe baked?* Litle suspecting him to be the man that had beene serued with farre more delicate cates.

Edelingsey Iland.

Asser. Spe. Histo. Ric. Ciren.

(12) But this Prince, the very mirrour of Princes, more minding the wealth of his subiects, then the maiesty of State, disguised himselfe in the habite of a common Minstrell, and in person repaired to the *Danes* Campe, who lay like *Senacheribs*, wallowing in wantonnesse, and secure in their owne conceit from impeach of danger; which *Elfred* a most skilfull *Musitian*, and an excellent *Poet*, did not a little egge on by his sweet musicke, and songs of their valour, so that he was suffered to passe vncontrolled into the company of their Princes, at banquets, or elsewhere: whereby he both saw their negligent security, and by diligent obseruance learned the designes that in their counsels they entended.

Polydore Virg. *Fabian.*

(13) Returning to his comfortlesse company, he told them the condition of the hostile Campe, & how easie it was to recouer againe their decaied estates: whereupon shewing himselfe to his subiects, vnto whose sight nothing could be more ioyous; on the suddaine set vpon the careless Campe of the *Danes*, and made thereof a very great slaughter, to the great terrour of others in other parts, that had accounted him dead long before.

Henry Hunt. An.Do.878.

(14) *Hubba*, that had harried the *English*, and now rowzed vpon the newes of King *Elfreds* victory and life; with thirty three ships sailed from *Wales*, and arriuing in the mouth of *Tau*, where it falleth into the *Seuerne Sea*, assaied to take there the then-strong Castle called *Kinwith*, vnto whom the *Deuonshiere* men gaue battle, and slew eight hundred and eighty persons of their retinue; where died the *Danish* King *Hubba*, whose corps being there interred vnder a great heape of copped stones, gaue name to the place, and was called *Hubblestone*. There and then was taken the *Danish* much esteemed *Banner*, called *Reafan*, wherein a *Rauen* was purtraied wrought in needle-worke, (so *Asserius Meneuensis* reporteth) by the three sisters of *Hubba* and *Hungar* the daughters of *Lothbroke* (that is, *Leather-breach*) the *Dane*: In regard whereof, as also for the opinion of good lucke, as they tooke it, it was euer born before them in their wars.

An.Do.879.

Asser. Meng.

(15) These aduerse proceedings of the *Danes* designes, especially falling when the game was neere wonne, made them suspect, how faire soeuer the ball lay to hand, yet fortune would serue it in the end to their losse: for *Elfred* now flocked vnto vpon euery side, beganne to build fortresses behind his backe, and forward to march with his conquering sword: whereupon the *Danes* sent to him for Peace, and deliuered him hostages, vpon assurance that they meant as they spake: The Conditions were, that their King should receiue *Baptisme*, and the great Army of the *Danes* quietly to depart out of the land.

Danes send for peace.

(16) Whereupon *Gurmound* or *Gurthrun* the *Danish* King repaired to the new built Castle of *Edelingsey* vnto *King Elfred*, and in the place then called *Alre*, was washed in the lauer of *Baptisme*, whom *Elfred* receiued for his God-son by the name of *Athelstane*, and gaue him in free gift the Country of *East-Angels*. In the same fountaine of grace (saith *Simon Dunelmensis*) thirty of the chiefe *Danish* Nobility were initiated: vpon whom the truly Christian King *Elfred* bestowed many rich guifts: And that the limites of the *English* might bee free from their incursions, thus the confines of King *Elfreds* kingdome were laide forth, as we find it in the end of those *Lawes* that *Elfred* published, whose words are these: *Let the bounds of our Dominion stretch from the riuer Thamisis, and from thence to the water of Lea, euen vnto the head of the same water, and so forth straight vnto Bedford: and finally, going along by the riuer of Ouse, let them end at Watling street.*

Simon Dunelm.

Wil. Lambeert in his booke of the old English lawes.

(17) But so farre were the *Danes* from performance of couenants, that in this eight yeere of King *Elfreds* raigne, and the eight hundred seuenty nine after Christ, this *Gurmund* and his company wintered at *Chipnam* in *Wiltshiere*, and a new supply of these *Pagans* (known by the name of the *Wiccingi*) wintred at *Fulham* neere *London*; yet after vpon better aduice, the one went into their assigned circuit, and the other

An.Do.879.

Marianus.

other departed to the realme of *France*; and ſo to his twelfth yeare the land tooke ſome reſt, that had been kept long waking by the loud ſound of warre.

(18) In the yeare of Grace eight hundred eighty fiue, theſe laſt retired *Danes* finding *France* not fitting their purpoſe, returned into *Kent*, and put into *Medway*, where on his Eaſt ſide they began a fierce ſiege vnto the City *Rocheſter*, before whoſe gate they built a ſtrong Caſtle: Thither King *Elfred* haſted, before whoſe power theſe *Danes* could not ſtand, but were forced to their ſhippes, and backe againe into *France*.

An.Do.889. *Aſſerius. Flo.VVigorn.*

(19) Whereupon the King remooued his ſiege vnto *London*, whence all the *Danes* fled (as Wolues abide not the preſence of the *Lion*,) the inhabitants reioycing to ſee the face of their King: which City hee reſtored to her former liberty and beauty, and committed the cuſtody thereof vnto *Ethelred* Duke of *Mercia*, that had maried his daughter the Lady *Ethelfred*, whoſe title the king had maintained againſt *Colwolphus*, made king thereof by the *Danes*. Wherupon both *Kent*, the *South-Saxons*, and *Weſt-Saxons* came willingly, and ſubmitted themſelues to King *Elfred*, The *Eaſt-Angles* being gouerned, or rather ſpoiled by *Athelſtan* the Chriſtned *Dane*, who after twelue yeeres raigne there died, and was buried at *Hadley* in *Suffolke*.

VVil. Malmsbury.

An.Do.892. *Simon Dun.*

(20) But in the one and twentieth of his raigne, and of Chriſts Incarnation eight hundred ninety two: thoſe rouing *Danes* returned out of *France*, and againe arriued in *Kent* in the mouth of the riuer *Limen*, with two hundred and fifty ſhips, which they drew foure miles into the great wood, then called *Andreads Weald*, and there deſtroied a Caſtle that ſtood for defence, building another more ſtrong at *Apulder*, wherein they kept. At the ſame time likewiſe entred one *Haſtings*, a Nobleman of *Norway*, with eighty ſhips; but with a fairer ſhew as hee entended, for he ſent his oath vnto *Elfred* not to annoy any part of his dominions; and withall his two ſonnes to bee baptized: which king *Elfred* accepted, himſelfe becomming the Godfather of the one, and Duke *Ethelred* of the other; and both they, and his Ambaſſadors returned with rich gifts. Againſt theſe *Kentiſh* inuaders, King *Elfred* fought a great battaile at *Fernham*, neere vnto *Aelefford*, wherein hee wounded their king, and forced his Army to flee ouer *Thameſis*; in paſſing whereof, through ouermuch haſt & great feare, many of them were drowned, and they that eſcaped, fled to an *Iland* called *Brekleſey* incloſed about by the riuer *Colne*.

Fernham battaile.

(21) Newes then being brought into the Eaſt, that the *Danes* from *Northumberland* had infeſted the Weſt, and with a ſtrong ſiege begirt the City *Exceſter*: *Elfred* left for *Generall* his ſonne in law Duke *Ethelred*, whileſt he with a ſtrong power went to ſuppreſſe their rage: who hearing of his comming, brake vp their ſiege, and were gone: vpon the aduantage of his abſence, periured *Haſtings* then wrought, who out of his new built Caſtle at *Beamfield*, made ſpoile of the kings people, and forraged all the Country before him. Whereupon Duke *Ethelred* aſſembled a power, & firſt aſſailing his wel ſtored Caſtle, tooke thence his wife and two ſonnes, with exceeding ſpoiles of gold, ſiluer and garments; all which were preſented vnto *King Elfred* at his returne to *London*: who out of his princely magnanimity, ſent backe to *Haſtings* his wife and two ſonnes; becauſe (ſaid hee) ſhee was no warriour, and his two ſonnes were his *God-children*: whereupon *Haſtings* repaired his Caſtle, and ioined with the other *Danes* that lay at *Apulder*.

Beaufet.

Haſtings wife and children ſet at liberty.

Exceſter and *Cheſter* beſieged.

(22) Thoſe then that had fled but lately from *Exceſter*, in their returne met with other their conſorts, and rouing about the coaſt for their prey, fell laſtly vpon the ancient City *Cheſter*, which preſently they beganne to ſacke and burne. But the country inhabitants comming to the reſcue, begirt them about with their hoaſt, and foreſtalled the paſſages of all ſupply of victuals; ſo that for want of food, the *Danes* were conſtrained to eate vp their horſes, and vpon compoſition thence to depart.

An.Do.897. *Floren. Wigorn. Marian. Scotus.*

(23) Thence fetching a compaſſe all along the coaſts of *Wales*, in the ſame yeare they arriued in *Eſſex*, being the twenty foure of king *Elfreds* raigne: and in the Winter following, drew their ſhips by the *Thameſis* into the riuer *Lea*, by which they paſſed in thoſe light Pinnaces twenty miles North-ward into the land, and built them a fortreſſe at the place called **weare*: thither forthwith the *King* repaired, and pitched his tents before his enemies in the ſame place; who ſeeing their ſtrength, & the dãger of long ſiege, did that by policy, which power could not ſo ſodainely do: for he diuided the riuer into ſundry ſtreames, whereby the Chanell was made vnnauigable, and the Shippes bedded in the mudde, lay rather to their annoiance then defence. The former experience of their hunger-ſtarued beſiege made them more fearefull to fall into the like; & therefore in great haſte departed their fortreſſe, leauing their wiues and children to the mercy of the Engliſh. Neither ſtayed they till they came vnto the borders of *Wales*, when at *Cartbridge* vpon *Seuerne* they built another Caſtle, and lay there all the next winter.

* *Ware.*

The riuer Lea deuided and made vnnauigable.

Henry Hunting.

An. Do.897.

(24) Long there they ſtayed not, without diſlike of their lodgings and cold entertainments, but that they returned to their wonted ſpoiles, and diuiding themſelues, ſome to *Northumberland*, and ſome into *Eaſt-Anglia*, like Locuſts eate vp all as they went: whoſe breath as it were, ſo infected the aire, that for three yeares following a great mortality raigned both vpon men and beaſts, and ended not much before the death of this incomparable Prince: which hapned to the great ſorrow of his ſubiects vpon wednesday the twenty eight of *October*, when hee had raigned twenty nine yeares and ſix moneths, of his age fifty one, and yeare of Chriſt Ieſus nine hundreth and one.

(25) The vertues of this Prince are matchable to any that euer raigned before him, and exceed the moſt that euer raigned after him, both in ſeruice of God, whoſe *Subſtitutes* they are; in defence of his Country, which charge they all beare; in prouiding good lawes, the ſinewes of Kingdomes; and care of poſterities, from which no man is exempted.

Scal. Chr. Regiſt. Hyde. Tho. Rudburne. Rod. Hig.

The day and night containing twenty foure howers, he deſigned equally to three eſpeciall vſes, and them obſerued by the burning of a taper ſet in his *Chappell* or *Oratory*; eight howres hee ſpent in contemplation, reading and prayers; eight, in prouiſion for himſelfe, his repoſe and health; and the other eight in the affaires of his common-wealth and ſtate. His Kingdome hee likewiſe diuided into *Shieres*, *Hundreds* and *Tithings*, for the better ordering and adminiſtring of iuſtice, and for the abandoning of theeues, which had formerly increaſed by the meanes of long warres; whereby notwithſtanding the multitude of Souldiers continually imployed, it is reported that a Virgin might trauaile alone in his daies through all his Dominions, without any violence offered; and that bracelets of gold were hanged in the high waies, and no man ſo hardy as to take them away.

Aſſerius Men.

Wil. Malmesbury.

Hee was a moſt zealous, and ſtudious protector and prouider for the Clergy, Widdowes, and Orphans, liberall of his goods, wiſe, temperate and iuſt, valiant, patient in aduerſities, and euer religious in the ſeruice of God. A moſt learned Prince, a skilfull Muſition, and an excellent Poet: the beſt lawes befitting his Subiects he tranſlated into the Engliſh tongue: as alſo the Paſtorall of *Gregory*, the hiſtory of *Beda*, and *Boetius his Conſolation of Philoſophy*; the *Pſalmes* of *Dauid* (whoſe godly raigne he propoſed to himſelfe for imitation) hee likewiſe began to tranſtate, but died before he could finiſh the ſame. And ſo great a deſire had he vnto learning, that (as *Alfredus Riuallenſis* witneſſeth) he publiſhed this Act: *Wee will and command, that all Freemen of our Kingdom, who*

Elfreds good ſtudies.

Alfredus Riualeſ ſis Powyne in Apologia Oxon.

soeuer possessing two hides of land, shall bring vp their sons in learning till they bee fifteene yeres of age at least, that so they may be trained to know God, to be men of vnderstanding, and to liue happily: for, of a man that is borne free, and yet illiterate, we repute no otherwise then of a beast, or a brainelesse body, and a very sot. And for the furtherance of this his roiall intent, consorted with *Aserius Meneuensis, Grimbald, Iohn Scot* and others: neither permitted he any in office in Court, or elsewhere, vnlesse he were learned, which incited his nobles to the earnest pursuit of learned arts; and to traine vp their children in good letters. His buildings were many, both to Gods seruice, and other publike vse, as at *Edelingsey* a *Monastery*, at *Winchester* a *New-Minster*, and at *Shaftsbury* a house of *Nunnes*, wherein hee made his daughter *Ethelgeda* the Abbesse. But the foundation of the *Vniuersity of Oxford* (which hee began in the yeare of our Lord eight hundred ninety fiue, and whose lectures he honoured with his owne presence) surmounteth all his others, to the continuance of posterities, a liuing spring and gracious fountaine, whence issue the streames of all knowledge, that abundantly haue watered both this and other kingdomes.

Aserius. Grimbald. Iohn Scot.

Annales of Winton Monast.

(26) His body was first buried in the Cathedrall Church of S. *Peters* at *Winchester*, vnder a faire Monument of most pretious Porphyry, afterwards becavse the lewd-religions Chanons gaue it out (to work som feat of their vsual imposture) that his Ghost did walk euery night from house to house; both it and the Monument were taken vp, and by his son the Kings command (in detestation of those sorceries) remoued into the Church of the new *Monastery*: and lastly, his body, Monument, Church and Monastery, were taken thence, and remoued without the *North gate* of the City, since called *Hyde*.

Malms. de. Reg. l. 2. c. 4.

(27) Some alleadge that the malice of those chanons against him, was for displeasure that he placed ouer thē a rude Swineheard named *Denewlphus*, whom he made their Bishop; but the ground of that assertion seemeth vnwarrantable by the relation of *Wigornensis*, & also of *Tho. Rudburne*; the first of which saith, that *Elfred* caused him to be trained vp in learning, and the later, that after long study, he attained to the degree of a Doctor of *Diuinity* in the Vniuersity of *Oxford*, and was afterward made Bishop of *Winchester* by the King. For doubtlesse at that time the Bishops of *Rome* had not deuested our Kings of that prerogatiue.

VVigornensis. Th. Rudburne.

His wife.

Elfwith

(28) *Elfwith* the wife of King *Elfred* was the daughter of *Ethelred* surnamed *Muchel*, that is, the *Great*, an Earle of the *Mercians*, who inhabited about *Gainesborough* in *Lincolnshiere*: her mother was *Edburg* a Lady borne of the Bloud roiall of *Mercia*. She was married vnto this King in the twentieth yeare of his age, being the second of the raigne of his brother King *Ethelred*; and was his wife twenty eight yeares, and liuing after him foure; died in the yeare of grace nine hundred and foure, and was buried in the *Monastery* of *Nunnes* which she had founded at *Winchester*; out of which afterwards King *Henry the first* took to his wife *Maud* the daughter of *Malcolme* King of *Scots*, by whom the roiall bloud of the ancient Kings of *England* became vnited to the *Normans*, whereby he wanne much loue of the *English nation*.

Malcolme King of Scots.

His issue.

Edward the eldest sonne.

Edward, the eldest sonne, and second child of King *Elfred*, and Queene *Elfwith*, was borne about the beginning of his Fathers raigne, in the yeere of our Lord eight hundred seuenty one: hee was brought vp in his Fathers Court, and carefully attended, and instructed by men of great vertue and knowledge, in learning, and in all other qualities, and exercises conuenient for Princes. He was maried, and had diuers children: being thirty yeeres of age before his Father deceased, and then succeeeded him in his *Kingdome* and *Monarchy*.

Ethelward the second sonne.

Ethelward, the second son, & fifth, and last child of King *Elfred* and Queene *Elfwith*, was borne about the midst of his Fathers raigne, and about the yeare of our Lord eighr hundred and eighty. Hee was in his youth by his Fathers appointment, and for the example of other young Nobles brought vp in the study of good Arts, at the vniuersity of *Oxford*, where (saith *Th. Rudburne*, and the *Annales* of *Winchester*) he became a man very learned, and a great Philosopher: he had of his Fathers gift by his last wil great liuings in the Counties of *Deuon*, *Somerset*, *South-Hampton*: he proued a man of great iudgement and wisedome, and liuing vntill he was aboue forty yeres old; hee died the sixteenth day of *October*, in the two and twenty yeare of his brother King *Edwards* raigne, *Anno* nine hundred twenty two, and was buried at *VVinchester*.

Rudburne Annales Sant. Swithuni.

Elfleda the eldest daughter.

Elfleda, the eldest daughter and first child of King *Elfred*, and Queene *Elfwith* his wife, was married to *Ethelred* Duke of *Mercia*, who in respect of this marriage was suffered to haue all roiall iurisdiction ouer that Country, in as ample manner as the Kings thereof had enioied; and after the decease of her husband, which happened in the yeere of our Lord nine hundred and twelue: shee continued the gouernment in the same sort eight yeares, with such resolution and valiant resistance of the common enemy (the *Danes*) that shee stood her brother *Edward* in great stead, as in the relation of his life shall be further shewed. She died the fifteenth of *June* nine hundred and nineteene, and was buried in *S. Peters* Church at *Glouceſter*, leauing issue, a daughter, named *Elfwin*, whom King *Edward* her brother depriued of that *Duchy* which her owne mother enioyed, and he his crowne by her assistance.

Ethelgeda the second daughter.

Ethelgeda, the second daughter and fourth child of King *Elfred* and Queene *Elfwith*, was neuer married, but tooke vpon her the profession and vow of *Virginity*, and was by her fathers appointment made a Nunne of *Shaftsbury* in the County of *Dorset*, in the *Monasterie* there founded by him: who is also accounted the first of the Towne it selfe. Shee was afterward *Abbesse* of the house, and therein spent, and ended her life, and was there also buried.

Elfride the yongest daughter.

Elfride, the yongest daughter, and child of King *Elfred* and Queene *Elfwith* his wife, was married to *Baldwin* the second, surnamed the *Bald*, Earle of *Flanders*, sonne of Earle *Baldwin* the first, and Queene *Iudith* his wife, the widdow of King *Ethelwolfe* her Grandfather. Shee was his wife thirty yeeres and more; shee suruiued him and was a widdow eleuen yeeres: shee died the seuenth of *Iune*, in the yeere of our Lord nine hundred twenty nine, being the fift of the raigne of King *Ethelstan* her Nephew. She is buried by her husband in the Chappell of *our Lady*, within the *Monastery* of S. *Peter*, at the City of *Gaunt*. She had issue *Arnulfe* the third Earle of *Flanders*, progenitor of all the Earles of *Flanders* since his time, *Adnulfe* Earle of *Boloigne* and *Terwin*.

EDWARD

Edward.

EDVVARD SVRNAMED THE ELDER, THE TWENTIE FOVRTH KING OF THE VVEST-SAXONS, AND TVVENTY FIFT MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN, HIS RAIGNE, ACTS, AND ISSVE.

Monarch 25

Chapter XXXVII.

An.Do.901.

NO greater were the griefes conceiued for the death of worthy *Elfred*, then were the hopes of the people in his ſonne Prince *Edward*, whoſe valour had beene often approued againſt the raging *Danes*, & whoſe vertues were both many and princely; not ſo learned as his Father, neither ſo patient to vndergoe his chance; but as glorious in martiall proweſſe, and as fortunate in al his fights; vnder whoſe hand the *Danes* euery where fell, and vnder his *Monarchy* all the *Engliſh* did ſtoope, excepting the *Northumbrians*.

Speculum hiſt. Ric. Ciren.

Iohn. Stow.

(2) He entred his raigne the yeare of Chriſts natiuity, nine hundred and one, and at *Kingſton* vpon *Thames* was crowned and annointed with holy oyle. The *Daniſh* warrs continuing in a ſucceſſiue manner, fell as it were hereditaryly from the Father vnto the Sonne, and ripened dayly towards their wiſhed harueſt. Beſides *Ethelwald* the ſonne of *Ethelbert* the vncle to this king *Edward*, young at his fathers deceaſe, and therefore perhaps held vncapable of gouernment, ſhewed now the bloſſoms of vnder-ſucking plants, whoſe fruits are neither plenteous nor pleaſant in taſte; for his humours euer working vpon diſcontents, drew his thought onely how to make the poſſeſſor fall.

Ethelwald his minority.

(3) He then entring action of rebellion, tooke the towne of *Winborne* neere vnto *Bathe*, and beſides the allegiance due to his Prince, in ſacrilegious manner brake the heſts of holy Church, in deflowring and taking a Votariſt to wife. *Edward* the elder, ſo called (it may be in regard of this his *Oppoſite*) with a ſelected Army repaired to *Bathe*, and thence prepared for the *field*: whoſe ſight was ſo cockatrice-like to his coſen-germans eye, that in the night he bade his *Nun* and *Winborne* adew, poſting to *Northumberland*, and proffering his ſeruice to the *Danes* that lay for aduantage of rapine and ſpoile.

VVinborne taken by him.

Henry Hunt.

(4) Him as a fitte inſtrument they created their King, and forward in hope of ſome proſperous ſucceſſe, paſſed through the *Eaſt-Saxons*, the *Eaſt-Angles*, and the *Mercians Countries*: and laden with robberies came to *Crikelade* in *Wiltſhiere*, whence they departed ouer *Thamiſis* to *Baſingſtoke*; and harrying the land before them, with triumph returned vnto *Eaſt-Anglia*. *Edward* thus endangered by theſe dreadfull enemies, gaue them no aduantage by lingering delaies, but followed their tract vnto Saint *Edmunds Ditch*, whence in his returne, the *Danes* gaue him battaile, and obtained the victory, though bought with the liues of *Ethelwald* and *Cochricus* their Kings, and loſſe of many *Engliſh*, which made *Edward* the readier to enter a truce with them about the fift of his raigne.

Hab. Higd.

S. Edmunds ditch.

(5) That the *Engliſh* were moſt expert for warre in theſe daies, is witneſſed by their reſiſtance of thoſe ſturdy *Danes*, againſt whom the *Commons* many times with victory fought, without either King or Captaine to guide them: and they were likewiſe famous in other lands: for about this time it was, that the *Engliſhmen* at the perſwaſion of the *Gothes*, beſieged the great City *Argilla* in *Barbary*, which they wonne with ſuch ſlaughter of the enemy, and ſpoile of the towne; that for thirty yeares after it lay deſolate without inhabitants, whereby it was hoped that the *Saracens* would haue departed *Europe*, as *Ioannes Leo Afer* hath told vs, who according to the *Saracens* doth referre this ſiege to the three hundred and foureteenth of *Mahomet Hegira*, which meeteth with the yeare of Chriſts Natiuity, nine hundred and fiue.

An.Do.905.

Ioannes Leo Apher in deſcript Affrtc. lib. 3.

The Danes breake truce with the Engliſh.

(6) The truce yet laſting, the *Danes* in *Northumberland* were nothing quiet, to ſtay whoſe irruptions king *Edward* ſent a great power, who harried the Country before them, and with much ſlaughter returned victorious. Theſe dalliances of Fortune made the *Danes* very deſperate, and therefore to ſtay the rowling ball before it ſhould paſſe their goale, they gathered their powers & entred *Mercia*, where with victory and ſpoile they raged for a time. But *Edward* to aid *Ethelred* his brother in law, and Earle of that Prouince, muſtered his men, and at *Wodneſfield* neere *Wolfrune-hampton* in *Stafford ſhire* gaue the battaile, wherein the *Engliſh* ſo behaued themſelues that the two Pagan kings *Cowilfus* & *Healidine*, the two Earles *Vter* and *Scurſa*, beſides other Nobles & Commons innumerable they ſlew: and now the clouds of theſe diſtemperatures being driuen backe, king *Edwards* Monarchy aſcended the *Horizon*, and the *Sunne* of his power beganne to ſhine very bright, therefore he ſeeking to hold what he had got, ſet his thoughts to ſecure his towns with Caſtles and walles of defence.

An.Do.910.

Simon Dunelm. Two Daniſh Kings ſlaine.

(7) Theſe his proceedings cauſed him to be both beloued and feared; but his mind ſtill free from any ambitions pride, as may appeare by the intercourſe betwixt *Leolin* Prince of *Wales* and himſelfe whereof *Wal. Mapæus* maketh mention as followeth. *VVhat time* Edward *the Elder* (ſaith he) *lay at* Auſteline, *and* Leolin *Prince of* Wales *at* Betheſley, *intending a Parly*, Leolin *refuſed to come downe, or to croſſe the* Seuerne: *VVhereupon* Edward *tooke boat and entred the riuer towards him, which when* Leolin *ſaw, and knew who hee was, he caſt off his rich roabe wherewith he was clad, and which hee had prepared for that roiall aſſembly, and entred the riuer breaſt-hie, where claſping the boat with an imbrace, ſubmiſſiuely ſaid: Moſt wiſe and ſage King, thy humility hath ouercome my inſolency, and thy wiſedome triumphed ouer my folly; come, get vpon my necke, which I haue (foole as I am) lifted vp againſt thee, ſo ſhalt thou enter into that land which thy benigne mildnes hath made thine owne this day: and after he had taken him vpon his ſhoulders, he would needs haue him ſit down vpon his roiall roabe, and ſo putting his hands iointly into his, did him homage.*

Wal. Mapæus.

Leolin his homage to King *Edward.*

His admiration of King *Edwards* mildnes.

(8) In the twelfth yeare of his raigne, as *Henry Huntington* hath it; *Ethelred* Earle of *Mercia*, who had married *Elfleda* king *Edwards* ſiſter, departed this life, ſhe hauing borne him one onely daughter named *Elfwen*, whoſe trauell in childbirth was ſo grieuous, that euer after ſhe forbare the nuptial imbracements of her husband, alleadging that it was an ouer fooliſh pleaſure, which brought with it ſo great paines; and thereupon changing the wonted Affection of her ſexe from the bed vnto battaile, gouerned *Mercia* eight yeares after her husbands deceaſe, as another *Zenobia*, and did not a little aſſiſt her brother in his warres: for the *VVelſh* ſhe purſued as farre at *Brekenoke*, which ſhee tooke with their queene: from the *Danes* ſhee wonne the County of *Darby*, and aſſaulting the town vpon them, put her ſelfe in great danger; for enterpriſing to enter the Gate, ſhee was reſiſted by whole multitudes of *Danes*; notwithſtanding, ſhe perſiſted, & got entrance, in which encounter many died, and foure of her chiefe men of war, being Warders of her perſon, euen faſt by her ſide were ſlaine.

Hen. Hunting. An.Do.912.

Elfleda diſlikes of wedlocke.

She winneth *Brecnoke* & *Darby*

The *Danes* in *Yorkeſhire* ſhe conſtrained to be at her deuotion, ſo that ſome of them became her ſubiects, ſome vowed to attend in her aide, and ſome promiſed to be preſt at her diſpoſe. Her policie in warre proued euer the ſureſt; her counſell of State was regarded with the wiſeſt, and her prouidence in building, and repairing Cities for the weale-publike, or fortifying places for munition of warre exceeded others: which ſhee extended vpon *Cheſter*, *Tamworth*, *Lichfield*, *Stafford*, *Warwicke*, *Shrewsbury*, *Wednesbury*, *Eadsbury*, *Finborow*, *Rimcorne*, *Brimsbery-Bridge*, and others.

Many townes planted by her.

This renowned Lady giuing place vnto Nature, left the warres to bee continued by her brother; her daughter at the diſpoſe of her vncle, and her body to be buried at *Gloceſter* in the Monaſtery of S. *Peter*, which her husband and her ſelfe had formerly built.

(9) The laſt battaile of this King againſt theſe vnſatiate enemies, was in the Country of the *Eaſt Angles*, whereof *Edricke* the *Dane* was king; for hee intending new warres with the *Engliſh*, ſought to incite other *Danes* to his aide, whereof *Edward* hauing intelligence, preuented his purpoſe, by his ſodaine approch into thoſe parts.

Polydor.

Edricke therefore hauing all in a redineſſe, raſhly encountered with his enemy, and fought a fierce battaile to the great loſſe of his Army, and damage of his life; for returning to his Court after ſo foule a diſcomfiture, became odious to his owne ſubiects, who violently fel vpon him and murdered him; and themſelues brought low by ciuill diſſention were ſhortly made ſubiect to the *Engliſh King Edward*, and that Kingdome with *Mercia*, ioined vnto his *VVeſt-Saxons*. And now hauing raigned in great warres and honour the ſpace of twenty foure yeeres, deceaſed at *Farringdon* in *Barkſhire*, the yeare of Chriſts incarnation, 924. and was buried in the *new-Monaſtery* of *VVincheſter*, which his Father begunne, and himſelfe wholly finiſhed.

Edricke his doings.

The time of King *Edwards* raigne.

His Death and buriall.

His wiues.

(10) *Eguina* the firſt wife of king *Edward*, was the daughter of a meane Gentleman named *Bercher*, whoſe eye-pleaſing feature & alluring beauty made her to be educated aboue the degree of her birth, and was brought vp by the nurſe of king *Edward* in tender affection and great eſteeme. It chanced Prince *Edward* in kindnes came to viſite his nurſe, where ſeeing the admirable beauty of the Maide, fell ſo farre in loue, that he tooke her to his wife without the conſent or knowledge of his father: In which regard ſhe is reputed by ſome Writers rather his *Concubine* then his queene, no other cauſe mouing them but her meane parentage, and ſecret making and keeping of this mariage, although there bee ſome good hiſtories and many likelyhoods to induce that ſhe was his lawfull Queene.

Eguina.

Prince *Edward* marrieth *Eguina*

(11) *Elfleda* the ſecond wife of King *Edward*, was the daughter (as *Mathew* of *Weſtminſter* reporteth) of an Earle named *Ethelhelme*, and *Aſſer* the Biſhop of *Sherborne* maketh mention of an Earle in *Wiltſhire* among the *Weſt-Saxons* of the ſame, name; who was in great fauour with King *Elfred*, the father of this king, by whom hee was ſent Ambaſſador to carry his Almes to *Stephen* the ſixt, of that name Biſhop of *Rome*, in the yeere of our Lord 887. and by all probable conference of name, time, and place, hee ſeemeth to bee the man that was father to this Queene.

Elfleda.

Stephen the ſixt Biſhop of Rome.

(12) *Edgiua*, the third wife of king *Edward*, was the daughter and heire of Earle *Sigeline* Lord of *Meapham*, *Culings*, and *Leanham* in *Kent*, who was there ſlaine in bataile againſt the *Danes*, *Anno* 927. Shee was maried vnto king *Edward* about the fourteenth yeare of his raigne, being the yeare of Grace, 916. She was his wife ten yeares, and after his death ſhee liued a widdow all the times of the raigns of King *Ethelſtan* her ſonne in law, of king *Edmund*, and king *Edred* her owne ſonnes, of king *Edwy* her Grand-child; and was liuing in the Raigne of king *Edward* another of her Grand-children, almoſt forty yeares after the death of her husband. It is writ of her that in the yeare of Grace, 959. ſhee offered her lands and euidences to Chriſt vpon his Altar at *Canterbury*. She deceaſed the twenty fift of *Auguſt* in the fourth yeare of the ſaid king *Edgar*, and of Chriſt, 963.

Edgiua.

Two Kings her ſonnes.

His Children.

(13) *Ethelſtan*, the eldeſt ſonne of king *Edward* and the Lady *Eguina*, was borne and growne to good yeeres in the time of the raigne of his Grandfather king *Elfred*, who with his owne hands gaue him the order of knighthood, after a very honourable manner

Ethelſtan the firſt ſonne.

ner of creation, as *William* the Monke of *Malmsbury*, a great obſeruer of ſuch things, hath left in writing: who reporteth, that he put vpon him a Purple Robe, and girt him with a girdle wrought with pearle, and a *Saxon* ſword in a ſcabard of gold, hanging at the ſame. He was the Succeſſor of his Father in the *Weſt-Saxons* dominions, and the *Engliſh Monarchy*.

Wil. Malmsb.

Elfred the ſecond ſonne.

(14) *Elfred*, the ſecond ſonne of King *Edward* and the Lady *Eguina*, is warranted by the teſtimony of the ſtory of *Hyde*, to haue been loued of his Father aboue all his other children, that he cauſed him in his owne lifetime to bee crowned King, and to ſit with him in his Seat of Eſtate, as his Partner in the Kingdome, and that he enioyed that great honour but for a ſmall time, deceaſing ſhortly after his creation; and long before his fathers death; and was buried in the New Monaſtery at *Wincheſter*; which afterwards was remoued to *Hyde*.

Crowned King in his fathers time.

Editha the firſt daughter. *Mat. Weſtminſter. Polidor.*

(15) *Editha* (whom the *Scotiſh* Writers call *Beatrice*) the daughter of King *Edward* and the Lady *Eguina*, with great honor was maried to *Sythricke*, the *Daniſh* King of *Northumberland*, in the firſt yeere of the raigne of her brother King *Ethelſtan*, being the yeere of grace 915. Within one yeere after her mariage, her husband deceaſed, and his ſon *Guthfrid* ſucceeded him in his Kingdome. Wherefore ſhe forſaking that Country, obtained of her brothers gift, the Caſtell of *Tamworth*, in the County of *Warwicke*, where ſhe began a Monaſtery of Nunnes, and therin liued, died, and was interred, and both the Monaſtery and Body afterwards was remoued from thence vnto *Polleſworth*.

Tamworth Caſtell.

Elfward the third ſonne.

(16) *Elfward*, the third ſon of King *Edward*, and the firſt of Queen *Elfleda* his ſecond wife, was born, as it ſeemeth, about the beginning of his fathers raigne. He was carefully brought vp in the ſtudy of Liberall Arts, and in all other princely qualities; ſo that it was expected he ſhould haue ſucceeded his father in the Kingdome: but preſently vpon his fathers deceaſe, he deceaſed himſelf in *Oxford*, and was buried at one time, and in one place with him in the New Monaſtery at *Wincheſter*, in the yeere of Chriſt Ieſus 924.

Buried at *Wincheſter*.

Edwine the fourth ſonne. *Wil. Malmſ.*

(17) *Edwine*, the fourth ſonne of king *Edward*, and the ſecond of Queene *Elfleda* his ſecond Wife, was very young when his father was buried, and his brother *Ethelſtane* crowned. Notwithſtanding a deep ieloſie poſſeſsing the king, that his title was too neere the Crown, he cauſed him to be put into a little Pinneſſe, without either Tackle or Oares, one only page accompanying him, that his death might be imputed to the waues: whence the young Prince ouercome with griefe, and not able to maſter his own paſsions, caſt himſelfe headlong into the ſea, & his dead body being driuen vpon the coaſts of *Flanders*, was taken vp by *Adulphe*, Earle of *Boloine*, his coſen-germane, and honourably buried in the Monaſtery of Saint *Bertin*, in the Towne of *S. Omers*. Which fact was much lamented by king *Ethelſtan*, who greeuouſly puniſhed the ſuggeſtions of his owne ieloſie, and the procurers of his brothers death, ſending great thanks to the Earle that buried him, and rich Preſents to the Monaſtery which entombed him, and to appeaſe the ghoſt of his innocent brother, built the Abbey of *Middleton* in the County of *Dorſet*.

Iames Maier, in his Annals of *Flanders*.

Elfleda the ſecond daughter.

(18) *Elfleda*, the ſecond daughter of king *Edward* and the firſt of Queene *Elfleda* his ſecond Wife, entred into the orders of Religion, and tooke vpon her the profeſsion and vow of Virginity; in the Monaſtery of *Ramſey*, ſituated vpon the Riuer *Teſt*, in the County of *Southampton*. In which Monaſtery, ſhe was firſt a Nunne, and afterward Abbeſſe during the whole time of her life, which was there ſpent and ended; and her body in the ſaid Abbey buried.

Ramſey Monaſtery.

Eguina the third daughter.

(19) *Eguina*, the third daughter of king *Edward* and the ſecond of Queene *Elfleda* his ſecond Wife, was the ſecond Wife to *Charles the third*, ſurnamed the *Simple*, king of *France*, ſon to king *Lews* the brother of *Iudith*, Queene of *England* before mentioned. She had iſſue by him *Lewis the third*, ſurnamed *Beyond-ſea*, becauſe he was brought vp here in *England* with his Vnkle King *Ethelſtan*; and *Gillet* Dutcheſſe of *Normandy* maried to *Rollo* the *Dane*: who in regard of his marriage, was allowed to bee the firſt Duke of that Country. This Queene ſuruiued King *Charles* her husband; and afterwards was remaried to *Herbert*, the younger Earle of *Vermandoys*; which marriage was taken for ſo great an indignity, becauſe Earle *Herbert* the elder, father to this Earle, had cauſed the king her Husband to die in priſon, that King *Lewis* her ſonne preſently purſued her, apprehended, and committed her to the ſtrait cuſtody of Queene *Gerberge* his wife: ſo as ſhee had no recourſe vnto him, nor iſſue by him.

Her marriage with *Herbert* diſliked.

Ethelhild the fourth daughter.

(20) *Ethelhild*, the fourth daughter of king *Edward*, and the third of Queene *Elfleda* his ſecond wife, followed the example of her elder ſiſter *Elfleda*, and became a Nunne in the Monaſtery of *Wilton*, which was ſometime the head Towne giuing name to the whole County of *Wiltſhire*, & anciently called *Ellandon*.

Edhild the fifth daughter.

(21) *Edhild*, the fifth daughter of king *Edward*, and the fourth of queene *Elfleda*, was maried to *Hugh* ſurnamed *the Great*, Earle of *Paris*, Grand-maſter and Conſtable of *France*, in the yeere of our Lord 926. being the third of her brother king *Ethelſtanes* raigne. This *Hugh* was the ſonne of *Robert*, brother to *Endes* king of *France*, and father of king *Hugh Capet*, progenitor of the Kings of *France*, euer ſithence vnto this day: but ſhee died before him without any iſſue by him.

Edgith the ſixth daughter.

(22) *Edgith*, the ſixth daughter of King *Edward*, and the fifth of queene *Elfleda*, was the firſt wife of *Otho* the firſt, ſurnamed *the Great*, Emperour of the Weſt, ſonne to the Emperor *Henry*, ſurnamed *the Falconer*. By him ſhe had iſſue *Ludolfe*, Duke of *Swabe*, *William* Arch-biſhop of *Mentz*, *Ludgard* maried to *Conrad* Duke of *Lorrayn*, and *Mechthild* Abbeſſe of *Quedlingburg* in *Saxonie*: in which City ſhe deceaſed the ſeuen & twenty of *Auguſt*, in the yere of Chriſts Natiuity 947, the eleuenth of her husbands Empire, and the firſt of her brother king *Edreds* raigne in *England*. She was buried at the Eaſt end of the north ſide of a Chapel which her ſelfe had founded in the ſame City.

Elgiua the ſeuenth daughter.

(23) *Elgiua*, the ſeuenth daughter of King *Edward*, and the ſixth of queene *Elfleda* his ſecond Wife, was by king *Ethelſtan* her brother, with her ſiſter *Egith*, ſent to the Court of the Emperor *Henry the firſt*, king of the *Saxons* in *Germany*, who honourably entertained her, brought her vp with his owne daughters; and after he had married her elder ſiſter to his eldeſt ſonne, he placed her alſo in mariage with a Duke of *Italy* about the Alpes, who is not named of our Writers, but may eaſily be coniectured by the honourable diſpoſition of the maker of the match, to haue beene a Prince of note and account, worthy of her eſtate and parentage.

Married to a Duke of *Italy*.

Edmund the fifth ſonne.

(24) *Edmund*, the fifth ſonne of king *Edward*, and the firſt of queene *Edgiua* his third and laſt Wife, was borne in the twentieth yeere of his fathers raigne, being the yeere of the worlds ſaluation 921. and at his fathers death little more then three yeres of age, was notwithſtanding by the carefull prouiſion of his mother, brought vp with all princely education conuenient for his yeeres and eſtate, inſomuch as there was generally a great expectation amongſt the people conceiued of him in the life of his brother *king Ethelſtan*, vnder whom he learned ſome experience of ſeruice in warre, and after whom he ſucceeded in the kingdome of *England*

Three yeere old at his fathers death.

Edred the ſixt ſonne.

(25) *Edred*, the ſixth ſonne of king *Edward*, and the ſecond of queene *Edgiua* his third Wife, and the youngeſt ſonne of them both, was borne about the two and twentieth yeere of his fathers raigne; and yeere of grace 923. which was not long before the death of his father, who left him a little infant in the cuſtody of his mother, by whom hee was carefully brought vp, and prooued a Prince of ſo great vertue and

A good prince.

and valour, as after the death of King *Edmund* his brother in regard of the minority of his Nephews, hee was with the generall consent, and liking of the whole nation, chosen to bee his brothers successor in the kingdome and gouernment ouer them.

Edburg the eight daughter. *Han. Higd. Polic. lib. 6. cap. 4.*

(26) *Edburg*, the eight daughter of King *Edward*, and the first of Queene *Edgiua*, in her childhood had her disposition tried, and her course of life disposed by her Father in this manner: hee laid before her gorgeous apparrell, and rich Iewels, in one end of a chamber, and the new Testament and Bookes of princely instruction in the other; willing her to make her choice of which she liked best: she presently tooke vp the bookes, and hee her in his armes; kissing her said, *Goe in Gods name whither God hath called thee*, and thereupon placed her in a *Monastery* at *Winchester*, wherein shee did most vertuously spend her whole life, and in that Abbey was buried.

Edgiua the ninth daughter.

(27) *Edgiua*, the ninth daughter of King *Edward*, and the second of his last Queene, whose name shee bare, is reported in the history of the *Monastery* of *Hyde* by *Winchester*, and other Writers of our Country, to haue beene married to *Lewes* Prince of *Aquitaine* in *France*, which not long before had beene a *Kingdome* of it selfe, sometime allotted to the portion of *Lewes* the third sonne of the Emperour *Charles* the *Great*; of which house it seemeth this *Lewes* was; afterward it became a Dukedome, and the possession of an other Family, by whom it came to be the inheritance after the Conquest to the Kings of *England*, which were descended of the house of *Angeow*.

Aquitaine belonging to *England*.

Ethelstan.

ETHELSTAN THE TVVENTY FIFT KING OF THE VVEST-SAXONS, AND THE TWENTIE SIXT MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN, HIS RAIGNE, ACTS, AND SVPPOSED ISSVE.

Monarch 26

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

An. Do. 924.

Thelstan, the eldest sonne of King *Edward* (as hath beene said) for the great hopes conceiued of him, was crowned with a greater solemnity then any of his ancestors euer before him. The place was *Kingston* vpon *Thamisis* in the County of *Surrey*, the yere of Christ Iesus 924. where, in the midst of the towne a high Scaffold was built, and thereon the coronation performed to the open view of all, by *Athelmus* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, with shouts of ioy as that of *Salomon*.

Crowned at *Kingston* vpon Thamisis.

(2) His beginnings were with troubles, and that rather by reason of friends then force of foes: for it is recorded, that *Elfred* a Nobleman, either in fauour of King *Edwards* other sonnes, holding *Ethelstan* a Bastard, or else vpon an ambitious hope for himselfe, intended at *Winchester* to haue pluckt out the eyes of his Soueraigne: but his treason being known, before the seed could shew blade, he was apprehended & sent to *Rome* to purge himselfe by oth: where, before the Altar of *S. Peter* and Pope *Iohn* the tenth, hee there abiured the act, and thereupon fell sodainly down to the earth, so that his seruants tooke and bare him into the English Schoole, where, within three dayes after he died: the *Pope* denying him christian buriall vntill he knew King *Ethelstans* pleasure.

Wil. Malmesburie.

Pope *Iohn* the tenth.

(3) These stormes ouerpast, as great a cloud seeing to arise vnto *Ethelstans* sight, whose eye of iealousie euer following the ascent, & his eare euer opened vnto the instillations of Parasites, amongst whom his Cup-bearer was a chiefe, who brought daily more and more suspition into the Kings head, that lastly (as wee haue shewed) hee consented to young *Edwins* death, though with too late a sorrow hee repented the same: for besides his seauen yeeres pennance voluntarily vndergoe, to pacifie the

Parasites.

Edwins death.

The occasion of the founding of Midleton and Michelneſſe Monasteries.

the ghoſt of his betraied brother, he built the two *Monaſteries* of *Midleton* and *Michelneſſe*, as for the moſt part ſuch ſeed-plots were euer ſowne in the furrowes of bloud, which hapned vpon this occaſion: It chanced his *Cup-bearer* in his ſeruice vpon a feſtiuall to ſtumble with the one foote, and recouering himſelfe with the other, pleaſantly to ſay, *you ſee how one brother helpeth another*; vpon which ſpeech the King with griefe and touch of heart, called to mind the death of his innocent brother, and forthwith commanded execution to be done on him the procurer, to repay his fact with deſerued death: & himſelfe was euer after more tender and carefull towards his other brethren, with a more reſpectiue regard, & beſtowed his ſiſters moſt honourably in mariage, as hath beene ſaid.

His Cup-bearer put to death.

(4) At his entrance of gouernment, to diſcharge the expectations of his ſubiects, hee endeauoured both by warres and alliances to make them ſtrong and rich. Firſt therefore entring friendſhippe with *Sithricke* the *Daniſh* King of *Northumberland*, vpon whom with condition that hee ſhould receiue Baptiſme, he beſtowed his ſiſter *Editha* in marriage, hee bent himſelfe to ordaine *Lawes* for the weale-publike, & thoſe to bind aſwell the *Clergy* as the *Layety*, out of which firſt ſprang the *attachment* of *Fellons*, to take hold of ſuch as ſtole aboue *twelue pence*, & were aboue twelue yeeres of age.

Sithricke. *VVil. Malmsbury*

A law againſt Fellons.

(5) But *Sithricke* the *Northumbrian* dying the firſt yeare of his marriage, and his *Queene* returning to a religious life, his ſonnes *Godfrey* and *Anlaſe*, offended that their *Pagan Gods* were neglected, and onely by the meanes of this their fathers laſt wife, ſtirred the *Northumbrians* to diſquiet the Engliſh, which occaſioned *Ethelſtan* to inuade their country: and forced *Anlaſe* into *Ireland*, and *Godfrey* into *Scotland*, which laſt ſo wrought with *Conſtantine* their King, that hee vndertooke to ſide in his quarrell, with whom ioined * *Howel King* of *Wales*. Theſe in a fierce battle hee ouercame and conſtrained them to ſubmit themſelues to his will, who knowing the chance of warre to bee variable, and pittying the cauſe of theſe down-caſt Princes, reſtored them preſently to their former eſtates, adding withall this princely ſaying, *that it was more honour to make a King then to be a King.*

Godfrey and Anlaſe the ſonnes of Sithricke.

*Ludwall, ſaith Malmsbury.

An. Do. 937.

Mat. Weſt. Rand. Higd.

(6) This notwithſtanding, the caſe of *Godfrey* ſo moued the ſpirit of *King Conſtantine*, that hee againe aſſiſted him in his inroades into the Engliſh part, which drew againe *King Ethelſtan* into the *North*: & cõming to *Yorkſhiere* (as he was a man much deuoted to God-ward) turned aſide to viſite the tombe of *S. Iohn* of *Beuerly*, where earneſtly praying for his proſperous ſucceſſe, for want of richer Iewels, there offered his knife, vowing that if hee returned with conqueſt, hee would redeeme it with a worthy price; and thus armed with hope, proceeded forward pitching downe his tents at *Brimesbury*, his nauie waffing along thoſe ſeas.

King Conſtantine aſſiſteth Godfrey.

Wil. Malmesb. Simeon Dun. Ran. Higden.

(7) To the aide of *Conſtantine* came *Anlaſe*, called by writers king of the *Iriſh*, and of the *Iles*, who had maried his daughter, a man no doubt both hardy and deſperate, as appeared by the action hee vnderwent; for it is recorded, that as *Elfred* the Engliſh had attempted to know the ſtate of the *Danes*; ſo this *Dane* at this place did to vnderſtand the *Engliſh*: for diſguiſing himſelfe like a Harper, hee went from Tent to Tent, and had acceſſe euen into King *Ethelſtans* preſence, vntill hee hed learned what hee moſt deſired, and then returned againe to his Campe, which part of his was no bolder nor more wiſely performed, then was kept ſecret, and after reuealed by a moſt faithfull ſouldier. for *Anlaſe* departed & free from purſuit, this Souldier made the act known to *King Ethelſtan*: who being ſore diſpleaſed with his enemies eſcape, imputed the fault vnto him the reuealer; but he replying, made him this anſwere; *I once ſerued* Anlaſe (ſaid he) *vnder his pay for a ſouldier, and gaue him the ſame faith that I doe now vnto yon; if then I ſhould haue betraied his deſignes, what truſt could your Grace repoſe in my truth? let him therefore die, but not through my Treachery, and by his eſcape ſecure your royall ſelfe from danger; remooue your Tent from the place where it ſtands, leſt at vnawares hee haply aſſaile you.*

Hector Boetius.

Anlaſe King of Ireland.

Anlaſe his policy

Anlaſe his ſouldiers fidelity.

(8) The King ſeeing the faith of his ſouldier, was therewith pacified, and forthwith commanded his Tent to bee remoued, where preſently a Biſhoppe new come to his Campe pitched vp his owne, and the night following both himſelfe and retinue were ſlaine by the ſame *Anlaſe* that ſought the kings life in aſſaulting the place; and preſsing forward came to his tent, who awaked with the ſuddaine Allarum boldly ruſhed vpon his enemies, and encouraging his men, put them backe with the death of fiue petty Kings, twelue Dukes, and well neere of the whole Army, which *Anlaſe* had brought.

VVil. Malmsbury.

Fiue Kinge and twelue Dukes ſlaine.

(9) The memory of this man is made the more laſting by a peece of ancient Saxon coine of ſiluer, inſcribed with his name, ANLAF CYNYNE, which for the antiquity of the thing, and honor of the man we haue here imprinted, & placed, though in the texture of our *Engliſh Saxon kings.*

(10) To leaue a memoriall of *King Ethelſtans* great victory, giue me leaue to write what I find; namely, that neere vnto the Caſtle *Dunbar* in *Scotland*, he praying that his right vnto thoſe parts might be confirmed vnto poſterities by a ſigne, at one blow with his ſword ſtrooke an elle deepe into a ſtone, which ſtood ſo clouen a long time after, & vndoubtedly was the whetſtone to this Authors knife, with the like credit as *Tarquinius* his whetſtone was cut aſunder by *Actius Nauius* the *Augur* his *Razour*: but this is moſt certaine, that hee ioined *Northumberland* to the reſt of his Monarchy, and returning to *Beuerly* redeemed his owne knife.

Polier. lib. 6. cap. 6. Dunbar Caſtle,

Liui. lib. 1. Cicero de diuinat. lib. 1. Beuerley.

(11) From hence he turned his warres into *Wales*, whoſe Rulers and Princes hee brought to bee his Tributaries, who at *Hereford* entred couenant to pay him yeerely twenty pound weight of gold, three hundred of ſiluer, and twenty fiue hundred head of cattle, with hawkes and hounds to a certaine number, towards which paiment by the ſtatutes of *Howell Dha*, the *King* of *Aberfraw* was charged at ſixty ſix pounds; the Prince *Dineuwre*, and the Prince of *Powys* were to pay the life ſummes.

The prince of *Wales* tribute.

Cron. Wal.

(12) The *Britaines*, which to this time with all equall right inhabited the City of *Exceſter* with the *Saxons*, hee expelled into the further promontory of *Cornwal*, and made *Tamar* the confines of his own Empire; ſo that his dominion was the largeſt that any *Saxon* before him had enioied, and his fame the greateſt with all forraine Princes, who ſought his friendſhip both with loue and alliance, by matching with his ſiſters, and preſenting him with rich and rare preſents; For *Hugh King* of *France*, beſides other veneſtimable Iewels, ſent him the ſword of *Conſtantine the Great*, in the hilt whereof (all couered with gold) was one of the nailes that faſtned Chriſt to his Croſſe; he ſent likewiſe the ſpeare of *Charles the Great*, reputed to be the ſame that pierced *Chriſts* ſide, as alſo part of the *Croſſe* whereon hee ſuffered his paſsion, and a peece of the *thorny Crowne* wherewith his bleſſed Temples were begoared; and with theſe came the banner of S. *Maurice* ſo often ſpread by *Charles the Great* in his Chriſtian warres againſt the *Saracens*; And from *Otho* the Emperour, who had maried his ſiſter, was ſent a veſſell of pretious ſtones artificially made, wherin were ſeene Lanskips with vines, corne and men, all of them ſeeming ſo natu-

Wil. Malmesbury.

Ran. Higd. in Polier. lib. 6. cap. 16.

The King of *France* his Preſents to king *Ethelſtan.*

Conſtantines ſword with a naile of the Croſſe ſent into *England.*

naturally to moue, as if they had growne and retained life: And the King of *Norway* ſent him a goodly ſhip with a guilt ſterne, purple ſailes, and the decke garniſhed all with gold.

Holinſhed.

(13) Of theſe accounted holy reliques *King Ethelſtan* gaue part vnto the Abbey of *S. Swithen*, in *Wincheſter*, and the reſt to the Monaſtery of *Malmeſbury*, whereof *Adelme* was the founder, and his *Tutelar Saint*, in honour of whom he beſtowed great immunities vpon the towne, and large endowments vpon the Abbey; hee new built the monaſteries of *Wilton*, *Michelneſſe*, & *Midleton*, founded S. *Germans* in *Cornwall*, *S. Petrocus* at *Bodman*, the Priory of *Pilton*, new walled and beautified the City of *Exceſter*, and enriched euery famous Abbey in the land, either with new buildings, Iewels, Books, or Renenewes.

S. Swithens Abbey.

King Athelſtans beneficence.

Iohn Stow.

(14) As alſo he did certaine Cities with the Mintage of his money, wherof in *London* were eight houſes, at *Wincheſter* ſixe, at *Lewis* two, at *Haſtings* two, in *Hampton* two, in *Warham* two, in *Chicheſter* one, in *Rocheſter* three, two for the King, and one for the Biſhop; at *Canterbury* ſeuen; foure for himſelfe, two for the Archbiſhop, and one for the Abbat, although it appeareth the Archbiſhop had his before the raigne of this King. For among theſe ancient *Saxon-Coynes*, we find one of *Ceolnothus*, who ſate there Archbiſhop in the yeere 831. which both for the antiquity and authority of truth we haue here inſerted.

Ceolnothus coine. *An.* 831.

But the chiefeſt of his workes, for the knowledge of God, and good of his ſubiects, was, the tranſlation of the Bible into the *Saxon* tongue, the mother ſpeech then of the *Engliſh*, which hee cauſed to bee done.

Monarch. 27 As *Tindale* reporteth, in his Preface to the obedience of, &c

(15) This Prince King *Ethelſtan* was of an indifferent ſtature, not much exceeding the common ſort of men, chearefull in countenance, his haire verie yellow, and ſomewhat ſtooped forward as he went; for valour inuincible, in reſolution conſtant, and for his curteſie beloued of all: he raigned in great honour the ſpace of fifteene yeeres and odde monethes, and deceaſed in the City of *Glouceſter*, vpon wedneſday the ſeuenteenth of October, and was buried at *Malmesbury* the yeere of Chriſts Natiuity: 940. hauing neuer had wife mentioned in our hiſtories.

Athelſtans vertues.

The time of his raigne.

His ſuppoſed Iſſue.

(16) *Leoneat*, the ſuppoſed daughter of King *Ethelſtan*, is reported by *Iohn Rouſe* and *Papulwick*, writers of the miſtruſted ſtory of *Guy of Warwicke*, to bee married vnto *Reynburn* Earle of *Warwicke*, ſonne to the ſame *Guy*, whoſe remembrance and reputation is preſerued & kept with no leſſe renowne among the common people, for the liberty of *England* ſaued by his victory in ſingle combate againſt *Colbrand* the *Dane*, then was *Horatius* the *Romane* for the preſeruation of *Rome*, whoſe hiſtory I will leaue for others to enlarge that haue more leaſure and better inuention.

Iohn Rouſe. Papulw.ck.

EDMVND THE TVVENTIE SIXTH

KING OF THE WEST-SAXONS, AND TWENTIE SEVENTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN, HIS RAIGNE, ACTS, DEATH, WIFE, AND ISSVE.

Edmund.

Monarch 27

CHAPTER XXXIX.

An. Dō. 940.

Dmund the fifth ſonne of King *Edward*, borne vnto him by Queen *Edgiua* his third and laſt wife, at the age of nineteen yeres ſucceeded his brother King *Ethelſtan* in his kingdome, and Monarchy: he began his raigne the yere of the vo. lds ſaluation 940. and with great ſolemnity was crowned at *Kingſton* vpon *Thamiſis*, in the fifth yeere of *Otho* the firſt Emperour of that name, and his brother in law; his valour had often beene tried in the warres of King *Ethelſtan* againſt thoſe ſtout and ſturdy enemies the *Danes*, *Scottiſh*, *Iriſh*, and *welſhmen*, that often had aſſailed to diſturbe his peace.

Simon Dun.

(2) *Athelſtan* deceaſed, and the crowne ſcarſe ſet vpon *King Edmunds* head, but that the *Danes* in *Northumberland*, diſliking ſubiection, called againe *Anlafe* out of *Ireland* to be their King; who now in the infancie

Vuil. Malmsbury

infancy of *Edmunds* eſtate, with great power of men purpoſed to ſubdue all before him; but *Edmund* as forward, with full reſolution meant to keepe what was got; and ſo gathering his power, proceeded towards the *North*, and at *Leiceſter* encountred with the *Danes*: howbeit, through the interceding of the Archbiſhops of *Canterburie* and *Yorke*, *Odo* and *Wolſtan*, the matter was mitigated before it came to the vttermoſt.

An.Do. 942. (3) The next yeere of his reigne, the ſaid *Anlafe* (whom ſome hold to haue beene the King of *Norway*) beeing dead, an other *Anlafe*, ſonne to King *Sithrick*, of whom wee haue ſpoken, intruded vpon the kingdome of *Northumberland*. Theſe heads, as *Hidraes*, ſpringing vp each after others, drew King *Edmund* againe into the *North*, who raging like a prouoked Lion, ſubdued, as hee went, thoſe townes where the *Danes* kept, and got from them *Lincolne*, *Leiceſter*, *Darbie*, *Stafford*, and *Nottingham*, compelling them to receiue Baptiſme, and to become his Subiects; ſo that the Country was wholy his vnto *Humber*. Theſe his proceedings cauſed *Anlafe* and *Reinold* the ſonnes of the *Daniſh Gurmo*, ſubduers of *Yorke*, to yeeld themſelues wholy to his deuotion, offering him ſubiection, and withall to receiue the Chriſtian faith; for performance whereof, they likewiſe receiued Baptiſme, vnto whom *King Edmund* was God-father, to *Reinold* at his *Confirmation*, and to *Anlafe* at the *Font*: but how ſoone they fell from both, the ſequell ſhewed; for caſting off the faith and fealty thus promiſed, they ſtirred the *Northumbrians* to another rebellion, yet with no better ſucceſſe then deſert; for they were forced into a perpetuall exile, and *King Edmund* adioined that Country to his owne gouernment, without the admittance of any Secondary or Vice-roy to rule there vnder him.

Mat. Weſtminſter. VVil. Malmsbury. An.Do. 944. Simon Dunel.

King Dunmaile. (4) *Cumberland* alſo, which ſeldome was quiet, hauing beene a Kingdome entire of it ſelfe, and now aided by *Leolin King* of *Southwoales*, he vtterly waſted; and apprehending the two ſonnes of *Dunmaile King* of that Prouince, commanded the eyes of thoſe ouer-bold Princes to be puld out, and gaue their inheritance to *Malcolme King* of *Scots*, to hold the ſame by fealty from him. Thus by power and policie clearing thoſe coaſts whence the ſharpeſt ſtormes had continually blowne, hee returned into the *South*, and there ſet himſelfe to ordaine lawes for the good of his people, the which, leſt time the conſumer of all things might chance to obliterate, were by the labours of the learned *Lambert* tranſlated into Latine, and inprinted in the yeere 1568. next, to ſhew his loue to God, and bountie to his Church, hee gaue the towne of *Saint Edmundsbury* with the liberties thereof, wholy to that Martyr, and to the Monks that liued in ſeruing at his Altars.

Wil. Lambert.

(5) But as each thing hath his ſpring, growth, and decay; ſo all men their dates, howſoeuer eminent in degree, & the ſhank of their compas ſo ſet in a center that the Cirtle of their lines are oftentimes abrupt, before it be drawne to the full round. For ſo with others wee may ſee in this *Monarch*, who being ſafely returned from many great dangers of was, at peace in his Palace, came to a lamentable & vnexpected end: for at his Manor of *Pucle-kerkes* in the County of *Glouceſter*, whiles hee interpoſed himſelfe betweene his *Sewer* and one *Leowe* to part a fray, was, with a thruſt through the body, wounded to death the twenty ſixth of *May*, in the yere of our ſaluation 946. when hee had proſperouſly raigned the ſpace of fiue yeeres and ſeuen moneths, and his body, with no leſſe ſorrow then ſolemnity, was buried at *Glaſtenbury*.

Marianus. VVil. Malmſ.

His Wife.

Elfgine. (6) *Elfgine*, the onely wife of *King Edmund*, hath not her parents declared (for ought I finde) by any of our Writers: but this is affirmed, that ſhe was married vnto him in the firſt yeere of his raigne, which was the yeere of grace, 940. and that ſhe was his wife foure yeeres & vpward, after whoſe ſlaughter ſhe remained a mournfull widdow all the reſt of her life, which ſhe ſpent with ſo great vertue and opinion of the people, as by the Writers of that age ſhee is commended to poſteritie by the name of a Saint.

His Iſſue.

Edwy. (7) *Edwy*, the eldeſt ſonne of *King Edmund*, and *Queene Elfgine* his wife, was borne in the ſecond yeere of his fathers raigne *Anno* 942. When his father died, hee was but foure yeere of age, and in reſpect of his minority was not permitted to ſucceed him in the Kingdome, but forced to giue place to his vncle *Edred*, vnder whom he liued nine yeeres: and in the tenth, his vncle being dead, and himſelfe then growne to the age of thirteene, was admitted to the ſucceſſion of the *Monarchy*.

Edgar. (8) *Edgar* the ſecond ſonne of *King Edmund*, and of *Queen Elfgine*, was borne in the third yeere of his fathers raigne, the yeere of Chriſt Ieſus 943, and was but three yeeres old when his Father died; notwithſtanding, he proued afterward a Prince of great expectation, and in the ſecond yere of *King Edwy* his brothers raigne, beeing then but fourteene yeeres of age, hee was choſen King by the *Mercians* and *Northumbrians*, both which people hee gouerned vnder the title of King of *Mercia*, for the ſpace of two yeeres before his brothers death, and then ſucceeded him in the whole *Monarchie*.

Edred.

EDRED THE TVVENTY SEVENTH KING OF THE WEST-SAXONS, AND TWENTY EIGHTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN, HIS ACTS, RAIGNE, AND ISSVE.

Monarch 28

CHAPTER XL.

An. Do. 946.

EDred, the sixth sonne of King *Edward*, borne vnto him by Queene *Edgiua* his third and last wife, at the age of twentie three yeeres succeeded his brother King *Edmund* in the nonage of his children in al his dominions, and was the twenty seuenth King of the *West-Saxons*, and the twenty eight Monarch of the *Englishmen*. Hee beganne his raigne in the yeere of Mans saluation 946. and was annointed, and crowned at *Kingston* vpon *Thames* in the County of *Surrey* vpon Sunday the seuenteenth day of *August*, by the hands of *Otho* Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

Policr. lib. 6. cap. 8.

(2) His Coronation robes scarsly put off; newes was brought him that the *Northumbrians* had reuolted and stirred a dangerous insurrection, notwithstanding the Couenants that his brother *Edmund* had made with *Malcolme* King of the *Scots*, to secure the same. Therefore lest delaies might proue dangerous, with a great Armie hee entred into the verge of *Scotland*, without sight of enemy, or any resistance. But peace beeing concluded betwixt *Edred*, *Malcolme* and the *Northumbrians*; yea and the same confirmed strongly by oath, yet was it little regarded of the last named Iurers; for no sooner was *Edred* returned, but that they sent into *Ireland* for *Anlafe*, the sonne of *Gurmo* the *Dane*, who had beene expelled the Country, as wee haue said.

Edred. Malcolme.

(3) *Anlafe* gathering a fleete and forces accordingly, came into *Northumberland*, where hee was with great ioy receiued and made their *King*, which title hee maintained for foure yeeres continuance, banding ~~against *Edred*, and~~ still holding him play, till lastly the *Nothumbrians* disloiall to both, tooke their feather out of *Anlafe* his plume, and sent him packing to the place, whence hee came, electing one *Hericus* King in his stead.

Anlafe cometh into *Northumb.*

VVil. Malmsbury

(4) *Edred* awaked with the wasts that they made, prepared a iourney into those parts, where with fire and sword hee bare downe all before him; and albeit it he was a man religiously bent, yet spared he not the Abbey of *Rippon* from flames, but laid all vnto ashes as he went, the enemy not daring to shew the face. In his returne, suspecting no perill, suddainely an hoast brake out of *Yorke*, and fell vpon the Rere-ward of his Army, marching but carelesly, and broken out of their array, whereby many perished before any complete order of resistance could bee made. The King seeing this bold attempt of these Rebels, stroke downe his standard, turning his face againe to the *North*, and threatened the reuenge, with the Countries spoile and their liues.

Rand. Higd. Simon Dunelm.

(5) In this plot of sedition *Wolstan* Archbishop of *Yorke* had sowne some seed of treason, both in the assistance of action, and counsell for the enterprise, very ill beseeming a man of his ranke: this *Wolfe* therfore hauing thus awaked the *Lion* from rest, was the onely man that fell in his pawes; for the *Northumbrians* expulsing their stateless *Hericus* with submissiue teares and golden showers, so pacified the King, that their offences were therewith cleane washed away: but hee good man (a Saint at the least) was mued vp in prison (against whom accusations daily came, and namely, that hee had commanded sundrie of the Burgesses of *Thetford* to bee slaine) where hee abode till hee was by *Edred* vpon a reuerent regard of his calling, released from thence: for as this King is commended for his lenity towards the vertuous; so is hee no lesse for his iustice towards the vicious: and for the practise of his Religion, as forward as any, suffering not onely his manners to be reproued and corrected, (a quality truely roiall, and best seeming Princes) but also (so much below the pitch of soueraigne Maiestie) his body to bee chastised at the will and direction of *Dunstan* Abbot of

Wolstan.

VVil. Malmsbury

of *Glaſtenbury*; vnto whoſe cuſtody, hee alſo committed the greateſt part of his treaſure and richeſt iewels to bee lockt in his cheſts, and vnder the keyes of this Monaſtery.

Aſſer. (6) The ſtately Abbey of *Mich* at *Abington* neere *Oxford*, built by King *Inas*, but deſtroyed by the *Danes*, he newly repaired, indowing it with lands and faire reuenewes, and confirmed the Charters with ſeales of gold: hee alſo ordained *Saint Germans* in *Cornwall* to be a Biſhops See, which there continued till by *Canutus* it was annexed to the Epiſcopall See of *Kyrton* in *Deuon*; both which Sees were afterward by King *Edward the Confeſſor* tranſlated to the City of *Exteſter*: but ſith the brighteſt day hath his night, and the higheſt tide his preſent ebbe, what maruaile is it, if then *Edred* in the middeſt of his ſtrength were ſeazed vpon by ſickneſſe and death? which ſurpriſed him after hee had raigned in great honour nine yeeres and odde moneths, to the great griefe of his Subiects, who ſolemnly interred him in the old Minſter within the City of *Winchester*, the yeere of Chriſt Ieſus 955. whoſe bones with other Kings, to this day are preſerued in a guilt Coffer, fixed vpon the wall in the ſouth ſide of the Quier.

His Iſſue.

Elfred. (7) *Elfred*, the ſonne of King *Edred*, was borne before his Father was King; neither find I mention of his Mother, or any act by him done; onely in the ſixt yeere of *King Edred* his raigne, which was the yeere of grace, 952. he is mentioned for a witneſſe to his Fathers graunt of lands in *Wittenham*, to *Ethelwolfe* a Duke of *England* in thoſe daies, as appeareth by the Charter thereof, bearing date in the yeere aforeſaid.

Bertfrid. (8) *Bertfrid* an other, and as it ſeemeth, an elder ſonne of *King Edred*, was borne before his Father was King, without any mention alſo of his Mother, who liuing in the ſecond yeere of his fathers raigne, namely *Anno* 948. was written for a witneſſe in the ſame yeere, to his grant of lands in *Bedlaking*, to *Cuthred* one of his Barons, the Charter whereof is extant to be ſeene vnto this day.

Edwy.

EDVVY THE TVVENTY EIGHTH KING OF THE VVEST-SAXONS, AND TWENTIE NINTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN: HIS RAIGNE, ACTS, AND DEATH.

Monarch 29

CHAPTER XLI.

An. Do. 955. EDwy, the eldeſt ſonne of king *Edmund*, after the deceaſe of his vncle *Edred*, ſucceeded him in his dominions, and was the twenty eighth king of the *weſt-Saxons*, and the twenty ninth *Monarch* of the *Engliſhmen*: hee began his raigne in the yeere of the worlds ſaluation, 955. and was annointed & crowned at *Kingſton* vpon *Thameſis*, by the hands of *Otho* the 22. Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

Edwyes ſinne. (2) Yong hee was in yeeres, and vicious of life, if the Monkiſh Story-writers of thoſe times his deadly enemies may bee credited, not paſt thirteene when hee entred gouernment, and that begun with a capitall ſinne: for they report, that vpon the ſolemne day of his Coronation, and in ſight of his Nobles, as they ſate in Counſel, with ſhameleſſe and vnprincelike luſt, he abuſed a Lady of great eſtate, & his neere kinſwoman, whoſe husband ſhortly after hee ſlew, the more freely to poſſeſſe his inceſtuous pleaſure: and to fill the pennes of his further infamy ready to their hands, that wrote his life, hee was a great enemy vnto the Monkiſh orders (a ſore in thoſe dayes very tender to bee touched, and may well bee thought the cauſe of many falſe aſperſions on him) whom from the Monaſtery of *Malmesburie*, *Glaſtenburie* and others, hee expelled, placing married Prieſts in their roomes: *Dunſtan* likewiſe the Abbot Saint of *Glaſtenburie* he baniſhed the Realme,

M. Fox Acts and Monuments.

for his ouer-bold reprehenſions; if not rather for retaining the treaſure deliuered him by King *Edred*, and demaunded againe in his ſickneſſe; when by the voice (forſooth) of an Angell from heauen, his iourny was ſtaied, and thoſe rich Iewels not deliuered the King in his life; I will not ſay kept backe, leſt *Dunſtan* with *Balaam* (whoſe ſtories are not much vnlike) ſhould bee thought to follow (as hee did) *the wages of deceit*.

Wil. Malmesb.

Iud.3.11.

(3) Howſoeuer, the reuerent opinion of the *Monks* ſingle life, and the conceiued holineſſe of Abbot *Dunſtan* in thoſe miſty times, did daily counterpoize young *Edwy* in eſteeme, which made his beſt acts conſtrued, and recorded to the worſt; inſomuch that his Subiects minds ebbing as the ſea from the full, drew backe the current of their ſubiectiue affections, and ſet the eye of obedience vpon Prince *Edgar* his Brother: and albeit his young yeeres may ſeeme to cleare him from the imputation of ſo luſtfull a fact, as he is charged with, at the day of his aſſuming the Crowne; and the ſeparation from his wife (as too neere in conſanguinity) wrought griefe enough in his diſtreſſed heart, yet pitileſſe of his eſtate, and careleſſe of their owne allegiance, the *Mercians* with the *Northumbrians* did vtterly caſt off obedience, and ſweare their fealty to *Edgar*, not fully foureteene yeeres aged: *Edwy* then raigning in a ſtill decaying eſtate, was held of ſuch his ſubiects, in no better eſteeme, then was *Iehoram* of *Iudah*, who is ſaid *to haue liued without being deſired*: for very griefe whereof, after foure yeares raigne hee ended his life, the yeare of our Lord, 959. whoſe body was buried in the Church of the new Abbey of *Hide* at *Wincheſter*, erected without the Wall in the North of that City.

2 Chro. 21.20.

Abbot *Dunſtan.*

His wife.

(4) *Elfgiue*, the wife of king *Edwy*, was a Lady of great beauty, and nobly deſcended, yea, and by ſome deemed ſomewhat too neare in the bloud roiall, to bee matched with him in ſpouſall bed: her fathers name is not recorded, but her mother was *Ethelgiue*, whom ſome ſcandalized to haue beene his Concubine, and the onely cauſer of *Dunſtanes* baniſhment. The ſubiects diſliking of this vnlawfull marriage, and further inſtigated by the Monks, (whoſe humorous pleaſures, or diſpleaſures could very much ſway the State in thoſe daies,) failed by degrees to performe their duties to their King, and her they likewiſe enforced to a ſeparation, in the third yeare of his regardleſſe gouernment, and of Chriſt Ieſus, 958. without other mention of her life or death.

Iohn. Capgraue.

Edgar.

EDGAR SVRNAMED THE PEACEABLE THE THIRTIETH,

MONARCH OF THE ENGLISH-MEN, HIS RAIGNE; ACTS, WIVES AND ISSVE.

Monarch 30

CHAPTER XLII.

An.Do.959.

EDgar, the ſecond ſon of king *Edmund* hauing raigned two yeares ouer the *Merciansand Northumbrians*, in the dayes of *Edwy* his Brother, to the great impairing of king *Edwyes* reputation and eſteeme; after his death at ſixteen yeares of age was choſen to ſucceeed in all his dominions, & was the thirtieth *Monarch* of the *Engliſhmen*, or rather now of whole *England*, all other titles of kingdome falling vnder his ſcepter, and becomming Prouinces annexed vnto his abſolute *Monarchy*.

(2) He beganne his raigne in the yeere of Chriſts Natiuity, 959. and was crowned (as ſome write) the ſame yeare at *Kingſton*, vpon *Thameſis*, by *Otho* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. But *Randulphus Higden* in his *Polychronicon*, referreth it to the twelfth yeere of his raigne: *William* Monke of *Malmesbury* to the thirtieth yeare of his age, and the *Saxon* Chronicle of

Polydor. Virg. Ran. Higden. VVil. Malm. Saxon Chron.

of *Worceſter* Church, to the yeere of Chriſt, 972. and that in the City of *Bath*, hee was annointed and conſecrated with great ſolemnity by *Dunſtan* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

Edgar the Peaceable.

(3) The raigne of this King is ſaid to haue beene altogether in a calme tranquility, and therefore he was ſurnamed the *Peaceable*; his vertues were many, and vices not a few, the one gloriouſly augmented, and the other fairely excuſed, by thoſe *Monkiſh* writers, vnto whoſe profeſsions he was moſt fauourable: his Guides were *Dunſtan* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Ethelwold* Abbot of *Glaſtenbury*, and *Oſwald* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, three ſtout Champions againſt the maried Clergy, (for women in thoſe dayes were great bugs in their eies,) therefore the maried Prieſts he diſplaced, & brought in Monkes of ſingle life to poſſeſſe their roomes, whoſe ſinnes of incontinency grew after to be great, as the world did then witnes, which cauſed *Treuiſa* the tranſlator of *Higden*, to blame King *Edgar*, charging him to bee lewdly moued in following their counſell againſt married Clerkes.

Polycr. lib. 6. cap. 9.

VVil. Malmsbury.

(4) So doe *Malmsbury* and *Higden* taxe him with too fauourable affections towardes the *Danes*, who dwelled alike in euery town with the *Engliſh*, though formerly they had ſought the deſtruction of all, and ſtill lay in wait attending for the ſpoile of his true ſubiects, who apt enough vnto euil, learnd the beaſtly ſinne of quaffing, aud emptying their cups, which King *Edgar* was enforced to redreſſe, by enacting a law againſt exceſsiue drinking, ordaining a ſize by certaine pinnes ſet in the pot, with penalties to any that ſhould preſume to drinke deeper then the marke.

Cap. 38. Sect. 8

Cron. Wald.

(5) His Policy was no leſſe prudent (but much more ſucceſſefull) for the deſtruction of *Wolues*, that in his daies did great annoiance to the land: for the tribute impoſed on the Princes of *Wales* by the *Engliſh* King *Ethelſtan* (as we haue ſaid) hee wholy remitted, and in lieu thereof, appointed certaine numbers of Wolues yeerely to be paid; and *Ienaf*, or *Iage*, Prince of *North-Wales*, did for his part pay him yeerly three hundred; which continued for three yeeres ſpace, but in the fouth was not a Wolfe to bee found, and ſo the tribute ceaſed.

Marianus. Alred. Riual. Ran. Higd.

(6) His Nauie roiall, containing three thouſand and ſixe hundred ſhips, he diuided into three parts, appointing euery of them to a ſeuerall quarter to waffe the Seas, and ſecure the coaſts from Pirats, and forraine enemies; wherein himſelfe euery ſummer would ſaile with thoſe in the Eaſt parts, vnto thoſe in the Weſt, and ſending them backe to their charge, would with the Weſt ſaile into the North, and with the northerne fleete compaſſe againe into the Eaſt, whereby the ſeas were ſcowred, & his kingdome exceedingly ſtrengthned.

Edgars honeſt vigilancy.

(7) The like cuſtome vſed he in the winter ſeaſon in his ieyſts, and circuits throughout his Country, ſo to take account of the adminiſtration of his lawes, and the demeanour of his great men, eſpecially of his *Iudges*, whom ſeuerely he puniſhed, ſo often as he found the execution of their places ballanced either with bribery or partiality; ſo that there was neuer leſſe robbery, deceit or oppreſſions, thē in the raigne of this worthy King.

(8) His ſtate thus flouriſhing in peace and proſperity, he cauſed diuers Princes to bind themſelues vnto his allegiance, but perchance it may iuſtly be doubted, whether in ſuch performance of homage and ſeruice, as *Malmsbury*, *Florentius*, *Randulphus*, *Marianus*, *Houeden*, and other writers affirme to haue beene at the City *Cheſter*, where (they ſay) *Kennadie* King of *Scots*, *Malcolme* of *Cumberland*, *Maxentius* an Arch-Pirate, with the petty King of *Wales*, *Duffnall*, *Griffith*, *Huual*, *Iacob*, and *Iudithil*, did with ores row his Barge vpon the riuer *Dee*, from his Pallace to Saint *Iohns* Church, and thence againe backe to his Pallace, himſelfe the while ſteering the helme, and ſaying in his glory, that *then his ſucceſſors might trulie account themſelues Soueraigne Kings of England, when they enioyed ſuch a prerogatiue of ſublimity, and ſupreme honour*: although (ſaith *M. Fox*) he might much better, and more Chriſtianlike haue ſaid, *God forbid that I ſhould reioyce, but in the Croſſe of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt.*

Edgars league with diuers Kings.

Gal 6.14.

(9) Warres he had none in all his raigne; onely towards the end, the *Welſhmen* moued ſome rebellion, which to preuent, hee aſſembled a mighty Army, and therewith entred into the Country of *Glamorgan*, ſharply puniſhing the ringleaders thereof; but his ſouldiers doing great harmes in the country, laden with ſpoiles for the returne, the King out of his bounty commanded all to be againe reſtored, whereby hee purchaſed ſingular loue and honour of the inhabitants.

Polychron.

(10) To his magnanimity was ioined much deuotion, but moſt eſpecially towards the *Monks*, for whom, and for *Nunnes* hee built and repaired forty ſeuen *Monaſteries*, intending to haue continued their number vnto fifty; as himſelfe teſtifieth in theſe words of his Charter,

Monaſtery built by King *Edgar*.

Ex chart Reg.

The Monaſteries, aſwel of Monks as of Virgins, haue beene deſtroied, and quite neglected, throughout England which I haue now determined to repaire to the glory of God, for my ſoules health, and ſo to multiply the number of Gods ſeruants and handmaides: and now already I haue ſet vp forty ſeuen Monaſteries with Monks and Nunnes in them, and if Chriſt ſpare me life ſo long, I am determined in offering my deuout munificence to God to proceed to fifty, euen to the iuſt number of a Iubilee.

And by this his Charter did not onely approue the enlargement of S. *Maries Monaſtery* in *Worceſter*, and the reſtoring of Votaries in ſtead of maried Prieſts, but himſelfe either new founded or repaired many others, as the houſe of *Ely*, *Glaſtenbury*, *Abington*, *Burgh*, *Thorney*, *Ramſey*, *VVilton*, *Wenton*, *Winchorne* and *Thumſtocke*, with great coſt, and large endowments, hauing the Clergy in an high and reuerent eſteeme, and moſt of all his Confeſſor *Dunſtan*: but with this wheate, there were tares growing, though the late *Monkiſh* Writers bind them vp for good corne: for *ſome men tell* (ſaith *Randulphus Higden*) *that Edgar in his beginning was cruell to Citizens, and lecherous to maidens*, whereof theſe his actions enſuing beare ſufficient witnes.

M. Fox, in his Acts and Mounments.

Ran. Higden.

(11) The firſt was commited againſt the virgine *Wolfhild*, a ſacred Nunne as ſome affirme, though others ſomwhat mitigating that ſacrilegious offence, haue reported, that ſhee to auoid his fleſhly and laſciuious luſt, was forced to take the habite of a Menchion vpon her, and in the ſame brought to his bed, wherein the chaſt S. *Edith* was begot, and for whom, ſay they, he vnderwent his ſauen yeeres penance without the wearing of his Crowne.

Wil. Malmesbury Mathew Paris. Mat. Weſtminſter.

Polycr. lib. 6. cap. 9.

(12) A like offence hee committed againſt the virgine *Ethelfleda*, the daughter of *Ordmar* a Duke among the *Eaſt Angles*, who for her ſurpaſsing beauty was ſurnamed the *white*; on whom he begat his eldeſt ſonne *Edward*; for which fact as *M. Fox* affirmeth, hee did his ſeuen yeeres penance inioined by *Dunſtan*: and indeed by *Oſberne* it appeareth, that *Edward* was not legitimate, where he writeth, that *the child begotten of the harlot, he baptized in the holy fountaine of regeneration, and ſo giuing his name to bee called Edward, did adopt him to bee his ſonne.* With whom agree *Nicolas Triuet* in his *Engliſh* ſtory, written in *French*, *Iohannes Paris* in his *French* ſtory, written in Latine, both of them calling *Edward* a ſonne illegitimate; as alſo doth *Vincentius* and *Antoninus*, howbeit *William* of *Malmesbury*, *Mathew Paris*, *Mathew* of *VVeſtminſter*, *Randulphus* and others, will haue her his firſt and lawfull wife, and *Edward* in true matrimony to haue deſcended from them.

Oſburn in vita Dunſtan.

Nicholas Triuet. Ioan. Paris.

Vincent. Antonin.

(13) An other inſtance of his laſciuious life is produced by the forenamed Writers, and thus both occaſioned and acted. It chanced *Edgar* to heare a Virgine and daughter to a Weſterne Duke, exceeding

Edgar enamored with a damſell.

dingly praiſed for her incomparable beauty, the touch of which ſtring from his eare reſounded to his heart, and as a bait it drew him preſently into thoſe parts; where comming to *Andeuer*, commaunded the damſell to his bed: The mother tender of the Virgins honour, brought in the darke her maid, but not her daughter, who, as well pleaſed the King in his ſinnefull dalliance: the day approching, this late laid maid made haſte to ariſe: but the King loth to part yet with his ſuppoſed faire Lady, demanded why ſhe made ſuch haſt? Who anſwered him, that her taske was great, and hardly would her worke be done, if day ſhould preuent her ere ſhee roſe: but yet being ſtaied aboue her howre, vpon her knes ſhe made this humble requeſt, that ſhe might be freed from her ſhrewde dame, alleadging, it was not fitting, that the woman who had taſted the pleaſures of a Kings embracements, ſhould endure a ſeruitude vnder the rule of any other. The King perceiuing the deceit, and therewith moued to wrath, yet could not recall what hee had done (or rather vndone) and therefore turned his conceiued wrongs vnto a ieſt: but ſo, that hee both ſharpely checked the deceiuer, and kept this damſell, (whoſe nightworke and pleaſance had fully wonne him) for his Concubine, whereby ſhe ruled them that lately had the command of her: and to vſe the words of *Malmsbury*, he loued his Concubine moſt entirely: keeping true faith of his bed to her alone, vntill the time he maried for his lawful wife *Elfrida* the daughter of Duke *Ordgarus*.

Malm. de regibus.

(14) His laſt laſciuious Act, was as *Dauids* ioyned with bloud, and wrought in manner as followeth. Fames lauiſh report of beauteous *Elfrida* (the paragon of her ſexe, and wonder of Nature) the only daughter of *Ordgarus* Duke of *Deuonſhire*, ſounded ſo lowd in thoſe Weſterne parts, that the Eccho thereof was heard into King *Edgars* Court, and entred his eares, which euer lay open, to giue his eyes the ſcope of deſire, and his wanton thoughts the raines of will: to trie the truth whereof, hee ſecretly ſent his minion or fauourite Earle *Ethelwolfe* of *Eaſt-Anglia*, who well could iudge of beauty, and knew the diet of the King; with Commiſsion, that if the Pearle proued ſo orient, it ſhould bee ſeized for *Edgars* owne wearing, who meant to make her his Queene, and *Ordgarus* the Father of a King.

Duke *Ordgarus.*

Ethelwold.

Ethelwold a iolly young Gallant, poſted into *Deuonſhire*, and gueſt-wiſe viſited Duke *Ordgarus* his Court, where ſeeing the Lady ſurpaſsing the report, blamed Fames ouer-ſight for ſounding her praiſe in ſo baſe and leaden a Trumpet; and wholly ſurpriſed with her loue, himſelfe beganne to wooe the Virgin, yea, and with her Fathers good liking, ſo as the King would giue his aſſent. Earle *Ethelwold* returning, related that the maide indeed was faire; but yet her beauty much augmented by babling reports, and neither her feature or parts any wiſe befitting a King. *Edgar* miſtruſting no corriuall in his loue, nor dreaming falſe fellowſhip in wooing, did with a ſleight thought paſſe ouer *Elfrida*, and pitcht his affections the faſter another way. Earle *Ethelwold* following the game now a foot, deſired *Edgars* aſsiſtance to bring it to a ſtand, pretending not ſo much for any liking to the Lady, as to raiſe his owne fortunes to be her fathers heire; to which the King yeelded, and for his minion ſolicited *Ordgarus*, who glad to be ſhrowded vnder the fauours of ſuch a fauorite, willingly conſented; and his daughters deſtinies aſſured to Earle *Ethelwold*.

Edgar a ſuret for *Ethelwold.*

The mariage ſolemnized, and the fruits thereof a ſhort time enioyed; the fame of her beauty beganne againe to be ſpread; and that with a larger Epithete then formerly it had beene: Whereupon *Edgar* much doubting of double dealing, laid his angle faire to take this great gull: and bearing no ſhew of wrong or ſuſpect, inuited himſelfe to hunt in his Parks, and forthwith repairing into thoſe parts, did no a little grace his old ſeruant, to the great ioy of *Ordgarus* the Duke. But *Ethelwold* miſtruſting the cauſe of his comming, thought by one policy to diſappoint another: and therefore reuealing the truth to his wife, how in his proceedings hee had wronged her beauty, and deceiued his Soueraign, requeſted her louing aſsiſtance to ſaue now his endangered life, which lay in her power, and of the meanes he thus aduiſed:

Edgars plot to diſcouer *Ethelwold.*

Ethelwolds ſpeech to *Elfrida*

" Like as (ſaid he) the richeſt Diamond rough and
" vncut, yeelds neither ſparkle nor eſteeme of great
" price, nor the gold vnburniſhed giues better lu-
" ſtre then the bace braſſe; ſo beauty and feature
" clad in meane aray, is either ſleightly looked at
" with an vnfixed eye, or is wholy vnregarded, and
" held of no worth; for according to the Prouerbe,
" cloth is the man, and man is the wretch; then to
" preuent the thing that I feare, and is likely to proue
" my preſent ruine, and thy laſt wracke, conceale thy
" great beauty from King *Edgars* eye, and giue him
" entertainement in thy meaneſt attires: let them
" (I pray thee) for a time bee the nightly curtaines
" drawne about our new-Nuptiall bed, and the day-
" ly cloudes to hide thy ſplendent Sume from his
" ſharpe, and too too piercing ſight, whoſe vigour &
" raies will ſoone ſet his waxen wings on fire, that
" ready are to melt at a farre ſofter heat. Pitch (thou
" ſeeſt) defileth the hand, and we are forbid to giue
" occaſion of euill: vaile then thy faireneſſe with
" the ſcarfes of deformity, from his ouer-lauiſh and
" vnmaſtred eye; for the faireſt face drawes euer
" the gaze, if not the attempts: and natures endow-
" ments are as the buſh for the wine, which beeing
" immoderately taken doth ſurfet the ſenſe, and is a-
" gaine caſt vp with as loathing a taſt. Of theſe dregs
" drunke *Amnon* after his fill of faire *Thamar*, *Herod*
" of *Miramy*, & *Æneas* of *Dido*; yea, and not to ſeeke
" examples farre off, King *Edgars* variation in his vn-
" ſtedfaſt motion doth eaſily bewray it ſelfe, for
" could either holy *Wolfhield*, beautifull *Ethelfled*, or
" the wanton Wench of *Andeuer*, keepe the needle
" of his compaſſe certaine at one point? nothing leſſe,
" but it was ſtill led by the load-ſtone of his euer
" mutable and turning affections. But thou
" wilt ſay, hee is religions, and by founding of Mo-
" naſteries hath expiated thoſe ſinnes. Indeed ma-
" ny are built; for which, time and poſterities muſt
" thanke holy *Dunſtan*, from whoſe deuotion thoſe
" good deeds haue ſprung: but is thy perſon holi-
" er then ſacred *wolfields?* thy birth and beauty grea-
" ter then *Ethelfled* the *White*, daughter alſo to a Duke?
" The former, of any holy Votary, he made the ſinke
" of his pollution; and the later is branded to all
" ages by the hatefull name of a Concubine, and her
" ſonne among vs eſteemed for a Baſtard. Theſe
" ſhould bee motiues to all beauteous and ver-
" tuous Ladies, not too ſell their honours at ſo low
" and too-late repented a price. Neither think (ſweet
" Counteſſe) that thy husband is iealous, or ſuſpects
" thy conſtancy, which I know is great, and thy ſelfe
" wholly complete with all honourable vertues: but
" yet conſider I pray thee, that thou art but young, &
" maiſt eaſily be caught, eſpecially of him that is ſo
" old a Maſter of the game: neither perſwade thy
" ſelfe of ſuch ſtrength, as is able to hold out ſo
" great an aſſault; for men are mighty, but a King is
" much more. I know thou art wiſe, and enough
" hath been ſaid, onely let mee adde this, that euill
" beginnings haue neuer good ends: and ſo with a
" kind kiſſe, hoping he had wonne his Wife to his
" Will, prepared with the firſt to welcome King
Edgar.

2 Sam. 13. *Ioſephus. Virgil. Aened. Ammon and Thamar.*

Wolfhild. Ethelfled.

Lady *Elfrida* thus left to her ſelfe, began ſeriouſly to thinke vpon this curtaine Sermon, whoſe text ſhe diſtaſted, being taken out of an ouer-worne and threed-bare cloth prouerbe, as though her fortunes had been wholly reſiding, and altogether conſiſting in her parentage and apparrell, but nothing at all in any parts of her ſelfe.

Elfrida alone.

" Hath my beauty (thought ſhe) beene courted of
a King

" a King, famouſed by report, compared with *Helens*
" and now muſt be hid? Muſt I falſifie and bely Na-
" tures bounties, mine owne value, and all mens re-
" ports, only to ſaue his credite, who hath impaired
" mine, and belied my worth? And muſt I needs de-
" foule my ſelfe, to be his onely faire foule, that hath
" kept me from the State and ſeat of a Queene? I
" know the name of a Counteſſe is great, and the
" Wife of an Earle is honourable, yet no more then
" birth and endowments haue aſsigned for me, had
" my beauty been far leſſe then it is. He warns me of
" the end, when his owne beginnings were with tre-
" chery; tels me the examples of others, but obſerues
" none himſelfe: he is not iealous, forſooth, and yet I
" muſt not looke out; I am his faire, but others pitch,
" fire, wine, buſh, and what not? Not ſo holy as *Wolf-*
" *hild*, nor ſo white as *Ethelfled*; and yet that muſt now
" be made far worſe then it is. I would men knew the
" heate of that Cheeke wherein beauty is bla-
" zed, then would they with leſſe ſuſpect ſuffer our
" faces vnmaskt, to take aire of their eies, and wee no
" whit condemnable for ſhewing that which cannot
" be hid, neither in me ſhall, become of it what will.

And thus reſoluing to bee a right woman, deſired nothing more then the thing forbidden, and made preparation to put it in practiſe. Her body ſhee endulced with the ſweeteſt balmes, diſplaied her haire, and beſpangled it with pearles, beſtrewed her breaſts and boſome with rubies and diamonds, rich Iewels glittering like ſtarres depended at her necke, and her other ornaments euery way ſutable. And thus, rather Angell, then Lady-like, ſhee attended the approach and entrance of the King, whom with ſuch faire obeiſance and ſemly grace ſhe receiued, that *Edgars* greedy eye preſently collecting the raies of her ſhining beauty, became a burning glaſſe to his heart; and the ſparkle of her faire, falling into the traine of his loue, ſet all his ſenſes on fire: yet diſſembling his paſsions, he paſſed on to his game, where hauing the falſe *Ethelwold* at aduantage, he ranne him through with a Iaueline, and tooke faire *Elfrida* to his wife.

Ethelwold ſlaine.

(15) Theſe were the vertues and vices of this King, little in perſonage, but great in ſpirit, and the firſt vnreſiſted Monarch of the whole Land, whom al the other *Saxons* acknowledged their ſupreme, without diuiſion of Prouinces or title. He raigned ſixteen yeeres and two moneths in great tranquility and honour, and died vpon tueſday the eighth of *July*, the thirty ſeuenth of his age, and yeere of Chriſt 975. whoſe body with all funerall ſolemnity was buried in the abbey of *Glaſtenbury*.

The fifteenth. ſaith *Higden*.

His wiues.

(16) *Ethelfled*, the firſt wife of King *Edgar*, was ſurnamed in the Saxon Engliſh Eneða, in Latine *Candida*, which with vs is *White*, becauſe of her exceeding great beauty. Shee was the daughter of a Duke amongſt the *East-Angles*, named *Ordmar*, and was married vnto him the ſecond yeere of his raigne, and the eighteenth of his age, being the yeere of Chriſts Natiuity 961. She was his wife not fully two yeeres, and died the fourth of his raigne, in anno 962.

Ethelfleds parents.

(17) *Elfrida*, the ſecond wife of King *Edgar*, was the widow of ſlaughtered *Ethelwold*, of whom wee haue ſaid. She was daughter to *Ordgarus*, and ſiſter to *Ordulfe*, both of them Dukes of *Deuonſhiere*, and the Founders of *Tauiſtoke* abbey in that Country: a Ladie of paſsing great beauty, and as ambitions as faire: for after the Kings death, ſhe procured the murther of King *Edward* her ſonne in law, that her owne ſon *Ethelred* might come to the crowne: and afterwards to pacifie his and her firſt husbands ghoſt, and to ſtop the peoples ſpeeches of ſo wicked a fact, ſhe founded the Abbeys of *Ambresbery* & *Wherwell*, in the Counties of *Wiltſhire* and *Southampton*.

Elfrida ſecond wife.

Wil. Malm. et alij.

His Children.

(18) *Edward*, the eldeſt ſonne of King *Edgar* and Queene *Ethelfled* his firſt wife, was born in the fourth yeere of his fathers raigne, and a little before his mothers death, in the yeare of Chriſt Ieſus, 962. He was a child diſpoſed to all vertue, notwithſtanding great meanes was made by his mother in law for the diſinheriting of him, and the preferment of her owne ſon to the ſucceſſion of the Crowne; yet by prouident care taken in the life time of his father, he ſucceeded him after his death, as right heire both of his kingdome and conditions.

Edward the eldeſt ſonne.

(19) *Edmund*, the ſecond ſonne of King *Edgar*, and the firſt of Queene *Elfrida* his ſecond wife, was borne in the ſeuenth yeere of his fathers raigne, being the yeere of grace 965. He liued but foure yeeres; and died in his infancy, in the twelfth yeere of his fathers raigne, and was honourably enterred in the Monaſterie of Nunnes, at *Ramſey* in *Hampſhire*, which king *Edgar* had founded.

Edmund the ſecond ſonne.

(20) *Ethelred*, the third ſonne of *Edgar*, and the ſecond of Queene *Elfrida* his ſecond wife, and the laſt of them both, was borne in the eighth yere of his fathers raigne, and yere of ſaluation 966. He was vertuouſly inclined, beautifull in complexion, and comly of ſtature; at the death of his father being but ſeuen yeres old, and at his brothers murther ten: which deed he ſore lamented, to the great diſcontentment of his mother, who for his aduancement had complotted the ſame, and wherein at thoſe yeeres he vnwillingly ſucceeded him.

Ethelred the third ſonne.

(21) *Edgith*, the naturall daughter of King *Edgar*, had to her mother a Lady named *Wolfhild*, the daughter of *Wolfhelm*, the ſonne of *Byrding*, the ſonne of *Neſting*, the two latter bearing in their names the memory of their fortunes: the laſt of them being found in an Eagles neſt, by king *Elfred* as he was on hunting. This *Edgith* was a vailed Nunne in the Monaſtery of *Wilton*, and according to ſome Authors, made Abbeſſe thereof by her father at fifteene yeeres of age, ſaith her Legend. She died the fifteenth day of *September*, the yeere of her age twenty three; the ſixt of her brother King *Ethelreds* raigne, & of Chriſt Ieſus 984. By all which accounts it is manifeſt, that ſhe was borne before *Edward*, and by maſter *Fox* proued, that for him, and not for her, King *Edgar* did his ſeuen yeeres penance. She is greatly commended for her chaſtitie and beauty, which later ſhe ſomewhat augmented with more curious attire then to her profeſſion was beſeeming; for which Biſhoppe *Ethelwold* ſharpely reprooued her; who anſwered him roundly that God regarded the heart more then the garment, and that ſins might bee couered as well vnder rags as robes.

Edgith.

Acts and Monuments, *in vita Edgar.*

Polychr. lib. 6. c. 9.

This *Edgith*, as *Iohn Capgraue* reporteth, after the ſlaughter of her brother *Edward*, the holy archbiſhop *Dunſtan* would haue aduanced to the Crown, & inueſted her againſt *Ethelred* the lawfull heire, had ſhee not by the late experience of *Edwards* fal, vtterly refuſed that title, which neither belonged to her right, nor was ſafe for her perſon to vndertake. Her body was buried at *Wilton*, in the Monaſtery and Church of *Saint Deniſſe*, which her ſelfe had cauſed to bee built.

Iohn Capgraue, in vita ſanctæ Editheæ.

Edward.

EDVVARD SVRNAMED THE MARTYR, THE THIRTY ONE MONARCH OF THE ENGLISH-MEN, HIS RAIGNE; AND DEATH.

Monarch 31

Chapter XLIII.

An.Do.975. *Simon Dunel. Roger. Houen.*

GReat were the troubles & ſidings that preſently enſued the death of King *Edgar*, about the election of one of his ſons to ſucceed; Queene *Elfrida* with *Alferus* Duke of *Mercia*, and many other Nobles combined for young *Ethelred*, diſauowing Prince *Edward* as illegitimate, and therefore not reputable for ſucceſſion: againſt them and *Ethelred* ſtood *Dunſtan* and the *Monks*, holding their ſtates dangerous, & their new-gotten footing vnſure, if in the nonage of the King, theſe their oppoſites ſhould rule all, vnder him; whereas *Edward* was altogether wrought in their mould; whoſe title they abetted, as being lawfully borne, and begot in the nuptiall bed of Queene *Ethelfleda*. Their claimes thus banded amongſt theſe *Stateſmen*, began to be diuerſly affected among the *Commons*, and had put the game to the hazard, if the wiſedome of *Dunſtan* had not ſeene the chaſe; for a Councell being aſſembled to argue their rights, the Archbiſhop came in with his banner and Croſſe, and not ſtaying for further debating *de iure*, did *de facto*, preſent Prince *Edward* for their lawfull King; & the aſſembly conſiſting moſt of Clergy-men, perſwading peace, drew the approbation of the reſt, and ſo was the Prince admitted and proclaimed their Soueraigne.

Edward the ſon of *Ethelfleda*.

An.Do.975.

(2) He beganne his raigne at twelue yeares of age in the yeare of ſaluation 975. and was ſoone after by Archbiſhop *Dunſtan* crowned King at *Kingſton* vpon *Thameſis*: being the thirty one Monarch (ſince *Hengiſt*) of the Engliſhmen. His begining was miſerably afflicted with barrenneſſe of the ground, famine amongſt his people, morraine of cattle, and to

A blaſing ſtarre.

their further terrour, a fearefull Comet appeared; which men thought to bee ſignes from heauen, as ſent from God, for the ſinnes committed againſt the married Clergy, whoſe cauſe was much pitied, eſpecially of the Nobles, & whoſe complaints of wrongs they inſtantly vrged, that without deſerts they were expulſed from their ancient poſſeſſions; a thing which neither God nor good men euer allowed, and was contrary to the preſcript rule of Chriſt, that wils vs to doe as we would be done vnto; whereto the *Monks* anſwered, that Chriſt reſpected neither the perſon nor place, but onely them that tooke vp the Croſſe of Penance and followed him, as themſelues in their ſingle life pretended to doe. But they good men little knew the incombrances of wiuing; for otherwiſe they would haue felt, that the condition of the married, was more truly a ſuffering of the Croſſe and enduring of Penance.

VVil. Malm. Fox.

(3) Theſe Church-men thus diuided and rent, were diuerſly ſided as affection did moue, and that not onely of the meaner ſort, but euen of the Nobles & great Ones; for the *Mercian* Duke *Alferus* fauouring the iuſt cauſe of married Prieſts, deſtroied the *Monaſteries* in his Prouince, caſt out the Monkes, and reſtored againe the ancient reuenewes to them & their wiues: contrariwiſe, in *Eaſt-Anglia* the Prieſts went to wracke, where the Monks were maintained by the authority of *Edelwin* their Duke, who in their quarrell, with the aſſiſtance of his brother *Alfred*, and of *Brightnoth* Earle of Eſſex, raiſed a mighty Army, and ſtood with that power for their defence.

Wil. Malm. Simon Dun. Ran Higd. Iohn Caperaue. Iornalenſis in vita Edgari.

(4) The fire thus blown from a ſparke to a flame, was feared to mount higher, if not quenched in time, and therefore by mediation, armes laid aſide, the cauſe was referred to be heard in Councell, & at *Wincheſter* firſt the aſſembly was held, where after long diſpute, and much againſt the Monkes, it was greatly ſuſpected their ſide had gone down, but that the matter was referred from them to the *Roode*, placed vp-

on

on the refectory Wall, where the Councell ſate. To this great Oracle S. *Dunſtan* deſired them deuoutely to pray, and togiue diligent eare for an anſwere: who, with as great bounty, as they in deuotion, made it not ſquemiſh to giue them this aduice; *God forbid it ſhould be ſo, God forbid it ſhould be ſo* (ſaid he,) *you iudged well once, and to change that againe is not good.*

Dunſtans counſell.

This was authority ſufficient to ſuppreſſe the *Prieſts*, who now with their wiues went downe the wind; and indeed too blame they were to ſuſpect this their Iudge, who neuer was heard to giue wrong ſentence before; but they vnſatisfied men, thought once more to blow the coales, though therewith they were likely to burne their owne lips; for perſwading the people, that this was but a ſubtile practiſe of the *Monks*, in placing behind the wall a man of their owne, who through a truncke vttered thoſe words in the mouth of the *Roode*; it was therefore inſtantly deſired, that the cauſe might once more come to ſcanning.

The Prieſts ſuſpition of the Monks.

An. Do. 977. (5) This laſtly was granted, and a great aſſembly congregated at *Cleue* in *Wiltſhiere*, whither repaired the Prelates with moſt of the States of the land, beſides Gentlemen and Commons an innumerable ſort.

This Synode being ſet; and the controuerſie propounded, a hote and ſharpe diſputation enſued, and a while was maintained with many bitter inuectiues; ill beſeeming ſuch perſons: But whether through the weakeneſſe of the foundation, or the ouer-preſſe of weight, or both, the ioyſts of this vpper-loft, wherein the Councell was held, ſuddainly brake, and downe fell the floore with all the people thereon, whereof many were hurt, and ſome ſlaine outright, onely Archbiſhop *Dunſtan* then preſident, and mouth for the *Monks*, remained vnhurt: for the Poſt whereon his chaire was ſet (and not without miracle) ſtood wholy vntouched.

A heauy miſchance.

Polychr. lib. 6. c. 12

Thus by this fall, fel the cauſe of the ſecular Prieſts and the Monkiſh foundations vnderpropped with more ſurer pillars, *Dunſtan* vnburdened or many imputations, the peoples affections drawne to the Monkes, and the Prieſts at liberty now to accompany their wiues without any cure, though not without care; and all this was wrought by the prouidence of *Dunſtan*, and his ſtrange preſeruation on the poſt; no leſſe wonderfull then that which with the like truth is related of him, how when a huge beame of a houſe was ſunke out of the frame, and like to ruinate the whole building, with onely making of the ſigne of the Croſſe thereon with his fingers, hee made it returne to his former place: ſo wonderfully potent was he in ſuch woodden miracles. To which, why ſhould wee not giue credite, ſince the very Harpe which he had touched, could worke miracles? as when of it ſelfe it ſounded melodiouſly that *Hymne, Gaudent in cœlis animæ Sanctorum*, &c. Yea ſith the bleſſed virgine *Mary* her ſelfe, is ſaid to haue come to ſolace him with her ſongs, *Cantemus Domino Sociæ*, &c. For, as for Angels ſinging familiarly vnto him, and Diuels in ſhape of dogs, foxes and Beares, whipped by him, that was but ordinary; as likewiſe his making the ſhee diuell to roare, when comming to tempt him to dalliance in ſhape of a beautifull laſſe, hee caught her by the noſe with hote burning pincers, and ſo ſpoilde a good face. But to leaue thoſe figments wherewith our Monkiſh-ſtories are ſtuffed to the deluding of their Readers, and diſhonouring of thoſe, whom thereby they thinke to magnifie; let vs looke backe to yong Prince *Edward*.

Priests without cure, but not without care.

VVil. Malmsbury.

Malmſ. de geſtis Pontif. 2.

Malmſb.

(6) Who in all princely parts was an imitator of his Father, and for his modeſt gentleneſſe worthily fauoured of all men: but as enuy is alwaies the attendant of vertue; ſo had he them that much maligned his life, namely, the fauourites of Prince *Ethelred*, whereof Queene *Elfrida* his mother was chiefe, who laſtly betraied him, and that in this manner.

(7) King *Edward* for his diſport was hunting in a forreſt neere vnto the ſea, vpon the ſouth-eaſt ſhore of the County *Dorſet*, and in the Iland *Purbeck*; not farre off, vpon a ſmall riuer, ſtood pleaſantly ſeated a faire & ſtrong Caſtle called *Corfe*, where his mother in law Queene *Elfrida* with his brother Prince *Ethelred*, were then therein reſiding: *Edward* that euer had beene louing to both, held it a kind office, now being ſo neere to viſite them with his preſence, and thereupon either of purpoſe or chance ſingled from his attendants, hee ſecretly ſtole from them all and came alone to the caſtle gate.

Wil. Malmb. Polydor. Rand Cheſt. Iohn Pik.

Alfredus Beuer. Flores Hiſtor. Rich. Cirecest. Speculum hiſt.

(8) The Queene who had long laine in wait for occaſions, now tooke this as brought to her hand, and therefore with a face as meaning no guile, ſhee humbly and cheerefully gaue the King welcome, deſiring him to grace her and her ſonne with his preſence for that night; but hee with thankes refuſed the offer, as fearing leaſt his company would ſoone find him miſſing, and craued onely of his mother a cup of wine, that in his ſaddle hee might drinke to her and his brother, and ſo bee gone. The cuppe was no ſooner at his mouth, then a knife in his backe, which a ſeruant appointed by this trecherous Queene ſtrooke into him; who feeling himſelfe hurt ſet ſpurs to his horſe, thinking to eſcape to his more faithfull company.

Queene *Elfridas* perfidie.

(9) But the wound beeing mortall, and he fainting through loſſe of much bloud; fell from his horſe, and one foot intangled in the ſtirruppe, hee was thereby rufully dragde vp and downe through woods and lands; and laſtly left dead at *Corfes*-gate: which hapned the eighteenth day of May, after hee had raigned three yeeres and ſixe (ſome ſay, eight) moneths, the yeare of his age ſixeteene, and of Chriſt Ieſus 979. His body found, was firſt buried at *Warham* without all funerall pompe, but after three yeeres by Duke *Alferus* remoued, and with great celebrity enterred in the *Minſter* of *Shaftesbury*: and for this vntimely death, he gained the ſurname of *Martyr*.

Mat. Weſtminſter. Simon. Dunel. Fabian.

Polydor. Wil. Malm.

(10) Queene *Elfrida* ſore repenting her cruell and ſtep-motherly fact, to expiate her guilt, and pacifie the crying bloud of her ſlaine ſonne, built the two ſaid Monaſteries of *Almesburie* and *Worwell* in the Counties of *Wiltſhiere* and *Southampton*, in which later ſhe liued with great repentance and penance vntill the day of her death, and in the ſame lieth her body enterred.

Almesbury and *Worwel* Monaſteries founding

Theſe and other the like foundations built vpon the occaſion of rapine & bloud, howſoeuer they may ſhew the ſorrowfull repentance of their founders: yet their ſtones being laide with the cement of murther, and the mortar tempered with bloud, haue felt the wrath of him, who by his Prophet hath pronounced, that from the the wal the ſtone ſhal crie, and the beame out of the timber ſhall anſwere it; *Woe vnto him that buildeth a towne with bloud, and erecteth a City by iniquity.*

Habacuc. 2. 11.

ETHELRED COMMONLY CALLED THE VNREADIE, THE TVVO AND THIRTIETH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISH-MEN, HIS WARRES, RAIGNE, WIVES, AND ISSVE.

Ethelred. Monarch.32

CHAPTER XLIIII.

An.Do.979.

Ethelred the ſonne of King *Edgar*, and brother to king *Edward* the *Martyr*, at the age of twelue yeres entred his gouernment ouer the Engliſhmen, the yeere of mans ſaluation, nine hundred ſeuenty nine, and was the two and thirtieth Monarch ſince King *Hengiſt*: hee was crowned King at *Kingſton* vpon *Thamiſis* the fourteenth of *Aprill*, beeing *Eaſter* day, by the hands of *Dunſtan* Archbiſhoppe of *Canterburie*, who did it much againſt his will.

Wil. Malmsb. pecul. Hiſtor.

(2) Hee was a man neither forward in action, nor fortunate in proceedings, and therefore commonlie called the *Vnreadie*: his youth was ſpent in idlenes, feeding his ſenſes with all voluptuous baites; his middle yeeres with a careleſſe gouernment, maintaining ciuill diſſenſions; and his latter end deſeruingly in continuall reſiſtance of the bloud-thirſty *Danes*. With theſe imputations by Writers hee is taxed, though wee find no ſuch iuſt cauſe in recording his life; but to ſuch extreames are euen great Monarchs themſelues brought, that their breath and dignity once left and laid downe, they are ſubiect to the cenſures of euery affectionate and malignant reporter. And that this King lay lyable to ſuch mens humors, the working of *Dunſtan* euer againſt him, is a ſufficient witneſſe, who not onely did refuſe to act his Coronation, but would haue preferred Lady *Edgith* a baſtard before him to the Crowne, as wee haue ſaid. And beſides the generall quarrell of the Monkes and married Prieſts, to which later himſelfe and his Abetters were better inclined; his iuſt indignation conceiued againſt the Biſhop of *Rochester*, and that not pacified without the Biſhops ſubmiſſion and paiment of money, was cauſe inough for thoſe Monkiſh Writers to brand the *Lords Annointed* with their marks of infamie, vnto whom they impute the miſeries of thoſe times, and the deſtruction of the *Engliſh* by the intruding *Danes*.

Ethelreds life, malitiouſly reported.

Edgith.

Biſhop of *Rochester.*

(3) Theſe *Danes* had kept quiet euer ſince the diſliked raigne of King *Edwy*, without any notable attempts, for the ſpace of twenty two yeeres: but now perceiuing the hearts of the ſubiects to bee drawne from their Soueraigne, they thought it a ſufficient occaſion to forward their intendments; and omitting no time, in the ſecond of his raigne with ſeuen ſhips they arriued vpon the coaſt of *Kent*, ſpoiling the Country; but moſt eſpecially the Iland *Thanet*, from whence they did great hurt likewiſe to the towne of *Southampton*. An.Do.980.

The Engliſh led in the diſlike of young *Ethelreds* gouernment, were the rather drawne to impute theſe and other aduerſities to this vnfortunate Prince, by reaſon of a prediction of *Dunſtan*, who had propheſied, *That they ſhould not bee free from bloud and ſword, till there came a people of an vnknowne tongue, that ſhould bring them to thraldome*: and that opinion was skrewed deeper into their fearefull conceit, by a cloud appearing of bloud and fire, immediately after his vnaffected Coronation. *Polycr. l. 6. ca. 13.*

(4) The next yeere, thoſe rouing *Danes* entred the *Britiſh Seas*; and coaſting to *Cornwall* deſtroied there the Abbey of Saint *Patricke*, *Porland* in *Deuonſhire*, and many other places vpon thoſe ſhores; the like was done vnto *Cheſhire* by the *Norway-Pirates*, which broke into thoſe parts in the ſame yeare. An.Do.981. *Simon Dun. Ran. Higden.*

(5) And theſe calamities were ſeconded with others as fearefull; for in the yeare 982. the City *London* was miſerably deſtroied and defaced by fire; whoſe beauty then chiefly extended from *Ludgate* weſtward: for, that within the walles, and where the heart An.Do.982 *Th. Rudburne. Iohn Stow.*

heart of the City is now, was then neither beautifull, nor orderly built; what time also raged a ficknesse till then vnknowne in *England*, which was a strong burning feuer, and bloody fluxe, as also scarsity of victuals, and murraine among cattle. This hand of God thus correcting the sinnes of all, was receiued as sent for the offences of some few, and wholly imputed to the King and his Raisers; *Dunstan* still propheſying further woes to the land, when himselfe should be dead.

Poli.v.li.6.cap.13

(6) The *Danes* hereupon more boldly assaulted each shore, and in so many places at once, that the *English* were to seeke, where first to withstand. In the *West* they were encountred by *Goda* Earle of *Deuonshire*, as saith *Simon Dunelmensis*, by whom they were ouerthrowne, though with the losse of his life, as also of *Sternwold* a man of great esteeme and valour in those parts, who serued there vnder him.

Wil. Malmesb. Mat. Westminster. Simon Dun.

An. Do. 989

An. Do. 991.

(7) In the East their leaders *Iustine* and *Guthmond* warred with better successe; for at *Malden* in *Essex* they gaue *Brightnod* the Earle, a great and bloody battaile, wherein himselfe with most of his people were slaine. The *Danes* thus prospering, more boldly went forward; and where they set their tallants, there they held fast, and lay on the land like vnto Grashoppers. These euils King *Ethelred* could not redresse, his strengths being small, and his subiects affections lesse; therefore calling to Counsell his *Statesmen* & Peeres, demanded their aduice what was best to bee done. Some few of these proffered the King their assistance, but more of them perswaded vnto a composition, whereof *Siricius* Archbishop of *Canterburie* was chiefe; and in fine, ten thousand pounds paid to the *Danes* for their departure.

Malmsb. de gest. Pontif. lib. 1. Polychr. lib. 6. c. 13

(8) This golden Mine once entred, was more eagerly digged into, by these still-thirsting *Danes*, who finding the branch so beneficiall at first, hoped the veine in following, would proue farre more bountifull, and therefore regardlesse of promise, the next yeere prepared themselues againe for *England*, and with a great fleete dispatched to sea: the newes whereof strucke such terror into the *English* hearts, that despairing of hope, they accounted themselues the bond-slaues of misery: The King therefore with much adoe prepared a Nauie, whereof hee made *Elfrick* Earle of *Mercia* Admirall; who setting from *London* vnto the seas, had power sufficient to put backe the enemy: but hee once a traitor could neuer prooue true; for, hauing beene banished, forgiuen, and now taken into fauour, found meanes to bee false, and to betray his charge; and sending the enemy intelligence of his power and intents, gaue the way to their escape; and another fleete of *Danes* encountring with the Kings, at first hee fainedly and faintly fought against; and lastly, turned to their side; through which treason many *Englishmen* died, and the Kings Fleete and power was greatly weakened; but hee escaping due punishment himselfe, left his sonne to answere the fault, whose eyes King *Ethelred* caused to be put out.

An. Do. 992.

Wil. Malmsbury.

Elfrick Earle of Mercia.

An. Do. 993.

(9) About which time also another *Danish Fleet* entring *Humber*, wasted the Countries of *Yorkshire* and *Lyndsey*: against these King *Ethelred* sent his power, vnder the charge of three valiant but trecherous Captaines, namely, *Frena*, *Godwin* and *Fredegist*; for the battaile but begun, these with their followers fled away; which was the occasion of a great ouerthrow of the *English*; notwithstanding the country people not able to digest their intollerable dealings, fell vpon the *Danes*, slew some, and chased the rest. At what time also other of the *Danes* with ninety foure ships sailed vp the riuer *Thamesis*, and laid their siege against *London*, giuing it a great assault; but the Citizens thereof so manfully defended themselues, that they chased the *Danes* thence to their shame and great losse: yet fell they so foule vpon *Essex*, *Kent*, *Sussex*, and *Hampshire*, that the King was enforced to compound a peace, with the payment of sixteene thousand pounds: for confirmation whereof, *Ethelred* sent to *Southampton* for *Anlafe* these *Norwegians* King, and honourably entertained him at *Andeuer*, where the same time hee receiued Baptisme, King *Ethelred* taking him at the Font for his God-sonne, and with great gifts returned into *Denmarke* without any further harme done to the *English*.

Simon Dun. Polydor. Mat. West.

A fleete of *Danes* on the Thames besiege London.

Mat. West. Simon Dun.

(10) But God and destiny suffering it, (that would haue the *Saxons* to fall before the *Danes*, as formerly the *Britaines* had done before them) no couenant could be so surely made, but was as slackly in them performed; for albeit this *Anlafe* honourably kept both faith and promise, yet others of his Country continued their inuasions, and as an other *Hydra* shewed their still-reuiuing heads.

(11) For the nineteenth yeere of King *Ethelreds* most troublesome raigne, and of our saluation 997. the *Danes* with a great fleete sailed about *Cornwall*, and came into the mouth of *Seuern*, robbing, as they went, *Deuonshire*, *Cornwall*, and *South-Wales*: and marching further into the Continent, consumed *Lydford*, and the Abby of Saint *Ordulfes* at *Essinstocke*: thence passing through *Dorsetshire* with fire & sword, found not a man in the way to resist them, and wintering in the *Wight* liued by spoiles gotten in *Hampshire* and *Sussex*.

An. Do. 997.

An. Do. 998.

(12) The next Spring they put into the mouth of *Thamisis*, and so by the riuer *Medway* arriued at *Rochester*: thither the *Kentish* with their strengthes repaired, but vnfortunately fought, and left the field to the *Danes*, who shortly after hoised their sailes, and with a merry gale arriued in *Normandy*.

An. Do. 999.

(13) King *Ethelred* thus rid of these his vnlooked for guests, sought to remoue those leigers that lay in *Cumberland*, whither hee repaired, and with sore warre wasted the Country, before whose sword the *Danes* were not able to stand; which somewhat encouraged the spirits of his people, and bettered their conceits towards him: but farre this sunne past not without a cloud, nor was his successe entailde to be fortunate.

An. Do. 1000

(14) For the next yeere, those *Danes* that departed from *Kent*, came now from *Normandy* with their full sailes, and landing in *Exmouth*, their first and greatest fury was against the City of *Exceter*, which when they fiercely besieged, they were so valiantly beaten by the Citizens, as that enraged aboue measure with the ignominy of that repulse, they thence as a sodaine floud bare downe all that stood in their way; and then plainely begann to appeare the rise of the *Danes*, which euery where lorded it, where they had to doe; and the fall of the *Saxons*, whose ouertopped Monarchy, and weake walles now wanted props to hold vp the weight; for the Captains of the *English* (saith *Higden*) wanting lore in deeds of Arms, their direction neuer prospered; if ships were made, they neuer sped well, but were either chased of the enemy, or destroyed by tempest; if the Nobles euer assembled to consult of the State, that time was rather spent in whetting the spleene each against other, then iointly agreeing how to redresse their present danger, or to represse the common enemy: for most of the Nobles were allianced into the *Danish* bloud, whereby not onely the secret of those consultations were reuealed, but being imploied in seruice, many of them reuolted to the enemy. The Clergy as backward as any, denyed the King their assistance, pleading their exemptions from warre, and priuiledge of the Church, when the land lay bleeding and deploring for helpe, and scandalized all his other proceedings for demanding their aide: to these were ioined scarsity, hunger and robberies. These miseries caused the summes of their compositions to bee augmented, whose last was sixteene thousand, now twenty thousand, immediately twenty four, then thirty, and lastly, forty thousand pounds, vntill the land was emptied of all the coine; the Kingdome of her glory; the Nobles of courage; the

Roger Houed. Annal. pars prior.

Higden. Cotton.

The Clergies couetousnesse.

The effects of it

Commons of their content, and the Soueraigne of his wonted reſpect and obſeruance.

(15) The *Danes* thus preuailing, did not a little glory in their fortunes; and grieued the poore *Engliſh*, whoſe ſeruice they imployed to eare and till the ground, whileſt themſelues ſate idle, & eate the fruit of their paines, abuſing the wiues and daughters of their hoſts where they lay, and yet in euery place for feare and reuerence were called the *Lord-Danes* (which afterwards becam a word of deriſion to ſuch ſturdy and lazy lozels) ſo that the like daies of miſery the land neuer felt. To redreſſe which, the carefull King *Ethelred* was farre too weake, & therefore intending to doe that by policy, which he could not by ſtrength, he deuiſed a deſperate ſtratagem that proued the deſtruction of the *Saxons* royall bloud, and conqueſt of the land to another nation.

Hector Boetius.

Ethelreds bad policy.

(16) For ſeeking to disburden the Realme of theſe deuouring *Danes*, which by open force hee could no waies doe; hee attempted in a bloudy maſſacre to deſtroy them, giuing a ſecret commiſſion vnto euery City within his dominions, that at an appointed time they ſhould ſet vpon, and kill all the *Danes*; the day was the thirteenth of *November*, being the feſtiuall of S. *Bricius*, the yeare of Chriſt Ieſus 1002, and preſently after his marriage with *Emma*, the flower of *Normandy*; in confidence of which affinity, hee preſumed to do what he did. His commaund was accordingly performed, and with ſuch rigour, that in *Oxford* the fearefull *Danes* for refuge tooke into the Church of *S. Frideſwide*, as into a Sanctuary of venerable antiquitie and priuiledge among ancient Kings: but they in fury regarding neither place nor perſon, ſet the Church on fire, wherein were burned a great ſort of thoſe *Danes* with many rich ornaments, and the Library thereof vtterly defaced. At which time (if *Malmsbury* ſay true) King *Ethelred* himſelfe was in that City, and had ſummoned a Parliament both of *Danes* and *Engliſh*, with which euen the King was much grieued: and therefore at his very great coſt beautifully repaired the Church, and all the loſſes accruing by the fire, endowing it with large priuiledges and donations, as appeareth by his owne Charter, mentioning the tenour of that *Daniſh* ſlaughter.

Polycr. li. 6. ca. 15. The maſſacre of the *Danes.*

Henry Hunting

Matth. West.

Regiſter of *S. Frideſwides.*

Malmsb.

Ethelreds Charter

In this maſſacre, Lady *Gunhild*, ſiſter to *Swaine* King of *Denmarke*, a great and continuall friend to the *Engliſh*, with her husband and ſonne, together were ſlaughtered, although ſhee lay in hoſtage vpon conditions of peace, whoſe husbands name was *Palingus* (ſaith *Malmesbury*) an Earle of great might, & both of them Chriſtians.

Hen. Hunting.

Simon Dun.

(17) Newes brought into *Denmarke* of this ſuddaine ſtratagem, no neede there was to vrge them to reuenge, or to adde more fuel vnto that ouer kindled fire; for preparation being made, the yeere enſuing *Swain* with a great Nauy landed in the *Weſt*, ſpoiled the Country, and gaue aſſault to the City of *Exceter*, which by the trechery of one *Hugh* a *Norman* (whom in the fauour of the Queen, King *Ethelred* had made Gouernour of that City) he razed and leuelled with the ground, all along from the *Eaſtgate* to the *Weſt*.

King *Swaines* inuaſion.

An. D. 1003.

This treaſon and ſtirres great of themſelues, but made much more rufull in the relating, cauſed *Ethelred* preſently to muſter his men; ouer whom hee made Earle *Edrik* (for his couetouſnes ſurnamed *Streton*) his Generall, who bare a braue ſhew till it came to the puſh, and day of battle: but then to couer his treaſon, he fained himſelfe ſicke, and left his ſouldiers to ſhift as they could. The *Danes* hereupon rifled *Wilton*, & paſsing forward tooke *Salisbury* in their way, to which they were as welcome as water into ſhips; but hearing that the King himſelfe in perſon was preparing to giue them battle, they left the land, and tooke againe to ſea.

Earle *Edrike* for his auarice ſurnamed *Streton.*

An. D. 1004.

Simon Dun.

(18) The next yeare following, (which was the twenty foure of King *Ethelreds* raigne, and of grace one thouſand and foure,) King *Swaine* with a mighty fleete of ſhips arriued vpon the coaſts of *Norffolke*, where landing his men, hee made ſpoile of all before him, and comming to *Norwich* ſacked the City, with great ſlaughter of the Citizens; then tooke he *Thetford*, and ſet it on fire, notwithſtanding hee had entred a truce with them: but for want of victuall which then was ſcarſe in the land, hee returned to ſea, and ſo into *Denmarke*.

Norwich raced.

An. D. 1005.

(19) Where making preparation for another expedition, he encreaſed his Nauie and number of men, and the next Spring arriued at *Sandwich*, miſerably deſolating the Countries along the Sea ſide, neuer ſtaying in any certain place, but to preuent the Kings Forces roued from coaſt to coaſt, euer carrying to their ſhips their booties and preyes; and to encreaſe the calamity, the harueſt was neglected, and in many places ſpoiled, both for the want of labourers, and by the feete of the ſouldiers which lay in field all that ſeaſon, who from place to place trauailed, although in vaine.

Hunt. Hunt.

An. D. 1006.

Towards the winter the *Danes* tooke into the Ile of *Wight*, and in the deepeſt time thereof, paſſed through *Hampſhiere*, into *Barkſhiere*, vnto *Reading*, *Wallingford*, *Coleſey*, and *Eſſington*, making clean work whereſoeuer they came; for that which they could not carry they conſumed with fire, with triumphs euer returning to their ſhips.

The *Danes* in the Ile of *Wight.*

(20) The King lying in *Shrewsbury*, vnable to reſiſt, called to him his Councell, to conſult what was beſt to be done; whereof *Edrike* was a principall, and in ſo high eſteeme with the King, that he created him Duke of *Mercia*, and gaue him his daughter *Edgith* in marriage: notwithſtanding, theſe gluts of fauours wrought onely the diſgeſtion of falſhood in him, who could taſte nothing vnleſſe it was ſauced with treaſon. This man, then the kings onely *Achitophel*, perſwaded him to pay thirty thouſand pounds to the *Danes* for their peace, whereof no doubt ſome fell into his owne Coffers.

An. D. 1007.

Edrick an vntruſty Counſellor.

Simon Dun.

(21) This intollerable impoſition extorted of the Subiects, eſpecially at that time when the land was leaſt able, made many ſuſpect great matters againſt *Edrik*, and ſome did not feare to accuſe him to his face, to bee the onely cauſer of this payment; charging him as ouer-affectioned to the *Danes*, and to haue bewraied the Kings ſecrets and deſignes vnto them: but he ſeated in the heart of his Soueraigne, rubd off this ſtaine with a few fawnings, and a faire ſhew, being a man in wit ſubtle, in ſpeech eloquent, and for riches inferiour to none, (a ſtone that could turne euen great ſtreames aſide) ſo that theſe ſuppoſals of treaſons (as proceeding from enuy to him for his good ſeruices) wonne him greater truſt, and ſent hee was Ambaſſador to the *Danes* to mediate for peace: where reuealing the weakneſſe of the Land, and feares which the *Engliſh* conceiued of a conqueſt, treacherouſly diſſwaded them from giuing eare to any motiues of Truce.

His accuſations.

His ſubtilty.

His treachery.

(22) The State of the land thus ſtanding, or rather hanging at ſuſpence, King *Ethelred* gaue order, that out of euery three hundred and ten hides of land a ſhippe ſhould be built, and of euery eight hides a complete Armour furniſhed. Theſe meeting at *Sandwich*, and furniſhed with ſouldiers, made ſhew of ſuch reſiſtance, as had not beene ſeene, although the euent was nothing but a ſhew. For *Wilmot* a Noble man of *Suſſex* (baniſhed for ſome offence by King *Ethelred*) with twenty ſailes roued vpon the coaſts, and by Piracy did much hurt among the Engliſh Merchants: wherefore *Brithrike* the brother of *Edrike*, to winne himſelfe honour, got the Kings conſent to purſue this grand-Pirate, with foure-ſcore ſaile of the foreſaid ſhips, threatning to bring in *Wilmot* either dead or a liue: but his ſailes being ſpread vnder a faire winde, a violent tempeſt ſodainely aroſe, and outragiouſly droue his ſhippes vpon ſhore, where diſtreſſed and torne, their beaten huls lay vnable to recouer themſelues, or the Sea: *Wilmot* taking aduantage of this preſent miſhap, fell fiercely vpon them, and after much ſlaughter of their

An. D. 1008. An. Reg. 30.

Henry Hunting. *Simon Dun.*

Matth. West.

Brithrik (chaſing *Wilmot*) croſſed by tempeſt.

their weather beaten warders, ſet them all on fire; ſo that all this preparation prooued not onely vaine, but alſo very hurtfull.

Money paid the *Danes*.

(23) At the receit of the ſaid thirty thouſand pounds, the *Danes* departed, in ſemblance ſatisfied and friends with the *Engliſh*; but how long that laſted the ſequele ſhewed: for the next harueſt, and yeere of ſaluation 1009. a great fleete of their ſhips ſtrongly appointed landed at *Sandwich*, vnder the conduct of three *Daniſh* Princes, *Turkil*, *Henning* and *Anlafe*: theſe comming to *Canterbury*, were compounded with by the Citizens, paying a thouſand pounds for their departure; who thence in the *Wight*, *Suſſex*, and *Hampiſhere* made hauocke of all.

An.D.1009.

Three *Daniſh* Captaines.

Money paid the *Danes*. Three thouſand Pound, ſaith *Simon Dun*.

King *Ethelred* ſeeing no truth in their promiſes, nor quietneſſe, in State, his land thus exhauſted of prouiſion and coine, thought it beſt to aduenture once for all, and to commit his cauſe vnto God, by the fortune of warre. To which end he gathered his power, and comming vnlooked for, when the enemy was altogether vnprepared, and taken at disaduantage, he had made an end of the quarrell if wicked *Edrike* had not perſwaded him from fight, and put him into a cauſleſſe feare with his forged tales. The *Danes* thus eſcaping returned to *Kent*, and the winter following lodged their ſhips in the riuer *Thameſis*, whence often they gaue aſſaies for *London*, though to little purpoſe.

Edrike againe perfidious.

(24) Then tooke they through the *Chiltern* wood vnto *Oxford*, which they fired, and in their returne waſted all the countries on both ſides of *Thameſis*; but hearing that *London* was prepared againſt them, they croſſed ouer at *Staines*, paſſing through *Surrey* into *Kent*, where they fell to amending their ſhippes, and thence ſailing about the coaſts of *Suffolke*, tooke *Ipſwich*, and pitched their battle vpon *Rigmer*, againſt *Vikel* (Gouernour of *Norfolke*) and his *Engliſh*, vpon the fifth of *May*; where they wonne the day with a great ſlaughter made of the *Suffolke*, *Norfolke*, and *Cambridge-ſhiere* men, and after harried thoſe Countries with the Borders of *Lincolne* and *Huntingtonſhieres*; burning *Thetford* and *Cambridge*, and rifling all the *Abbies* and Churches that ſtood in their way, and then through *Eſſex* returned vnto their ſhips.

An,D.1010.

Henry Hunt.

The *Danes* forrage the Countries before them

(25) Neither reſted they there long in quiet, ere as people wholly deuoted to ſpoile, they brake into *Buckinghame*, *Bedford*, and *Northampton-ſhieres*, the chief Town of which laſt, they ſet on fire after much ſlaughter of the Inhabitants; and thence entring *Wiltſhiere* depopulated al before them, which was the ſeuenth Shiere in number that they had laid waſt like a ſolitude.

An.D.1011.

Henry Hunt. *Vincentius.*

(26) And now not ſatisfied with ſpoil nor bloud-ſpilling, they prepare a new expedition for *Canterbury*, and in September beleagered the City, which by treaſon of a Church-man they wonne, tooke *Elphegus* the *Arch-Biſhop*, and ſlew nine hundred Monkes and men of Religion, beſides many Citizens, without all mercy: for they tithed the captiue multitudes after an inuerted order, ſlaying all by nines, and reſeruing onely the tenth to liue: ſo that of all the *Monkes* in the towne there were but foure ſaued, and of the lay people foure thouſand eight hundred, by which account M. *Lambert* collecteth that there died in this maſſacre forty three thouſand and two hundred perſons.

Addit. ad Aſſerii.

VVil. Lambert in Peram.

Polychr. li. 6. c. 16.

The Archbiſhop *Elphegus*, for that hee refuſed to charge his Tenants with three thouſand pounds to pay for his ranſome, they moſt cruelly ſtoned to death at *Greenwich* the nineteenth of *April* following.

An.D.1012.

Turkillus the Leader of theſe murtherers, tooke into his poſſeſsion all *Norfolke* and *Suffolke*, ouer whom he tyrannized in moſt ſauage maner. The reſt compounding with the *Engliſh* for eight thouſand pound, ſoiourned a while quiet among them.

Money paied the *Danes*.

(27) But King *Swaine* hearing of the diſſenſions and weakeneſſe of the land, in the yeare of Grace, 1013. with a great number of ſhips arriued in the mouth of *Humber*, and entring *Trent* landed at *Gainesborough*; whoſe terrour ſtrooke ſo deede into the *Northumbrians* conceits, that they with them of *Lyndſey* yeelded themſelues to the yoake of his ſubiection, ſo that now ouer all the *North* from *Watlingſtreete* he raigned ſole King, and exacted pledges from them for their further obedience. From the *North* hee ſought to ſpread his wings further into the *South*, and leauing his ſonne *Canute* to take charge of his ſhippes, and new conquered countries, ſped himſelfe through *Mercia* to *Oxford* and *Wincheſter*, bringing all vnder the power of his commaund: with which gales of his fortunes, hee was ſo puffed vp, that thinking nothing vnpoſsible for him and his *Danes* to doe, in the heat of his courage hee came vnto *London*, and preſently begirt the walls with a ſtrait ſiege.

An.D.1013.

Simon. Dun.

Canute.

London beſieged

(28) In the City lay vnfortunate King *Ethelred*, who (as *Simon* Monke of *Durham* reporteth) had with him, and vnder his pay *Turkillus* the *Daniſh* Prince before ſpoken of, and forty fiue *Daniſh* ſhipps to defend the coaſts. King *Swaine* at his firſt comming fiercely aſſaulted the City, hoping his fortunes would haue proued as before; but the preſence of the King, and *London* the eye of the land, made the Citizens aboue meaſure couragious, who beat the *Danes* from their walles, and ſallying forth of the Gates, ſlew them on heapes, ſo that *Swaine* himſelfe was in great danger, had hee not deſperately runne through the midſt of his enemies, and by flight eſcaped their ſwords; marching both day and night in great feare vntill hee had entred *Bath*, where *Ethelmere* Earle of *Deuonſhiere* with his Weſterne people ſubmitted themſelues vnto him. But this laſt ouerthrow, and want of victuals, cauſed him after he had receiued a certaine ſumme of money, to haſte into *Denmarke*, minding with more power, and better aduantage to proſecute the quarrell.

Simon Dunel. Mat VVeſtminſter Henry Hunt.

Polydor.

VVil. Malmſ. Mat. VVeſtininſt.

(29) Not long it was ere he returned, and immediately was met by the *Engliſh*, where betwixt them was ſtrucke a fierce battaile, which had beene with good ſucceſſe, had not the treaſons of ſome hindred it, in turning to the *Danes*. King *Ethelred* therefore ſeeing himſelfe, and land betraied in this manner, to thoſe few true *Engliſh*, that were left, he vſed this ſpeech as followeth.

A battell betweene *Danes* & *Engliſh*.

Ethelreds Oration.

"(30) If there wanted in mea fatherly care, ei-
"ther for the defence of the Kingdome, or admini-
"ſtration of iuſtice in the common wealth, or in you
"the courage of Souldiers for the defence of your
"natiue Country; then truly ſilent would I bee
"for euer, and beare theſe calamities with a more
"deiected mind: but as the caſe ſtands (be it as it
"is) I for my part am reſolued to ruſh into the
"midſt of the enemy, and to loſe my life for my
"Kingdome and Crowne. And you (I am ſure)
"hold it a worthy death that is purchaſed for the
"liberties of your ſelues and kindred; and therein I
"pray you let vs all die, for I ſee both God and de-
"ſtiny againſt vs, and the ruine of the *Engliſh* nation
"brought almoſt to the laſt period; for wee are o-
"uercome not by weapons and hoſtile warre, but by
"treaſon and domeſtike falſhood; our Navy be-
"traied into the *Danes* hands, our battaile weakened
"by the reuolt of our Captaines, our deſignes be-
"wraied to them by our owne Counſellors, and they
"alſo inforcing compoſitions of diſhonourable
"peace; I my ſelfe diſeſteemed, and in ſcorne tear-
"med *Ethelred* the *vnready*: your valour and loial-
"ties betraied by your owne leaders, and all our
"pouerty yeerely augmented by the paiment of
"their *Dane-gilt*, which how to redreſſe God one-
"ly knoweth, and we are to ſeeke: for if we pay
"money for peace, yea, and that confirmed by oath,
"theſe enemies ſoone breake it, as a people that nei-
"ther regard God nor man, contrary to equity and
"the lawes of warre, or of nations: and ſo farre
"off is all hope of better ſucceſſe, as wee haue cauſe
"to

Paines taking for safety.

"to feare the losse of our Kingdome, and you the "extinct of the *English* nations renowne; therefore "seeing the enemies are at hand, and their hands at "our throats; let vs by foresight and counsell saue "our owne liues, or else by courage sheath our "swords in their bowels: either of which I am wil-"ling to enter into, to secure our estate and nation "from an irrecouerable ruine.

(31) This lamentable Oration deliuered from the passions of a iustly-pensiue King, touched the hearers to the heartes, and asmuch distracted their afflicted minds. To abide battle they saw it was booteleſſe, the treason of their leaders so many times defeating their victories; to yeeld themselues to the enemy, would but beginne their seruitude and misery; and to flee before them, their eternall ignominy and reproch.

Thus their opinions were canuased, but nothing put in practise, whereas meane whiles the *Danes*, went forward with victories, and had got the most part of the land, yea and *London* also by submission; wherewith vnfortunate *Ethelred* more and more dejected, sent his wife *Emma* with his two sonnes by her, vnto her brother *Richard* Duke of *Normandy*, and for his owne safest refuge committed himselfe vnto *Turkil* the *Dane*, in whose shippes hee remained a while at *Greenewich*, and from thence went into the Isle of *Wight*, where hee abode most part of the winter, and thence sailed into *Normandy* to his wife and brother, leauing the *Danes* lording it in his realme.

Henry Hunting. Simon Dun.

An.D.1014. An.Reg.35.

(32) These were the daies of *Englands* mourning, shee being vnable to maintaine her defenders, and yet enforced to nourish and cherish her deuourers: for the *Danes* in two factions most cruelly afflicted the land like two millstones crushing & grinding the grain. *Swayn* as an absolute King, extorted of the *English*, both victuals and pay for his souldiers: and *Turkil* on the other side, in defence of the *English*, commanded the like for his ships and men, so that the *Danes* had all, and the *English* maintained all. Neither were churches free from their spoils, (whom other Conquerors haue held most impious to violate,) but either suffered the flames of their consuming fire, or were forced to purchase their standings with great summes of money. Such composition King *Swaine* demaunded for the preseruation of S. *Edmunds* Monastery in *Suffolke*: which because the Inhabitants refused to pay, he threatned spoile both to the place, & to the Martyrs bones there enterred: in the midst of which iollity (saith *Houeden*) he suddainely cried out that he was strucke by S. *Edmund* with a sword, beeing then in the middest of his Nobles, and no man seeing from whose hand it came, and so with great horrour and torment, three daies after vpon the third of February ended his life at *Thetford* (others say at *Gainesborough*:) but with his death died not the title of the *Danes*, who immediately aduanced *Canutus* his sonne for their King.

Swains and Turkils domineering

Houeden. Annal. pars prior. Fabian. Chron. par. 6. cap. 200. Policron. lib. 6. cap. 16.

(33) The *English* that liked nothing lesse then bondage, especially vnder such tyrannizing intruders, thought now or neuer the time to shake off the yoake; and therfore with great ioy and haste sent into *Normandy* for their natiue King. *Ethelred* now not *vnready* for the recouering of his right, foreslowed no meanes either to hasten or strengthen the enterprize, and hauing the assistance of his brother of *Normandy*, in the Lent following landed in *England*, vnto whom resorted the people from all parts, accounting it their greatest ioy to see the face of their King.

An.D.1015.

(34) *Canutus* then at *Gainsborough*, Souldier-like mustered and managed his men, and holding it good policy to keepe that by bounty, which his father had got by tyranny, made no spare to purchase the hearts of the *English*; by which meanes those of *Lyndsey* became his Creatures, with an agreement to find him both horse and men against their owne King and Country.

Canutus winneth loue of the *English*.

Ethelred therefore now raging for reuenge, with a mighty host entered *Lyndsey*, where hee burnt all the Country, and put the inhabitants to the sword. *Canute* not able to resist this puissant Army, held the sea more safe for him then the land, and entring *Humber*, sailed to *Sandwich*, where being sore grieued at the miseries of these his confederates, requited King - *Ethelreds* friends with the like, and commaunded that those pledges which had beene deliuered by the Nobles vnto his Father, should haue their Noses slit, and their hands cut off: which cruelty acted, hee sailed to *Denmarke*, as hopelesse of any good issue in *England*.

He is chased by *Ethelred*.

Matth. West. Wil. Malm.

(35) But *Turkil* the *Dane*, retained (as we said) into king *Ethelreds* pay, seeing succesſe so sodainely altered, sore repented him of his reuolt from the *Danes*, and knowing now the time to recouer his reputation, with nine of his ships sailed into *Denmarke*, instantly importuning *Canute* to addresse againe for *England*; alleadging the feares and weakneſse of the people, the beauty and fertility of the land, an *Eden*, in respect of their owne barren seat, and (which did most moue) himselfe would assist, when the *English* least thought it. With these and the like hee spurred him on, who of himselfe was forward in a full curriere.

Turkil inciteth *Canute* against *England*.

Canutus therefore with the aide of his brother *Harrold* rigged forth a Nauie of two hundred saile, all furnished with souldiers and abiliments of warre, whose terror landed in *England* before him, and his power by report made greater then it was; and to encrease the terrour of this fearefull enemy, the sea with a Spring-tide brake into this land, and destroyed both townes and many inhabitants; a signe foreshewing (as was thought) the succesſe of that fleete, borne hitherward vpon those waues; and to increase the *English* miseries, thirty thousand pound was then collected by way of Tribute to pay the *Danish* auxiliary Nauy lying before *Greenewich*. The States also conuening in a grand Councell at *Oxford* to determine vpon the great affaires of the Kingdome, were diuided into factions, and two Noblemen of the *Danes* there murthered by practise of *Edrick* the Traitor. These (I say) were accounted ominous amongst the *English*, that made each mole-hill to seeme a mountaine, and euery shadow the shew of an enemy.

Canutus and his Nauie.

Money collected for the *Danes*.

(36) In the meane while *Canutus* had landed at *Sandwich*, and giuen a great ouerthrow to the *English*; entred *Kent*, and by his sword had made way through the Countries of *Dorset*, *Sommerset*, and *Wilton*.

VVit. Malms. Henry Hunt. Mat. Westminster. Simon Dunel.

Ethelred lying dangerously sicke at *Cossam*, the managing of these warres was transferred to Prince *Edmund* his sonne, who preparing to meete the enemie with his Army in the field, had sodainely notice that *Edrik* his brother in law meant to betray him into his enemies hands; which newes strucke a great astonishment vnto his heart, and caused him to retrait his host into a place of security; whereby *Edrik* perceiuing his treacherous purposes were discloſed, gaue more open proofe of his intendments, flying to the enemy with forty of the Kings shippes; whereupon all the west Countries submitted themselues vnto *Canutus*.

Matth. VVest.

Simon Dun.

(37) By this time King *Ethelred* had recouered his sickneſse, and minding reuenge on his most wicked sonne *Edrik*, with purpose to trie his last fortunes by hazard of fight, summoned all his forces to meet him at a certaine day and place; where beeing assembled, hee was instantly warned not to giue battaile, for that his owne subiects meant to betray him.

An.D.1016.

King *Ethelred* euer vnfortunate in this, to finde treasons amongst them that ought him most trust, withdrew himselfe to *London*, whose seruice against the *Danes* hee had lately seene, and therefore accounted his person most sure in their walles. Prince *Edmund* with his power posted ouer *Humber*, where obtaining Earle *Vtred* to side in his quarrell, entred the

Londons fidelity

the Countries of *Stafford*, and *Leiceſter*, and *Shrop-ſhires* not ſparing to exerciſe any cruelty vpon theſe inhabitants, as a condgine recompence for their reuolt. Neither did *Canute* for his part ſpare the Kings ſubiects, but through *Buckingham*, *Bedford*, *Huntington*, *Nottingham*, *Lincolne*, and *Torkeſhires*, made ſpoile of all, ſo that the miſerable *Engliſh* went to wracke on all ſides; inſomuch that *Vtred* alſo forſaking *Edmund*, became ſubiect to *Canute*: whereupon *Edmund* haſted to *London* to ioyne his ſtrength with his Fathers, and *Canute* with no leſſe ſpeed ſailed about the Coaſts into *Thameſis*, preparing his Army for the ſiege of *London*.

Canutus deuaſtations.

Ethelred dieth.

(38) At which time King *Ethelred*, either faln into relapſe of his laſt ſickneſſe, or tired with the many troubles, and daily renued treaſons againſt him, gaue vp his ghoſt, and found reſt by death, which neuer hee could attaine by life, the twenty third of *Aprill*, and of our Saluation 1016, when hee had moſt vnfortunately raigned thirty ſeuen yeeres, and nine daies: his body was there buried in the Cathedrall Church of *S. Paul*, and bones as yet remaine in the north-wall of the Chancell in a cheſt of grey-Marble, reared vpon foure ſmall pillers, couered with a copped ſtone of the ſame, adioining to another of the like forme, wherein *Sebbey* King of the *Eaſt-Saxons* lieth intombed.

The time of his raigning.

His Tombe in *S. Pauls* in London

(39) Of Perſonage hee was very ſeemely, and of countenance gracious, affable and courteous to his Subiects, and a maintainer of iuſtice among them, as by his excellent Lawes which himſelfe made, and by his ſharpe, but godly and wiſe cenſures againſt vnlearned, bribing, delaying, partiall Iudges & lawyers, and their purloining officers (at large ſet downe by M. *Fox*) is very apparant. Very louing and tender affectioned he was to his brother King *Edward*; for whoſe death hee made ſuch lamentation, that his mother beate him with a taper of waxe that ſtood before her, yea and ſo ſore that he could neuer after wel endure the ſight of a taper. Fauourable he was to the married Prieſts, and leaſt eſteemed the opulent and idle liues of the Monks, whoſe pennes therefore (as in ſuch caſes we euer find them partiall) haue been very lauiſh in his diſpraiſe, accuſing him with ſloath and vnreadineſſe of Armes, of voluptuouſnes and lechery, couetouſneſſe, pride, and cruelty: whereas in following the records of his life, laying aſide the *Daniſh* maſſacre, wee find no ſuch ſinnes, neither any mention of Concubine that euer he kept, or name of child vnlawfully begot, hauing had many by his wiues, which were as followeth.

Fox Martyrolge in King Egelreds life ex Hiſt. Iornalenſ.

Polycr. li. 6. ca. 13.

His Wiues.

Elgiua the firſt wife, by ſome called *Elſtede*.

(40) *Elgiua*, the firſt wife of King *Ethelred*, was the daughter of an *Engliſh* Duke named *Thored*, who is reported in the hiſtory of that time, to haue done great ſeruice againſt the *Danes*. She was married vnto him when hee was ſeuenteene yeares of age, in the ſixt of his raigne, being the yeare of grace nine hundred eighty foure, and was his wife ſeuenteene yeeres, who deceaſed in the twenty foure of his raigne, and of Chriſt Ieſus, one thouſand and three.

Emme the ſecond wife.

(41) *Emme*, the ſecond wife of King *Ethelred*, was the daughter of *Richard* the ſecond Duke of *Normandy*, and ſiſter of Duke *Richard*, and Duke *Robert* father to *William* the Conqueror; her mother was ſiſter to *Herfaſt* the *Dane*, Grandfather of *William Fitz-Osbert* afterward Earle of *Hereford*. She was a Lady of paſſing beauty, and therefore commonly called the *flower of Normandy*, married vnto him in the twenty and fifth yeare of his raigne, and yere of Saluation, 1003. with whom ſhee liued thirteene yeeres, and ſuruiuing him was remaried to King *Canute* the *Dane*.

His Iſſue.

Ethelſtan the eldeſt ſonne.

(42) *Ethelſtan*, the eldeſt ſonne of king *Ethelred* and of Queene *Elgiua* his firſt wife, was borne about the eight yeare of his Fathers raigne, and yeere of Chriſt, 986: hee liued vnto the age almoſt of twenty fiue yeers, being then (by great likelyhood) cut off by vntimely death in the warres of the *Danes*, raging then moſt extremely, which was the thirtie third of his Fathers raigne, and of Chriſts Natiuity 1011.

Egbert the ſecond ſonne.

(43) *Egbert*, the ſecond ſonne of King *Ethelred*, and of Queene *Elgiua* his firſt wife, ſeemeth to haue beene borne two yeeres after his brother *Ethelſtan*, in the tenth yeare of his Fathers raigne, and yeare of our Lord 988. and to haue deceaſed in the very prime of his youth before the death of his father, or of his elder brother, and before he had done any thing in his life worthy of remembrance after his death.

Edmund the third ſonne.

(44) *Edmund*, the third ſonne of King *Ethelred* & of Queene *Elgiua* his firſt wife, was borne in the eleuenth yeare of his fathers raigne, and of Grace 989. and of all his fathers Children proued to be the only man that ſet his helping hand to the redreſſe of the eſtate of his Country diſtreſſed by the miſerable oppreſsions of the *Danes*: which hee purſued with ſuch exceeding toile, and reſtleſſe hazards of his body, as he was there fore ſurnamed *Iron-ſide*; and when hee had followed thoſe warres with great courage the ſpace of ſeuenteene yeeres vnder his Father, being come to twenty ſeuen of his owne age, hee ſucceeded him in his kingdome and troubles as preſently ſhall be ſhewed.

Edred the fourth ſonne.

(45) *Edred*, the fourth ſonne of King *Ethelred* and of Queene *Elgiua* his firſt wife, was born about the fourteenth yeare of his fathers raigne, being the yeere of Grace 992. His name is continually ſet downe, as a witneſſe in the teſtees of his fathers Charters, vntill the thirty fift yeare of his raigne, by which it appeareth that he liued vnto the two and twentieth yeere of his owne age, although I find no mention of him, nor of any thing done by him in any of our hiſtories; and it ſeemeth hee died at that time, becauſe his name is left out of the Charters after that yeere.

Edwy the fifth ſonne.

(46) *Edwy*, the fifth ſonne of King *Ethelred*, and Queene *Elgiua* his firſt wife, ſuruiued his father and all his brethren, and liued in the raigne of *Canute* the *Dane*, who being iealous of his new gotten eſtate, and fearefull of the dangers that might accrew vnto him by this *Edwy*, and ſuch others of the Engliſh bloud roiall, practiſed to haue him murthered; was was accordingly done by them, whom hee moſt fauoured, and leaſt ſuſpected, the yeare of our ſaluation, 1017.

Edgar the ſixth ſonne.

(47) *Edgar*, the ſixt ſonne of King *Ethelred* and of Queene *Elgiua*, his firſt wife, was borne about the twentieth yeere of his fathers raigne, beeing the yere of our Lord God nine hundred ninety and eight. He ſeemeth by the Teſtees of his fathers Charters, to haue beene liuing in the one and twentieth of his raigne, but beeing no more found in any of them after, may be ſuppoſed by all coniectures, to haue died in, or about the ſame yeere, beeing but the eleuenth after his owne birth, and the ſeuenth before his fathers death.

The eldeſt daughter.

(48) The eldeſt daughter of King *Ethelred* and Queene *Elgiua* his firſt wife, although her name bee not to be found in any writer of thoſe times, appeareth notwithſtanding, to be maried to one *Ethelſtan*, a Noble man of *England*, who was the principall Commander of *Cambridg-ſhiere* men at the great battle fought betweene them and the *Danes*, wherein the *Engliſh-men* had the ouerthrow; and this ſon in law of King *Ethelred*, with the reſt of the chiefe Leaders, were ſlaine in the yeere of Chriſts Natiuity 1010, beeing the two and thirtieth of his father in Lawes raigne.

Edgith the ſecond daughter.

(49) *Edgith*, the ſecond daughter of King *Ethelred* and Queene *Elgiua* his firſt wife, was maried to *Edrik* Duke of *Mercia*, who for his couetouſneſſe in getting

ting was surnamed *Streattone*: This *Edrike* was the sonne of one *Egelrik* surnamed *Leofwin*, an elder brother to *Egelmere* the grandfather of *Godwin* Duke of the *west-Saxons*; and beeing but meanely borne, was thus highly aduanced by this King; notwithstanding hee was euer a traitor to his Country, and a fauourer of the *Danes*, betraying both him, and King *Edmund* his sonne to King *Canute*, that he thereby might gette new preferments by him, who worthily rewarded him as a traitor and put him to death.

Elfgine the third daughter.

(50) *Elfgine*, the third daughter of King *Ethelred* and of Queene *Elgiua* his first wife, was the second wife of *Vtred* surnamed the *Bold*, sonne of Earle *Waldese* the elder, Earle of *Northumberland*, by whom shee had one onely child, a daughter, named *Aldgith*, married to a Noble-man called *Maldred*, the sonne of *Crinan*; shee was mother of *Cospatricke*, who was Earle of *Northumberland* in the time of *William* the Conquerour, and forced by his displeasure to flie into *Scotland*, where hee abode, and was ancestor to the Earles of *Dunbar* and of *March* in that Country.

Gode the fourth daughter.

(51) *Gode*, the fourth and youngest daughter of King *Ethelred* and Queene *Elgiua* his first wife, was first married to one *Walter de Maigne* a Noble-man of *Normandie*, greatly fauoured by King *Edward* her brother; who liued not long after the marriage, and left issue by her a sonne named *Rodulfe*, whom King *Edward* his vncle created Earle of *Hereford*. This Earle *Rodulfe*, died the one and twentieth of December, in the thirteenth yeere of his vncles raigne, and was buried at *Peterborough*; leauing issue a young sonne named *Harrald*, created afterwards by King *William* the Conqueror, Baron of *Sudeley* in the Countie of *Glouceſter*, and Ancestor to the Barons of that place succeeding, and of the Lord *Chandois* of *Sudeley* now beeing. This Ladie *Gode*, after the decease of the said *Walter de Maigne*, was married to *Eustace* the elder, Earle of *Bulloigne* in *Picardy*, a man of great valour in those parts of *France*, and a most faithfull friend to King *Edward* her brother; which Earle was grand-father to *Godfrey* of *Bulloigne*, King of *Ierusalem*, albeit it seemeth he had no issue by this Lady.

Edward the seuenth sonne.

(52) *Edward*, the seuenth sonne of King *Ethelred*, and his first by Queene *Emme* his second wife, was borne at *Islipe* in the County of *Oxford*, and brought vp in *France* all the time of his youth, with his vncle *Richard* the third of that name, Duke of *Normandy*, mistrusting his safetie in *England* vnder King *Canute* the *Dane*, although hee had married his mother; but hee found the time more dangerous by the vsage of his brother *Elfred*, at his being heere in the raigne of king *Harrald* sonne of the *Dane*. Notwithstanding hee returned home, when *Hardiknut* the other sonne (beeing his halfe brother) was King, and was honourably receiued and entertained by him, and after his death succeeded him in the Kingdome of *England*.

Elfred the eight sonne.

(53) *Elfred*, the eight sonne of King *Ethelred* and his second by Queene *Emme* his second wife, was conueied into *Normandie* for feare of King *Canute*, with his eldest brother *Edward*, and with him returned into *England* to see his mother, then beeing at *Winchester*, in the second yeere of King *Harrald* surnamed *Harefoote*; by whose practize hee was trained towards *London*, apprehended by the way at *Guilford* in *Surrey*, depriued of his eie-sight, and committed prisoner to the Monastery of *Elie*: his *Normans* that came with him most cruellie murthered, and hee himselfe soone after deceasing, was buried in the Church of the said Monasterie.

Edmund.

EDMVND SVRNAMED IRONSIDE, THE THIRTIE THREE MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN, HIS WARRES, ACTS, RAIGNE, WIVES, AND ISSVE.

Monarch. 33

CHAPTER XLV.

An. D. 1016.

EDmund, the third ſonne of King *Ethelred*, and the eldeſt liuing at his Fathers death, ſucceeded him both in his dominions, & in his troubled eſtate againſt the *Danes*; entring his gouernement in the moneth of *Aprill*, and crowned at *Kingſton* vpon *Thameſis*, by *Liuingus* Archbiſhop of *Canterburie*, the yeere of mans ſaluation. 1016. Notwithſtanding, a great part of the Engliſh, conſidering the puiſſance of the *Danes*, both feared and fauoured *Canute*, eſpecially, a great part of the Clergy, who at *Southampton* ordained him their King, ſwearing to him the fealty of true ſubiection; but the *Londoners* ſtood moſt firme to Prince *Edmund*, and were principall Actors for his election.

Polichron. lib. 6. cap. 17.

(2) In reuenge whereof, *Canutus* who had beſieged the City before the death of King *Ethelred*, cauſed his ſhips now to be towed, and drawne vp the *Thameſis* vnto the weſt ſide of the bridge, and from the riuer with a deepe and large Trench encompaſſed the City, ſhutting vp all entrance or egreſſe of any. But the Citizens manfull ſtood in reſiſtance, whereto the comming of their new King for their ſuccour, did not a little encourage them, and daunted the *Danes*, who now thought it beſt to breake vp their ſiege and bee gone: and the rather (ſaith the Author of *Encomium Emmæ*) for that King *Edmund* ſent *Canute* a peremptory challenge of ſingle combate, which he neither accepted, nor yet ſtaied the ſiege to trie his chance; but waying his anchors ſailed along the Coaſt to the ile of *Sheepie*, where hee wintred with his Nauie and men.

Henry Hunting. Simon Dun.

Proffer of ſingle combat.

(3) But loath to loſe opportunity, when time ſerued for warre; on the ſodaine he aſſailed the weſt of *England*, and brought much of thoſe parts vnder his command: to meete whom, the reſtleſſe *Iron*

An.D.1016. In the Rogation weeke

side prepared, and with ſuch ſmall power as his leaſure would admit to leauy, hee haſted into *Dorſetſhiere*, where *Canute* was forwarding his owne fortunes, and at *Penham* neere *Gillingham*, each met other in the field, wherein a ſore bataile was fought, and bloudy to the *Danes*, where many of them were put to the ſword, and the reſt to flight.

Polydor.

(4) *Canute* immediately tooke into *Wincheſter* to ſecure himſelfe from danger, and the reſt eſcaped towards *Salisbury*, and there begirt the City with a ſtrait ſiege. King *Edmund* as ready to ſaue, as they to deſtroy, made preſently thitherward with his ſmall and ouer-tired company; whom *Canute*, waiting for aduantage, followed with a great hoaſt, and in *Worceſterſhiere*, at a place called *Sheroſtan*, in the ſight of his enemy pitched his battaile. To the aide of *Edmund* came many of the *Engliſh*, ſo that his Army was greatly encreaſed, and their courages inhaunſed, which made the *Daniſh* ſouldiers ſomwhat to droope.

Simon Dun. Mat. VVeſt.

(5) Notwithſtanding, vpon the twentieth of *Iune*, 1016. their batttailes ioined, and with equall fortune continued all the day, vntill the night conſtrained them to part.

Wil. Malmesb. Edrik's treaſon.

(6) But their bloud not cold, the next day they buckled together againe with no leſſe courage then before, till at length the *Danes* were going downe, & the *Engliſh* in great forwardnes of victory: which when the Traitour *Edrik* perceiued, he cut off the head of a ſouldier, whoſe name was *Oſmearus*, like vnto king *Edmund* both in haire and countenance, and ſhaking his bloudy ſword with the halfe-gaſping head, cried vnto the hoaſt of the Engliſh: *Flie yee wretches, flie, and get away, for your King is ſlaine, behold here is his head, therefore ſeeke now to ſaue your owne liues.*

Ie excuſe.

(7) But *Edmund* hauing preſent notice of this treacherous ſtratageme, and ſeeing his men ready to giue ouer the fight, haſted himſelfe where he might be beſt ſeene, encouraging his Army to ſtand to it like true Engliſhmen, and poſting from ranke to ranke, both performed the parts of a wiſe Generall, and vnderwent the dangers of the meaneſt ſouldier: his men ſeeing his preſence, & the apparant treachery of Duke *Edrik*, bent their bows againſt the traitour, and had ſhot him to death, had he not preſently auoided to the enemy: but the night approching, parted againe the battaile of this ſecond day: *Duke Edrik* excuſing his fact, as beeing meerely miſtaken in the countenance of the man, and thirſting to ſaue the bloud of the Engliſh, was taken againe into fauour, and bare himſelfe outwardly faire for his Country.

(8) The third day appearing, both the Armies prepared for battaile, but yet ſtood ſtill without any attempt, onely refreſhing their wearied, and almoſt tired bodies, and burying the dead ſlaine in the two daies fights before.

Canut marcheth to *London.*

(9) The night following, *Canutus* in great ſilence brake vp his campe, and marched very faſt towards *London*, againſt whoſe Citizens he carried great ſpleene, and moſt earneſtly deſired the conqueſt of the City, which in a ſort was ſtill beſieged by the *Daniſh* ſhips.

Diſlodged by *Edmund.*

(10) The Centinels the next morning certified King *Edmund* (who was addreſſing himſelfe for the battaile) of the ſuddaine departure of his enemies, whereupon hee as ready to preuent their deſignes, followed them by tract euen vnto *London*: where with ſmall adoe, hee remooued their ſiege, and entred the City in manner of triumph. The *Danes* thus diſcomfited, great hope was conceiued, that theſe faire proceedings would haue a proſperous end.

(11) *Emund*, therefore following the aduantage of their diſcouragements, two dayes after at *Brentford* bad them battaile, and that with their great ouerthrow; notwithſtanding, in paſsing the *Thameſis* at the ſame place, he loſt many of his men, who were drowned before they could recouer the ſhore: vpon which loſſe the Traitour *Edrike* plaied, who earſt had much feared the downfall of the *Danes*. For hereupon hee perſwaded his Brother in law King *Edmund* to come to truce with *Canute*, which as hee confidently affirmed, ſhould bee to the great benefite and contentment of *Edmund*: *Canute* himſelfe ſo plotting it, that by his meanes hee might continue his hopes, and bring his enemy into his danger.

Edrik wicked counſell.

Henry Hunt.

(12) The affaires thus ſtanding, King *Edmund* returned into the Weſt, and *Canute* with ſpoiles vnto his ſhippes that were in *Medway*, not farre from *Rocheſter*, where hee a while lay ſtill to learne what *Edmund* meant to doe; who contrariewiſe louing nothing leſſe then to linger his buſineſſes, made preparation againſt thoſe truce-breakers that had waſted the Country in their returne, and with a great Army entred *Kent*, where he pitched downe his tents neere vnto *Oteford*.

Edmunds preparations.

Canute, who had prepared himſelfe in moſt warlike array to meete his approach, beganne the battaile in a furious manner, which continued very bloudy for foure houres ſpace, vntill the foote of his vaward beganne to ſhrinke, which when hee perceiued, hee drew his horſemen for their aid; but whileſt the one gaue haſtily backe, & the other made as ſlowly forward, the array of the whole Army was broken, and the *Danes* ſlaine on all hands: for it is reported that *Canute* loſt foure thouſand fiue hundred men, and King *Edmund* onely ſix hundred; the reſt of theſe *Danes* truſting to their legs: whom if *Edmund* had purſued in chaſe, it is thought, that day had ended the warres betwixt thoſe two Nations for euer. But Deſtiny, that would haue the *Saxons* downe, who had raiſed themſelues by the fals of the *Britaines*, made *Edrike* her inſtrument, and maſt of the Engliſh, who kept King *Edmunds* haſty foot from following his enemies, by guileſull vrging the danger of ambuſh, and the ouer-wearied bodies of his ſouldiers, ſo that *Canute* thereby had leaſure in ſafety to paſſe ouer into Eſſex.

Polydor. Fabian. Rand. Higd. Mat. VVeſtminſter Henry Hunt. VVil. Malmſ.

A battaile betweene *Edmund* & *Canute.*

(13) Where beginning againe, with the increaſe of his power to deſpoile all the Country before him, brought feare to the inhabitants, and to himſelfe ſubmiſſion of many Engliſh. King *Edmund* therefore made preparation thitherwad, and at *Aſhdone* three miles from *Saffron-Walden*, gaue battaile to *Canute*, wherein a bloudy ſlaughter enſued, though a while with equall chance of foile or of victory, vntill laſtly the *Danes* beganne to giue backe; which when the euer-traiterous *Edrik* perceiued, hee went with his ſtrength, vnto their ſide, and maintained their battaile, which otherwiſe was at point to bee loſt, whereby the *Danes* regained the day, and the betraied Engliſh, the ouerthrow. There died of *Edmunds* Nobility, *Duke Alfred*, *Duke Goodwin*, *Duke Athelward*, *Duke Athelwin*, and *Earle Vrchell*, with *Cadnoth* Biſhop of *Lincolne*, and *Wolſey* Abbot of *Ramſey*, beſides other of the Clergy that were come thither to pray for the preſeruation of the King and his Army. The remembrance of which field is retained vnto this day, by certaine ſmall hilles there remaining, whence haue beene digged the bones of men, Armour, and the water-chaines of horſe-bridles.

Wil. Malmsb. Simon Dun. Ran. Higden.

Edmund put to retire.

(14) King *Edmund* thus traiterouſly forced to retire from the field, on foot marched vnto *Glouceſter* with a very ſmall Army, leauing *Canute* ouerſwollen in conceit for this his great victory, vnto whom then the *Londoners* ſubmitted, and ſo did many other great townes of Name; after which hee followed *Edmund* into the Weſt; who now like a Tygar robbed of her whelpes, ſeeking the reuenge of his loſt day, gathered a moſt puiſſant Army, meaning to trie the vttermoſt chance of Fate, or battaile. Their hoaſts meete at *Dearhurſt* neere vnto the riuer *Seuerne*, where they were reſoluedly bent to eſtabliſh the ones title with the

London yeeldeth to *Canute.*

Mat. Weſtminſter. Polydor.

the others downefall; and now beeing ready to ioyne, a certaine Captaine of vncertaine name, ſtept forth (as is reported) betwixt the two Armies, and vttered in effect this ſpeech.

The advice of a Captaine for ſingle combat.

"(15) Manie battailes haue beene fought, and "too much bloud alreadie ſpilt for the ſoueraigntie "of this Land, betwixt theſe two fierce Nations, "and the valours of the Generals, Captaines and "Souldiers ſufficiently tried; wherein euen fortune "her ſelfe ſeemeth to haue beene conquered; for "if one Battaile were wonne, it was not long kept, "neither the loſer ſo weakened, but that hee had "both courage and power to winne the next. What "is the marke then that you aime at? is it honour "and fame? Titles indeed which accompany warre; "but neither long enioyed, nor much attained vn- "to by the common Souldiers, by whoſe valours "and bloud it is for the moſt part wonne. Let "him therefore that would weare the Diademe, "beare the hazard himſelfe, without the confuſi- "on of many men, and either trie the fortune "of a ſingle combat, who ſhall commaund, and "who obey; or diuide betwixt them the Kingdome, "which may ſuffice two, that hath maintained "ſeuen.

Matth. West.

(16) Some affirme that this ſpeech was Duke *Edriks*; But I hardly beleeue ſo good a motion ſhould proceede from ſo bad a man. By whom ſo euer vttered, it was acceptably receiued by *Edmund* and *Canute*, who thereupon in ſight of their Armies, entred into a ſmall Iland, embraced about with the armes of *Seuerne*, called *Alney*, adioyning vnto the City *Glouceſter*, where thoſe Princes in complete Armour at firſt aſſailed each other moſt dangerouſly on horsbacke, and after as valiantlie on foot. The *Ironſide* was ſtrong, and fought for his Kingdome; the *Dane* not ſo tall, but euery way as ſtout, fought for his honour, and ſo the combate continued with an abſolute reſolution, till at length *Canute* hauing receiued a dangerous wound and ſeeing himſelfe ouermatched in ſtrength, wiſhed a comprimiſe, and thus ſpake to *Edmund* with a loud voice.

Edmund and *Canute* at ſingle fight.

Matth. West.

Canut to Edmund

"*What neceſsity ſhould thus moue vs moſt valiant Prince,* "*that for the obtaining of a Title, wee ſhould thus en-* "*danger our liues? Better it were to lay malice and Ar-* "*mour aſide, and to condeſcend to a louing agreement: let* "*vs therefore now become ſworne brothers, and deuide* "*the Kingdome betwixt vs, and in ſuch league of amitie,* "*that each of vs may vſe the others part as his owne; ſo* "*ſhall this land bee peaceably gouerned, and wee iointlie* "*aſsiſt each others neceſsitie.*

Whereupon they both caſt downe their ſwords, imbracing as friends with the great ioy and ſhouting of both their Armies, who ſtood before doubtfully wauering betwixt hope and feare, and looking for their owne fortunes, according to the ſucceſſe of their Champions.

The Kingdome parted betweene them.

Thus was the Kingdome diuided betwixt thoſe two Princes; *Edmund* enioying that part that lay coaſted vpon *France*, and *Canute* entring vpon the reſt.

(17) Thus then the *Saxon* Monarchy ſpent to the laſt period, and their tottering Crowne faſt graſped with a hard *Daniſh* hand, was ſuddainely torne from the *Ironſides* helmet, by his complotted and haſtned death. For Duke *Edrick* a very compound of treaſons, glutted with the fauours of both theſe Kings, to ſerue himſelfe deeper into *Canute* his conceit, contriued the end of renowmed *Edmund*: who being retired to a place for natures neceſsity, was thruſt from vnder the draught into his body with a ſharpe ſpeare; which done, the treacherous *Edrick* cutting off his Soueraignes head, preſented it to *Canute* with theſe fawning ſalutations: *All haile, thou now ſole-Monarch of England; for, here behold the head of thy Copartner, which for thy ſake I haue aduentured to cut off.*

Edmund murthered.

A Spit, ſaith Higden.

Canutus puniſheth the traitor.

Canute, though ambitious inough of ſoueraigne-

ty, yet of Princely diſpoſition, abaſhed, and ſore grieued at ſo vnworthy and diſloiall an attempt, replied and vowed, that *in reward of that ſeruice, the bringers owne head ſhould bee aduanced aboue all the Peeres of his Kingdome.* Which high honour whiles this prodigious wretch greedily expected, (and indeed for a time, ſaith *Malmesbuy*, *hee found ſome ſhew of fauour with the King*:) ſoone after, by the Kings commaund, his head bad his ſhoulders farewell, and was placed vpon the higheſt Gate to ouerlooke *London*.

Wil. Malm'b.

(18) The traiterous death of this worthy Prince, as ſome affirme, was acted at *Oxford*; yet the Author that wrote *Encomium Emmæ*, and liued the ſame time, blancheth the matter, ſaying, that hee died a naturall death in *London*: *God minding his owne doctrine, that a Kingdome diuided in it ſelfe, cannot long ſtand, and pitying the* Engliſh, *tooke away* Edmund, *leſt if the Kings had continued long together, they ſhould both haue liued in danger, and the Realme in continuall trouble.*

Old *Manuſ.* *Fabian.* *Ran. Heigden.*

That hee died in *London*, *Simon* the Monke of *Durham* agreeth, and ſaith further, it chanched about the Feaſt of Saint *Andrew*: and *Marianus* is of the ſame opinion, beeing the yeere of Chriſt, one thouſand and ſixteene. Whenſoeuer, or howſoeuer, his Raigne was but ſeuen moneths, and his body buried at *Glaſtenbury* neere to his Grand-father King *Edgar*.

Simon. Dun. *Ma. izn. Scotus.* *Edmunds* raigne. *Po'ycbr.*

(19) Hee was of perſonage tall, for courage, hardy, ſtrong of limmes, and well could endure the trauels of warre, inſomuch that ſome deeme the ſurname *Ironſide*, giuen him onely vpon that occaſion. With him fell the glory of the Engliſh, and the aged body of their ſore bruiſed Monarchy ſeemed to bee buried with him in the ſame Sepulchre.

The ſeature of *Edmund*.

His wife.

(20) *Algith*, the wife of King *Edmund*, was the widow of *Sigeferth*, the ſonne of *Engrin* a *Daniſh* Nobleman of *Northumberland*; which *Sigeferth*, with his brother *Morcar*, was murthered at *Oxford* by the treaſon of the neuer-faithfull *Edrick*: and this Lady beeing of great beauty, and noble parentage, after the death of her husband, and the ſeiſure of his lands, was by King *Ethelred* committed in charge to the Monaſtery of *Malmesbury*, where *Edmund* ſeeing her, grew in great loue, and there married her againſt the liking of his father, *in Anno* 1015.

Algith.

His Iſſue

(21) *Edward* the eldeſt ſon of King *Edmund*, and Queen *Algith* his wife, was ſurnamed the *Outlaw*, becauſe hee liued out of *England* in *Hungary* as a baniſhed man, through the raigne of *Canute*, and of his ſonnes the *Danes*. But when his vncle King *Edward* the *Confeſſor*, had obtained the Engliſh Crowne, hee was by him recalled, and moſt honourably in his Court entertained, till laſtly, hee was taken away by death in the City of *London*, the yeere of Chriſt, one thouſand fifty ſeuen. Hee maried *Agatha* ſiſter to Queene *Sophia*, wife to *Salomon* King of *Hungary*, and daughter to the Emperour *Henry* the ſecond; by whom hee had *Edgar*, ſurnamed *Etheling*, confirmed heire apparant by *Edward Confeſſor*, his great Vncle; which title notwithſtanding, proceeded no further, for that hee was depriued thereof by *Harold* his Protector.

Edward the outlaw.

His wife.

The daughters of this *Edward*, as after ſhall be ſaid, were *Margaret* and *Chriſtian*, the yonger of which became a vailed Nun at *Ramſey* in *Hampſhire*, where ſhee in that deuotion ſpent her life, and was there interred.

His daughters.

Margaret the elder, and afterward ſole heire vnto the *Saxon* Monarchy, married *Malcolme* the third of that name, King of *Scotland*, and commonlie called *Canmore*: from which Princely bed in a lineall

neall deſcent, our high and mighty Monarch, King IAMES the firſt, doth in his moſt roiall perſon vnite the *Britaines*, *Saxons*, *Engliſh*, *Normans*, and *Scottiſh* imperiall Crownes in one.

Edmund. (22) *Edmund*, the ſecond and yongeſt ſonne of King *Edmund*, and of Queene *Algith* his wife, after his fathers deceaſe beeing a Child, was with his brother *Edward* ſent by *Canute* to *Olaue* King of *Sweden* his halfe brother, to the intent, that hee by murther ſhould make them both away: but this King taking pitty on the innocent Childrens eſtate, ſent them to *Salomon* King of *Hungarie*, to the intent to haue them ſaued, where they were receiued with great fauour and honour: and *Mathew* of *Weſtminſter* reporteth, that this Prince married the daughter of the ſame King; and other Writers of theſe times, that he died in the ſame Country without any iſſue of his body. *Matth. Weſt.*

(23) Theſe two ſonnes of the *Ironſide* thus poſted away, and the Crowne already ſet vpon the *Danes* head, had not the meanes of themſelues to diſplace it, nor the Engliſh, hearts to aſſiſt them to their right: ſo that they rather ſecured themſelues from violent deaths in this their exile, then made claime to that which was vnrecouerable; and left the *Danes* quietlie to poſſeſſe the land, which ſo long they had moleſted with their ſturdy Armes.

The End of the Seuenth Booke.

THE

THE ORIGINALL OF THE DANES, THEIR MANNERS, RELIGION, AND INVASIONS OF ENGLAND, THE *RAIGNES OF THEIR KINGS HERE*, UNTILL THE CROWNE REVERTED AGAINE TO THE SAXONS; WORNE BY KING *EDWARD* THE CONFESSOR, AND AFTER HIM *BY* HAROLD *THE LAST KING OF THEIR RACE.*

THE EIGHT BOOKE.

CHAPTER I.

THE Spirit of GOD, in his ſacred writings, to ſhew his all-commanding power ouer Kingdomes and Nations, compareth the tranſmigrations of people from country to country, vnto the transfuſion of wine from veſſel to veſſell: and thoſe that are at reſt with ſinne, to be ſetled vpon their lees, as *Moab* was, againſt whom hee curſed that hand that negligently did his worke of reuenge, and the ſword that was not ſheathed in their bloud. Euen ſo the ſinnes of the *Saxons* growne now to the full, and their dregs as it were ſuncke vnto the bottome, they were emptied by the *Danes* from their owne veſſels, and their bottles broken that had vented their red and bloody wines: in lieu whereof, the Lord then gaue them the cuppe of his wrath, whoſe dregs hee had formerly (by their owne hands) wrung out vpon other nations.

Ier. 48. 11.

Eſay 51. 17.

(2) For theſe *Saxons* that had enlarged their kingdomes by the bloud of the *Britaines*, and built their neſts high vpon the Cedars of others, as (the Prophet ſpeaketh) committed an euill couetouſneſſe vnto their own habitations, and were ſtricken by the ſame meaſure that they had meaſured vnto others. When as the *Danes* often attempting the lands inuaſion, and the ſubuerſion of the *Engliſh* eſtate, made way with their ſwords through all the Prouinces in the realme; and laſtly aduanced the crowne vpon their owne helmets; which whiles it ſo ſtood, was worne with great honour, eſpecially of *Canutus* the firſt and their greateſt.

Habb. 2.

(3) As touching this Nations originall, and firſt place of reſiding, ſeeing themſelues know nothing at all, wee cannot determine, but ſuppoſing them, with *Franciſcus Irenicus*, to be a branch of the ancient *Germans*, and knowing them by the teſtimonies of all others, to inhabite in the ſame Country among them; we need not to doubt, but that their conditions and cuſtomes were much alike. Of the former, what we haue obſerued, is already ſet downe, where we ſpake of our *Saxons*; and now of theſe latter, what is ſuppoſed for truth ſhall be produced.

(4) Theſe *Danes* ſo often mentioned by our hiſtorians, for the great afflicters of the Engliſh ſtate and peace, were a people deſcended from the *Scythians*, as *Andrew Velley* a learned *Daniſh* Writer reporteth: but *Dudo* of *S. Quintin* (an ancient Author) will haue them to come from *Scandia*, an Iland ſituated north-ward, not farre from the continent of *Denmarke*: which his opinion ſeemeth vnto ſome to be ſtrengthned by *Ptolemie* the *Alexandrian*, who in his Geography placeth the people *Dauciones* (the ſuppoſed Anceſtors of thoſe *Danes*) in this Iland *Scandia*, at ſuch time as himſelfe wrote, which was in the raigne of *Hadrian* the Emperour, and about the yeere of Chriſts natiuity 133. But whereſoeuer the roote had beginning, the branches did farre ſpread themſelues into the vpper *Germany*, and parts of *Norway*, and *Sweyden*, whoſe faire fruit more particularly filled that promontory, which tongue-like lieth into the Ocean on the North, being anciently called of the learned, *Cimbrica Cherſoneſſus*, where, (as *Tacitus* ſaith) was the *vttermoſt end of Nature, and of the world*; a ſtrange conceit indeed; and yet more ſtrange was their opinion, who were perſwaded that the ſound and noiſe of the Sunne was there heard at his daily riſing and ſetting in thoſe ſeas. But from more warrantable witneſſes it is reported, that this was the very place which the *Iutes* and *Angles* abandoned, when they remoued their Colonies for *Britaine*.

And. Velleius.

Dudo. S. Quint.

Ptol. Geograp. where ſome read *Danciones.*

Tacit. Deſc. Germ.

(5) In this place then the *Danes* laid firſt the foundation of their Kingdome; which, from the word *Marc* (ſignifying not a limit, but a region,) was named *Den-marc*. But touching the former part of that compounded name, the truth and original occaſion is not ſo ſoone found out: for the ſearching eye of Truth hath long ſince ſeene into the receiued fable of *Danus* their firſt King, and Giant-like ſonne of *Humblus*;

Andrew Velley.

Verſtegan Ant. cap. 6.

though *Verſtegan*, of late, holds it more certaine in the ſearch of originals, to follow the grounded opinion that ancient Tradition hath held, then at randome to ſeeke them elſe-where: as theſe *Danes* (ſaith he) from *Dan*, and the *Britaines* from *Brute*; which truely for truth I hold much alike, and will herein make doubt, as many more of riper iudgement before me haue done.

(6) For *Goropius Becanus* deduceth the name *Dane* from *Da-hen*, ſignifying a Henne, or rather (as ſome will) a fighting Cocke; *Iunius*, from *Den*, ſignifying Firre-trees, which doe there abound. *Andrew Velley* from a people in *Scythia* named *Dahæ*, of whom *Ioſephus* maketh mention in his eighteenth booke, and placeth them by the *Sacæ*.

Joſephus Antiq. lib. 18. cap. 6.

Ethelward our Engliſh hiſtorian will haue them named from the faire City *Donia*. And *Ionas Iacobus Venuſinus*, a diligent ſearcher of Antiquities, out of *Pomponius Mela*, findeth the names of certaine *Bays*, opening into thoſe parts, which now the *Danes* inhabite, to haue beene ancientlie written CDAN and CDANONVM; which Orthographie and Pronunciation to the Latines was both harſh and hard, and therefo e they added a vowell, and wrote it CODANVM and CODANONIA, whereof (it may be thought) theſe people giuen much to piracies, were knowne and called by that name, as breaking out of thoſe *Codanian* ſeas. Some others, from *Ptolomie*, haue thought, that from his *Dauciones* placed in *Scandia*, and corruptly ſo written for *Danciones*; the name of theſe *Danes* hath beene deriued; whereto the neereneſſe of the place induceth much.

Ionas Iacob.

Cambd. Brit.

(7) For Nations Originals may well bee compared vnto a Spring, whoſe current ſurcharged with continuall ſupply of more, firſt filleth the neere Chanels; which done, they paſſe further, and at length are (oftentimes) diuided into many and great ſtreames: and euen ſo theſe *Danes*, (ſaith *Dudo* " of S. *Quintins*) after they had in heat, and laſciui- " ous luſt ingendred an innumerable ofspring, ſwar- " med out of *Scandia*, like bees out of their hiues, and " that both on diuers occaſions, and in very barba- " rous manner; for growne to ripeneſſe of yeeres, and " falling at ſtrife with their Fathers and Grand-ſires, " yea, and moſt commonly among themſelues for " lands and liuely-hood, neceſſity compelled them " to disburden the land thus ouerflowed, for the bet- " ter maintenance of the reſidue, and to baniſh by " lot (after their ancient cuſtome) a multitude of their " youth, that might conquere by their ſwords, in " forraine Realmes, places to liue in.

Dudo.

Theſe then thruſt out of their owne, fell vpon other lands with no leſſe danger then the falling of a ſword out of the ſheath, or rather, as the breaking in of a tempeſtuous ſea vpon the neighbouring grounds, ſore diſtreſſing their neighbour nations, & among them *England* not the leaſt, as ſhal be ſaid.

(8) And yet their name was not much notified to the world before the raigne of *Iuſtinian* the Emperour, about the yeere of mans ſaluation, 570. but then rouing vpon the coaſts of *England*, & *France*; in exerciſing Piracies, were noted by writers by the name *Wiccingi*, for that *Wiccinga* in the *Saxon* tongue, as *Alfricus* witneſſeth, doth ſignifie a Pirate; they were alſo called *Pagani*, for that they were not Chriſtians; but by the *Engliſh Deniſcan*, and alſo *Heathon-mon*, as being *Ethnicks*.

Cambd. Britan.

(9) The manner of their *Religion*, or rather ſuperſtition and Idolatry, was much like vnto the other *Germans* and *Saxons*, whoſe principall God and Nationall reputed-Patron, was THVR, vnto whom the fourth day of the weeke, for his ſeruice, was aſſigned, whereof as yet it beareth his name *Thurſday*; who in his robes was ſet vpon a ſumptuous bed, the Canopie whereof was beſpangled with ſtarres of gold; vnto him they performed their chiefe deuotions, and aſcribed all their fortunes in their affaires; as the foreſaid *Dudo* doth more particularly relate. *They* (ſaith he) *ſacrificed vnto Thur, whom they worſhiped in olde time as their Lord, for whom they killed not many Sheepe, Oxen or other cattell, but offered vnto him mens blond, thinking that to be the moſt precious oblation of all others; whom, when the Prieſt by caſting of lots had deſtinated to death, they were all at once deadlie ſmitten vpon the head with oxe yokes; and euery one thus choſen by lot, hauing at one ſtroke his braines daſhed out, was laid along on the ground, and there with a narrow prying was ſought out the Fibra, or veine of the heart on the left ſide, whence drawing the blond, as their cuſtome was, and therewith beſmearing the heads of their deereſt friends, forthwith they hoiſe ſailes, thinking their Gods well pleaſed with ſuch ſacrifices, and fore-deeming happy ſucceſſe to their intended voyage.*

The Religion of the *Danes*.

Verſtegan.

Dudo.

(10) *Ditmarus* the Biſhop (ſomewhat ancienter then *Dudo*) recorded another deteſtable ſuperſtition vſed by the *Danes*, to purchaſe the fauour of their Gods. *Becauſe* (ſaith he) *I haue heard wonderfull reports of the ancient ſacrifices which the Danes and Normans vſed, I will not let them paſſe vntouched. In thoſe parts there is a place, and the chiefe it is of that Kingdome*, called Lederum, *in a Prouince named* Selon, *where euery ninth yeare, in the moneth of Ianuary, after the time in which we celebrate the Nativity of our* LORD, *they all aſſemble together, and there they kill and ſacrifice vnto their Gods ninety and nine Men, and as many Horſes, with Dogs, and alſo Cocks, in ſtead of Hawkes, aſſuring themſelues that hereby their Gods are fully pleaſed and pacified.* And thus much may ſerue for a taſt and view of their Cuſtomes, Names and Originals.

Cambd. Brit.

THE

THE DANES FIRST ATTEMPTS AGAINST ENGLAND.

CHAPTER II.

An.Do.787. THough many were the Piracies of the *Danes* on the coasts of *France* and this our Island in former times; yet their arriuall heere, which gaue first breath to their ensuing conquests, was not till the wane of the *Saxon* Monarchie, about the yeere of Christs Incarnation seuen hundred eighty seuen, in the raigne of *Brightrik* King of the *West-Saxons*: in whose dominions (after some proffer at *Portland*) they first came to land at *Teigne-mouth* in *Deuonshire*; being sent then with three Ships onely, to espie the wealth of this Countrie, the forces of the Inhabitants, the commodities of the Hauens, and aduantage of arriuall for a greater power, which was to follow them. The Kings Lieutenant and Prefect for that place, vnderstanding of their landing, went himselfe to demand the reason thereof; and attempting to lay hands on some to carry them to the Kings presence, he was there slaine; which they tooke as a fortunate presage of the victories wherewith they afterward ouer-ranne this Kingdome; though for the present the inhabitants inraged with the losse of their Chieftaine addressing them in great numbers to reuenge, forced some to lose their liues by the sword, the rest to saue themselues by flight to their ships.

Cambden in Dunmonij. Iohn Stow. Lambert in Peram. mentioneth their Landing at *Tynemouth* in the North, the neerenesse of the name (it seemes) deceiued him,

An.Do.800. (2) Notwithstanding their former preparations, they were contented to deferre their returne till the dayes of *King Egbert*; whose raigne (as elsewhere we haue touched) they disquieted with three seuerall inuasions; the first in the North, the second in *Wales*, the last in *Kent*; in all which, the King though with many losses, and hazards of his owne person, yet with great resolutions persisted, till hee had disburdened his land of so dangerous guests. But those *Flesh-flies* hauing once tasted the sweet, though often beaten off, would not long bee kept away, but could easily take, or make occasions of fresh attempts; insomuch that after their first footing they continued here their cruelties, rapine and spoile the space of two hundred and eighteene yeeres, neuer intermitting, till they had got the garland vpon their owne heads. The way whereunto was made vpon this ensuing occasion.

See the seauenth Booke. Chap. 31.

Houed. lib. 5. cap. 1.

Fabian. Cap. 158.

(3) *Osbright* a *Northumbrian* Viceroy, deputed by the *West-Saxons*, by chance, as hee followed his disport in Hunting, came to the house of a Noble man, named *Beorn-Bocador*, whose Lady of passing feature (in his absence) gaue him honourable entertainement, and intreated both himselfe and traine, to repose themselues there a while, after their wearisome delights. The *Vice-roy* already ensnared with her beauty, accepted her courteous offer, not so much to taste her meates, as to surfeit his eyes with her rare beauty, and lasciuiously to dote in his owne affections. The dinner ended, and all ready to depart, (as though some weighty matters were to be handled) hee commaunded an auoidance from the Presence, and taking the Lady into a withdrawing Chamber, vnder pretence of secret conference, greatly tending to the aduancement of her Lord & selfe, most vnnobly, being not able to preuaile by smooth perswasions, did by force violate her constant chastity. Which dishonour thus receiued, and her minde distracted like to *Thamars*, at her husbands returne, all ashamed to behold his face whose bed had so beene wronged, with flouds of teares she thus set open the sluces of her passions. 2 Sam. 13. 19.

" (4) Had thy fortunes accorded to thine owne
" desert, or thy choice proceeded as by vow was ob-
" liged, then had no staine of blemish touched thine
" honour, nor cause of suspition once approched thy
" thought: or had my selfe beene my selfe, these
" blushing cheekes had not inuited thy sharpe
" piercing eye to looke into my guilty and defiled
" breast, which now thou maist see disfurnished
" of honour, and the closet of pure chastity broken
" vp; onely the heart and soule is cleane, yet
" feares the tainture of this polluted caske, and
" would haue passage (by thy reuenging hand)
" from this loathsome prison and filthy truncke.
" I must confesse our sexe is weake, and accompa-
" nied with many faults, yet none excuseable, how
" small soeuer; much lesse the greatest, which shame
" doth follow, and inward guilt continually attend;
" yours, is created more inuiolable and firme, by
" whose constancy as our flexible weakenesse is
" guarded, so our true honours by your iust Armes
" should be protected. O *Beorn*, *Beorn*, (for husband
" I dare not call thee) reuenge therefore my
" wrongs, that am now made thy shame, and scan-
" dall of my sexe, vpon that monster, nay Diuell,
" *Osbright*, (O that very name corrupts my breath,
" and I want words to deplore my griefe) who
" hath no law but his lust, nor measure of his acti-
" ons but his power, nor priuiledge for his loath-
" some life, but his greatnesse, whiles we with a selfe-
" feare, and seruile flatterie maske our baseneſse with
" crouching obedience, and beare the wrongs of
" his most vile adulteries. Thou yet art free from
" such deiected and degenerate thoughts, nor
" hast thou smoothed him in his wicked and euer-
" working vices: be still thy selfe then, and truely
" Noble as thou art. It may be for his place thou ow-
" est him respect; but what? therewith the losse of ho-
" nour? thine affection, but not thy bed; thy Loue
" but not thy beloued, yet hast thou lost at once all
" these, and he thy only bereauer: thou wast my stay
" whilest I stayed by thee; and now being downe,

"reuenge my fall: the inſtinct of Nature doth pitty "our weakneſſe; the law of Nations doth maintaine "our honour; and the Sword of Knighthood is "ſworne-by, to be vnſheathed for our iuſt defence; "much more the lincke of wedlocke claimes it, which "hath lockt two hearts in one; but alas, that ward "is broken, and I am thy ſhame, who might haue "been thine honour. Reuenge thy ſelfe therefore both "on him and mee, elſe ſhall this hand let out the "Ghoſt that ſhall ſtill attend thee with acclamations, "till thou reuenge my ſtained bloud.

(5) *Beorn* vnwonted thus to bee welcommed, much amazed at his wiues maladies, with gentle words drew from her the particulars of her inward griefe, who reuealed (as well as ſhame, teares, and ſobs, would ſuffer) the manner of the deed, ſtill vrging reuenge for the wrong. *Beorn* touched thus to the quicke (to pacifie his diſtreſſed wife) did not a little diſſemble his wrath, and excuſing the fact, with the power of a Prince, that might command, and her owne weakneſſe, vnable to reſiſt the ſtrength of a man, commended much her loue and conſtancy; and alleadging his wrongs to be equall with hers (if not greater) in regard of their ſexe, willed her to ſet her ſtring to his tune, till fit opportunity would ſerue to ſtrike: But ſhee diſtaſting that ſweet conſort, wreſted her paſſion into ſo high a ſtraine, that nothing could be heard but reuenge and bloud.

(6) *Beorn* thus inſtigated by the continuall cryes of his Wife, whoſe rape already of it ſelfe had giuen ſufficient cauſe of wrath: firſt conſulting with his neereſt friends, was offered their aſſiſtance againſt that wicked and libidinous Prince, and then repayring to his Court, in preſence of them all, made knowne his vnſufferable wrongs, and with vtter defiance departed, threatning his death.

This Nobleman in his youth had beene brought vp in *Denmarke*, and is reported to haue beene allianced into the *Daniſh* royall bloud: Hee therefore accounted this Nation the ſureſt vnto himſelfe, and the fitteſt in will and power to enter his quarrell. So comming to *Goderick* King of that Country, made his caſe knowne, inſtantly deſiring his ayde againſt the villanie of *Osbright*.

Godericke glad to haue ſome quarrell to enter Britaine, leuied an Armie with all ſpeed, and preparation made for all things neceſſarie, ſendeth forth *Inguar* and *Hubba* two brethren, to command in chiefe, ouer an innumerable multitude of his *Danes*: which two hee thought at this time the fitteſt for the attempt, not onely for their well-approued reſolution and valour, but alſo for that hee knew them to be, on particular motiues (which vſually more affect then doth a common cauſe) implacably enraged againſt the *Engliſh*, on an occaſion vnfortunately hapning, but moſt lamentably purſued; which it will not be amiſſe here to annexe.

Flores Hiſtoriarum

(7) A certaine *Daniſh* Nobleman of the Royall lineage, named * *Lothbroke*, Father to this *Inguar* and *Hubba*, being vpon the ſhore, his Hawke in flying the game, fell into the Sea, which to recouer, hee entred a little Schiffe or Cock-boat, nothing foreſeeing the danger that immediately did enſue: for a ſodaine tempeſt ariſing, carried the boat into the deepe, and droue him vpon the coaſt of *Norfolke*, where hee came to land at the Port called *Rodham*, and no ſooner was ſeene, but was taken for a Spye; and preſently ſent to *Edmund*, KING then of that Prouince: But in his anſweres hee ſufficiently cleared that ſuſpition, and alſo declaring his Birth and misfortune, was honourably entertayned in the Court of that *Eaſt-Angles* King; whom *Edmund* King much eſteemed for his other good parts; but for his dexterity and expertneſſe in hawking, held him in a ſpeciall regard; inſomuch that his Falconer named *Bericke*, conceiued ſuch ſecret enuy and deadly hatred thereat, as hauing him alone in a wood, hee cowardly murthered him, and hid his dead body in a Buſh.

* That is, *Leatherbrooke.*

(8) *Lothbroke*, in the Kings preſence and Court, was ſoone miſt, and diligent inquiſition made, could not be found; vntill his Spaniell, which would not forſake his dead Maſters corps, came fawningly vnto the King, as ſeeming to begge reuenge on ſo bloody an act; which hee did more then once, and at length being obſerued, and followed by the trace, the dead body was found; and *Bericke* conuicted for the murther; his iudgement was to be put into *Lothbrokes* boat, and that without either tackle or Oare, as hee therein arriued, and ſo left to the ſeas mercy to be ſaued by deſtiny, or ſwallowed vp by iuſt deſert. Murther will out.

But behold the euent; the boat returned to the ſame place; and vpon the ſame coaſt arriued, from whence it had beene driuen, euen in *Denmarke*, where *Bericke* being knowne, and hands laid on him, to free himſelfe from the puniſhment of his butcherly fact, he added Treaſon to Murther, laying it to the charge of innocent King *Edmund*.

(9) In reuenge whereof, and likewiſe in *Godericks* quarrell, *Inguar* and *Hubba*, ſonnes to the murthered Prince, being now made Generals of the Army of the *Danes*; firſt arriuing at *Holderneſſe*, burnt vp the Country, and without mercy maſſacred all before them, ſparing neither ſexe, nor calling, nor age; and ſurprizing Yorke, which *Osbright* had taken for his refuge, there ſlew that luſtfull Prince, with all his forces, and poſſeſſed that City; and afterwards burſting into *Norfolke*, ſent this meſſage vnto King *Edmund*: That Inguar, *the moſt victorious Prince, dread both by ſea and land, hauing ſubdued diuers Countries vnto his ſubiection, and now arriued in thoſe parts, where hee meant to winter, charged* Edmund *to diuide with him his riches, and to become his vaſſaile and ſeruant.*

The KING aſtonied at this ſtrange and vnexpected Ambaſſage, conſulted with his Counſell, where one of his Biſhops (then his Secretary, and a principall man) vſed perſwaſions to him to yeeld, for preuenting greater miſchiefe; who notwithſtanding returned this Anſwere: *Goe tell thy Lord, that* Edmund *the Chriſtian King, for the loue of this temporall life, will not ſubiect himſelfe to a Heathen and Pagan Duke.* Wherevpon *Inguar* and *Hubba*, with the furious troupes of their *Danes*, purſued the King to *Thetford*, and (as *Fabian* ſaith) to *Framingham*, others to *Halesdon*; where he pittying the terrible ſlaughter of his people, yeelded himſelfe to their perſecutions; and for that he would not deny CHRIST, and his Chriſtian faith, was bound to a Tree or Stake, and with their arrowes ſo ſhot to death: whoſe body was afterward there buried, and therevpon tooke the name of S^t. *Edmunds-bury*, as wee haue formerly touched in his Raigne, *Lib. 7. Cap. 11.*

Rob. Fabian. Cap. 169. Polycr. li. 5. cap. 32. Abbat. Floriacenſis.

(10) Whether theſe were the very true cauſes, or ſome other, which drew theſe *Danes* hither, moſt certaine it is, and too lamentable experience ſhewed, that hither they came (by Writers account) about the yeere of Chriſt eight hundred, and in the dayes of King *Brightrick*. Neither want there Authors who aſcribe certaine predictions to haue forerunne the yeere 800. made vnfortunate by their firſt attempts, fore-ſhewed ſeauen yeeres before, by ſhowers of bloud falling from heauen, and bloudy Croſſes markt therewith vpon the garments of men, reported by the learned *Alcuinus*, who was inſtructor to *Charles* the *Great*, and borne in the countie of *Yorke*, where this wonder happened: which himſelfe ſaw and teſtified vnto *Ethelbert* King of that Prouince, as *Malmsbury* hath written, and was thought by *Houeden*, *Higdon*, *Fabian* and others, to haue beene ſent for ſignes before their bloudy aſſaults, which beganne at the day-ſpring of the *Saxons* Monarchy, when it promiſed a moſt faire aſcent to their heires ſucceeding, but mounted to the higheſt, againe declined as the ſetting Sunne, and fell vnder the cloudes of their owne ruines, ſo carried by the iuſt reuenging hand of God: For thoſe *Saxons* hauing by bloud and warre vnſeated the

Alcuinus.

Will. Malmsb. Roger Houed. Ran. Higden. Rob. Fabian.

Britaines

Bloud reuenged with bloud.

Britaines of their land and right, by bloud and warre, were by theſe Pagan *Danes* ſo vnceſſantly moleſted, that no place was freed from their tyranny, nor any ſtate ſure, long to hold that which they enioyed, nor their liues ſecured from a daily expectation of their ſauage ſwords.

(11) Whoſe many inuaſions and cruell proceedings againſt this land and nation, are already ſhewed in the raignes of theſe *Saxon* Kings, who then felt their heauy ſtrokes in warre, hauing nothing almoſt memorable otherwiſe, to enlarge their fames and ſtories with, beſides theſe their valours in reſiſting ſo mighty and almoſt vnrepugnable an enemie. Therefore omitting to repeat ſuch things as in their ſucceſſions are handled, we will fall neerer the time of the wiſhed harueſt of their full Conqueſts; ſomewhat remembring the Reader here, of thoſe bloudie affaires, which the *Engliſh* at ſeuerall times felt and endured.

(12) Such was the murther of holy *Edmund*, King of the *Eaſt-Angles*, with *Daniſh* arrowes martyred to death as hee ſtood bound vnto a ſtake, euer calling on the name of IESVS: Of *Ella* and *Osbright* Gouernours of *Northumberland* by them ſlaine, and that Prouince for a long time after by them enioyed, and made ſubiect to their furies: Of *Burdred* King of *Mercia*, by them expulſed, who with his QVEENE *Ethelſwith*, were forced to abandon their Kingdome, leauing it to the poſſeſſion of theſe *Pagan* intruders, and to ſeeke their ſecurities in forreine Countries, where at *Rome* in *Italy* hee dyed, and at *Padua* his Wife, as hath beene ſaid: Of *Ethelred* King of the *Weſt-Saxons*, that in one yeeres continuance fought nine bloudy battels againſt them, in the laſt whereof at *Merton*, hee receiued his deaths wound, and this Kingdome an vncureable blow: Of *Elfred* that moſt famous and learned King of the *Weſt Saxons* alſo, driuen by them to ſuch diſtreſſe, that hee was forced to leaue his Princely Court, and to remaine ſecret in a poore Cow-heards houſe vnknowne and diſguiſed, in the Iſle of *Ethlingſey* in the County of *Sommerſet*, and thence to aduenture himſelfe among the *Daniſh* hoſt, as a baſe Minſtrell and contemptible Make-ſport, till hee had perfectly learned their ſecrets, and after with his ſword, through the thickeſt of thoſe Enemies, made a way to his owne moſt glorious Monarchie.

Henry Hunt. Hiſt. Angl. lib. 1. Rana. Higd.

(13) To ſpeake nothing of the deſolations left in euery Prouince, Towne, and Place, where they came, laying all leauell with the ground, as prints of their foote-ſteppes where they had troden: Their cruell and mercileſſe dealings towards holy and religious perſons, with the ruination of Churches, and other places for Oratorie, is moſt lamentable to be rehearſed or remembred: and among many others, the faire and beautifull Monaſteries of *Bradney*, *Crowland*, *Peterborow*, *Ely*, and *Coldingham*, were made ſubiect to their deſolations: In the laſt whereof, Lady *Ebbe* with her chaſt *Nunnes*, to auoid their ſauage and filthy pollutions, cut off their owne noſes and vpper-lips, leaſt the baite of their beauties ſhould proue the bane of their honours and honeſtie.

John Stow. Flores hiſtoriarum.

The moſt grieuous Tribute and exactions layed vpon the poore Inhabitants in generall, and great ſummes of money, payed in ſuch afflicted and vnſeaſonable times, impoſed by the name of *Dane-gylt*, did from tenne thouſand, ariſe to forty thouſand pounds, yeerely gathered for them in *England*. Their ſturdy behauiour, and Lord-like carriage againſt the *Engliſh*, in all places where euer they ſoiourned, was with ſuch ſubiection of the poore Owners, that they abuſed both Wife, Daughter, and Maide, and were of all called the *Lord-Dane*, till laſtly they were Lords indeede of the Land, and ſwayed the Scepter at their owne pleaſures, which how it was attayned vnto, wee haue before declared, and how it was worne and continued, wee are now preſently to ſpeake.

Some ſay forty eight thouſand. *Languet* ſaith fifty.

CANVTVS THE FIRST DANISH KING RAIGNING IN ENGLAND AND THE THIRTIE FOVRTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISH-MEN, HIS ACTS, RAIGNE, WIVES AND ISSVE.

Chapter III.

An.D.1017.

HE ſailes of the *Danes* thus ouer-filled with the gales of their ſwelling fortunes, and themſelues arriued at the Port of their long ſought ſoueraignty, caſt anker as it were at the hauen of their wiſhed deſire, and prepared themſelues to a ſetled reſt: for *Canutus* poſſeſt of halfe the Kingdome by compoſition with *Edmund*, now after his death ſeazed vpon the whole; and that all things (as was pretended) might proceed with iuſtice, and concord, he called a Counſell of the *Engliſh* Nobility at *London*; wherein was propounded, whether, in the agreement betwixt *Edmund* and him, any claime of title to the Crowne had beene reſerued for King *Edmunds* brethren or ſonnes. The *Engliſh*, that had paid a very deere rate for their ouerbold reſiſtance before, not daring now to buy, with too late repentance, the wrath of this *Dane*, abſolutely anſwered, No; and hauing learned to appeaſe Princes with flattery, offered their ſwords againſt any ſuch claimes, and tooke themſelues the Oath of alleagiance vnto *Canutus*; who being a very wiſe and politike Prince, thought neuer the better of them for ſuch their doings; whoſe truths thus failing towards their naturall Princes, could neuer (hee well knew) ſtand firme for him or his forreine poſteritie.

Polidor. li. 6. f. 18.

Feare makes flatterers.

(2) But being thus cleered of all other oppoſites, hee prepared with great roialty for his Coronation, which was performed at *London*, by the hands of *Lyuingus* ſurnamed *Elſtane*, Arbiſhop of *Canterburie*, in the yeere of Chriſt Ieſus 1017. being the ſecond King of *Denmarke* of that Name, the firſt of *England*, and the thirty fourth Monarch of this Land. His firſt deſignes for the eſtabliſhment of the Crowne to himſelfe and *Daniſh* iſſue, was a care to preuent others neere vnto the claime, and therefore, taking counſell with *Earike*, baniſhed *Edwin*, who for his melancholy and regardleſſe deportment, was commonly called, the *King of Churles*, ſon of King *Ethelred*, and brother of *Edmund*; notwithſtanding, hee was guilefully recalled, and treacherouſly murthered by his owne men, whoſe bodie they buried at *Taueſtocke* in *Deuon-ſhire*.

Canutus his care and pollicies to ſettle his crowne.

(3) One cloud thus ouerblowne, two others appeared, far more dangerous in *Canutus* ſight; namely *Edward* and *Edmund* the ſonnes of the *Iron-ſide*, whom albeit their young yeeres might haue freed from ſuſpition of conſpiracies, and their gentle diſpoſitions from enuying his glory, yet the bright raies of a *Diadem* ſo dazled his iealous eie, that euer he ſaw (to his owne ſeeming) the reflection thereof ſhine from their faces: but aſhamed (ſaith *Higden*) to lay hand on them himſelfe, ſent them to his halfe brother of *Sweden*, to be made away, as we haue ſaid. In the doubtfull times betweene *Edmund* and *Canute*, when the ſcale of warre was held of either hands alike, Queene *Emma* had ſent *Edward*, and *Alfred* (her ſonnes by King *Ethelred*) vnto her brother Duke *Richard* of *Normandy*; whereby (we ſee) the Land was emptied of the *Engliſh* bloud Roiall, and the Crowne left for the *Dane* without competition.

Booke 7. cap 44. Sect. 20.

Willi. Malmſ. Henry Hunt. Caxton. Fabian.

(4) Who now ſeeking to hold faſt the Scepter thus graſped, ſought the alliance of the *Norman* Duke by the eſpouſing of his ſiſter, faire *Emma*; a ſuite ſounding but harſhly in the eares of the *Engliſh*, yea and moſt of all vnto her ſelfe, as deeming the linke of loue very ſlender, that might be broken by the ſame hand, which was the death of her Husband: Notwithſtanding,

Canutus marrieth Queene *Emma*.

withſtanding, after good deliberation knowing him childleſſe of any lawfull ſucceſſor, vpon couenants agreed, that the iſſue of her body by him, ſhould inherite the Engliſh Crowne, the ſuit was granted, hoping alſo, if that failed betwixt them, to eſtabliſh her other ſonnes by King *Ethelred*.

Emma a very prudent Lady.

This prouident reſpect ſo pleaſed the ſubiects, that it both drew the hearts of the *Engliſh* vnto *Canutus*, and their loue vnto *Emma* in a ſurpaſſing meaſure, as the booke penned to her praiſe, and written in that age, intituled *Encomium Emmæ*, ſufficiently doth ſhew.

Matth. Weſt.

(5) Neither was her louing care limitted onely to her Sonnes, but further extended towards the Common-wealth, being much peſtred then with his *Danes*, that lay lazie and idle, as drones in the hiue, who at her inſtigations were ſent into *Denmarke*; and leſt they ſhould through diſcontents make any ſtirres either here or there, had a largeſſe (to buy their contentment) of foureſcore and two thouſand pounds.

(6) *Canutus* his next care for the maintenance of his owne ſafety, and the continuance of his new got Empire, was the eſtabliſhment of good lawes) which if duly executed, are the very ſinewes and ſtrongeſt guards of all States) to be adminiſtred and practiſed both on the *Engliſh* and *Dane* alike: wherefore calling a *Parliament* of his Peeres vnto *Oxford*, there eſtabliſhed many wholſom Acts both for the Clergy and Laitie to obſerue; ſome of which were divulged by the praiſe-worthy care of a ſtudious Antiquarie, and a few, as touching Religion, as a reliſh of the reſt, we thinke it not amiſſe to giue the Reader a taſte of.

A Parliament at *Oxford*.

Wil. Lambert.

(7) And firſt, for the celebration of Gods moſt diuine Seruice, it was ordained, that all decent ceremonies tending to the encreaſe of reuerence and deuotion, ſhould be vſed, as need required.

Canutus his godly Lawes.

That vpon the Lords Sabbath, publike Faires, Markets, Synods, Conuenticles, Huntings, and all ſecular actions ſhould not be exerciſed, vnleſſe ſome weighty and vrgent neceſſity required it.

That euery Chriſtian ſhould thrice in the yeere addreſſe himſelfe to the receiuing of the bleſſed Sacrament of the Lords Supper.

That if a Miniſter of the Altar killed a man, or elſe committed any notorious crime, hee ſhould be depriued both from his order and dignity.

That the married woman conuicted for adultery ſhould haue her noſe and eares cut off.

That a widow marrying within the ſpace of twelue moneths after her husbands deceaſe ſhould loſe her ioynter.

(8) Theſe and many other were made, whereby ſinne was much reſtrayned, and this realme peaceably and iuſtly gouerned. As likewiſe ſundry other countries were by his godly and royall care; as in eſpeciall is recorded of a young Gentleman of the *Daniſh* royall bloud, named *Odin*, whom King *Canute* brought ouer with him into *England*, to be here trayned vp in learning, where he profited ſo well, as alſo by his trauaile through *Fraunce* (whereby hee much encreaſed both his knowledge and experience) that hee attained the ſurname of SAPIENT, and the *Philoſopher*, and therefore was called *Odin-char*. for the deere eſteeme wherein all men held him. This man by preaching in *Finland*, *Zeland*, *Scandia*, and *Sweuland*, conuerted great multitudes to the Faith of CHRIST.

Arnmodus.

An.D.1019.

(9) But in *Denmarke* things proceeded not ſo wel; for in the abſence of *Canutus*, and yeere of Chriſts humanity 1019. the *Vandals* ſore annoyed his ſubiects: Hee therefore, in the third of his raigne, with a great hoſt of the Engliſh, paſſed ouer the ſeas, and bad his enemies battaile, which, as *Mathew* of *Weſtminſter* writeth, went ſore againſt him the firſt day; and preparing againe for the next, Earle *Goodwine*, who was Generall of the *Engliſh*, attempted a great enterprize: for in the dead of the night, hee with his ſouldiers, ſet vpon the Campe of the *Vandals*, and with a great ſlaughter of their ſouldiers, made the two Princes *Vlfus* and *Anlaue* to flie the field.

Wil. Malmesbury.

Mat. Weſtminſter.

Earle *Goodwines* good ſeruice to *Canutus*.

Canute ignorant of this acted enterpriſe, had notice in the morning that the *Engliſh* were fled, for that their ſtation was left, and not a man found: wherefore following the tract, euen to the enemies campe, by ſtreames of bloud, and dead bodies of the *Vandals*; hee ſaw the great ouerthrow that the *Engliſh* had giuen them, for which hee euer after held them in great eſtimation.

Henry Hunting. Polydor. Fabian.

(10) *Albertus Krantius*, the *Daniſh* hiſtorian, reporteth that *Olanus* King of *Sweyden*, hauing aſſiſted *Canute* againſt *Edmund* the *Ironſide*, and ſeeing himſelfe to be neglected in the compoſition betwixt them, moued ſuch ſtirres in *Denmarke*, that *Canutus* was forced thither againe; where by the proweſſe of his *Engliſh* hee repulſed *Olanus*, who laſtly was ſlaine by his owne ſubiects.

Alb. Krantius.

An.D.1028.

(11) *William* of *Malmesbury* and *Mathew* of *Weſtminſter* record, that in the yeere 1032. he vndertooke an expedition into *Scotland*, with proſperous ſucceſſe againſt *Malcolme* the King thereof, with two other Princes called *Melbeath* and *Ieohmare*. But being at length ouerburdened as it were with his owne greatneſſe, and ſurfeited with glory, which ſomtimes he had ſo greedily deſired (as euen the greateſt earthly delights haue their fulneſſe) hee reſolued on a more placable courſe of life, and to affect a higher and heauenly glory, which hath neuer ſatiety or end. And therefore his deuotion being great vnto Godward, on a zealous intent, (ſuch as *S. Paul* commended in the deuout Iſraelites) hee tooke a iourney tto *Rome*, to viſite the ſepulchers of *S. Peter* and *Paul* in the fifteenth yeere of his raigne; and thence ſent his letters to his *Engliſh* Biſhops and Nobility, beginning thus.

Wil. Malmsbury. Mat. Weſtminſter.

Rom. 10. 2.

(12) *Canute* King of all *England*, *Denmarke*, *Norway* and *Sweyden*, to *Ailnothus* Metropolitan, &c. Wherein hauing firſt ſet downe the reaſon of his pilgrimage to *Rome*, which was eſpecially to honour *S. Peter. as hee had beene taught by Wiſemen*, that *S. Peter* had receiued from Chriſt the great power of binding and looſing, and was alſo the *Key-bearer* of heauen-gates, for which cauſe (leſt *S. Peter* ſhould not open the ſame vnto him when he ſhould come thither) he held it moſt behouefull for him to procure his Patronage more then all the reſt of Saints; then making relation of his honourable entertainement with the Emperour, Pope, and other forreine Princes, ſheweth what complaint hee had made againſt the exceſſiue exactions and huge ſummes of money extorted by the Pope from the *Engliſh Arch-Biſhops*, at ſuch time as they receiued their *Palles* from *Rome*; for redreſſe whereof, and of other abuſes, the *Pope* in a ſolemne aſſembly of foure *Arch-Biſhops*, twenty *Biſhops*, and an innumerable multitude of *Princes* and *Nobles* obliged himſelfe: And thence proceedeth in vowing the whole remainder of his life and reigne, to the onely ſeruice of God, and due adminiſtration of *Iuſtice* to his people; to which end, hee firſt giues command to his Counſellours, that thence forward they dare not, for whatſoeuer reſpect, to giue way or conniuence to any the leaſt iniuſtice in his Kingdom; and next to his Officers of Iuſtice, that as they tender his roiall fauour and their own liues, they ſwerue not from Equity in execution of their places, in reſpect of any man whoſoeuer, no not, for the enriching of the Kings owne Coffers, becauſe (ſaith hee) *I hold it not needfull, that treaſure ſhould be heaped together for mee, by any vniuſt exactions*: and ſo concludeth with a ſtrict charge to all his *Biſhops* and *Iuſtices*, vpon their allegiance both to God and himſelfe, to take order in his abſence, that Gods *Church*, and his *Miniſters*, be not defrauded of their *Tithes* and rights, whereof hee vowes at his returne to take a moſt ſeuere account.

Canutus complaineth of the *Popes* extortions in *England*.

His godly reſolution touching his owne actions.

Touching his Counſellours.

Touching his Iudges and Iuſtitiaries.

Touching his Treaſure.

Touching Gods Church.

(13) By this his great care of his owne ſaluation, and his peoples tranquillity, we may ſee the zeale of thoſe darke daies, to haue beene accompanied with the

the workes of true pietie; whoſe carnall applications of the ſpirituall texts, may well condemne theſe cleerer times, and daies of more brightnes, wherein wee know, that this *Key-keeper of heauen*, is no other but the very *Chriſt*, who hath the *Key of Dauid, which openeth and no man ſhutteth, and ſhutteth and no man openeth.* And that this Kings zeale might be further ſeene, by his magnificke workes, he beganne to manifeſt it euen at *Rome*, where giuing many large gifts vnto *S. Peters* Church, hee alſo made free the *Saxons* Schoole from all tributes.

Apocal. 3. 7.

His Munificence.

His magnificent buildings, &c.

(14) In *Eſſex* hee built the Church of *Aſhdon*, where he had the victory againſt King *Edmund*. In *Norfolke* the *Abbey* of *S. Benets*, which *Saint* he greatly reuerenced; and in *Suffolke*, with an eſpeciall deuotion, built and endowed the Monaſtery of *S. Edmund*, which Saint hee moſt dreadly feared: for it is reported, that the ſeeming-ghoſt of *Edmund* often affrighted him; for which cauſe, as alſo to expiate the ſinnes of his Father, who had done great dammage to his poſſeſſion, hee inuerged the ſame with a deepe ditch, and offered vp his Crowne vpon the Martyrs Tombe. Moſt rich and royall Iewels hee gaue the Church of *Wincheſter*, whereof one is recorded to bee a *Croſſe*, worth as much as the whole reuenew of *England* amounted to in one yeare: vnto *Couentry* hee gaue the Arme of S. *Auguſtine* the great Doctor; which hee bought at *Papia* in his returne from *Rome*, and for which hee paid an hundred talents of ſiluer, and one of gold.

Ioſſelin. de Brakland.

S. *Auguſtines* arme bought at a high rate.

(15) The magnificent greatnes of this glorious King, ſo ouerflowed in the mouthes of his flatterers, that they extolled him, with *Alexander*, *Cyrus*, and *Cæſar*, and to be poſſeſſed with power more then humane: To conuict theſe his fawning ouerprizers, being then at *Southampton*, he commanded (ſaith *Henry* of *Huntington*) that his chaire ſhould be ſet on the ſhore, when the ſea beganne to flow, and then in the preſence of his many attendants; ſpake "thus to that Element. Thou art part of my do-"minion, and the ground whereon I ſit is mine, nei-"ther was there euer any that durſt diſobey my com-"maund, or breaking it, eſcaped vnpuniſhed; I "charge thee therefore preſume not into my land, nei-"ther wet thou theſe robes of thy Lord: but the Sea (which obeyeth onely one Lord) giuing no heed to his threats, kept on the vſuall courſe of tide, firſt wetting his skirts, and after his thighes; when ſuddainely riſing to giue way for the ſtill-approaching waues, he thus ſpake in the hearing of all: Let the worlds inhabitants know, that vaine and weake is the power of their Kings; and that none is worthy the name of King, but hee that keepes both heauen, earth and ſea in obedience, and bindeth them in the euerlaſting law of ſubiection. After which time he would neuer ſuffer the Crowne to bee ſet vpon his head, but preſently crowned therewith the picture of our Sauiour on the Croſſe at *Wincheſter*: vnto ſuch ſtrong illuſions were thoſe godly Princes led, by the guides that euer made gaine of their deuotions.

Canutus his flatterers.

Henry Hunt.

Mat. 8. 16. 27. Exod. 14. 21.

His humility.

(16) From the Example of this *Canutus* (ſaith *Peter Pictauienſis* Chancellor of *Paris*) aroſe the cuſtom to hang vp the Armor of worthy men in Churches, as offerings conſecrated vnto Him in whoſe battails they had purchaſed renowne, either by victory and life, or in their Countries ſeruice attained to an honourable death. And ſurely, howſoeuer this King is taxed of ambition, pride and vaine-glory, for which ſome haue not ſtucke to ſay, that he made his iourney to *Rome*, rather to ſhew his pompe and riches, then for any humble deuotion or religious intent, yet by many his intercurrent actions and lawes of piety enacted, hee may iuſtly be cleared of that imputation; as alſo by the teſtimony of *Simon* Monk of *Durham*, who reporteth his humility to be ſuch, that with his owne hands hee did helpe to remoue the body of S. *Aelphegus* at the tranſlation of it from *London* vnto *Canterbury*, whom the *Danes* (notwithſtanding his Archiepiſcopall & ſacred calling) before had martyred at *Greenwich*: and by the teſtimony of *Guido*, *Polydore*, *Lanquet*, and others, he was a Prince of ſuch temperance and iuſtice, that no other in this Weſt of the World was ſo highly renowned, or might be compared vnto him in heroicall vertues, or true humility.

Peter Pictau.

Iohn Caſtor.

Simon Dun.

Poly'or. hiſt. Angl. lib. 7. Lanquet.

(17) *Saxo Grammaticus*, and *Albertus Krantius*, the Writers of the *Daniſh* hiſtories, deduce *Canutus* by a lineall ſucceſſion through the line of their Kings in this manner: Hee was (ſay they) the ſonne of King *Swaine*, (ſurnamed *Tiugſ-keg*) by *Sigred* his wife, the widow of *Erick*, by whom ſhe had *Olafe Scotconning*, King of *Sweyden*: vnto which *Swaine* ſhee bare alſo *Oſtrid* a daughter, the mother of *Thira*, the mother of King *Swaine* the yonger. The elder *Swaine* was the ſonne of *King Harold*, ſurnamed *Blaatand*, by *Gonhild* his Queene, who bare him alſo *Iring* King of *Northumberland*; and *Gonhild* Queene of *North-Wales*. The father of *Harold* was King *Gormond*, whoſe Queene was *Thira* the daughter of King *Ethelred*, the twenty third Monarch of *England*, who bare vnto him the ſaid *Harold*, and another *Canute*, both moſt valiant Princes; which two Gallants inuading this land, were (for their braue reſolutions) by their Grand-father proclaimed heires apparant to all his dominions: the credite of which relations I leaue to my forenamed Authors; but *Canute* (the elder brother) died very ſoone after, being deadly wounded in the ſiege of *Dublin* in *Ireland*; where perceiuing death at hand, hee gaue ſtrict charge to his attendants, to keepe the ſame very ſecret till the City were taken, that ſo neither his owne Army ſhould be daunted, nor the enemy encouraged by the loſſe of the Generall. *Gurmo*, his aged Father, (to digreſſe but in a word) ſo incredibly loued him, that he had vowed to kill with his owne hands any perſon whoſoeuer that ſhould tell him the newes of his ſonnes death: which when *Thira* his mother now heard of, ſhee vſed this policie to make it knowne to the King her husband. Shee prepared mourning apparrell for him, and all other things fitting for funerall exequies, laying aſide all Regall robes, and ceremonies of princely ſtate, without intimating any cauſe of this ſad ſolemnity; which the old King no ſooner perceiued, but he lamentably cried out, woe is me, I know my ſonne is dead; and with exceſſiue griefe hee preſently died. But to returne from that *Canutus*, to cloſe vp the raigne of this our *Monarch* in hand.

Saxo Grammaticus. Albert. Krantius.

Aimundus. Brenenſis.

Holinſh. Inuaſion of *Ireland.*

(18) In whom the *Daniſh* glories hauing aſcended to the higheſt, beganne now againe to decline towards their wane by the death of this great King; who, after hee had in great glory raigned aboue nineteen yeeres, deceaſed at *Shaftesbury* in the county of *Dorſet*, the twelfth of *Nouember*, the yeere of Chriſts Incarnation, 1035. and was buried in the Church of the old *Monaſtery* at *Wincheſter*, which being after new built, his bones with many other Engliſh Saxon Kings were taken vp, and are preſerued in guilt coffers fixed vpon the wals of the Quire in that Cathedrall Church.

His Wiues.

(19) *Alfgiue*, by moſt writers, a concubine to King *Canutus*, was the daughter of a *Mercian* Duke named *Elfhelme*, who is ſaid to haue beene Earle of *Northampton*; and her Mothers name was *Vlfrune*, Inheritrix of the Towne *Hampton* in *Stafford-ſhire*, from her called *Vlfrun-Hampton*, now *Woller-hampton*: This Lady *Alfgiue* to make *Canutus* more firme to her loue, her ſelfe being barren, is reported to haue fained Child-birth, and to haue laid in her bed the ſonne of a Prieſt, whom *Canute* tooke to be his owne, and named him *Swaine*; him afterwards hee created King of *Norway*, which lately hee had conquered from *Olaffe* called the *Martyr*. The like policie, ſaith *Higden* and others,

Albert. Krantius.

others, ſhee vſed in bringing forth *Harold* her ſecond Sonne, who was (ſay they) the ſonne of a Sowter; notwithſtanding I thinke the condition of the Mother, who liued in diſdaine, and died in diſgrace; rather cauſed this report to be blazed, then any ſuch baſeneſſe of birth in the ſonnes.

(20) *Emma*, the ſecond wife of King *Canute*, was the widow of King *Ethelred* the *Vnready*; and from the time of her firſt marriage was called in *England*, *Elfgiue*, after the name of moſt of the former Queens, which had ſucceeded *Saint Elfgiue*. Shee was married vnto him in the moneth of Iuly, and yeere of Chriſt Ieſus one thouſand and ſeauenteene, being the firſt yeere of his raigne: whoſe wife ſhee was eighteene yeeres, and ſuruiuing, kept ſtill at *Winchester*, vnto which Church ſhee gaue nine Manours, according to the number of thoſe firy Plow-ſhares that ſhe was forced to goe vpon, for her purgation, in the raigne of *Edward* her ſonne, as ſhall be ſaid. This Church ſhee adorned with many goodly veſtures, and very rich Iewels: and deceaſing in this City the ſixt of March, the yeere of Grace one thouſand fiftie and two, and ninth of her ſonne king *Edwards* raigne, was buried in the Church of S. *Swithine* neere vnto *Canutus* her huſband.

Polychr.

Rand. Higden. lib. 6. cap. 23. Will. Malmsbury.

His Iſſue.

(21) *Sweyn*, the eldeſt ſonne of *Canute* by Lady *Alfgiue*, was borne before his father was King of *England*, and before his fathers death, was conſtituted King of *Norway*, lately conquered from King *Olaffe* the Martyr; where hee beganne his Raigne, in the yeere of mans ſaluation one thouſand thirty and fiue, being the eighteenth of his fathers Raigne in *England*; and after he had with diſlikes ruled that Realme, the ſpace of fiue yeeres, hee was reiected of the *Norwegians* his ſubiects, and deceaſing without heire of his body, left the Kingdome to the natiue heire, *Magnus*, the ſonne of *Olaffe*, who had beene wrongfully diſpoſſeſſed by *Canute*.

Albert. Kruntius.

(22) *Harold*, the ſecond ſonne of King *Canute* and of Lady *Alfgiue*, was alſo borne before his father obtained the *Engliſh* Crowne, & for his exceeding ſwiftnes was ſurnamed *Hare-foote*: He remained with his father in *England*, after he had diſpoſed of *Denmarke* to *Hardi-canute*, and *Norway* to *Sweyne*, his brethren, expecting ſomething in reuerſion. But perceiuing at his fathers death, that *England* was alſo appointed to his brother *Hardi-canute*, hee tooke the aduantage of his abſence, and aſſumed the Soueraignety of this Kingdome to himſelfe.

(23) *Hardi-Canute*, the third ſonne of King *Canute*, and his firſt by Queene *Emma* his wife, was borne about the beginning of his fathers Raigne, and towards the end of the ſame, was conſtituted King of the *Danes*, and deſigned to ſucceede him after his death in the Kingdome of *England*: But being abſent then in *Denmarke*, was diſappointed by his brother *Harold*, who ſucceeded his father, after whoſe death he alſo ſucceeded him.

(24) *Gunhilda*, the daughter of King *Canute*, and of *Emma* his Queene, was the firſt wife of *Henry* the Third *Romane* Emperour, ſonne of the Emperour *Conrad*, the ſecond of that name, ſurnamed *Salike*: Shee was a Lady of a ſurpaſſing beauty, which either mooued her husbands minde vnto iealouſie, or the ouer-lauiſh report thereof to breede ſurmize of incontinencie; for accuſed ſhee was of adulterie, and to defend her cauſe by combat, none could be found, till laſtly her Page, brought with her from *England*, ſeeing no other would aduenture for her innocencie, entred the liſt, himſelfe but a youth, in regard of the other Combatant being a Giant-like man; yet in fight at one blow, cutting the ſinewes of his enemies legge, with another he feld him to the ground, where preſently with his ſword, he tooke his head from the ſhoulders, and ſo redeemed his Ladies life. After which hard vſage, the Empreſſe *Gunhilda* forſooke her husbands bed, and by no meanes could bee brought againe vnto the ſame, but tooke the holy vaile of a Nunne in the Towne of *Burges* in *Flanders*; where ſhee ſpent the reſt of her life, and after her death was buried in the Collegiate Church of S. *Donation*, being the principall of that Towne, where her Monument remaineth beſides the North dore of the ſame Church vnto this day.

Wil. Malmsb. de geſt. rerum. Angl. Cap. 12.

Rand. Higden. in Polych. lib. 6. cap. 21

Henry Hunt. lib. 6. Marian Scot. Robert. Fabian.

(25) Another Lady of the like ſanctity, is reported to be the daughter of King *Canute*, & the ſecond wife of *Godeſcalke* Prince of the *Vandals*, by whom he had *Henry* King of that Nation. They both are ſaid to haue ſuffered Martyrdome for the faith of Chriſt; he firſt at the City of *Lenzim*, and ſhe after at *Michelenburg*, being moſt cruelly tortured to death with whips. This Lady vpon ſundry ſtrong inducements cannot be reputed legitimate, which moued *Andrew Velley* a *Daniſh* Writer in our time, to be therin of a diuers opinion from *Adam* of *Breme*, and *Helmoldus*, who liued fiue hundred yeeres before him.

HAROLD THE SECOND DANISH KING RAIGNING IN ENGLAND, AND THE THIRTIE FIFT MONARCH OF THE LAND, HIS RAIGNE, AND ACTS.

CHAPTER IIII.

An.D.1036.

Mat. Westminster.

Wil. Malmesbury.

Peter de Ichan.

Henry Hunt.

Floriatensis.

ANVTVS being dead, and *Hardicanute* his sonne by Queen *Emma*, then in *Denmarke*; *Harold* his elder (but base-brother) foreslowed not the opportunity offered; for seeing himselfe in his fathers life time neglected, and by Will at his death, *England* with that of *Denmarke* heaped vpon *Hardicanut*: as quicke in apprehension, as hee was of footmanship (whereof arose the surname *Hare-foot*,) made strong his side by the *Londoners*, and *Danes*, *Mercians* & *Northumbrians* very many, yea and some great Personages amongst them, affecting his claime: but *Goodwin* of *Kent*, who had the Queene and her treasure in keeping, stood in his way, pretending himselfe *Guardian* of her Children, & the Will of *Canutus*, who appointed his sonne by her to succeed.

(2) The opposition grew strong, and the factions ripened, euen ready to seede, onely the lingering of *Hardi-canute* gaue leaue vnto *Harold* to better his side by daily supplies, and the feares of ciuill sedition moued the Nobility to argue with words and not weapons, the title depending betwixt these two brethren. At *Oxford* they met, where the presence of the one, downe-peized the absence of the other, so that their voices went onely with *Harold*, and presently proclaimed and consecrated him King.

(3) He beganne his raigne the yeere of Christs humanity, 1036. and was very solemnly crowned at *Oxford* by *Elnothus* Arch-bishoppe of *Canterbury*, though for a time, hee was very vnwilling to performe that seruice; for it is reported, that hee hauing the regall scepter and Crowne in his custody, with an oath refused to consecrate any other for King, so long as the Queenes children were liuing; *For* (said he) *Canutus committed them to my trust and assurance, and to them will I giue my faith and allegiance. This Scepter and Crowne therefore I here lay downe vpon this Altar; neither doe I denie, nor deliuer them to you; but I require by the Apostolike authority, all Bishops, that none of them presume to take the same away, neither therewith that they consecrate you for King: as for your selfe if you dare, you may vsurpe that which I haue committed to God on this his Table.*

Notwithstanding that great thunderclap was allaied with the showers of golden promises, of his iust and religious Gouernment intended, though present experience manifested the contrary.

Encom. Emma.

(4) For saith the auncient Writer of the booke called *Encomium Emmæ*: *Harold no sooner was established King, but that he sought meanes how to rid Queen Emma out of the way, and that secretly, for openly hee durst not attempt any thing against her: Shee in silence kept her selfe quiet, looking for the issue of his designes. But Harold malitiously purposing, tooke counsell how hee might traine into his Haye the sonnes of Queene Emma, that so all occasion of dangers against him might at once for all be cut off: many proiects propounded, this lastly tooke effect; that a letter should be counterfeited in Queen Emma's name, vnto her sonnes Edward and Alfred, to instigate them to attempt the crowne vsurped by Harold, against their right*, the tenure whereof wee haue thought good here to insert.

" (5) *Emma*, Queene onely in name, to *Edward* "and *Alfred* her sonnes, sendeth motherly gree- "tings. Whilest seuerally wee bewaile the death "of our Soueraigne, my Lord and your Father, and "your selues (deare sonnes) still more and more dis- "possessed from the Kingdome, your lawfull inhe- "ritance; I greatly maruaile what you determine to doe,

"doe, ſith you know, that the delay of attempts "giues the vſurper more leaſure to lay his foun- "dation, and more ſafely to ſet thereon his in- "tended buildings; for inceſſantly hee poſteth "from Towne to Towne, and from City to City, "to make the Lords and Rulers thereof his, either "by threates, prayers, or preſent rewards. But "this in priuate they ſignifie, that they had rather "one of you their Natiues ſhould raigne ouer them, "then this Vſurper and *Daniſh* ſtranger. Where- "fore my deſire is, that either of you ſecretly, and "with all ſpeed come vnto mee, whereby wee may "aduiſe together what is to be done in this ſo great "an enterpriſe: then whoſe good ſucceſſe, I deſire "nothing more. Faile not therefore to ſend word by "this my meſſenger, how you meane to proceed: "and ſo fare ye well, my deereſt bowels, and very in- "wards of my heart.

(6) Theſe letters thus carried and cunningly de- liuered, were digeſted as ſauouring of no falſhood; and by the bringers, others returned, that *Alfred* ſhould come ſhortly ouer to attend his mothers deſignes: theſe newes brought vnto *Harold*, the coaſts were fore-laid, and longing expectation atten- ded the prey. *Alfred* as forward to ſet on his voyage, made *Baldwin* Earle of *Flanders* his; and ſome few *Bullogners* increaſing his Fleet, hee tooke the ſeas for *England*: where comming to ſhore, Earle *Good- win* met him, and binding his aſſurance with his corporall oath, became his liege-man, and guide to Queene *Emma*; but being wrought firme for *Ha- rold*, trecherouſly led theſe ſtrangers a contrary way, and at *Guilford* lodged them in ſeuerall com- panies, making known to the King what hee had done: who forthwith apprehended them, euen in their beds, and in the morning as chained priſoners, committing them to ſlaughter, (contrary to the wonted manner of military decimation,) did ſpare and exempt onely euery tenth man for ſeruice or ſale: Prince *Alfred* himſelfe was ſent priſoner to the Iſle of *Ely*, where hauing his eyes inhumanely put out, liued not long after in torment and griefe.

Encom. Emmæ.

Rand Higden, in Polychr. lib. 6. cap. 21.

(7) Some adde vnto the former, an other, much more horrible kinde of cruelty, as that his belly was opened, and one end of his bowels drawne out, and faſtned to a ſtake, his body pricked with ſharpe needles, or poinards, was forced about till all his entrails were extracted, in which moſt ſauage torture hee ended his innocent life.

Wil. Coxton.

(8) *Harold* thus freed from one, the other hee thought would no further attempt; and therefore the more boldly ſet himſelfe againſt their mother Queene *Emma*, whoſe goods he confiſcated, and ba- niſhed her out of the Realme: who thus diſtreſſed, was honourably receiued, and for three yeeres ſpace maintained by *Baldwin* Earle of *Flanders*.

Henry Hunting.

(9) The *Dane* then ſeeing his hazards thus preuen- ted, ſought ſo to ſecure himſelfe, and with ſixeteene ſhippes of the *Daniſh* Fleete kept the ſeas, which continued euer in a readineſſe, and waffed from Port to Port; to the maintenance whereof, hee charged the *Engliſh* with great payments, to their no little grudge and repining; whereby he loſt the loue of his ſubiects before it had well taken root in their hearts.

(10) Neither yet held hee on long in theſe diſ- royall courſes, for that his ſpeedy death did cut off the infamy of a longer life; and is ſaid to haue died at *Oxford* in the moneth of *Aprill*, the yeere of Chriſt Ieſus 1040. after hee had raigned foure yeeres and ſome moneths: whoſe body was at firſt interred at *Weſtminſter*, hauing beene neither in warres ſo har- dy, nor in gouernement ſo proſperous, as his Father *Canute*, before him had beene, nor left behind him ei- ther wife or children, to ſuruiue his perſon, or reuiue his name.

Malmsbu. Henry Hunting. Stow.

Hardi-Canut.

HARDI-CANVTE, THE THIRD DANISH KING THAT RAIGNED IN ENGLAND, AND THE THIRTIE SIXT MONARCH OF THE ENGLISH-MEN, HIS RAIGNE AND DEATH.

Monarch 36

CHAPTER V.

An.D.1040.

Simon Dunel.

Mat. Weſtminſter.

THE States of the land, as well *Engliſh* as *Danes*, that had ſtood for *Harold*, both in obtaining and keeping the Crowne, now ſeeing him fallen, thought it beſt to make way for their peace, before *Hardicanute* by his ſword ſhould purchaſe their ſubiection; therefore with all haſt they ſent into *Denmarke*, with proffers of the Scepter, and their forward allegiance only vnto him. Thoſe parts beyond ſeas, were not then ſo ſubiectiue, as to build his hopes there, vpon any ſure ground; for the *Norwegians* had thruſt out his halfe-brother *Sweyne*, and had elected *Magnus* the ſon of *Olaffe* for their King; ſo that ſmall aſſurance could he perceiue of any quiet common-weale among them: and therefore fore-ſlowing not the offer, immediately imbarked his men of warre, and with ſo fauourable a winde tooke ſeas, that hee arriued vpon the coaſt of *Kent*, the ſixt day after hee had ſet ſaile out of *Denmarke*; and with great pompe conueyed to *London*, was there proclaimed *Englands* King.

(2) Hee beganne his Raigne in the yeere of Grace one thouſand and forty, and was crowned in *London* by *Elnothus* Arch-biſhoppe of *Canterbury*, being the thirty ſixt Monarch of the *Engliſh men*: his raigne was ſpent in doing nothing, vnleſſe you will ſay, in doing euill he did ſomething.

(3) For no ſooner had he a power to command, but he forthwith commanded the body of his halfe-brother the deceaſed King, to be digged vp, and with ſpitefull diſgrace to be throwne into *Thamiſis*, where it remained vntill a Fiſherman found it, and buried it in the Church-yard of S. *Clement* without Temple-Barre, commonly called *Saint Clement-Danes*, for that (ſaith *Stow*) it was the burying place of the *Danes*: this cruelty ſhewed, was pretended for the hard vſage of Queene *Emma* his mother, though partly ſpiced with reuenge for his vſurpation of the Crowne againſt him.

Iohn Stow in his Suruey of London.

(4) Yet worthily is hee to be commended, for the reuerent regard hee bare to his *Mother*, and louing affection to his Brother; for no ſooner was he riſen out of the throne of his Coronation, but that hee ſent honourable Embaſſage vnto Earle *Baldwine*, with many thankes to him, for her princely vſage, and for her to returne into *England* to her former eſtate, and place of Queene. His brother Prince *Edward* comming ouer to viſite them both, was moſt honourably receiued, retained, and diſmiſſed; and theſe are the vertues regardable in this King.

(5) But his vices were more, and concerned more perſons; for a great Epicure hee was, and giuen much vnto Cuppes, whereby he trained the body to belly cheere, and ſenſe to be ſubiect to ſloath and drunkenneſſe; foure times euery day were his tables ſpred, and plenteouſly with all Cates furniſhed, euer commanding that his courtiers, gueſts, and ſeruants, ſhould rather leaue, for ſuperfluity, then call, for lack: which howſoeuer it was in him accounted for Roiall bounty, yet it cauſed in the people (who vſe to praiſe the Soueraignes vertues, but imitate his vices) a riotous looſeneſſe, and the Common-weale to lie ſicke of conſumptions bred by ſuch exceſſe of thoſe groſſe humours in her body.

Henry Hunting.

Wil. Malmsb. de rer. Ang. Rand. Higden. in Polycr. li. 6. cap. 22.

(6) This wrought in him a careleſſe neglect of gouernment in State, ſo that the whole managing thereof was committed to his mother Queene *Emma*, a woman extreamely couetous, and to *Goodwin*, the rich and politicke Earle of *Kent*; who ſeeing the preſent ſtate carried wholly away with preſent pleaſures

Wil. Malmsbury.

ſures, thought that a fitte ſubiect for him to worke vpon; for the King not married (vnleſſe it were to his lewd will) and *Edward* likely to ſucceede, of an ouer-ſoft temperature; he thought theſe both might proue aduantageous to his ambition, and therefore bethought him, how the Crowne might be worne by him or his.

Goodwins diuelish policy.

(7) Therefore, to ſeparate the hearts of the ſubiects from the Prince (then which, there can be no greater a wound vnto both,) hee cauſed the King to impoſe heauy tributes vpon the *Engliſh*, onely to pay the *Danes* in his Fleete, appointing euery common Souldier and Mariner, to receiue eight markes in money,& euery officer and Maſter twelue; which amounted to the ſumme of thirty two thouſand,one hundred forty ſeauen pounds: for the payment whereof,there was ſo great a grudge, that two of the Collectors, *Thurſtane* and *Feader* were ſlaine by the Citizens of *Worceſter*; which cauſed their City to be burnt, and part of the country ſpoiled by the Kings commaund, and their Biſhop *Alfred* expulſed the See, till with money he had purchaſed his peace. This Biſhops hands (as was ſaid) were deep in the murther of Prince *Alfred*,the Kings halfe brother,whom wee ſpake of; yea, and *Goodwin* himſelfe was put to his purgation by oath, for the clearing of his ſuſpitions in that treacherous and brutiſh fact: which oath was the lighter vrged, and the eaſier receiued for his rich and bounteous gifts,immediately before preſented to the King, and that was a Shippe, whoſe ſterne was of gold, with foureſcore Souldiers therein placed, all vniformely and richly ſuited: On their heads they all wore guilt Burgenets, and on their bodies a triple guilt habergion, a Sword with guilt hilts girded to their waſtes, a Battaile-axe (after the manner of the *Danes*) on their left ſhoulders, a Target with guilt boſſes borne in their left hands, a Dart in the right, their armes bound about with two bracelets of gold containing ſixteene ounces in weight.

Henry Hunt. Wil. Malmsbury. Mat. Weſtminſter. Simon Dun.

Goodwins gifts.

Aimundus Bremenſis, M. S. cap. 108.

(8) *Aimundus Bremenſis* writing the Stories of thoſe times; ſheweth,that the three ſonnes of *Canute* were poſſeſſed of the three Kingdomes,*England*,*Denmarke*,and *Norway*, though the father by Will, had diſpoſed of the firſt otherwiſe; which moued *Hardi-Canute* much to maligne the roialty of *Harold*,whoſe Crowne by birth and couenant belonged to him; and therefore with great preparation, intending to recouer his right, hee entred the Sea, and came into *Flanders*,where hauing notice of the vſurpers death, his rage was ſtaied, and hee peaceably came in, and receiued the Crowne.

Idem cap. 109.

(9) And that *Sweine* (called the *Younger*) King of *Denmarke*, to aſſiſt his Vncle *Hardi-Canute* againſt *Harold* the vſurper of *Englands* Crowne, with a great Armie prepared thitherward; and taking the Seas, were by tempeſts driuen vpon the coaſts of *Hadeloe*, where his Armie doing ſome hurt,was ſet vpon and diſcomfited by the ſouldiers of the Arch-biſhoppe: himſelfe amongſt them being taken priſoner, and brought into the preſence of the Arch-biſhop, was by him moſt honourably receiued,and conueied vnto *Breme*, who there entered a league with him, and with gifts and other complements, after a few dayes, ſuffered him to depart; who likewiſe hearing of the death of King *Harold*, returned backe to his owne Country,where ſhortly after he was much moleſted by *Magnus*, the ſonne of *Olaf*, then raigning King ouer the *Norwegians*.

Idem. M.S.c. 111.

(10) *Hardi-Canute* in *England*, hearing of thoſe ſtirres; thought it his part to aid his Nephew King *Sweyn*, againſt the inuaſions of *Magnus*: and therefore hee ſent one *Sueno* his kinſeman,with an Armie of the *Engliſh*, to re-eſtabliſh King *Sweyn* in his Throne. Theſe entred *Norway*, and the Field againſt the *Norwegians*,but by them were ſo ouer-laid, that hee left *Magnus* the vanquiſher, and returned againe for *England*; but before hee could arriue the Shore, King *Hardi-Canute* was dead, with whom dyed the iſſue of that warre; whoſe death was ſuddaine, and after this manner.

Simon Dun. Math. Weſt.

(11) At the celebration of a great marriage, contracted betwixt a *Daniſh* Lord, called *Canut-Prudan*, and Lady *Githa*,the daughter of a Noble-man, whoſe name was *Oſgot Clappa*; in a ſolemne aſſembly,& banquet,at *Lambeth* the eight of Iune,reuelling and carouſing amidſt his cups,he ſodainly fell downe without ſpeech or breath: whoſe loſſe was the leſſe lamented for his exceſſe, riotouſneſſe, and vnwonted exactions: but chiefly becauſe a much better was then to ſucceede him; hauing himſelfe had neither wife nor childe that is read of. Yea, ſo farre were all ſorts from bewailing him, that in regard of the freedome from the *Daniſh* yoke, which they attained by his deceaſe, euer ſince among the common people; the day of his death is annually celebrated with open paſtimes in the ſtreetes (as the old *Romanes* kept their *fugalia*, for chaſing out of their Kings,) which time is now called *Hocktide* or *Hucxtide*, ſignifying *a time of ſcorning* or contempt,which fell vpon the *Danes* by his death.

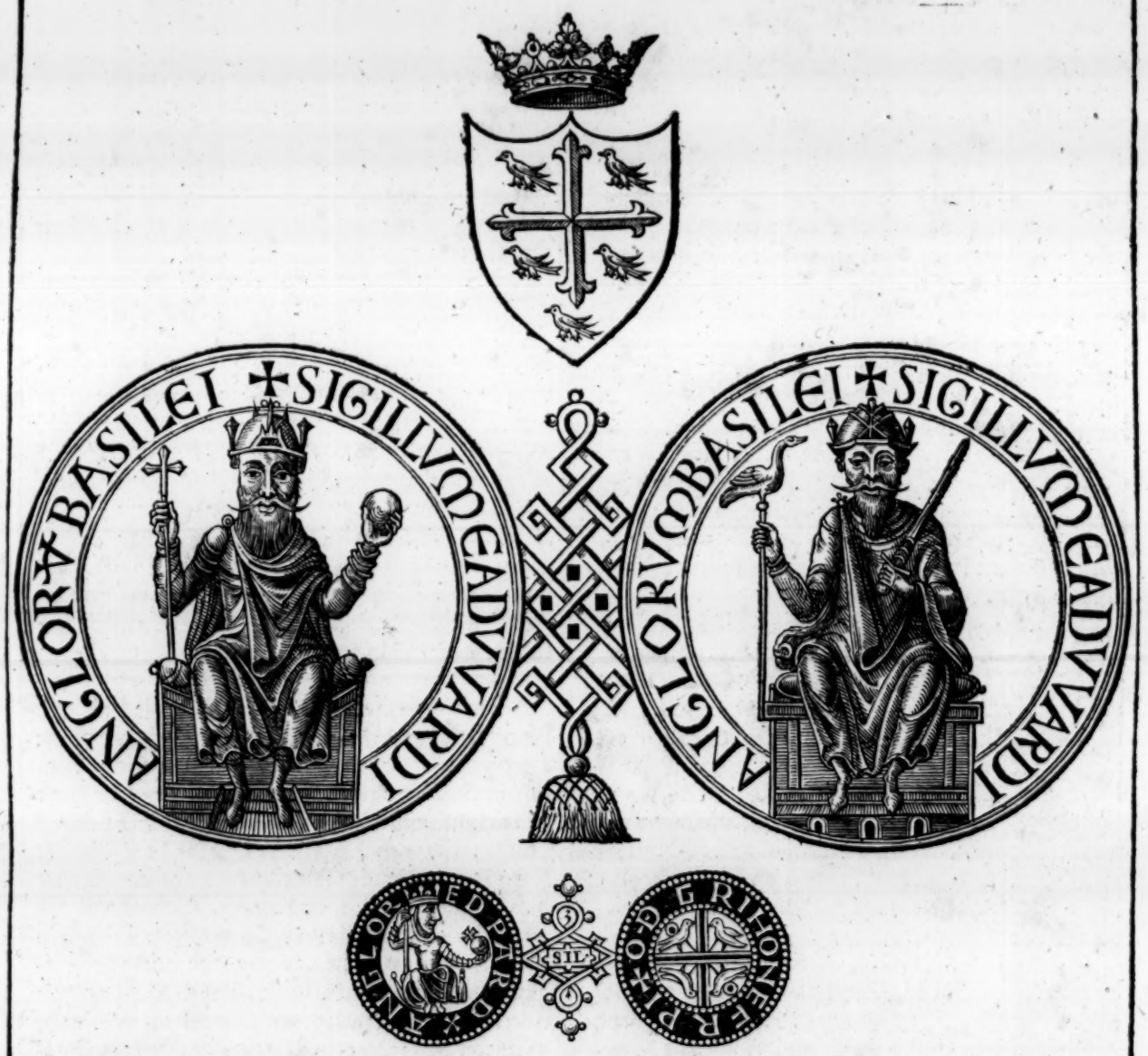
Lambert. Peramb. in Sandwich.

His body with all due obſequies was interred at *Wincheſter* by his fathers, after hee had voluptuouſly raigned two yeeres lacking ten dayes,and departed his life and kingdome the yeere of Chriſt Ieſus, 1042.

(12) With the death of this King died all rule of the *Danes* in this land,and the ſacred ſparke of the *Saxons* fire (through three of their ſucceſſions) buried in their owne aſhes, beganne now to take flame and to burne moſt bright, which was Prince *Edward* (now commonly called the *Confeſſor*) the ſonne of King *Ethelred*; and albeit there were others betwixt him and the Crowne, as namely, *Edward* and *Edmund* the ſonnes of the *Iron-ſide*,yet the one dying in *Hungarie* without iſſue of body, the other there liuing as a baniſhed man (by ſurname the *Out-law*) was neither ſo well regarded, nor thought ſo worthy of gouernment,as this other *Edward* was,whom therefore they ſent for, and with ſo great applauſe and acclamations proclaimed, that the preſent ioy ſeemed to prognoſticate a perpetuall happineſſe to the *Engliſh*, who had beene moſt miſerably afflicted by the *Danes*, for the ſpace of two hundred forty two yeeres; though this line againe failed, before it was well begunne.

See booke 7. cap. 44. ſect. 9.

EDVVARD THE CONFESSOR,
SONNE OF KING ETHELRED, THE
THIRTIE SEVENTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISH-MEN; HIS RAIGNE, VERTVES, AND MARRIAGE.



CHAPTER VI.

An. D. 1042. *Henry Hunting.*

EDward, the Third of that Name before the Conqueſt, halfe-brother to the deceaſed *Hardi-Canute*, and Sonne to King *Ethelred* by Queene *Emma* his wife, was by the prouident care of a Mothers affection, (when the variable ſucceſſe of Warre, doubtfully depended betwixt *Edmund* the *Engliſh*, and *Canutus* the *Dane*) ſent into *Normandy* to Duke *Richard* her Brother, there to be ſecured from all domeſticall ſtirres: and now, before the dead corps could be interred, with a generall conſent of the Nobles was elected their King.

Polydor.

Rand. Higden.

(2) I know well that in the legend of this holy mans life, more things are recorded, then with ſafetie of truth may be either beleeued, or deliuered; as that he was choſen King by conſent of Parliament, when as yet he was in his mothers wombe, *Ethelred* his Father at the ſame time hauing many other ſonnes aliue; as alſo when the deſtroying *Danes* had extinguiſhed by their warres almoſt the whole *Royall* iſſue of the *Engliſh*, the holy Monke *Brightwold*, of *Glaſtenbury* deploring their loſſe, and the lands miſerable eſtate, had in viſion this *Edward*, then an Exile, preſented vnto him by the Apoſtle S. *Peter* himſelfe, who then annointing him King in his ſight, telling him that his Raigne ſhould be peaceable, and twenty three yeeres for continuance; *Brightwold* yet vnſatisfied who ſhould next ſucceed, demanded the reſolution, and was anſwered by *Peter*, that the *Kingdome of England was Gods owne Kingdome*; for whoſe ſucceſſors himſelfe would prouide. With ſuch vaine predictions our otherwiſe true Stories are ouer-charged; which moued *Comineus* the worthy *French* Hiſtorian, to taxe the *Engliſh* with ouer-much credulitie that way.

Legend. Aur. in vit. S. Edward.

Wil. Malmsbury. Henry Hunt. lib. 6. Polycr. li. 6. ca. 18.

Philip Cominens.

(3) But

(3) But moſt true it is, that the *Engliſh* Nobility diſclaiming all *Daniſh* ſubiection, preſently vpon the death of King *Harold*, enacted, That none of their bloud ſhould any more raigne ouer them: putting this their decree in execution by caſſiering all *Danes* from the Caſtles, Forts, and Garriſon Townes throughout all the Land, whence ſome euen of their Bloud Royall were forced to depart. Then ſending ſecuritie into *Normandy*, with proffer of the Crowne vnto Prince *Edward*, had his conſent, and aſſiſtance of Duke *William* his coſen germane.

(4) This *Edward* (as elſewhere hath been ſaid) was borne at *Iſlip* neere vnto *Oxford*, and tenderly educated by Queene *Emma* his Mother; and after his Fathers death, for ſafety ſent into *France*; where; by his ſweet conuerſation hee gained the loue of all, and as much himſelfe affected thoſe ſtrangers, which was ſome blemiſh of policy in the face of his gouernment, when he had got the Diademe, as being of diſpoſition ouer-ſoft, and euer too pliant (an imperfection in a Soueraigne) to take the impreſſe of any ſtampe. In which mould, the aſpiring *Goodwin* Earle of *Kent*, did caſt the fabricke of his owne deſignes; who had made away *Alfred*, his younger, but of a more reſolute ſpirit, that ſo the baſis of his owne piller (whoſe top in time he hoped to crowne) might be ſet, if not vpon, yet with the neereſt to the Throne.

Rand. Higden. Marian Scotus.

(5) Hee therefore, the formoſt both in will and power, vſed both to eſtabliſh Prince *Edward* in his right, being ſeconded by *Leofrick* Earle of *Cheſter*, and *Liuingus* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, and indeed with the generall aſſiſtance of all the *Engliſh*; who now were ſo iealous of all forraine powers, that they forbad an ouer-great traine of *Normans*, (though comming for his aid) to attend their new-choſen King.

Alfred Beuerel. John Rouſe.

(6) His Coronation was at *Wincheſter*, with great concourſe of people, and the celebration performed by *Edſine*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, vpon the very day of Chriſt his reſurrection, (being alſo a new-riſing day to the *Engliſh* Nation) the yeere of grace 1042. himſelfe being aged then towards forty, and was in number the thirty ſeuenth Monarch of *England*, where he raigned with ſuch Iuſtice and Piety, that hee obtained the venerable name of *Saint*, and vnto poſterities is diſtinguiſhed from the other *Edwards*, by the adiunct *Confeſſor*.

Rand Higden, in Polycr. lib. 6. cap. 24.

(7) In the entrance of his gouernment to witnes his loue to his people, he ſought euery way the furtherance of their wealth, and afterwards remitted the moſt heauy Tribute of forty thouſand pounds yearly, gathered by the name of *Dane-gilt*, which had bin impoſed by his Father, and payed for forty yeeres continuance, out of the lands of all, except onely the *Clergie*, becauſe, (ſay our ancient lawes,) *the Kings repoſed more confidence in the prayers of holy Church, then in the power of Armies*. Then, from the diuers *Lawes* of the *Mercians*, *Weſt-Saxons*, *Danes*, and *Northumbrians*, he ſelected the beſt, and made of them one body certaine, and written in Latine, (that all men of any learning might know whereon to relye) to be the touch of his Common-wealths Pleas, and the ſquire by which he would haue euery right to be meaſured; being (in a ſort) the fountaine of thoſe, which at this day wee terme the Common Lawes, though the formes of pleading and proceſſe therein, were afterward brought in by the Conqueſt.

Camb. Britan. de Danis.

(8) The raigne of this King, by moſt writers records, was more ſpent in peace & works of true piety, then in wars and bloud, though ſome diſſentions happened both domeſticall and forreine: for about the yeere one thouſand forty fiue, and third of his Raign, a royall Nauy was rigged in Sandwich hauen, againſt *Magnus* King of *Norway*, who then intended to inuade *England*, and indeede had ſo done, if the wars of *Sweyn* king of *Denmark* had not diuerted his purpoſe.

Albert. Kranius. Aimundus Bremenſis.

(9) This *Sweyn* was the ſonne of Duke *Wolfe*, by *Oſtryd* his *Ducheſſe*, ſiſter to *Hardi-Canut*, who as I find written in the manuſcript of *Aimundus Bremenſis*, being in poſſeſſion of two kingdomes, prepared his Nauy for the conqueſt of *England* alſo: But, (ſaith he) *King Edward gouerning that Kingdome with great Iuſtice and Loue, choſe rather his peace with proffers of Tribute, and promiſes that after his death the Crowne ſhould be his, yea though himſelfe ſhould haue children*: howbeit this ſeemeth not to ſound for truth; for *Sweyn* ſending his Ambaſſadors vnto *Edward* to craue ayde againſt *Magnus* (his grieuous and mortall Enemy,) could obtaine none; and *Harold Harfager*, the ſucceſſor of *Magnus*, and enemy to *Sweyn*, preſently thereupon ſent vnto *Edward* for a league of amity, which was ratified firmely betwixt them.

(10) Neither may we thinke that euer he meant his Crowne that way; for that beſides the decree enacted againſt all Daniſh claims, his deſire to eſtabliſh it in the Engliſh bloud is moſt manifeſt, by ſending for *Edward* his Nephew, the ſonne of *Edmund Ironſide*, remaining in *Hungary*, and that ſo long out of *England*, that hee was called the *Outlaw*; who comming ouer, brought with him his wife *Agatha*, and children, *Edgar* a ſonne, and *Margaret* and *Chriſtian* his daughters; him *Edward* meant to haue made heire to the Crowne, had he not beene preuented by haſty death, whereupon the King deſigned young *Edgar*, his ſonne, the heire apparent, and gaue him the ſurname of *Adeling*, a name of great honour appropriated to the Princes of the bloud, and men capable of the Crowne.

Math. Weſtminſter.

King *Edward* deſigneth the Crowne to an *Engliſh-man.*

(11) Beſides theſe former attempts, certaine *Daniſh Pirates* entred the Port of *Sandwich*, which with all the Sea-Coaſts of *Eſſex* they ſpoiled, and in *Flanders* made Merchandize of their prey. The *Iriſh* likewiſe with thirty ſixe ſhippes entred *Seuern*, and with the aſſiſtance of *Griffith* King of *South-Wales* burnt or ſlew all that they found; againſt whom *Alfred* Biſhop of *Worceſter* went and fought, but with ſuch ſucceſſe, that many of his Souldiers were ſlaine, and the reſt put to flight; which made the *Welſhmen* far more bold, and *Reſe* the brother of *Griffith*, make many incurſions to fetch preyes out of *England*, till at length hee was ſlaine at *Buleuden*, and his head preſented to King *Edward* at *Glouceſter*.

In the ſixt yeere of his raigne. *Henry Hunt.*

An. D. 1053. *Mat. Weſtminſter. Chron. of Wales.*

(12) His domeſticall moleſtations, were chiefly by Earle *Goodwin* and his ſonnes; and thoſe firſt ſpringing vpon this following occaſion. *Euſtace* the elder, Earle of *Bulloigne*, who had married *Goda*, ſiſter by the fathers ſide to King *Edward*, came into *England* to viſite him then lying at *Glouceſter*, and returning homeward, at *Canterbury* his Herbinger dealing roughly with a Burgeſſe for lodgings, cauſed his owne death; which when his Lord heard of, thirſting for reuenge, he ſlew eighteene Citizens in the heat of his furie: The *Canterburians* in as great a rage got them to armour, and ſlew twenty of his retinew, wounding many more, and made the Earle to recoile; whoſe grieuous complaint comming to the King, he commanded *Goodwin* to ſee execution done vpon the offenders. Earle *Goodwin* not haſtie to follow his commiſſion, aduiſed the King to examine the cauſe before he maſſacred his true ſubiects at the inſtigation of Strangers; whereat King *Edward* was highly offended, and *Goodwin* thereby gained great loue of the Commons. This occaſioned *Robert Gemeticenſis* a *Norman*, firſt made Biſhop of *London*, and after Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, to ſpread the Curtaine of diſfauour betwixt *Goodwin* and the King, vrging his refuſall as an Act of Contempt, wherein more dangers might lie hid then were to be ſuffered; whereupon *Edward* called an aſſembly of Eſtates, appointing a day of meeting at *Glouceſter*.

Wil. Malmsbury.

Rand. Hig.

(13) The Commons (whoſe common guiſe is, deadly to hate all ſtrangers, though many times well deſeruing) now ſeeing Earle *Goodwin* in danger for their good, were eaſily drawne to aſſiſt him and his cauſe, and in war-like manner guarded his perſon, at *Beuerſtane* not farre from the King. The Eſtates aſſembled, and *Goodwin* ſent for, he refuſed to come, pretending ſeruice againſt the *Welſh*, then ready to make inroades, and that his preſence was more needfull

Malmsbury.

full there, then at Court; albeit the *Welsh-men* cleared themselues by sending their Ambassadors vnto the King. The suspitions increasing, great preparation on both sides was made; to assist the King came *Leofricke* the worthy Earle of *Chester*, *Siward* the stout Earle of *Northumberland*, and *Rodulfe* Earle of *Hereford* his sister *Godas* sonne, by her first husband *Walter de Maigne*.

Rand. Higden. Malt. West. Simon Dunel.

(14) To *Goodwin* repaired his people of *Southerie* and *Kent*, and to him were brought by *Swaine* his sonne, the men of *Oxford*, *Sommerset*, *Hereford*, *Gloucester*, and *Berkshires*; vnto whom, *Harold* his other sonne, ioyned those of *Essex*, *Norfolke*, *Suffolke*, *Cambridge*, and *Huntingdonshires*, so that his host was exceedingly great, and his minde therby so inflated, that from *Langton*, where hee lay, hee sent a bold and Traiterous demand to the King, to haue Earle *Eustace* of *Bulloigne* with all his *French* and *Normans* (that kept then in the Castle of *Douer*) to be deliuered vnto him, and his sonnes: which beeing (as good reason was) refused, the Battaile was prepared, and brought to the very point of hazard and ruine of all: For in that quarrell were assembled the greatest Peeres, and Lords of the Land, the Kings loue swaying very much with many, but yet the hatred towards Strangers possessing the hearts of more. The beginning thus doubtfull, and the end like to proue dangerous; the matter both with great foresight and prouidence was referred vnto Parliament, to be holden at *London* with all conuenient hast, whereunto pledges were both giuen and receiued on either parts.

(15) King *Edward* strongly guarded with an Army of the *Mercians* and *Northumbrians*, entred *London*, and *Goodwin* with his sonnes in war-like manner came into *Southwarke* to his owne house. But his Army wauering, and (as bad causes & consciences make men doe) suspecting the worst, by little and little shrunke away from him; which knowne to the King, he presently pronounced sentence of banishment vnto *Goodwin* and his fiue sonnes, without further proceeding by way of Parliament, as was determined. *Goodwin* therefore with great riches and his three sonnes, *Swaine*, *Toslie*, and *Girth*, sailed into *Flanders*, and *Harold* with his brother *Leofwine*, from *Bristow* passed into *Ireland*; who were no sooner gone, but the King proclaimed them Out-lawes, and gaue the Earldome of *Harold* vnto *Algar*, the son of *Leofricke*, Earle of *Chester*. This *Leofricke* is he, which at his Countesses request freed the Citie *Couentrie* of their importable tribute imposed, as we haue elsewhere said.

Booke 1. chap. 27.

(16) In the second yeere of *Goodwins* banishment, both himselfe and those his sonnes with him, hauing gotten ships conuenient for warre, in manner of Pirats came vpon the coasts of *Kent* and *Sussex*, doing much harme, and returning with spoiles: the like did *Harold* and *Leofwin* from *Scotland*, vpon the westerne coasts of *Sommerset* and *Deuonshires*, who thence coasting about the point of *Cornwall*, ioyned their Fleet with their Fathers, in the *Ile of Wight*.

Henry Hunt.

Simon Dun.

(17) Against them King *Edward* prepared, & himselfe, though aged, with a Nauie of sixtie ships well furnished for warre, meant to haue made an end of that businesse, by the destruction of his aduersaries: but the Nauies ready to ioyne battell, God tooke the cause into his owne hand, and with a thicke fogge so ouer-spread the seas; that one Fleet could not thereby see another; in which, *Goodwin* and his complices by contrary windes were driuen to the place from whence they came. King *Edward* still in iealousie of *Goodwins* returne, rigged forth forty tall shippes, to secure the seas, which kept not so strong a watch, but that *Goodwin* got by them, solliciting the people of *Kent*, *Sussex*, and *Surrey* vnto his aid, and entring *Thamesis*, did the like vnto them in *London*, who accepted of his arriuage, though king *Edward* lay there: so that without disturbance his Nauie fell vp with the tide, through the south Arch of the Bridge, & a mighty army to his aid mustred vpon the same side of the riuer.

(18) The Nobilitie then seeing side against side, and all of them meere *English*, ready to hazard their bloud in the quarrels of strangers, wrought so with *Edward* and *Goodwin*, that they came vnto peace, and pledges were againe deliuered for the performance, whereof *Wilmot* the sonne of Earle *Goodwin*, and *Hacun* the sonne of *Swaine* his eldest, were sent to Duke *William* of *Mormandy*, so great a trust he euer reposed in strangers. This *Swaine*, vpon a remorse of conscience for the bloud he had spilt, and especially for the slaughter of *Beorne* his cosen & intercessor, who sued to the King for his peace, vndertooke a pilgrimage to *Ierusalem*, and in his returne died in *Licia*, whether through an extremity of cold, or by the hands of *Saracens*, that spoiled all they met, it is vncertaine.

Wil. Malmesbury. Ran. Higden. Matt. Westminster. Simon Dyn.

(19) *Goodwin* now restored, and in great credit with the King, cast the eye of disdaine vpon the Arch-Bishop *Robert* (as commonly Fauorites emulate each others,) and himselfe being a man eloquent and politicke, so possessed the King both against him and his *Normans*, that he requited his owne banishment, with al theirs out of *England*, some few excepted, that were fauoured by the English: and now promising himselfe much honour and authority; was sodainely cut off by the stroake of death, surprizing him as he sate at Table with the King vpon Monday in the Easter weeke, but died not till the Thursday following, which happened at *Winchester*, where hee was buried.

(20) Besides these former forraine and ciuill molestations, other calamities happened to the land; for in the yeare of Grace 1047. and moneth of Ianuary, there fell so great a Snow, which couered the ground vnto the middle of *March*, that Cattell & Fowles perished abundantly: and on the first day of that Month the yere following, a strange and terrible *Earth-quake* happened; which seemed to rent the ground asunder, and withall such *Lightnings*, as burnt vp the Corne growing in the fields, wherby an excessiue *Dearth* followed: so that his raigne was neither so peaceable nor prosperous, as *Brightwold* the Monke dreamed it should be. But as all these were scourges sent from God vpon the Land for sin, so both Prince, Pastors, and people, had all seuerally their part thereof, as being ioyntly the causers of the same.

Rand. Higden.

(21) For the King, in case of these Strangers, put the Land more then once in danger to be lost: and himselfe refraining the bed of his vertuous wife, committed thereby the offence forbidden by the Apostle, and caused her his Queene, either to commit or be accused to haue committed adultery. The Clergie likewise altogether vnlearned, wanton and vicious: for the Prelates neglecting the offices of Episcopall function, which was to tender the affaires of the Church, and to feede the flocke of Christ, liued themselues idle, and couetous, addicted wholly to the pompe of the world, and voluptuous life, little caring for the Churches & soules committed to their charge: and if any told them (saith *Higden*) that their liues ought to be holy, & their conuersation without Couetousnesse, according to the sacred prescript, and vertuous examples of their Elders, they would scoffingly put them off with, *Nunc aliud tempus, alij pro tempore mores; Times haue mutations, So must mens fashions*: and thus, (saith he,) they plained the roughnes of their doings with smoothnes of their answers. Briefly, the whole people were so loose and riotous, that as *Gernasius Dorobornensis* recordeth, they fell so fast to commit wickednesse, *as to be ignorant of sinfull crimes, was then held to be a great crime it selfe*. And by the testimony of *Malmesbury*, the sinnes of those times euidently foreshewed a generall destruction: *for the Englishmen* (saith he) *transformed themselues into the strange manners of the French, and that not onely in speech and behauiour, but in their deedes, and Charters: their vse was then to goe fantastically appointed, their garments reaching but to the mid knee, their heads shorne, and their beards shauen all but the vpper lip, which grew with long mustaches; continually wearing massie bracelets of gold about*

1 Cor. 7. 5.

Holinsh. Rand. Higden, in Polyer. lib. 6. ca. 24.

Gernasius of Canterbury.

Wil. Malmsb.

about their armes, carrying markes vpon their skin pounced in of ſundry Colours; and the Clergie contenting themſelues with triuiall literature, could ſcarcely hacke and hew out the words of the Sacrament. Theſe then were *Englands* dolorous times both of blindneſſe and lewdnes, drawing downe Gods wrath for their deſtruction.

(22) But howſoeuer this King is reported to be louing and facile towards ſtrangers, (which in it ſelfe is a princely vertue if it be opportunely and warily vſed:) yet to his owne *Mother*, and *Wife*, vnnaturally ouer-rigorous, impriſoning and bereauing them both of all Prince-like honour. Againſt Queene *Emma*, his Mother, were inſtigators *Robert* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and Earle *Goodwin* of *Kent*, the two greateſt fauorites of the King. The cauſes obiected were, her marriage with *Canute* the Capitall enemy of *England*; her regardleſneſſe of ſuccouring himſelfe and his brother in their exiles, whom (as was alleadged) ſhe contriued to haue made away; and that vnder colour of priuate deuotions, ſhe had vſed the company of *Alwine* Biſhop of *Wincheſter* ouer-familiarly, to her great diſhonour and the Kings diſgrace: for theſe and the like, hee tooke away all her Iewels, and other ſubſtance, and committed her to ſafe cuſtody in the Abbey of *Werwell*.

Polych. lib. 6. cap. 24 Stal. Chron.

wil. Malmsbury.

(23) Indeed *Malmesbury* doth tax her to haue been inſatiably couetous, and that ſhe was more tenderly affectionate to her *Daniſh*, then *Engliſh* children, whereby her loue was meaſured to their fathers. But for the imputation of her incontinencie, ſhe waſhed it off with as ſharpe a triall as any that is recorded for truth, by vndergoing that ouer-hard law *Ordalium*, when in preſence of the King her Son, & many of his Peeres, ſhee paſſed ouer between nine plough-ſhares glowing red hot, bare-footed & blind-folded, without any hurt; vſing this ſpeech to her leaders, as not knowing ſhe was paſt all danger, *O Lord, when ſhall I come to the place of my purgation?* but hauing her eyes vncouered, and ſeeing her ſelfe cleerely eſcaped, fell vpon her knees, and with teares gaue thankes to her Deliuerer, whereby ſhe recouered, both the loue and her former eſtate of the King, with the good eſteeme and applauſe of the people: in memory whereof ſhe gaue nine Mannors (according to the number of plough-ſhares to the Minſter of *Wincheſter*, (wherein ſhe had that triall,) and adorned the ſame with many rich ornaments; as likewiſe the King repenting the wrong he did her, beſtowed on the ſame place the Iland (ſo then it was) called *Portland* in *Dorſetſhire*, being about ſeuen miles in compaſſe: for ſo the chance, in thoſe daies was ſet, that whoſoeuer loſt, the monks euer wanne.

Ordalium, a triall of offenders by fire.

Ranul. Higden.

(24) Neither were this Kings proceedings better with his owne Wife, howſoeuer ſome haue cloaked that *Fraud* (ſo the Apoſtle tearmes it) vnder the faire robe of Chaſtity. For hee marrying *Editha*, a Lady incomparable both for beauty and vertue, in whoſe breſt (ſaith *Malmesbury*) *there was a Schoole of all Liberall Sciences*, refuſed her bed: but whether it were for his debility, or hatred to *Goodwin* her father, or loue of Virginity, I determine not; but am fully perſwaded, that the accuſation of Adultery wherewith *Robert* the Arch-biſhop did charge her, was more vpon enuy to her father, then truth of ſo foule a fact in her, whoſe vertues were ſo many, and ſo memorable, by report of Authors, that were eie-witneſſes themſelues; for *Ingulphus* that had often-times conference with her, doth thus of her relate.

Wil. Malmesbury. vita Edwardi. Marian Scot. 1 Cor. 7. 5. Egitha ſome call her.

Chron. Wales.

Ingulphus in hiſt.

There was giuen (ſaith he) *vnto King Edward for his Queene and Wife, the daughter of Goodwin, a moſt beautifull Damoſell,* EGITHA *by name, excellent well learned; in her demeanure, and whole courſe of life a Virgine moſt chaſt, humble, and vnfeinedly holy, no way fauouring of her Fathers or Brethrens barbarouſneſſe, but mild, modeſt, faithfull, and innocent, nor euer hurtfull to any; inſomuch, that this verſe was applied to her:*

Sicut Spina Roſam, genuit Godwinus Egitham.
From prickled ſtalke as ſweeteſt Roſe:
So Egith faire, from Godwin growes.

All theſe notwithſtanding, the King expulſed her his Court and Bed, and that with no little diſgrace; for taking all her goods from her, euen to the vttermoſt farthing, committed her priſoner to the Monaſterie of *Wilton*, attended onely with one maid, where ſhe, for a whole yeeres ſpace almoſt, in teares and praiers expected the day of her releaſe and comfort: All which vnprincely, and vn-Spouſlike vſage, as the King pretended, and ſaid, was, *becauſe ſhe onely ſhould not liue in comfort, when as her Parents & Brethren were baniſhed the Realme*: an vniuſt ſentence ſurely, and vnbefitting a *Saint*, thus to puniſh the ſinnes of the fathers vpon their children, contrary to the preſcript rule of God, who by his Prophet complaineth againſt ſuch iniuſtice, and regulateth it with this iuſt verdict, *That ſoule that ſinneth ſhall die*: and for her pure and vnuiolated chaſtity, himſelfe on his death-bed ſpake, ſaying, *that openly ſhe was his wife, but in ſecret embracings as his owne ſiſter.*

wil. Malmsb.

Ezek. 18. 4.

Edwardi vita.

(25) Yet behold the blindneſſe, and partiality of thoſe times, wherin for this his onely refuſall of nuptiall duties, the penciles of thoſe that ſhould haue ſhewed his true face to poſterities, haue ſo enbelliſhed the portraiture and lineaments, that vnto the beholder hee ſeemeth now no mortall creature; his miracles and fore-ſayings anſwerable to moſt of the Prophets; which here to inſert, in ſo worthy a ſubiect and holy Kings life, were both to fill vp with a needleſſe ſurcharge, whole leaues of Times waſte abuſes, and to breed a ſuſpition of thoſe other things in him, which wee know for ſound truth; as was his gift from God, through his holy inuocations, and touch of the place affected, to cure the diſeaſe called *Struma*, now the *Kings-Euil*, which vnto this day in his ſucceſſors, hath been experienced vpon many ſuch healings, by the touch of thoſe gracious hands who haue held the Scepter, as Gods Vicegerents of this moſt bleſſed and happy Kingdome. That he had the ſpirit of Prophecie, many haue thought, as alſo the notice of his owne death, ſome conſtantly affirme; by a Ring ſent him from *Ieruſalem*, the ſame that hee long time before had giuen to a Pilgrime: but theſe with his other miraculous cures his ſight of the *Danes* deſtruction, and the *Seuen Sleepers* in the *Mount Cellion* beſides *Epheſus*, with infinite others, I leaue to his Legend-writers, and *Aluredus Rivalenſis* to relate, who haue written his many miracles with no ſparing pen. Moſt true it is that of a little Monaſtery dedicated to S. *Peter* in the weſt of *London*, by the riuer of *Thames*, he made a moſt beautifull and faire Church, where he likewiſe prouided for his owne Sepulcher; and another dedicated to S. *Margaret*, ſtanding without the Abbey: This of *Weſtminſter* he endowed with very rich reuenewes, and confirmed their Charters vnder his Broad Seale, being the firſt of the Kings of *England*, who vſed that large and ſtately impreſſion in their Royall Charters and Patents: the very true forme wherof, according to the rude ſculpture of thoſe elder times, we haue portraited in the front of this Chapter, as we intend likewiſe to doe in the reſt ſucceeding; whereof this vſe at leaſt, (if no other) may be made, that by benefit of thoſe paterns, men may know from what Princes they firſt receiued the Charters of their ancient poſſeſſions, and Patents of their honours, which the Princes ſtile (many being of one name) cannot ſufficiently make knowne.

Edwardi legend. eiuſdem vita M.S.

Saint Peter himſelfe came downe from heauen to the firſt dedication of that place, if the foreſaid M. S. er not. T. Clifford.

The ſaid Church of *Weſtminſter* he built for the diſcharge of his vowed pilgrimage to *Ieruſalem*, & that in ſuch ſumptuous manner, that it was in thoſe daies the Paterne of all other ſtately buildings. He founded alſo the Colledge of *S. Mary Oterie* in the county of *Deuon*, and gaue vnto it the Village of *Otery*, and remoued the Biſhoppes See from *Cridington* to *Exceſter*, as a place of farre more dignity; where the King taking the right hand, and the Queene the left, led *Leofricke* from the high Altar, and inſtalled him the firſt Biſhop of that See: Finally, when he had raigned the ſpace of twentie yeeres, ſixe moneths, and twenty ſeauen daies; hee died the fourth of Ianuary, the yeere of

Simon Dunel.

King *Edward* the founder of *S. Mary Oterie* Colledge. Stow 124.

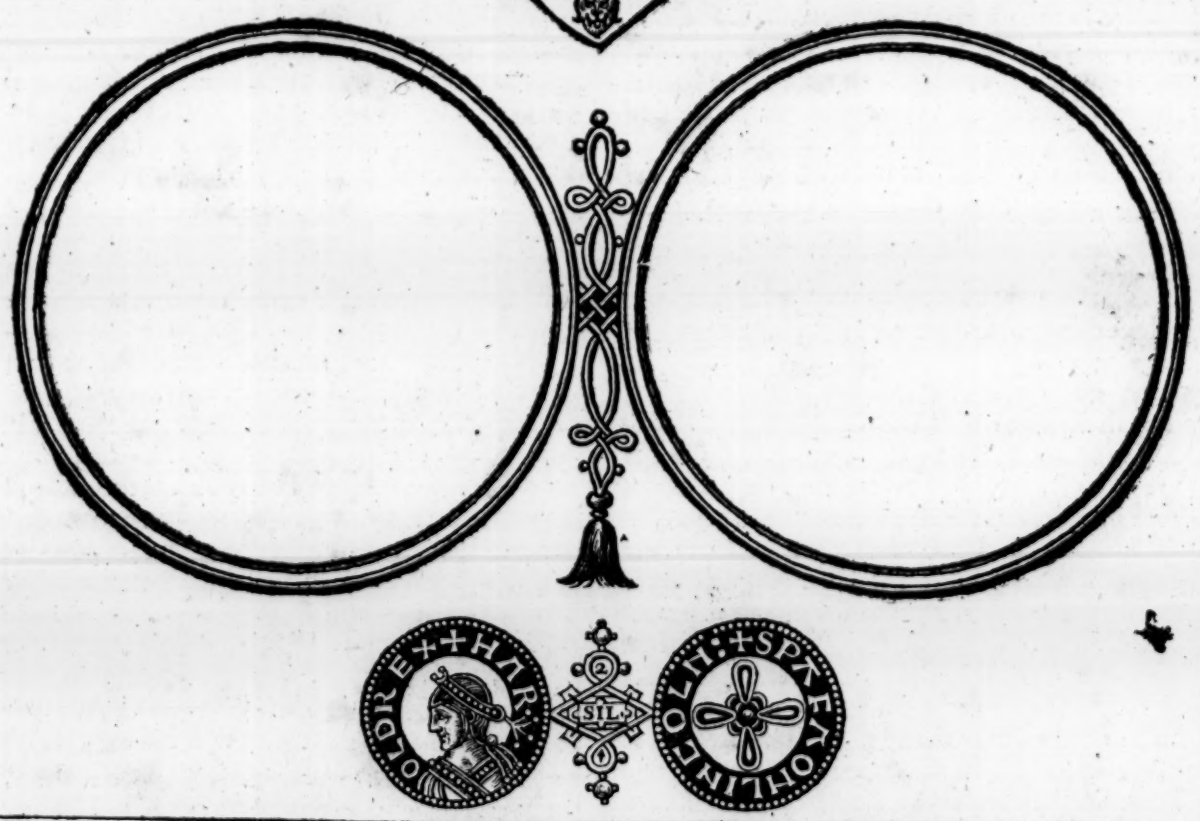
Christ Iesus one thousand sixtie sixe, and was with great lamentations and solemnitie buried in his Church at *Westminster*, the morrow after the feast of the *Epiphanie*.

Hee was of person well proportioned, of countenance sober, and of complexion faire; naturally courteous and gentle to all (and thereby too prone and credulous to suggestions) louing to his subiects, and ouer-louing vnto Strangers. A Prince of much vertue and integritie of life, notwithstanding which, had it not beene vailed vnder the faire shew of Chastitie, he had not so easily been canonized for a Saint; wherein yet the seeming wisest taxed his wisdome, whilest vnder a godly pretext of Religion and vowed Virginity, hee cast off all care of hauing issue, and exposed the kingdome for a prey to the greedy desires of ambitious humours.

His Wife.

Editha, the wife of King *Edward*, was the daughter of *Goodwin*, Duke of the *West-Saxons*, and Earle of *Kent*: her mother was *Gith* the sister of *Sweyne* the younger, King of *Denmarke*; she was married vnto him the yeere of Christs humanity, 1045. and fourth of his raigne. She was his wife eighteene yeeres and suruiuing him liued a widdow eight more, and in the eight yeere of King *William* the Conquerours raigne, died in *December*, the yeere of Christs birth, 1074. and was buried by her husband in S. *Peters* Church at *Westminster*.

HAROLD THE SECOND OF THAT NAME, THE SONNE OF EARLE GOODWINE, AND THIRTIE EIGHT MONARCH OF THE ENGLISH-MEN, HIS LIFE, RAIGNE, ACTS, WIVES, AND ISSVE.



CHAPTER VII.

THe people sorrowing for the death of their King, and the States-men perplexed for choise of a new; *Edgar Athelings* title was worthy of more vnpartiall respect then it found: for him they held too young for gouernement: besides, a stranger borne, scarce speaking *English*: and withall, the prophecies of *Edward* touching the alienation of the Crowne; the Interest of the *Danes*; and the claim that Duke *William* made, (both by gift and consanguinity,) bred great distraction of desires, and opinions; but nothing concluded for setling the State; no man either assuming or proffering the Diadem, because none had the power, or right, to adorne therewith his owne head. In this Calme conference a sodaine gale arose, which blew all the sailes spread for that winde into one Port. And that was *Harold* sonne to Earle *Goodwin*, a man (duly prizing his

Alluredus Riuallensis.

Mat. Westminster. Polydor.

his many worthy parts) not vnmeet for a kingdome; who first succeeding his father in his Dukedome; and next *Edward* (his brother in Law) in his Kingdom, in patience, clemency, & affability bare himselfe most approuedly towards the vertuous, but with a Lyons courage, and fierce countenance chastised the disordered, and indeed became another *Maccabeus* vnto the distressed Land. Whose kingly state before wee touch, it shall not be amisse to lengthen his short raigne with his Acts and Life, as he was a Subiect, both with, and against his Lord and Predecessor.

Vita S. Edward.

(2) That hee tooke part with his Father against *Eustace* of *Bullogne*, and King *Edwards* hasty commission, wee haue shewed; himselfe then enioying the Earldom of *Oxford*, and so affected by those of *Essex*, *Suffolke*, and *Norfolke*, *Cambridge* & *Huntington-shires*, that they sided in his cause against the King; But these designes failing, (as commonly it is seene all attempts of Subiects against their Soueraignes doe) hee learned by banishment, what was the losse of true honour, and by forbearance of battaile (when halfe the Kingdome stood for him) his dutie obliged vnto the Common-wealth. And growne againe into fauour with the King, carried himselfe answerably vnto both.

Rand. Higden.

An.D.1055. (3) Some iealousie conceiued; *Edward* without any cause, banished *Algar* the son of *Leofrike* Earle of *Chester*, who with the help of the *Irish* and *Welshmen*, vnder the conduct of *Gruffith ap Llewelyn* Prince of *North-Wales* (who had married his daughter,) did much hurt to the English, putting *Rodulph* Earle of *Hereford* to flight, with the slaughter of fiue hundred men, spoiled the City, burnt the Minster and became Masters of mis-rule in those parts. Against these was *Harold* sent, and with such manhood pursued his flying enemies, that passing through *North-Wales*, vpon the *Snow-downes* hee pitched his Field: The Earle, and Prince *Gruffith*, not daring to abide his presence, fled thence vnto *South-Wales*, and againe tooke into *Hereford*; whereof *Harold* hauing intelligence hasted thither-ward (leauing sufficient in the *Snow-downes* to mate the *Welsh*,) and recouering the City, with a deepe trench and high rampire fortified it about, where for the sauing of more bloud (and not vngratefull to *Algar*, who without grudge had resigned to him his Earldome, and whole Reuenewes at his returne from exile) a peace was concluded, and at *Harolds* request, Earle *Algar* and Prince *Gruffith*, were pardoned.

Matt. West. Simon Dunel.

An.D.1058 (4) But *Algar* being againe accused, & again aided by his old associate *Gruffith*, recouered his Earledome by force, whereat King *Edward* was highly displeased, but most against *Gruffith*, who euer was ready to assist any against him: wherevpon *Harold*, the second time appointed Generall, with a great host entered *North-Wales*, without sight of enemy, where he onely burnt down the stately Palace of Prince *Gruffith*, and so returned to the King. But long the *Welsh* were not quiet, nor the Prince pleased of the harmes to him done. Wherefore making his forces very strong hee againe molested the English.

Simon Dun.

An.D.1063.

Mat. Westminster.

(5) To restraine whom once more was *Harold* set forth, who with such terrour burst into *Wales*, that Prince *Gruffith*, in secret stole from his Campe, leauing his Souldiers (if they would) to fight for themselues, whereupon his whole army yeelded themselues to *Harolds* mercy, and hauing Prince *Gruffith* in their hands, cut off his head, and sent it to *Harold*, giuing him pledges for assurance of peace, and the paiment of the ancient tribute which for a time had beene retained: yet euer after hee carried so heauy a hand on the *Welsh*, that as *Iohn* of *Salisbury* in his Policraticon writeth, he ordained a law, that what *Welsh-man* soeuer, should with weapon passe ouer *Offaes* ditch, should haue his right hand cut off by the Kings officer.

Chron. Wales.

(6) All now in quiet, and *Harold* withdrawne to his Mannor of *Bosham*, vpon the riuage of the sea in the confines of *Sussex*, there for his recreation, one day hee tooke into a Fishers boate with small attendants, neither those very skilfull Mariners; when no sooner were they lanched into the deepe, but a contrary winde came about, and droue the boat vpon the coast of *Ponthieu* in *France*, where hee was taken by the Country people, and presented to *Guido* their Earle, who a while retained him his prisoner, in hope of gaine by his ransom, but Duke *William* requiring it, hee was conueied into *Normandy*; where he cunningly perswaded the Duke, that his secret comming out of *England*, was purposely to enter a league of amity with him. The Duke then hauing present wars with the *Britaines* in *France*, tooke this his new friend and guest with him for his companion at Armes; whose ready policies followed with forward practise, wan him great estimation with the Duke; whereupon betwixt them a couenant was made for the reseruation of the *English* Crowne to the *Norman*, if it chanced King *Edward* to die without children; and the same ratified by *Harolds* corporall oath, with the affiancing of Lady *Adeliza*, the Dukes fift daughter, then a childe, and *Harold* a widdower; which afterwards fell to his owne destruction, and the lands subuersion, as shall be said.

Wil. Malmsbury. Matthew Paris in Will. Henry Hunt.

Rand. Higden.

Gemeticenſis.

(7) His last imploiment by holy King *Edward*, was against the tumultuous *Northumbrians*, which had expulsed *Tosto* their Earle, and *Harolds* owne brother, where a peace was concluded without shedding bloud, but with condition that *Tosto* should lose his Earledome: whereupon in great displeasure, he with his wife and children fled into *Flanders*, and euer after hated the person, and emulated the glory of *Harold*. The originall of these two brethrens quarrels beganne at *Windsor*, where in the presence of the King they fell from words vnto blowes, and that in such manner, as if rescue had not come, *Tosto* had died; for which disgrace, hee secretly hied him into the Marches of *Wales*, and neere the City *Hereford* at *Portaslyth*, where *Harold* had a house then in preparing to entertaine the King, he slew all his brothers seruants, and them cutting peece-meale into gobbets, salted some of their limmes, and cast the rest into vessels of the meath and wines, sending his brother word, that hee had furnished him with poudred meats against the Kings comming thither; which barbarous act caused deseruedly his name to be odious vnto his *Northumbrians*, and was lastly repayed with his owne death.

Wil. Malmsb.

Mat. Westminster.

Marian Scotus. Mat. Westminster.

(8) Now albeit some Heralds make *Harold* by birth but a Gentleman of one, and the first descent, which, were it so, should no whit blemish him who was more truely enobled with princely vertues; yet therein also it may seeme he is mis-esteemed, seeing his Father was *Goodwin* a Duke by degree, the son of *Wolnoth*, and he the sonne of *Egelmar*, who was the sonne of *Egelricke*, surnamed *Leofwine*, and brother of *Edricke* Duke of *Mercia*, that married the daughter of King *Ethelred* of *England*, of whom wee haue spoken.

M: Thomas Mills in Harold.

The mother of *Harold* was *Githa* the daughter of Duke *Wolfe*, and sister to *Sweyne* the yonger, King of *Denmarke*, by *Estrich* his wife, who was sister to *Canute* the great King of *England*; and himselfe the second sonne of her borne; whose elder brother was *Sweyne*, that dyed on pilgrimage in his returne from *Ierusalem*, and his yonger were *Tosto*, *Wilnod*, *Girth*, and *Leofricke*.

(9) A former wife Earle *Goodwin* had, whose name was *Thira*, the sister of *Canute*, a woman solde vnto wickednesse, for making merchandize of *Englands* beauteous virgins into *Denmarke*; shee solde them there at deere rates, to satisfie her owne vnsatiate auarice, and the lusts of the lasciuious *Danes*, till a iust reward of Gods wrath fell on her by a thunderbolt falling from heauen, wherewith she was slaine, to the great terrour of the beholders. One sonne by her Earle *Goodwin* had, who when hee was past childes age, riding vpon a horse (the gift of his Grandfather the King,) proudly giuing him the

Wil. Malmsb.

Rand. Higden, in Polyc. lib. 6. ca. 25.

reine and ſpurre, was violently borne into the riuer *Thameſis*, and ſo ſodainely drowned. Thus much being premiſed of *Harold* before hee was King; his raigne, life and death, wee will now addreſſe to declare.

Alur. Reud.

(10) *Edwards* life ended, and nothing determined touching his ſucceſſor, *Harold* the ſecond day after, being the day of his buriall, made himſelfe King, none of the Nobility diſliking what hee had done; for courteous hee was of ſpeech and behauiour, and in martiall proweſſe the onely man, as *Wales* well witneſſed more then once; friended by affinity with many of the Nobles, and by his new marriage with *Edgitha* the daughter of *Algar* (ſiſter of the Earles *Morcar* and *Edwin*, and late wife to *Gruffith ap Lhewelyn* Prince of *Wales*) he expected to be both ſided and aſſiſted, if his cauſe came either to triall or voice.

Ran. Higden. Polych. lib. 6. ca. 29.

(11) And the time hee well ſaw, fitted his entrance; for *Sweyne* King of *Denmarke* (moſt dread by the *Engliſh*,) was intangled with the *Sweden* wars; and *William* the *Norman* (that made claime from King *Edward*) at variance with *Philip* the *French* king; the friends of *Edgar* in *Hungarie*, and himſelfe a ſtranger, ouer-young for rule: all which concurrents made *Harold* without deliberation, or order from the State, to ſet the Crowne on his owne head, regardleſſe of all ceremony and ſolemne celebration; for which his act, as a violator of holy rites, he too too much offended the Clergy.

Mat. Weſtminſter.

(12) The day of his Coronation was vpon Friday, the fifth of *January*, being the feaſt of the *Epiphany*, and yeere of Saluation 1066. none either greatly applauding, or diſapprouing his preſumption, except onely for the omiſſion of manner and forme; to redeeme which, and to re-gaine the good will of all; no ſooner attained hee the ſeate roiall, but he remitted or diminiſhed the grieuous cuſtomes and tributes which his predeceſſors had raiſed, a courſe euer powerfull to winne the hearts of the Commons; to Church-men hee was very munificent and carefull of their aduancements; and to grow more deepely into their venerable eſteeme, he repaired their Monaſteries; but moſt eſpecially that at *Waltham* in *Eſſex*, which hee moſt ſumptuouſly new built, and richly endowed, giuing it the name of *Holy Croſſe*; vpon occaſion that ſuch a Croſſe found far weſtward, was brought thither by miracle, *vt tradunt*: and therefore hee choſe out this place to poure forth his ſupplications, before hee marched to meete Duke *William* in the field. Moreouer, to ſatisfie ſuch Nobles as affected young *Edgars* iuſter title, he created him Earle of *Oxford*, and held him in ſpeciall fauour: in briefe, vnto the poore, his hand was euer open, vnto the oppreſſed hee miniſtred iuſtice, and vnto all men was affable, and meeke: and all to hold that vpright which on his head hee had ſet with an vn-euen hand: and depriued him of, vnto whom he was Protector.

Simeon. Dun. Holinſh.

Camb. Brit.

(13) Three ſeuerall reports are affirmed of *Edwards* diſpoſe of the Crowne: the firſt was to the *Norman* Duke, who made that the anker-hold of his claime; the ſecond was to young *Edgar*, vnto whom hee was great vncle; and the laſt vnto this *Harold* himſelfe: for ſo ſaith *Edmerus*, and alſo *Marianus*, who liued at the very ſame time, and writeth that *Harold* thereupon was ſacred and crowned by *Aldredus* Archbiſhop of *Yorke*; ſo that hereby hee is freed by ſome from the imputation of intruſion and wrong.

Alfred Beuerley. Speculum Hiſtor. Rich. Circeſt. Flores Hiſtor.

Edmerus. Marianus. Polycr. lib. 6. ca. 28.

(14) His State thus ſtanding, and his ſubiects contentment daily increaſing, preſently it was ſomewhat perplexed by an Ambaſſage ſent from the *Norman*, putting him in minde of his couenant, and oath, as well for the cuſtody of the Crowne to his behoofe, as for the ſolemnization of the marriage contracted betwixt his daughter and him.

(15) *Harold*, who thought himſelfe now ſurely ſeated in the hearts of his Subiects, and therefore alſo ſure in his Kingdome, anſwered the Ambaſſadors, *That hee held their Maſters demaund vniuſt, for that an oath extorted in time of extremity, cannot binde the maker in conſcience to performe it, for that were to ioyne one ſinne with another; and that this oath was taken for feare of death or impriſonment, the Duke himſelfe well knew: but admit it was voluntarily, and without feare; could I* (ſaid he) *then a ſubiect, without the allowance of the King, and the whole State, giue away the Crownes ſucceſſion, to the preiudice of both? ſurely a Kingdome is of a better account then to be ſo determined in priuate onely betwixt two.* With which kinde of anſweres he ſent the meſſengers away.

Subiects loue the Soueraignes ſtrength.

(16) The *Norman*, who till then thought *England* ſure to be his, and had deuoted his hopes from a Duke to a King, ſtormed to ſee himſelfe thus fruſtrated on the ſodaine, and in ſtead of a Crowne to haue ſcornes heaped on his head; therefore nothing contented with this ſleight anſwere, returned his Ambaſſadors againe vnto *Harold*, by whom hee laid his claime more at large; as that *King Edward in the Court of* France *had faithfully promiſed the ſucceſſion vnto him, and againe afterwards ratified the ſame to him at his being in* England, *and that not done without conſent of the State, but confirmed by* Stigandus *Archbiſhoppe of* Canterbury, *the Earles* Goodwin *and* Syward, *yea, and by* Harold *himſelfe, and ſo firmely aſſured that his Brother and Nephew were deliuered for pledges, and to that end ſent vnto him into* Normandy: *that hee had no way beene conſtrayned, hee appealed to* Harolds *owne conſcience, who beſides his voluntary offer to ſweare, contracted himſelfe to* Adeliza *his daughter (then but young, and now departed life) vpon which foundation the oath was willingly taken.*

Rand. Higden, in Polyer. lib. 6. ca. 29.

Guneticenſis.

(17) But *Harold* who thought his owne head as fit for a crowne as any others, meant nothing leſſe then to lay it downe vpon parley; and therefore told them flatly, that *howſoeuer* Edward *and he had tampered for the Kingdome, yet* Edward *himſelfe comming in by election, and not by any title of inheritance, his promiſe was of no validity; for how could hee giue that whereof he was not intereſſed, nor in the Danes time was euer like to be? And tell your Duke* (ſaid he) *that our kingdome is now brought to a ſetled eſtate, and with ſuch loue and liking of the Engliſh, as that they will neuer admit any more a ſtranger to rule ouer them. And as touching the contract with his yonger daughter, he wel ſeeth, that God hath taken away that occaſion of alienating the Crowne; and ſurely his Law hath likewiſe prouided remedy againſt ſuch raſh vows; whoſe precepts I mean to follow: and therefore* (ſaid he) *will your Duke to weigh my eſtate with his owne, both his and mine now in quiet, is ſufficient for two, and either of them employment enough for one mans Gouernment, and therefore both of them too much to be well gouerned by one, ſeeing that God himſelfe had ſet a ſea betwixt them.* With theſe and the like ſpeeches hee ſhifted off the Dukes Ambaſſadors; without all princely entertainements, or courteous regard.

(18) The meſſengers returned, and *Harolds* anſweres declared, *William* lion-like enraged, caſteth his thoughts about plotting reuenge, and making ſome oddes euen that might impeach his deſignes, prepared all things for open warre. *Harold* likewiſe not ſleeping his buſineſſe, made ready his Fleete, muſtered his ſouldiers, and planted his Garriſons along the Sea-coaſt. But in theſe his proceedings, behold a great and fearefull Comete appeared (ſeldome a ſigne to Princes of fortunate ſucceſſe) vpon the twenty fourth of *Aprill*, and laſted onely ſeuen dayes, which drew the mindes of the *Engliſh*, into great ſuſpenſe, now ready to enter into a double warre.

Biſhop of *Mentz.*

Roger Houed. Simon Dunelm. Gualter. Coven.

(19) For as *William* the *Norman* for his part claymed *England* by gift; ſo *Harfager* the *Dane* did by ſucceſſion; the rumors of both which, greatly terrified the hearts of the inhabitants: and yet behold, a third terrour vnexpected, contrary to nature, and moſt mens opinions, ſodainely aroſe: for

Toſto

Toſto the cruell Earle of *Northumberland*, and brother to *Harold*, expulſed by his people, and preſcribed by King *Edward*, fled into *France*, where by the inſtigations of *William*, whoſe wiues ſiſter hee had married (both of them the daughters of *Balwine* Earle of *Flanders*,) hee got for his reuenge a Fleet furniſhed with men at Armes; and thus prepared, his firſt fury was ſhewed in ſpoiling the *Ile of Wight*; then coaſting the ſhore, ſhrewdly endammaged *Kent*, whence hoiſing ſaile, fell foule vpon *Lincolneſhire*; where *Morcar* and *Edwine* Earles of *Cheſter* and *Yorkeſhire*, aided with the Kings Nauie, droue him from thence, though with ſome loſſe of their men.

Mat. Weſtminſter.

Rand. Hig.

wil. Malmesbury.

(20) *Toſto* for more ſuccour fled into *Scotland*, where of King *Malcolme* he had but colde comfort, himſelfe being buſied with ciuill broiles; but howſoeuer his expectation there failed, yet his purpoſes were continued with the aſſiſtance of *Harold Harfager* (that is, the *Faire-lockes*) King of *Denmarke*, who with three hundred ſhippes had entred the riuer *Tyne* for *Englands* inuaſion, after his conqueſt of the Iles of *Orknes*. *Toſto* therefore ioyning his Fleet to theſe *Danes*, in warlike brauerie, both of them enter the mouth of *Humber*, and drawing vp the riuer *Ouſe*, at *Rich-hall* landed their men, making ſpoile of the Country whereſoeuer they came. To meet with theſe, the foreſaid Earles *Edwin* and *Morcar*, in a tumultuous haſt raiſed their powers, but were ſo ouerlaid by the *Norwegians*, that many were ſlaine, and more drowned, in paſſing ouer that riuer.

Math. Weſtminſter. & alii Dan.

(21) The enemy grown proud by this late victory, haſted towards *Yorke*, the chiefe Citie of the North; where planting his ſiege, it was preſently yeelded vp, and hoſtages deliuered vpon both parts for the performance of couenants. The *Danes* thus proſpering, had moſt ſtrongly encamped themſelues; for backed they were with the German Ocean, flanked on the left hand with the riuer *Humber*, wherein alſo their Fleet rid at Anker, and had on their right hand and afront the riuer *Derwent*; ſo that it ſeemed impoſſible to raiſe this ſiege.

(22) But *Harold* thinking the coaſts cleere from all danger, the Equinoctiall at hand, and Nauigation now paſt, the victuals in his Fleet ſpent, and notice from Earle *Balwin* of *Flanders*, that Duke *William* meant not his voyage that yeare, was about to diſband his Army. When this ſodaine newes from the North pierced his eare, no neede it was then to bid him make haſte thither, the caſe ſtanding ſo neere him as it did. Therefore recalling his Army, poſted to *Yorke*, and from thence marched againſt the *Norwegians*, who lay ſecured with ſuch aduantage, as wee haue ſaid. Notwithſtanding *Harold* couragiouſly ordered his battell, and aſſaied to paſſe the Bridge called *Stamford*, built ouer *Derwent*, which one onely *Dane* made good for a time againſt his whole hoſt, and with his Axe ſlew forty of his men, till laſtly this *Dane* was ſlaine with a dart.

Wil. Malmsbury Henry Hunting. Mat. Weſtminſter.

(23) The Bridge gotten, and the *Engliſh* reduced into their rankes, *Harold* moſt boldly ſet vpon his enemies euen in their Campe; where the battaile with equall valour and fortune, was maintained a time, till laſtly the *Norwegians* diſarraied and ſcattered, were ſlaine out-right; and among them the two Chiefetaines, *Harfager* and *Toſto*, with many others of worth and account, loſt their liues. *Olaue* the ſonne of this *Harfager*, and *Paul* Earle of *Orkeney*, who kept their Fleet & Seas, whileſt his Father and followers fought vpon land, were brought to King *Harold*, who to haue their liues ſpared, abiured the Land, thenceforth to attempt no hoſtilitie againſt the Engliſh peace; and with twenty ſmall veſſels to carry away their ſlaine and hurt, were ſuffered to depart, bringing heauy newes into *Denmarke* of the loſſe of their King, and ouerthrow of his Army.

Simon Dunel.

Mat. Weſtminſter.

(24) By this victory thus happily obtained, fell vnto *Harold* an exceeding rich booty, both of gold and ſilner, beſides the great Armado of *Toſto* and *Harfager*; whereby his minde was ſoone ſet aloft, and hee began to grow both proud, and odious vnto his Army, the rather, for that he diuided not the ſpoiles vnto them that had deſerued it; a wrong that the common Souldier doth continually murmure at, and commonly endure.

(25) Now in this current of King *Harolds* fortunes, *William* the *Norman* had the more leiſure to ſtrengthen his owne, and often conferring with his Captaines about *Englands* inuaſions, found them euer reſolute and cheerefull that way; the difficulty onely reſted, how to prouide money enough, the very ſinewes whereby the vaſt body of an Army muſt be knit, & ſtrengthened: for a ſubſidy being propounded vnto the aſſembly of the *Norman States*, it was anſwered, that a former warre againſt the *French* had empoueriſhed much of their wealth, that if new wars were now raiſed, & therein their ſubſtance ſpent to gaine other parts, it would be therby ſo waſted, as that hardly it would be ſufficient to defend their own; that they thought it more ſafety to hold what he had, then on hazard of their own to inuade the territories of others; and that this warre intended, iuſt though it were, yet ſeemed not neceſſary, but exceeding dangerous; beſides (ſay they) the *Normans* were not by their allegiance bound to Military ſeruices in forrein parts, and therefore ſuch paiments could not be aſſeſſed vpon them. And although *William Fitz-Oſberne*, a man in high fauour with the Duke, & as gratious among the people, endeauoured by all meanes to effect it, yea, and (to draw on others by his example) proffered to ſet out forty tall Ships, vpon his owne Charges towards this warre; yet would it not be: Therefore Duke *William* bethought him on another way.

Camb. Britan.

(26) The wealthieſt men among all his People he ſent for, and ſeuerally one by one conferred with, ſhewing them his right and hopes of *England*, wherin preferment lay euen to the meaneſt amongſt them, onely money was the want, which they might ſpare; neither ſhould that be giuen, nor lent without a plentifull increaſe: with ſuch faire words he drew them ſo on, that they ſtroue who ſhould giue moſt, & by this policy he gathered ſuch a maſſe of money, as was ſufficient to defray the warre. Then went hee to his neighbour Princes, namely to the Earles of *Anion*, *Poictou*, *Mayne*, and *Bolloigne*, promiſing them faire poſſeſſions in *England*; yea and vnto *Philip* the *French* King, in caſe he would aide him, he voluntarily offered to become his vaſſall and Leige-man, and to hold *England* by oath and fealty vnder him. But it being thought nothing good for the State of *France*, that the Duke of *Normandy*, who already was not ſo pliable to the *French* King as was wiſhed, ſhould be bettered in his eſtate by the addition of ſo mighty a Kingdome (the power of Neighbour Potentates being euer ſuſpected of Princes) ſo far was the king from yeelding any help, that he ſecretly maligned, & openly diſſwaded this his attempt of inuading *England*. This *French* iealouſie, the *Norman* ſoone perceiued, which made him to caſt about yet another way.

(27) For making his claime knowne vnto *Alexander* the ſecond, then Pope of *Rome*, with the wrongs done vnto *Robert* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, by *Harold* and his Father, (a text that might not be read without a gloſſe,) hee was ſo fauoured of his Holineſſe (whoſe See was euer glad to intereſt it ſelf in diſpoſing of Crownes) that he both allowed well of his enterprize, and ſent him a conſecrated *Banner*, (Saint *Peter* himſelfe had none ſuch in his Boate) to be borne in the Ship, wherein himſelfe in that expedition ſhould take ſaile for *England*: *an Agnus Dei*, and one of the haires of Saint *Peter*, that bleſſed Apoſtle, in whoſe vertue was no little truſt: and accurſed all them that ſhould oppoſe themſelues againſt him: for euen then the Popes had began to vſurpe authority ouer Princes, and with their leaden blades to hacke into the ſteely ſwords of Emperours.

Henry Hunt.

Fox, Acts and Monuments.

(28) Thus furniſhed on all ſides, he aſſembled his forces, and with a mighty Nauy came to the Towne

of *Saint Valeries*; which ſtandeth vpon the mouth of the Riuer *Some*: where a long time he lay wind-bound to his great diſcontentment, and with many vowes importunating the fauour of that locall Saint, heaped daily a number of gifts and oblations vpon his Altar; till laſtly his deſire was obtayned, and then with three hundred Ships fraught full of his *Normans*, *Flemings*, *Frenchmen*, and *Britaines*, waighed Anchor, and with a gentle gale of wind arriued at *Peuenſey* in *Suſſex*, vpon the twenty eight day of *September*, where Landing his men, to cut off all occaſion or hope of returne, hee fired his owne fleete, and vpon the Shoare erected a Fortreſſe to be if neede were, a retiring place for his Souldiers.

Rand. Higden.

(29) At his arriuage from Sea, as our Hiſtorians report, his foot chanced to ſlippe, ſo that not able to recouer himſelfe, he fell into the mud, and all to bemired his hands; which accident was preſently conſtrued for a lucky preſage: for *now* (ſaid a Captaine) *O Duke, thou haſt taken poſſeſsion, and holdeſt that land in thy hand, whereof ſhortly thou ſhalt become King*: As *Caſar* is ſaid to haue done, when hee entred into *Africa*, who from ſhip-board at his landing fell into the ſands, and merily ſaid, *I doe now take poſſeſſion of thee, O Africa.*

Rand. Higden. in Polych. lib. 6. cap. 29

Suetonius in vita Caſar.

(30) From *Peuenſey* Duke *William* departed towards *Haſting*, where raiſing another fortification, divulged to all, the cauſes of his comming, as pretending to reuenge both the death of his *Normans*, ſlain by the treachery of *Goodwin* and *Harold*, and the wrongs and baniſhment of *Robert Gemeticus* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, pretenſes very ſlender, and enforced out of ſeaſon: but ſurely had not a third ſate neerer his heart, the two former would haue paſſed without the ſpleene of reuenge; namely, the donation of King *Edward* deceaſed, whereon hee built his claime to the *Engliſh* Crowne. And there alſo by his Edict, hee ſtraitly charged his ſouldiers not in hoſtile manner, to wrong any of their perſons, who ſhortly were to become his Subiects.

(31) *Harold* in the North hearing of theſe newes, haſted with his Armie (whoſe Armour yet reaked with the bloud of the *Norwegians*) towards the ſouth, and with ſuch power as poſſibly he could make, entreth *London*, where immediately a meſſenger from Duke *William* was preſented vnto him, demanding no leſſe then the Kingdome, and *Harolds* vaſſalage; vrging the ſame with ſuch inſtant boldneſſe, that *Harolds* furious indignation could hardly forbeare, againſt the law of Armes, to lay violent hands vpon the Ambaſſador; ſo great a pride and confident hope had entred the heart of this late Victor: to ſhew both, with very great boldneſſe, hee diſpatcheth his Ambaſſadors to *William*, and by way of irefull checkes menaceth him, vnleſſe forthwith hee departed backe into *Normandy*, when preſently muſtering his men at *London*, hee found them much leſſened by his battaile againſt the *Norwegians*; notwithſtanding, many Nobles, Gentlemen, and others, whom the loue of their natiue Country inflamed, did ingage themſelues for the field, againſt his common and dangerous enemy. Hee therefore with an vndaunted courage, led forth his Armie into *Suſſex* (againſt the importunate ſuite of his mother, who ſought by all meanes to ſtay him) where on a large and faire plaine, ſcarce ſeauen miles from the enemy, he pitched downe his battailes, and ſent forth his Eſpials to deſcry his power.

Will. Malmsbury.

(32) Theſe comming into danger, were caught by the *Normans*, and preſented to their Duke, who commanded them forthwith to be led from Tent to Tent, to be feaſted, and diſmiſſed, without any harme or diſhonour done. Theſe returning to *Harold* told what they had ſeene, commending the Duke in his Martiall Prouiſions, and his clemency to themward, only ſaid they, his Souldiers ſeem to be Prieſts, for their faces were all ſhauen, whereas the vſe of the Engliſh was then to reſerue onely the vpper-lippe vncut, retaining or renewing the olde manner of the ancient Britaines, ſo deſcribed by *Caſar*: but King *Harold*, who had bin in that country, well knowing their errour, replied that they were men of great valour & ſtout Souldiers in fight. Vpon which ſpeech, *Gyrth*, his younger brother, a man much renowned for martiall exploits, tooke occaſion to aduiſe the King from being preſent at the danger of the Field: for (ſaid he) "it ſtands not with the rule of policy, to hazard all "in the triall of one battell, nor to depend vpon the "euent of war, which euer is doubtfull, victory being "as often gotten by fortune, as valor; mature deliberation doth often produce the ſafeſt iſſues, and a pro- "uident delay is held to be the greateſt furtherer of "martiall proiects; neither will any thing ſtrike grea- "ter terror into the *Normans*, then thou to be leuying, "and enrolling a new Army, whereby they may euer "expect, and feare ſucceeding Battailes. Againe (ſaid "hee) thou beſt knoweſt what oath thine own mouth "hath made vnto *William*; if lawfull, and willingly, "then with-draw thy ſelfe from field, leſt for that thy "ſinne the whole Hoſt periſh; for there can be no "power againſt God. I am free from ſuch guilt, and "therefore may the bolder fight, and either defeate "this dangerous enemy, or more cheerefully dye in "the defence of my country; and if thou wilt commit "the fortune of *Battaile* into my Gouernance, aſſure "thy ſelfe I will performe to thee the part of a lo- "uing Brother, and to my Countrimen of a valiant "Captaine.

Caſar in Comment.

(33) This wiſe aduice notwithſtanding, deſtiny ſo driuing him, he gaine-ſtood, imputing it a part of diſhonour, and not befitting a Souldier, (as hee alwaies had beene,) to leaue the field Coward-like, when greateſt glory was to be wonne, or in caſe of fortunate ſucceſſe, to be depriued of a part, and therefore reprooued his brother for making this motion, and with diſdainefull ſpeeches, vnder-valued and embaſed the worth of the *Normans*.

(34) Duke *William* now entred the field, & both the hoſts ſtanding ready for fight, the *Norman*, to ſpare the effuſion of Chriſtian bloud, vpon a pious affection, ſent a *Monke* as a Mediator for peace, with offers to *Harold* of theſe conditions, either wholly to reſigne the Kingdome vnto him, and from thence forth to acknowledge the Duke for his Soueraigne: or elſe in ſingle combat to trie the quarrell with him, in ſight of the Armies; or laſtly, to ſtand to the arbitrement of the Pope, touching the poſſeſſion and wearing of the *Engliſh* Crowne. But *Harold*, as one whom the heauens would depreſſe, accepting neither domeſticke counſell, nor the *Normans* offers, referred the deciding of the matter vnto the Tribunall of God, and anſwered, that it ſhould be tried the next day with more ſwords then one.

(35) The next day was the 14. of *October*, which vpon a credulous errour, hee held euer to be fortunate, becauſe it was the day of his Natiuity, and with hopefull aſſurance, deſired greatly the approach of the ſame: His ſouldiers likewiſe as men whoſe heads were to be crowned with the Laurels of victory, gaue themſelues to licentious reuels, and in riotous banquets, with clamour, and noiſes, ſpent the night; whereas contrariwiſe, the *Normans*, more wiſely, and ſeriouſly weighing the buſineſſe in hand, beſtowed the time in prayers and vowes, for the ſafetie of their Armie, and victorious ſucceſſe: neither had the morning ſooner ſpread it ſelfe but their battell was ordered, and prepared for fight.

(36) *Harold* alſo with the like forwardnes, marſhalled his battaile, placing in the Vant-guard the *Kentiſhmen* (who by an ancient cuſtome had the front of the battaile belonging to them) with their heauy axes, or halberts. The *Middleſex-men* and the *Londoners* were in that ſquadron, whereof himſelfe with his brother had the leading.

Tho. Mills.

Mat. Weſtminſter. Ran. Higden.

(37) His enemies *Vanward* was led by *Roger* of *Mount-gomery*, & *William Fitz-Oſbern*, the ſame conſiſting of Horſmen out of *Anion*, *Perch*, & little *Brittaine*.

Their

Their Maine-Battaile consisted of *Poictouins* and *Germanes*, *Geffrey Martell*, and a *Germane* Pensioner commanding them: In the *Rere-guard* was the Duke himselfe, with the whole manhood of *Normans*, and the flower of his Nobility and Gentry; all which battallions were intermingled with companies of Archers.

(38) The *Normans* without any confused, or disorderly shout, sounded the battaile, and aduanced forward, discharging a fierce volley of arrowes like a tempestuous haile, a kinde of fight both strange, and terrible vnto the *English*, who supposed their enemy had beene already euen in the middest amongst them; when presently a furious charge was giuen to the Va-ward of the *English*, who resolutely had determined to couer the place with their bodies rather then to giue one foot of ground, and bending all their forces, kept themselues close together, whereby they valiantly, and with the slaughter of many, put backe the enemy: which was so farre from daunting the *Normans*, that by it they were more whetted to re-enforce themselues vpon them: when with an horrible noise, the battailes of both sides gaue the stroke; and now come foote to foote, and man to man, coped together in a most cruell fight. The *English* standing thicke, and close, as if they had beene stucke one to another, abode the brunt and charge of the *Normans*, and with such welcomes, that after many a bloudy wound receiued, they were at point to recoile, had not Duke *William*, whose crown lay now at stake, both brauely performed the part of a Leader, and with his presence, and authority restrained them. The fight thus continuing, the *Normans* horsemen brake into the troupes of the *English* and sore distressed the Souldiers on foote, yet notwithstanding they still held out, and kept their array vnbroken: for *Harold* (no lesse carefull to keepe, then the other to gaine a diadem,) as a most valiant Captaine bare himselfe worthily euery where. The Duke well perceiuing that with fine force, and true valour, no good end could be got, betooke himselfe to a stratageme, and commanded his men to sound the retreat, but kept them still in such order of array, that they gaue backe in as good discipline as they came on.

Wil. Malmsbury. Henry Hunt.

(39) The *English* supposing the *Normans* to haue fled, and themselues the masters of the field, began in eager pursuit carelesly to vntwist, and display their ranckes; when on the sodaine, the *Normans* hauing their wished opportunity, and winding about, charged the enemy a fresh; who now being scatteringly disranked, and out of all order, were slaine down on all sides, not able to recouer their battaile: many thus borne downe, and slaine, none by flight sought to escape the field, but rather to maintaine their honour in Armes, cast themselues into a round, choosing there to die in the cause of their Country, then cowardly to forsake the Standard of their King: and therefore with bold resolutions encouraging one another, they turne head and resist a long time: but showers of arrowes like a stormy tempest falling thicke among them, one, most fatall, and vnlucky for the *English*, wounded *Harold* into the braines through the left eye; so that falling from his horse to the ground, was vnder his owne standard slaine.

Chron. de bello. Wil. Gemet.

Mat. Westminster.

(40) And yet *Giraldus Cambrensis* (I know not by what inducement,) relates the issue of this Battaile somewhat otherwise, affirming, that *Harold* with losse of his Eye, but not of his life, from the field fled to the City of *Westchester*, and there long after led a holy life, and made a godly end, as an Anchoret in the Cell of Saint *Iames*, fast by the church of S. *Iohn*. With *Harold* died his Brethren *Gyrth*, and *Leofwine*, with most of the English Nobility, besides the slaughter of sixty seauen thousand, nine hundred seuenty foure of their Souldiers: *Bremensis* saith an hundred thousand.

Giral. Cambr.

Iohn le Tailour in his history of Normandy.

Aimund. Bremensis. chap. 169.

(41) Duke *William* in this Battaile had three horses slaine vnder him; God (saith *Marianus*) so defending his person, that though multitude of darts were throwne against him, yet not a drop of his bloud was spilt by the Enemy, and this Battaile wonne with the losse onely of sixe thousand, and thirteene of his men. Whose wodden bowes (as *Iohn Rouse* is of opinion) gained the *Normans* that great victory; for the Arrowes shot leuell, or directly forward, wounded the English that stoot in the front, and vpright; the other shot on high, galled at the fall, those that were more remote, and the backes of such as stooped to shunne the danger.

Marianus.

Iohn Rouse.

(42) This battaile was fought in *Sussex*, 7. miles from *Hastings*, vpon *Saturday* the fourteenth of *October*, and yeere of Grace 1066. Wherin the dolefull destruction of the English fell, and the glorious Sun of the *Normans*, euen in the shutting of the day did arise; when perished the Royall bloud of the *Saxons*, whose Kings first had made this Kingdome into *Seuen*, and afterward of them so glorious a *Monarchy*, that it was not inferiour to any in Europe, and her Monarchs so renowned for princely magnanimity, as that many of them were ranked with the best in the world: But now the all-ordering hand of God (vnto whose becke not onely this Ball of the Earth, and the Rulers thereof, but euen the Heauens themselues, and all the powers thereof must bow) either for the sinnes of the English, which were many, and great, or to graffe one more faire and longer-continuing bud vpon this dried, and decayed stock, brought that forreine ofspring into this his nursery of *Britaine*; whose branches, as the vine, haue spread both fruitfull and farre; and whose rootes are *fastened as the trees of Libanon*: the Kings thereof, euen from the loynes of this *Great Conquerour*, holding on a royall succession for the space of these fiue hundred forty fiue yeares, their issues topped with the highest Cedars of the world, and their branches spread thorowout all Christendome; which wee pray may still proceede and continue, whilest the Sun and Moone haue their being.

Mat. Paris.

Hose 14. 6.

(43) This victory thus obtained, Duke *William* wholly ascribed vnto God, and by way of a solemne supplication or procession gaue him the thankes; and pitching for that night his Pauilion among the bodies of the dead, the next day returned to *Hastings*, there to consult vpon his great, and most prosperously begun enterprise, giuing first commandement for the buriall of his slaine Souldiers.

(44) But *Morcar*, and *Edwin*, the vnfortunate Queenes Brethren, by night escaping the battell, came vnto *London*, where with the rest of the Peeres, they began to lay the foundation of some fresh hopes, posting thence their messengers to raise a new supply, & to comfort the *English* (who through all the Land were stricken into a fearefull astonishment with this vnexpected newes) from a despairing feare, shewing the chance of warre to be mutable, their number many, and Captaines sufficient to trye another Field. *Alfred*, Arch-bishop of *Yorke*, there present, and President of the Assembly, stoutly, and prudently gaue his counsell forthwith to consecrate, and crowne young *Edgar Atheling* (the true heire) for their King; to whom consented likewise both the Sea-Captaines, and the Londoners. But the Earles of *Yorkeshire* and *Cheshire*, *Edwin* and *Morcar* (whom this fearefull state of their country could not disswade from disloyaltie and ambition) plotting secretly to get the Crowne to themselues, hindred that wise and noble designe. In which while, the sorrowfull Queene their sister was conueied to *Westchester*, where, without state or title of a Queene, she led a solitary and quiet life.

(45) The Mother of the slaine King did not so well moderate her womanly passions, as to receiue either comfort, or counsell of her friends: the dead body of her sonne she greatly desired, and to that end sent to the *Conqueror* two sage Brethren of his Abbey at *Waltham*, who had accompanied him in his vnfortunate expedition: Their names (as I finde them recorded in an olde Manuscript) were *Osegod* and *Ailric*, whose message to the *Conqueror* not without abundance of teares, and feare, is there set downe in the tenor as followeth.

In the Library of the learned Knight, *Sir Robert Cotton.*

"(46) *Noble*

"(46) *Noble Duke, and ere long to be a moſt great and "mightie King; we thy moſt humble ſeruants, deſtitute "of all comfort, (as we would we were alſo of life) are "come to thee as ſent from our brethren, whom this dead "King hath placed in the Monaſterie of* Waltham, *to at-"tend the iſſue of this late dreadfull battaile, (wherein God "fauouring thy quarrell, hee is now taken away, and dead, "which was our greateſt Comforter, and by whoſe onely "bountifull goodneſſe, we were relieued and maintai-"ned, whom hee had placed to ſerue God in that Church. "Wherefore we moſt humbly requeſt thee (now our dread "Lord) by that gracious fauour which the Lord of Lords "hath ſhewed vnto thee, and for the reliefe of all their "ſoules, who in this quarrell haue ended their daies, that "it may be lawfull for vs, by thy good leaue, ſafely to take "and carry away with vs the dead body of the King, the "Founder and builder of our Church and Monaſterie: as "alſo the bodies of ſuch others, as who, for the reuerence "of him, and for his ſake, deſired alſo to be buried with vs, "that the ſtate of our Church, by their helpe ſtrengthened, "may be the ſtronger, and indure the firmer.* With whoſe ſo humble a requeſt, and abundant teares, the victorious and worthy Duke moued, anſwered.

"(47) *Your King* (ſaid he) *vnmindfull of his faith, "although hee haue for the preſent endured the worthy pu-"niſhment of his fault, yet hath he not therefore deſerued "to want the honour of a Sepulcher, or to lie vnburied: "were it but that hee died a King, howſoeuer he came by "the Kingdome, my purpoſe is for the reuerence of him, and "for the health of them, who hauing left their wiues and "poſſeſſions, haue here in my quarrell loſt their liues, to "build here a Church and a Monaſtery, with an hundred "Monkes in it to pray for them for euer; and in the ſame "Church to bury your King aboue the reſt, with all ho-"nour vnto ſo great a Prince, and for his ſake to endow "the ſame with great reuenewes.*

(48) With which his courteous ſpeech and promiſes, the two religious Fathers comforted, and encouraged, againe replied.

"(49) *Not ſo, noble Duke, but grant this thy ſeruants "moſt humble requeſt, that we may, for God, by thy leaue "receiue the dead body of our Founder, and to bury it in "the place which himſelfe in his life time appointed; that "wee cheered with the preſence of his body, may thereof "take comfort, and that his Tombe may be vnto our Suc-"ceſſors, a perpetuall Monument of his remembrance.*

(50) The *Duke*, as he was of diſpoſition gratious, and inclined to mercy, forthwith granted their deſires: whereupon they drew out ſtore of gold to preſent him in way of gratulation; which he not onely vtterly refuſed, but alſo offered them plenty to ſupply whatſoeuer ſhould be needfull for the pompe of his funerall, as alſo for their coſts in trauaile to and fro; giuing ſtrait commandement that none of his Souldiers ſhould preſume to moleſt them in this their buſineſſe, or in their returne. Then went they in haſte to the quarry of the dead, but by no meanes could finde the body of the King, for that the countenances of all men greatly alter by death; but being maimed and imbrued with bloud, they are not knowne to be the men they were. As for his other regall Ornaments, which might haue ſhewed him for their King, his dead corps was deſpoyled of them, either through the greedy deſire of prey, (as the manner of the Field is) or to be the firſt bringer of ſuch happy newes, in hope of a Princely reward; vpon which purpoſe many times the body is both mangled & diſmembred: and ſo was this King after his death by a baſe Souldier, gaſht and hackt into the legge, whom Duke *William* rewarded for ſo vnſouldier-like a deed, caſhiering him for euer out of his wages and warres. So that *Harold* lying ſtript, wounded, bemangled, and goared in his bloud, could not be found or knowne, till they ſent for a woman named *Editha* (for her paſſing beauty ſurnamed *Swan-ſhals*, that is, *Swanſ-necke*, whom hee entertained in ſecret loue before hee was King, who by ſome ſecret markes of his body to her well knowne, found him out; and then put into a coffine, was by diuers of the *Norman* Nobility honourably brought vnto the place, afterward called *Battle-Bridge*, where it was met by the Nobles of *England*, and ſo conueied to *Waltham*, was there ſolemnly, and with great lamentation of his mother, royally interred, with this rude Epitaph, well beſeeming the time, though not the perſon.

Heu cadis hoſte fero, Rex à Duce Rege futuro,
Par paris in gladio, milite & valido.
Firmini iuſti lux eſt tibi, luce Calixti;
Pronior hinc ſuperas, hinc ſuperatus eras.
Ergo tibi requiem depoſcat vtrumque perennem:
Sicque precetur eum, quod colit omne Deum.

A fierce foe thee ſlew; thou a King, he King in view;
Both peeres, both peereleſſe, both feard, and both fearles;
That ſad day was mixt, by Firmin and Calixt,
Th'one helpthee to vanquiſh, th'other made thee languiſh,
Both now for thee pray, and thy Requiem ſay;
So let good men all, to God for thee call.

(51) This Kings raigne was not ſo full of dayes as of great troubles: being but the ſpace of nine months and nine dayes, in whom was completed the Period of the Saxons Empire in *Britaine*, after they had continued from their firſt erected kingdome by *Hengiſt* in *Kent*, the ſpace of ſixe hundred and tenne yeares, without any reuerſement or interruption ſauing the ſmall Inter-Raignes of theſe three *Daniſh* Kings, of whom wee haue ſpoken. And although *Aimund* of *Breme*, in the fauour of his *Danes*, ſharpely taxeth this *Harold* as being an impious man, and that by vſurpation hee aſpired to the Crowne, yet doth *Ealred* the Abbot of *Rinauxe*, (the Legender of S. *Edwards* life) much commend him for his courteous *affability, gentle department, and Iuſtice*, and for his *warlike proweſſe* none matchable vnto him; *and was reputed* (ſaith he) *verily a man paſſing well furniſhed with all vertues befitting a Soueraigne commander, and born euen to repaire the decaied ſtate of England*; had he not, in the haughtineſſe and opinion of his own valour and prudence, ſo much adicted himſelfe to his owne reſolutions, and too much neglected the wiſe deliberations of his beſt friends and Counſellers.

Sigebertus. Wil. Gemitticen. Gualt. Couen. Li. Woodbridge.

Aimund. Brem. cap. 169.

Alured. Reuallenſis.

His Wiues.

(52) The firſt wife of *Harold*, whom he had married and buried before he was King, I find not named by any of out writers; but that he had ſuch a one, appeareth, where it is recorded that hee was a *Widower*, what time he contracted the Conquerors daughter; and that alſo he had children of ſuch age, that they made warres againſt King *William* in the ſecond of his Raigne; which it is probable, he had not by *Editha*, his *Swanſ-necke*, but were legitimate, and by this lawfull, though nameleſſe Mother.

(53) *Aluith*, the ſecond wife to King *Harold*, was the widow of *Gruffith ap Lhewelyn* King of *North-Wales*, the ſiſter of *Edwine* and *Morcar*, Earles of *Yorkeſhire*, and *Cheſter*, and daughter of *Algar* ſonne of *Leofricke*, ſon of *Leofwine*, all Earles of *Cheſter*, *Leiceſter* and *Lincolne*: She was married vnto him being then but Duke, in the laſt yeare of *Edward* Confeſſors raigne, and of Grace 1065. neither did ſhee long enioy him, or her Queenly title, after his aſpiring to the Crowne; for being reſident in London when he was ſlaine, from thence ſhee was conueyed by her brethren to *Weſtcheſter*, where ſhe remained in meane eſtate, and in good quiet (which vſually moſt attends the meaneſt) without any princely ſhew or name, during the reſt of her life, which laſted a great part of the Conquerours raigne.

His Iſſue.

(54) *Goodwine* the eldeſt ſonne of King *Harold*, being growne to ſome ripeneſſe of yeares in the life of his Father, after his death and ouerthrow by the *Conquerour*

queror, tooke his brother with him, and fled ouer into *Ireland*: from whence he returned, and landed in *Sommerſetſhire*, ſlew *Ednoth* (a Baron ſometime of his Fathers) that encountred him, and taking great preyes in *Deuonſhire* and *Cornewall*, departed till the next yeare. When comming againe, he fought with *Beorn* an Earle of *Cornwall*, and after retired into *Ireland*, and thence went into *Denmarke*, to King *Swayn* his Coſen-German, where he ſpent the reſt of his life.

(55) *Edmund*, the ſecond ſonne to King *Harold*, went with his Brother into *Ireland*; returned with him into *England*, and was at the ſlaughter and ouerthrow of *Ednoth* and his power in *Sommerſetſhire*; at the ſpoiles committed in *Cornwall* and *Deuonſhire*; at the conflict with the *Corniſh* Earle *Beorn*; paſſed and repaſſed with him in all his voyages, inuaſions and warres, by ſea and by land, in *England* and *Ireland*; and at the laſt departed with him from *Ireland* to *Denmarke*; tooke part with him of all pleaſure and calamity whatſoeuer, and attending and depending wholly vpon him, liued and died with him in that Country.

(56) *Magnus*, the third ſon of King *Harold*, went with his brothers into *Ireland*; and returned with them the firſt time into *England*, and is neuer after that mentioned amongſt them, nor elſewhere, vnleſſe, (as ſome doe coniecture) hee be that *Magnus* who ſeeing the mutability of humane affaires, became an Anchoret, whoſe Epitaph pointing to his *Daniſh* originall, the learned *Clarenciaux* diſcouered in a little deſolate Church at *Lewes* in *Suſſex*, where in the gaping chinks of an Arch in the wall, in a rude and ouerworne Character, certaine old imperfect verſes were found, which hee ſuppoſeth ſhould be thus read;

M. Ferret. Camb. in Suſſex.

Clauditur hic Miles Danorum regia proles,
Magnus nomen ei, magna nota Progeniei.
Deponens Magnum, prudentior induit agnum,
Prapete pro vita, ſit paruulus Anachorita.
Here lyes a Knight of Daniſh regall race,
*He * Magnus hight; great name, note of great place;*
*But Magnus left, an * Agnus milde he prou'd,*
From world bereft an Anchorite belou'd.

* Great.
* A Lambe.

(57) *Wolfe* the fourth ſon of King *Harold*, ſeemeth to be borne of Queene *Algith* his ſecond Wife, for that hee was neuer mentioned among his other brethren, and hauing better friends by his mothers ſide, was left in *England*, whereas they were forced thence; neither is he ſpoken of, during all the raigne of the Conquerour, and therefore at his entrance may probably be thought to haue beene but an Infant: yet after his death he is named among his priſoners with Earle *Morcar* (his vncle, if Queen *Algith* were his mother) and was by King *William Rufus* releaſed, and honoured by him with the Order of Knighthood.

(58) *Gunhild* a daughter of King *Harold* is mentioned by *Iohn Capgraue* (the Writer of the *Engliſh* Saints) in the life of *Wolſtan* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, reporting her to haue beene a Nunne in a Monaſtery of *England*; who, among the many miracles done by the ſaid *Wolſtan*, (which he numbreth by tale, according to the ſuperſtitious manner of the time wherein hee liued) declareth, how he reſtored this Lady to her perfect eye-ſight, whereof by a dangerous infirmity, ſhee was almoſt wholly, and in moſt mens opinions, vncurably depriued.

Iohn Capgraue.

(58) Another daughter of King *Harold* not named by any Story-writer of our own nation, is mentioned by *Saxo Grãmaticus*, in his *Daniſh* hiſtory, to haue come into *Denmarke* with her two brethren; to haue beene very honorably entertained by King *Swaine* the yonger, her kinſman: and afterwards to haue been as honorably placed in marriage with *Gereſlef*, called in latine *Iariſlaues*, and of the *Danes Waldemar*, King of the *Ruſſians*: and by him to haue had a daughter, that was the mother of *Waldemar*, the firſt of that name King of *Denmark*, from whom all the *Daniſh* Kings for many ages after ſucceeded.

Saxo Grammaticus lib. 11.

The end of the eight Booke.

A CATALOGVE OF THE ENGLISH MONARCHS FROM WILLIAM THE CONQVEROVR, VNTO KING IAMES, NOW SOLE MONARCH OF GREAT BRITAINE, WHOSE ACTS, ARE ENTREATED OF IN THIS ENSVING HISTORIE.

KINGS.	BEGINNINGS.	RAIGNE.			DEATH.	BVRIALL.
	Yeeres Months Daies.	yeers	months	daies	Yeeres Months Daies.	
WILLIAM *I.*	1066 *Oct.* 14. *Sat.*	20	10	26	1087 *Sept.* 9. *Thurſ.*	*Cane.*
WILLIAM *II.*	1087 *Sept.* 9. *Thur.*	12	10	22	1100 *Aug.* 1. *Wedn.*	*Wincheſter.*
HENRY *I.*	1100. *Aug.* 1. *Wed.*	35	3	1	1135 *Decem.* 2. *Mon.*	*Reading.*
STEPHEN.	1135 *Dec.* 2. *Mond.*	18	9	17	1154 *Octob.* 25. *Mon.*	*Feuerſham.*
HENRY *II.*	1154 *Oct.* 25. *Mon.*	34	8	12	1189 *Iuly* 6. *Thurſ.*	*Fonteuerard.*
RICHARD *I.*	1189 *Iuly* 6. *Thurſ.*	9	9	0	1199 *Aprill* 6. *Tueſ.*	*Fonteuerard.*
IOHN.	1199 *Apr.* 6. *Tueſd.*	17	7	13	1216 *Octob.* 19 *Wedn.*	*Worceſter.*
HENRY *III.*	1216 *Oct.* 19. *Wed.*	56	0	27	1272 *Nou.* 16. *Wedn.*	*Weſtminſter.*
EDWARD *I*	1272 *Nou.* 16. *Wed.*	34	7	21	1307 *Iuly* 7. *Friday.*	*Weſtminſter.*
EDWARD *II.*	1307 *Iuly* 7. *Friday.*	19	6	15	1326 *depo. Ian.* 22. *Sa.*	*Gloceſter.*
EDWARD *III.*	1326 *Ian.* 25. *Satur.*	50	4	27	1377 *Iune* 21. *Sund.*	*Weſtminſter.*
RICHARD *II.*	1377 *Iune* 21. *Sun.*	22	2	7	1399 *dep. Sep.* 29 *mn.*	*Weſtminſter.*
HENRY *IIII.*	1399 *Sept.* 29. *Mon.*	13	5	21	1412 *March.* 20. *Sun.*	*Canterbury.*
HENRY *V.*	1412 *Mar.* 20. *Sun.*	9	4	11	1422 *Aug.* 31. *Mon.*	*Weſtminſter.*
HENRY *VI.*	1422 *Aug.* 31. *Mon.*	38	6	4	1460 *depoſed. Mar.* 4.	*Windſore.*
EDWARD *IIII.*	1460 *Mar.* 4.	22	1	5	1483 *Aprill* 9.	*Windſore.*
EDWARD *V.*	1483 *April* 9.	0	1	12	1483 *murthered.*	*Tower of Lond.*
RICHARD *III.*	1483 *Iune* 22.	2	1	0	1485 *ſlain Au.* 29. *Mo.*	*Leiceſter.*
HENRY *VII.*	1485 *Aug.* 22. *Mon.*	23	7	0	1509 *Aprill* 22. *Sund.*	*Weſtminſter.*
HENRY *VIII.*	1509 *April.* 22. *Sun.*	37	9	5	1546 *Ian.* 28. *Thurſ.*	*Windſore.*
EDWARD *VI.*	1546 *Ian.* 28. *Thurſ.*	6	5	9	1553 *Iuly* 6. *Thurſ.*	*Weſtminſter.*
MARY.	1553 *Iuly* 6. *Thurſ.*	5	4	11	1558 *Noue.* 17. *Thurſ.*	*Weſtminſter.*
ELIZABETH.	1558 *Nou.* 17. *Thur.*	44	4	6	1602 *Mar.* 24. *Thurſ.*	*Weſtminſter.*
IAMES.	1602 *Mar.* 24. *Thur.*	*NOS, TÉ FLORENTE, BEATI.*				

THE

THE SVCCESSION OF ENGLANDS MONARCHS, FROM THE ENTRANCE OF THE NORMANS, VNDER WILLIAM THE CONQVEROR: VNTILL THE REGALL RIGHTS OF THE WHOLE ILAND WERE BY GODS PROVIDENCE VNITED VNDER ONE IMPERIALL DIADEME, IN THE PERSON OF OVR PRESENT SOVERAIGNE KING IAMES, SOLE MONARCH OF GREAT BRITAINE: THEIR SEVERALL ACTS, ISSVES, RAIGNES, ARMES, SEALES, AND COINES.

THE NINTH BOOKE.

CHAPTER I.

WHat hath beene ſpoken touching the Originals, Lawes, and Cuſtomes of the *Saxons*, and *Danes*, the ancient conquerors, and poſſeſſors of this our Iland, may in like ſort be ſaid of the *Normans* (being a branch from the ſame root) of whom wee are now to write, ſauing only that the name is not ſo ancient, & therefore their Manners may be thought more ciuill. Through the miſty-darke times of which Stories, together with that of the *Romans*, and of our *Britaines*, (wherin no brighter Sun did ſhine vnto vs) by the aſſiſtance of the *all-ſeeing power which bringeth light out of darkeneſſe*, I am laſtly approached to theſe times of more light, and vnto affaires of more certaine truth: whoſe Current, to my ſeeming, is made now Nauigable, by the many writers that haue emptied their full channels into this Sea, wherein, though in reſpect of my owne defects, and that ſo many Maſter-Pilots haue ſailed before me, it may ſeeme but preſumption to direct another courſe, with a purpoſe to better what they haue ſo well performed; yet to make a compleate Hiſtory from the firſt to the laſt: giue me leaue to continue, as I haue begunne.

2 Cor. 4. 6.

(2) Theſe *Normans* then, being antiently a mixt Nation with the warlike *Norwegians*, *Swedens*, & *Danes*, tooke their Name of that Northeren Climate from whence they came firſt, which was that Coaſt of *Germany*, anciently called *Cimbrica Cherſoneſus*, and *Norway*, for that it tendeth in reſpect of ſituation ſo farre Northward; and from hence, and the parts adjacent, the *Saxons*, *Iutes*, *Angles*, and lately the *Danes*, made their incurſions into this Land.

(3) This Tract therefore as, the womb of conception, by the diſpoſe of the Omnipotent, after it had produced thoſe Nations which formerly made Conqueſts of *Britain*, now again brought forth (as it were) her laſt-borne *Beniamin*, who *deuouring the prey in the morning, hath diuided the ſpoile in the Euening*, & hitherto continued their glorious fame atchieued; which I pray, may extend to the laſt period of Times being: For theſe *Normans*, firſt by force got footing in *France*, with the Dominion and Stile of a *Duke*, and next the Diadem of this faire *Empire*, the laſt and moſt famous Monarches of the ſame.

Gen. 49. 27.

(4) Theſe, formerly practizing Piracies vpon the Coaſts of *Belgia*, *Frizia*, *England*, *Ireland*, and *France*, proceeded in their hardy courſes euen to the *Mediterranean Sea*: inſomuch that *Charles* the Great, ſeeing their roauing tall Ships, and conſidering the bold attempts they vndertooke, with a deepe ſigh, and abundance of teares, is reported to haue ſaid: *Heauie am I at the very heart, that in my owne life time, theſe Pirates dare to come vpon my Coaſts, whereby I foreſee what miſchiefe they wil worke vpon my Poſteritie.* Which indeede proued ſo great, that in their publike Proceſſions, and Letanies of the Church, this Petition was added, *From the rage of the Normans, good Lord deliuer vs.* This feare, and praier notwithſtanding, they draue the *French* to ſuch extremitie, that King *Charles the Bald* was forced to giue vnto *Haſting* a *Norman* Arch-pirate, the Earledome of *Charters*, for to aſſwage his furie exerciſed vpon his People; and again, King *Charles the Groſſe*, granted vnto *Godfrey* the *Normane*, part of *Neuſtria*, with his Daughter in mariage: Yet all this ſufficed not, but that the *Normans* by force of Armes ſeated themſelues neere vnto the mouth of *Sein*, taking all for their owne that lay compriſed betwixt that Riuer and the Riuer *Loyre*: which * Countrey afterwards tooke the name of *Nor-manny* from theſe Northern Gueſts, at what time king *Charles the Simple*, confirmed it vnto *Rollo* their Captaine.

Cambd. Brit.

Cambd. Brit. de Norman.

(5) This *Rollo*, as ſay the Daniſh Hiſtorians, was the ſon of *Guion*, a great Lord in *Denmark*, who with his brother *Gourin* were appointed to depart the Country (according to the Daniſh cuſtomes) to ſeeke their aduentures abroad, and leaue more roome for the reſt at home; but theſe refuſing the order, made warre vpon the King, in which, both *Guion* the Father and *Gourin* the ſonne, were ſlaine, and *Rollo* forced to flye for ſafeguard of his life, with whom went a number of Gallants to ſeek *Fortunes Court*, and not a few miſdoers or out-lawed-men: whoſe *Acts* in *England* regiſtred by *Albertus Krantius*, ſeeing they vary from our owne hiſtorians in circumſtances of times, and names, I haue choſen in this place to inſert, leauing the credit thereof to him the Reporter.

Rollo. Albert. Krantius.

Polych. lib. 6. cap. 1.

(6) *Rollo*, a Noble-man of *Denmarke* (ſaith he) and too powerfull in his Kings eye, was forced with a Nauy to aduenture his Fortunes into forreine parts, whoſe firſt arriuage, as he ſaith, was in *England*, where many of the Daniſh nobility had formerly tried their valours, and ſome of them attained to the Scepter, if not of the whole, yet of a great part of that kingdom. *Indeed*, (ſaith hee) *England from the beginning was not*

gouerned by one King, as now it is, for the Angle-Saxons had their prouince, and the Mercians theirs, both gouerned by Prouinciall Deputies, *but the Northumbrians had a* King; *as the Scots and Picts also, in the same Iland, had kept their own limits vnder the like Gouernment. Amongst these Northumbrians the Danes had their chiefest abiding, and in this Prouince Rollo the Dane brought first his men on Land, where making warre vpon that Nation, he built both Castles and Fortresses to fortifie himselfe, his Nany lying vpon the Seas: and proceeding forward into the Continent, tooke great booties both of men, cattle, and other spoiles, lading their ships as they lay at Anchor: the Inhabitants of the Country making head against him, had still the worst.*

(7) *Rollo* yet doubtful and in suspence what to doe, desired indeed to returne to his Country, but that the Kings indignation was an obstacle that way; next he affected to try his Fortunes in *France*, yet feared the issue would be dangerous, the People being exasperated against him, for the harms he had done them: but chiefly the *Diademe* of *England* ranne most in his minde, though hee knew the hazard was great, to match his small Forces with an host of a King: in which perplexed thoughts, *it chanced* him (saith my Author) *to fall into a sweet slumber, and in his sleepe he seemed to sit in the Kingdome of France, vpon a high hill, bending his head forward to a Riuer which issued from the top of a Mountaine, at the foote whereof beneath him, he saw many kindes of Birds, which washed their ruddy left wings in the same water, where they all fed together, flew about, built their nests, and at times appointed, brought forth their yong.*

Albert. Krant. Rollo his dreame.

(8) *Rollo* awaking from his pleasing dream, imparted the same vnto his consorts, desiring their iudgements for interpretation; which no way satisfying him, hee called a *Christian* of his *English* Captiues, a man industrious, and of great Capacity, and of whose deepe vnderstanding he had a great opinion: this captiue then boldened, (and willing in likelihood, to diuert *Rollo* from infesting England, told him that his dreame was significant and good, and did prognosticate the happy successe of himselfe and whole Nation: for by this he saw that he was shortly to receiue a quiet possession, and a land of great renowne in the Continent of *France*, and that himselfe should be cleansed in the Lauer of Baptisme, wherein also the ruddy sins of his People should be washed away, as the water had done the wings of the Birds.

The dreame expounded by an English Christian Captiue.

(9) This interpretation pleased *Rollo* well, and he easily beleeued that which he most affected, as in the like kinde dreamers commonly doe: therefore prouiding all things for *France*, he set his countenance only that way; yet because he had already performed great matters in *England*, he thought to follow Fortune for his best Leader, and before he departed from so fair a land, intended to sound the King by an Ambassage, that so, if he might finde him inclinable to a league, he might haue a refuge against future chances; if not, then was he resolute to goe forward with his iourney: therefore making choice of certaine actiue persons, sent them to the English king *Alstan*, a Prince of a speciall religion and holinesse of life: these hauing audience, vttered their message as followeth.

Rollo sendeth to sound King *Alstan.*

(10) *We being men distressed, and driuen from our Country, sought out in banishment an habitation to rest in, and going forth, very many followed vs, who incouraged vs to seeke and win a land by Conquest, supplying vs with strength, and giuing vs great hope of victory: which thing when we resolued to take in hand, a Tempest of weather draue vs (O King) into these English Ports, where staying a fit season to put again forth, the Winter with-held vs, and our wants made vs to seeke further into the Land: whereupon our men, euermore brought vp to the warre, being euil intreated of those inhabitants, were moued by such iniuries to prouide for their owne defence; wherein some small skirmishes haue passed betwixt them. Our Prince therfore and General* Rollo, *doth humbly require peace of thee, and to be permitted to soiourne in thy Land for a time, and to relieue his company with things necessary, wee paying sufficiently for it: these things when thou shalt grant, he shall rest content and pacified, vntill the next spring, at which time he meanes to take his intended voyage.*

(11) *Alstenus*, not ignorant of the Danish cruelty, and with how great Armies they might oppresse the *English* shoares, did readily grant what they required: And also added a further courtesie, saying withall, *I doe greatly desire to see your Duke himselfe: and let him not think much to repaire to our mansions, for he shall find none amongst vs but his most louing friends.* When this was signified to *Rollo*, choosing out the tallest and goodliest persons of his company, and such as were of greatest wisedome, with them he very ioyfully meeteth the King, is entertained, presents him with great gifts, but receiueth greater: Then sitting downe to talke and commune:

Rollo commeth to *Alstans* Court.

(12) *I am* (saith King *Alstenus*) *right glad, most worthy Duke Rollo, to see you in this my Court. The renowne of your Nation hath beene related to me, a Martiall kinde of People ye are, & in fight vnconquerable. And you your selfe also for your prowesse, are not vnnoted among the rest of your famous Worthies: your valiant exploits are well knowne vnto vs: It is right pleasing vnto vs to enter with such men into amitie. Behold our whole kingdome is before you, choose out a seate for your selfe, and your people whersoeuer you best like, for we will haue an euerlasting league betweene vs.*

Will. Gemetic. lib. 2. cap. 6. Alstans bounty to *Rollo.*

(13) *Rollo* glad of so faire promises, replied: *Most worthy and renowned King, I highly esteem of your bountifull and most liberall proffers: God grant a happy successe of our affaires. I doe thinke my selfe most bounden & deuoted to your worthines; and if destinie euer answere to our desires, we wil not be vnthankful for this your so great benignity. To seate our selues in your kingdome, though indeed we are very willing, & your Royall proffers do much more incite vs, yet Fate doth not permit it. I haue determined (and will certainely performe,) to goe into France. For your gifts bestowed on me, I esteeme them in the highest degree: and right well content I am to haue a perpetuall League with you, that the like Fortune may betide vs both, the one to be a safeguard to the other. This I both offer, and accept of. This League God grant may to vs both proue happy and fortunate.*

(14) With such like interchanges the time much spent, and night drawing on, they were brought to banquet: And early the next morning, comming forth of their lodgings, most louingly embraced each other, when each gaue & receiued presents best suting with their estates and occasions. Neither doth *Krantius* stay his penne there, but proceedeth to particular affaires betwixt these two Princes, without the concurrence of any of our owne writers.

(15) As how the English rose in Armes against *Alstenus* their King, taking opportunity of the time, for that *Rollo* (whom they knew to be ioyned in a most strait confederacy with their Soueraigne) being then imployed in the warres of *France*, could not come or send to his aide: *Alstenus* therefore oppressed with a tumultuous kingdome, remembred *Rollo* his faithfull friend, and sending Ambassadors declared vnto him what distresse he was in; who not vnmindfull of the firme league betwixt them, left his French wars, and prepared for *England* with all his Forces; where entring the Iland, hee easily quieted the tumultuous rebels, ransacking their Cities, curbing their wildenes, and so reducing them at last to an orderly subiection. For which his great loue, care, & paines, the King not vnthankfull, resolued to requite him with the halfe of his kingdome, appointing the Cities and limiting the bounds, which each of them should rule and gouerne as their owne possessions.

Alstans faith to his friend.

(16) *Rollo* in the meane time, as carefull of the peaces continuance, as regardlesse of so great remunerations taketh pledges of the Rebels for securing their loialtie to the King, and peaceable bearing towards himselfe; vpon accomplishment whereof, repairing to *Alstenus* hee thus bespake him.

(17) *Seeing (King Alstenus) you haue so highly rewarded me, both with princely entertainements, and bountifull*

tiful presents, I can doe no lesse, then willingly bestow vpon you these my paines for your safetie: it is no more then your deserts doe chalenge; neither will I accept, or seeme so vncourteous as to expect, for my paines, any part of your dominion. Your selfe now may well gouerne it; for France calls for my presence: keepe therefore those your Pledges, brought to you by your Subiects, and there is no doubt but you shall hence-forward gouerne your Kingdome in a setled and contentfull quietnesse.

(18) The King could not containe those his eyes, which now beheld in a stranger so strange and vnexempled kindnes, from resoluing into teares; giuing him both hearty thankes, and rich gifts, seeing hee could not fasten on him any portion of his Kingdome: of whom, all that *Rollo* desired was this, that hee would giue licence to such voluntary Souldiers as would goe with him into *France*: whereto *Alsten*, ready in all things to gratifie his desire, gladly condescended, and furnished him with attendants.

(19) But leauing *Krantius* the *Dane*, aslikewise *Gemeticensis* the *Norman*, to fauour their Country, & these their reports to the best liking of the iudicious; most certaine it is, that the *French* King *Charles*, commonly called the *Simple*, gaue the Duchie of *Normandy* with his daughter *Gilla* (whose mother was *Æguina*, the daughter of *Edward the Elder*, King of *England*) vnto *Rollo* the *Dane*, as is recorded in an old manuscript belonging to the Monastery of *Angiers*. And when *Rollo* was baptized, *Charles* receiuing him for his God-sonne at the Font, he was there required to doe homage for his Dukedome receiued, and inioyned therein to kisse the Kings foot, which hee did, but with some disgrace to King *Charles*, and bound it with an oath that hee did not receiue it vpon courtesie.

Rollo the first Duke of *Normandy*.

Angiers Records. M. S.

Rand. Higden, lib. 6. cap. 1.

(20) This *Rollo* by his second wife *Popee*, (for *Gilla* died childlesse) daughter to the Earle of *Bessin* and *Baileulx*, had a sonne named *William*, surnamed *Long-espee*, and a daughter called *Girlota*, who was afterwards married to the Duke of *Guyan*.

William Long-espee, second Duke of *Normandy*.

(21) *William Long-espee* (so called of the *Long Sword* he vsually wore) the second *Danish* Duke of *Normandy*, took vnto wife *Sporta* the daughter of *Hubert*, Earle of *Sentlis*, by whom he had onely *Richard* his sonne: this *William* receiuing baptisme, receiued therewith a new name, and was thenceforth called *Robert*, who hauing gouerned his Dukedome with great moderation the space of twenty yeeres, was guilefully murthered by the working of *Lewes* King of *France*, to the great griefe of his people, who so far followed the reuenge, that they intercepted *Lewes* in the Citie *Rothomage*, and deteined him their prisoner, till he agreed to these Articles: That young *Richard* should succeed his slaine Father in the foresaid Dukedome; and that thenceforth when the *King* & *Duke* should conferre together, the *Duke* should be girt with his Sword, and the *King* disabled either of Sword or Knife: to which *Lewes* yeelded vpon his corporall oath.

Polychr.

Richard 1. the third Duke of *Normandy*.

(22) *Richard* thus established, gouerned his Dukedome the space of fifty two yeeres. He was a man of an admirable fortitude, and therefore was called *Richard the Hardy*. His first wife was * *Agnes*, daughter to *Hugh le Grand*, Earle of *Paris*, Lord Abbot of *Germans*, and Father to *Hugh Capet* of *France*; but she dying issueless, he secondly married *Gunnor*, a Gentlewoman of the *Danish* bloud, (whom he had kept his Concubine before) by whom hee had three sonnes and three daughters: the first was *Richard* that succeeded in his dominions; the second was *Robert* Arch-bishop of *Roan*; and the third was called *Maliger*: his daughters were *Hawisa*, the wife of *Geffrey* Earle of *Britaine*, and mother to *Alane* and * *Guye* his sonnes. *Maud* espoused * *Eudes* Earle of *Chartiers* and *Blois*: and *Emma*, called the *Flower of Normandy*, was Queene of *England*, both by the *English* King *Ethelred*, and *Canutus* the *Dane*, to both which shee was married.

* *Emma. Walsing. Ypodig. Neust.*

* Or, *Endo*, *Walsingh. ibi.*

* Or, *Edo. ibi.*

(23) *Richard* the second, surnamed the *Good*, was the fourth Duke of *Normandy*, and ruled the same for twenty foure yeeres: In whose time the *Normans* began to be great, and gracious in *England*, the marriage of his Sister making their way: His first wife was *Iudith* the Sister of *Geffrey* Earle of *Britaine*, by whom he had issue, *Richard*, the fifth Duke of *Normandy*, and *Robert* the sixt, *William* a Monke, and *Nicholas* Abbot of S. *Andrewes*: his daughters by her were, *Alice*, that died yong, and another of the same name married to *Reinold*, Earle of *Burgoine*, and *Eleanor* espoused to *Baldwin* the fourth Earle of *Flanders*, who bare vnto him *Baldwin* the fifth, father of *Maud* that was Queene of *England*, and wife to the *Conquerour*.

Richard 2. fourth Duke of *Normandy*. *Ran. Higden.* calleth him *Richard* the third.

(24) The second wife to Duke *Richard* the second, was *Estrike*, Sister to *Canute* King of *England*, from whom he purchased a Diuorce, without any issue begotten on her body; and then taking for his third wife a faire Gentlewoman named *Pauia*, had issue by her *William* Earle of *Arques*, and *Mauger* Archbishop of *Roan*.

(25) *Richard* the third of that name, and fifth *Duke* of *Normandy*, in the second yeere of his Dukedome died an vntimely death, not without suspition of Poyson, ministred by *Robert* his yonger brother, who presently was inuested in the *Duchie*, for that he left no issue of his body to succeed.

Richard 3. the fifth Duke of *Normandy*.

(26) This *Robert* (*Duke Richards Brother*) was a man of a magnanimous spirit, and of such bounteous liberality as is vncredible. Hee comming to the City *Phalesya* in *Normandy*, chanced to see a most goodly and beautifull Damosell, dancing among others of her familiar consorts; her name was *Arlet*, of meane parentage (the daughter of a Skinner, saith *Higden*) whose pleasing feature and comely grace so pleased the Duke, that taking her to his bed, he begot on her, *William* his onely sonne, (who proued the onely man of the *Normans* bloud) and after vpon a remorse of conscience, vndertooke a pilgrimage vnto *Ierusalem*, from whence hee neuer againe returned. *Arlet* in *Roberts* life time was married to *Herlaine* a *Norman* Gentleman, but of meane substance; to whom she bare *Odo* Bishop of *Baion*, by his halfe-brother *William* created Earle of Kent; and *Robert* created Earle of *Mortaigne*, a man of a dull and grosse wit; & a daughter named *Emma*, wife to *Richard* Count of *Auranches*, (a Prouince in *Normandy*,) the mother of *Hugh Lupus* Earle Palatine of *Chester*. And thus farre briefly I haue thought good to prosecute the Line of the *Normans*, for the better illustration of our *English* Stories.

Robert 1. the sixt Duke of *Normandy*.

Rand. Higden in Polycr. lib. 6. c. 19.

Wil. Tayler of Roan.

(27) Duke *Robert* intending his pious pilgrimage vnto the holy land, assembled all his Nobility vnto the City *Fiscan*, where he caused them to sweare fealty vnto his sonne *William*, being then but seauen yeares old, committing him to the Gouernance of one *Gilbert*, an Earle of much integrity and prudence, and the defence of that Gouernement vnto *Henry* the *French* King, and so in the eight yeare of his Dukedome, set on his voyage for *Ierusalem*; who entring *Iurye*, and not able to trauaile, was boren in a litter vpon the *Saracens* shoulders, and neere vnto the Citie, meeting a returning Pilgrime, desired him to report in his Country what he there saw, which is, (said he) that I am carried to Heauen vpon the Diuels backe: but so farre was hee boren that he neuer returned, being preuented by death: which the *Norman Peeres* hearing, made vse thereof for their owne ambitious ends, without any regard of young *William* their Pupill and Soueraigne, and growne into factions, greatly troubled the Peace of their Country, wherein Earle *Gilbert* the Protector was slaine, by *Randulphus* the young Dukes Cosen-Germaine.

Wil. Malmsb. lib. 3. cap. 1.

Rand. Higden. in Polyc. lib. 6. cap. 19.

(28) The beginner of these stirres was another of his kinsmen, euen *Guy* of *Burgoine*, the sonne of Duke *Richards* daughter, brought vp with *William* in his youth, and euer in his most especiall esteeme; who, vpon a vaine hope to aspire to an *Earldome*, got the aide of the Vicounts, *Nigill*, and *Randulph*, but took such a fall

Wil. Malmsbury. lib. 3.

a fall before hee could aſcend the higheſt ſtep, that in loſing his footing he loſt therewith his head.

(29) Strife alſo aroſe betwixt young *William*, and his vnckle *William* the baſe-borne Earle of *Archis*. Whereupon King *Henry* of *France*, who till then had held this Wolfe by the eare, fearing ſome hazzard to himſelfe, if he ſhould now let him goe, thought it beſt to aide the *Earle* in his cauſe, and therefore ſent him ſupply vnder the leading of ſome men of note; but *William* ſo begirt his Caſtle with ſtrait ſiege, that hee cauſed the Earle by famiſhment to yeeld vp his Fort, and droue the *French* with diſgrace out of the field: where, with ſuch ſucceſſe hee ſtill proſpered, that *Henry* now, to ſecure his owne Confines, ſent *Odo* his brother for Prefect, into thoſe Parts that lay betwixt the Riuers *Rein* and the *Seyn*.

(30) *William*, as watchfull as the *French* King was jealous, ſent againſt *Odo*, *Robert Count Auceníis*, *Hugh Gornacenſis*, *Hugh Mountfort*, and *William Criſpine*, all of them ſtout Souldiers, which ſo brauely bare themſelues, that *Odo* was the firſt man that made away, and the reſt of the *French* ſaued themſelues by flight.

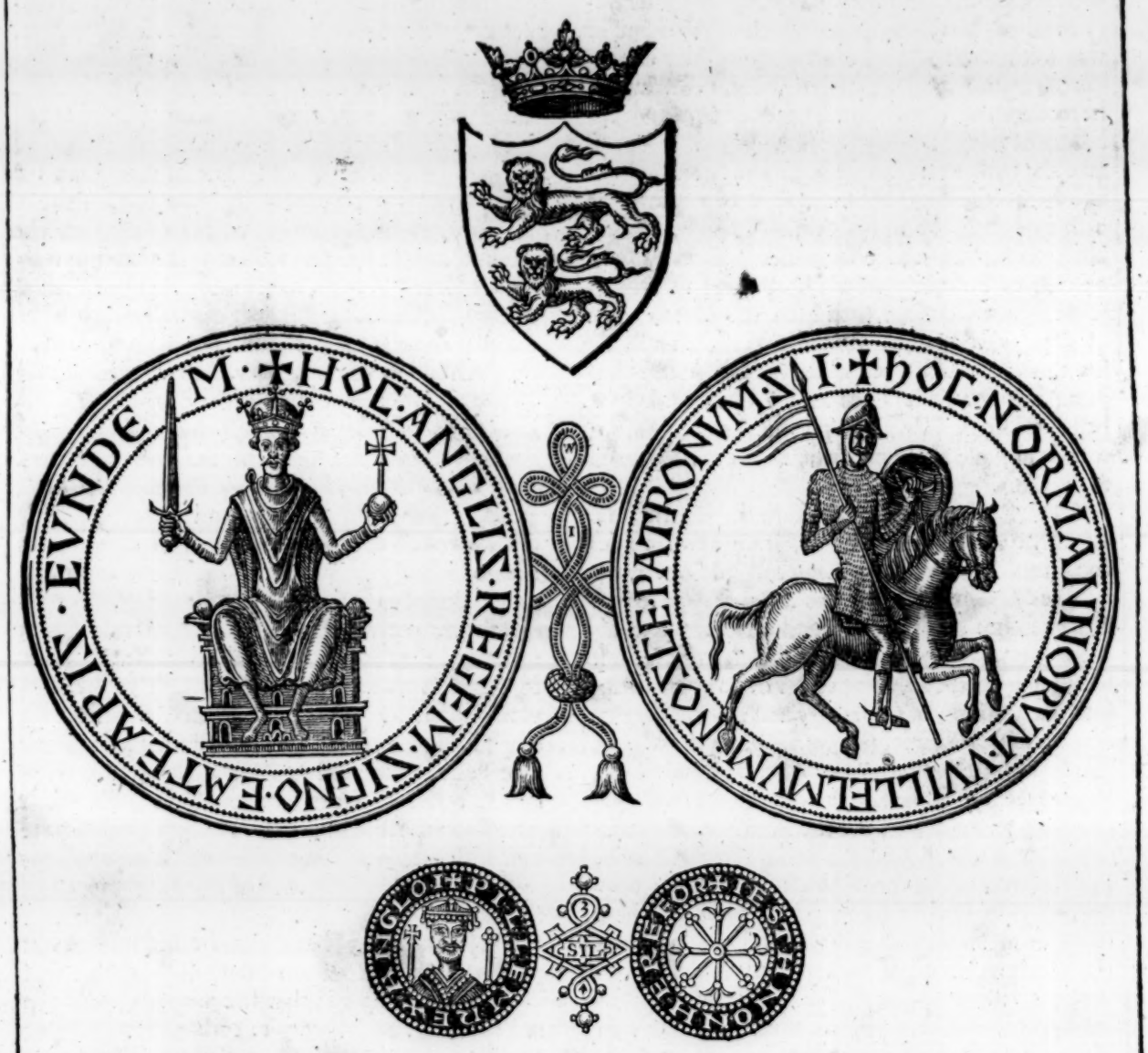
(31) *William* that had ſworne a league with King *Henry*, and in his Minority had euer found him his gracious Guardian, was loth to endanger the breach of his Oath, or the duty that loue and deſerts had obliged him vnto; and therefore by this Stratagem hee ſought to diſlodge the *French*. In the ſilence of Night when in the Kings Campe all were at reſt, he cauſed to be cried aloud, the flight of *Odo*, and his diſcomfiture, with no leſſe terrour then it was; which rang ſo ſhrill in the eares of the *French*, that *Henry* thought beſt to be gone: leauing *William* the abſolute Lord of *Normandie*.

(32) Which he valiantly defended, and vprightly gouerned all the daies of King *Henry*: whoſe death preſently cauſed an alteration of State; for he leauing *Baldwine*, ſurnamed the *Gentle*, and fifth Earle of *Flaunders*, Tutor to his yong Sonne *Philip*, the quarrell betwixt thoſe two Princes had an end; *Baldwine* on the one ſide ſo working his Pupill, and on the other the *Normane*, (who was his ſonne in law) that a moſt firme League was ratified betwixt them, and kept vnuiolated ſo long as *William* was a Duke: where wee will leaue him in proſperitie and peace, and proceed in our intendment, as he did in his Conqueſt here in *England*.

William the Conqueroʋr.

WILLIAM, SVRNAMED THE CONQVEROVR, THE THIRTIE NINTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISH-MEN: AND FIRST OF THE NORMANS: HIS LIFE, RAIGNE, ACTS, WIFE, AND ISSVE.

Monarch 39



CHAPTER II.

An.D.1066.

BAttle-Field wonne with the losse of little lesse then sixty eight thousand men, and *Harold* in Souldier-like exequies boren vnto *Waltham* in *Essex*, & there honourably enterred, as wee haue said: *William the Conquerour*, (for so now may we stile him) returned to *Hasting*, and thence set forward with spoile of the Country, ouer *Thamesis*, towards *London*.

Simon Dun.

(2) Where *Edwine* and *Morcar*, the Brethren of the Queene, were in working the *English*, that one of them should be King, or rather, saith *Simon* of *Durham*, to crowne *Edgar Etheling*, the rightfull heire, in such esteeme with the People, that he was commonly called *Englands Darling*; vnto whose side most of the Nobles adheared, with the Citizens of *London*, and the Nauall forces; to which part also ioyned *Aldred* Archbishop of *Yorke*, though presently he fell off and stuck to the stronger; for the Prelates, though secretly affecting the right claime, yet terrified with the flashing thunderbolts of the Papal curse (who had sent *William* a consecrated Banner, an *Agnus Dei*, and one of Saint *Peters* Haires, in way of his good speed) durst not goe forward with their purpose (so powerfull was the Pope in blessings and cursings, to defeat the rightfull heires of Kingdomes) but refused to side with the Lords, whereupon all their designements were suddainely quashed.

Lib. S. Alban.

(3) For *William* hauing wasted through *Kent*, *Sussex*, *Surrey*, *Hampshire*, and *Barkshire*, came vnto *Wallingford*, and crossing there the *Thamesis*, passed through the Counties of *Oxford*, *Buckingham* and *Hertford*, where staying at *Berkhamsted*, *Aldred* Arch-bishop of *Yorke*, *Wolstane* Bishop of *Worcester*, *Walter* Bishop of *Hereford*, with the Earles *Edwin* and *Morcar*, yea, & *Edgar* himselfe, yeelded their allegiance vnto the Duke: This curse so preuailing, farre

The Pope powerfull to depose Princes.

Wil. Malms.

Wil. Gemitic.

farre engaged *William* to the Pope.

Trees cut downe to hinder *Williams* passage.

(4) *William* intending for *London*, being on his way, found the passage stopt vp with multitudes of great trees, which by the policy of *Fredericke* Abbot of S. *Albanes*, (a man descended from the *Saxons* noble bloud, as likewise from *Canutus* the *Dane*) to secure his Monastery from the destruction of the *Normans*, were so cut downe: whereat the Duke both wondring and fretting, sent for the Abbot, vnder his assurance of safe returne, and demanding the cause why his woods were so cut; *Frederick* answered very stoutly, *I haue done* (said he) *the duety both of my birth and profession; and if others of my ranke had performed the like (as they well might and ought) it had not beene in thy power to haue pierced the Land thus farre.*

Iohn Stow.

(5) *William* hearing the bold answere of this Prelate, and knowing it was now a time fitter to pacifie, then exulcerate the *English* spirits, gaue way to the present necessitie, and withall hastned (as good policy required) his Coronation, which at Westminster was solemnized vpon Monday, being the day of *Christs Nativity*, and yeere of saluation, 1066. where he receiued the Crown at the hands of *Aldred* Archbishop of *Yorke*; causing the Bishops and Barons to take the oath of allegiance vnto him; and himselfe likewise at the Altar of S. *Peters*, tooke a solemne oath to defend the rights of the Church, to establish good lawes, and to see iustice vprightly administred, as became a good King; and thereupon chose for his Councell, such Men as hee knew to be of great wisedome and experience: next, applying his thoughts for the securitie of his new gotten Empire; fortified such places as lay open to danger, bestowed strong Garrisons vpon the Coasts, & Ships to ride in those Harbours which were most exposed to inuasion.

King *Williams* Coronation.

William fortifieth against inuasions.

Polydor.

Matth. Paris.

(6) And the better to assure the South of the Land (best seruing his purpose, if any new troubles should arise) hee tooke his way towards *Douer*, the *locke and key of the Kingdome*, as *Matthew Paris* termes it; that so hee might commaund the Seas from his enemies arriuage, and ouer-awe the *Kentish*, a most strong and populous Prouince. When *Stigand* therefore Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, and *Eglesine* the Politique Abbot of Saint *Augustines*, (being the chiefest Lords and Gouernours of *Kent*) vnderstood of his approch, they assembled the Commons at *Canterbury*, laying forth the perils of the Prouince, the miseries of their neighbours, the pride of the *Normans*, and the wrongs of the Church; all which now were too apparantly seene: the *English* till then, (they sayd) were borne free, and the name of Bond-men not heard of among them; but now seruitude onely attends vs, if wee yeeld (said they) to the insolency of this griping enemy: These two Prelates therefore, after the example of the vndaunted *Machabees*, offered themselues to die in the defence of their Country; whose forwardnesse drew the people vnto the like resolution, which by their aduertisements were assigned to meete at a day, the place was *Swanscombe*, two miles West from *Graues-end*.

John Stow.

Archbishop *Stigands* perswasion of the *Kentish.*

Thom. Sprot.

(7) Where accordingly conuening, and keeping secret in the woods, they waited the comming of the Conquerour, all ioyntly agreeing, for that no way lay open saue onely a front, to carry in their hands great branches of trees, wherewith they might both keepe themselues from discouery, and (if neede were) impeach the passage of the *Normans:* which deuice tooke so strange an effect, that it daunted the Duke, euen with the sight, at his approach; who being as he thought free from the enemy, was now suddainly beset on all sides with woods, whereof seeing some before him to moue, he knew not but that all the other vast woods were of like nature, neither had hee leasure to auoide the daunger. The *Kentish* inclosing his Army about, displayed their Banners, cast downe their boughes, and with bowes bent prepared for battle; so that hee which euen now had the Realme to his seeming in his fist, stood in despaire of his owne life; of which his sodaine amazement, the reuerend Prelates *Stigand* and *Eglesine* taking notice, and also aduantage, presented themselues before him, and in the behalfe of the *Kentish* thus spake.

The *Kentish* policie against King *William.*

Stigands Oration.

"(8) *Most noble Duke, behold heere the Commons* "*of* Kent *are come forth to meet and receiue you as their* "*Soueraigne, requiring your Peace, their owne free con-* "*dition of estate, and their ancient lawes formerly vsed:* "*if these be denied, they are heere presently to abide the* "*verdite of battaile, fully resolued rather to die, then to* "*depart with their Lawes, or to liue seruile in bondage;* "*which name and nature is, and euer shall be strange vn-* "*to vs, and not to be endured.*

Wil. Thorne.

The Conquerour driuen into this strait, and loath to hazard all on so nice a poynt, their demaunds being not vnreasonable, more wisely then willingly granted their desires; and pledges onboth parts giuen for performance, *Kent* yeeldeth her Earledome, and Castle of *Douer* to their new King *William.*

Simon Dun.

(9) All things established for *Englands* securitie, and subiection now to the *Normans*; hee ordained his halfe brother by the surer side, *Odo* Bishop of *Bayeux*, (whom he created Earle of *Kent*) and his cosen *William Fitz-Ozburne* (by him made Earle of *Hereford*) to be Gouernors in his absence ouer the Realme; and in the *Lent* following sayled into *Normandy*, leading with him many pledges for their fidelity, besides other Nobles, especially such as he feared to be too potent; amongst whom, *Stigand* the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the two great Earles *Edwin* and *Morcar*, *Edgar* surnamed *Atheling*, *Frethericke* Abbot of S. *Albans*, *Agelnothus* Abbot of *Glastenbury*, *Walteof* the sonne of the warlike *Siward* Earle of *Northumberland*, *Roger* Earle of *Hertford*, *Rainulph* Earle of *Cambridge*, and *Gospatricke* Earle of *Cumberland*, were the men of greatest note; yet was hee no sooner gone, but that *Edricke*, surnamed *Sylnaticus* (sonne to *Alfrick*, the brother of *Edrick Streona*, the treacherous Earle of *Mercia*,) a man of great spirit, and of no little power, aided by the *Welshmen*, tooke vp armes and denyed subiection to the *Normans*, so that by either partie (as in ciuill discords it euer falleth out) great spoyles were made in many places; but most of all in *Herefordshire*, where *Robert Fitz-Scroope* left to man the Castle, did much hurt vpon the Tenants of *Edricke*, and he to requite him with the like, calling to his ayde *Blethyn* and *Sywalhon* Kings of *Wales*, wasted all to the mouth of *Wye*.

Henry Hunt. Polyc. Ypodigma. Neust. Marianus.

The *Welshmen* tooke armes against *William.*

Mat. Westminster. lib. 2.

(10) These stirres in *England* called *William* out of *Normandy*, and were so distastfull to his great, but ill digesting stomacke, that hee began to hold the reine straiter, and harder to curbe the head-strong *English*, giuing the possessions of their Nobles vnto his *Normans*, and laying vnwonted taxes and heauie Subsidies vpon the Commons, then which nothing bred him more hatred, in so much, that many of them, to enioy a barren liberty, forsooke their fruitfull inheritance, and with their Wiues and Children, as out-lawes, liued in the woods, preferring that naked name of freedome, before a sufficient maintenance possest vnder the thraldome & tyranny of their Conquerours: but in short time, to sustaine their wants, (easily conceiued, but hardly endured,) they so fell to spoyle and robbe, that the high wayes lay vntrodde from Towne to Towne, yea, and priuate houses euery where so guarded with Bowes, Billes, Polaxes, Swords, and Clubs, as if they had beene not harbours of peace, but fortresses of warre; when prayes were made at the shutting in, and opening of their doores, as in times of open hostilitie. On the other side, such as preferred vassalage with some hope of tollerable, (yea, or vntollerable) vsage, they to curry fauour with the *Normans*, seeming to forget who they were, became as strangers themselues, and did shaue their beards, round their haire, and in garment, behauiour, and diet, altogether vnfashioned

An. D. 1067.

The lands of the *English* giuen to the *Normans.*

Warres euen in peace.

Mat. Paris.

The *English* became ſtrangers.

ned themſelues to imitate them: it being a ſhame in thoſe daies, euen amongſt *Engliſhmen*, to be an *Engliſhman*.

(11) Vnto theſe Male-contents, and voluntary *Out-lawes*, ioyned *Morcar* and *Edwine*, the ſtout Earles of *Cheſter* and *Yorkeſhire*, ſetting vp againe for their Captaine *Edgar Atheling* (which if in due time at firſt they had done, might haue proued ſucceſſefull) who with their complices right valiantly for a time reſiſted the *Normans*, and in their proceedings put many of them to the ſword. King *William* as carefull and ſedulous to preuent further miſchiefe, collecting his forces, and not without danger of his life, diſſolued their power, ſo that euery man ſought how to ſaue himſelfe by eſcape: among whom *Edwin* and *Morcar*, *Weltherſus* and *Merther*, with ſome of the Biſhops and Clergie, went into *Scotland*: *Marleſwin*, and *Goſpatricke*, Noble men of *Northumberland* went into *Denmarke*: *Edgar Atheling*, with his mother *Agatha*, and his ſiſters *Chriſtian* and *Margaret*, tooke the ſeas for *Hungarie*; but by contrary windes were driuen into *Scotland*, where they were moſt courteouſly entertained by *Malcolme* (ſurnamed *Cammor*) King of that Country, who ſo affected the perſon and qualities of Lady *Margaret*, that hee entred with her a Nuptiall contract, and the rather in reſpect of her poſſibility and neereneſſe to the *Engliſh* crowne; whoſe marriage was ſolemnized about the feaſt of *Eaſter*, in the ſecond of King *Williams* raigne, whereby *Scotland* became a ſanctuary to the *Engliſh*, which daily fledde thither from the preſſures of the *Normans*.

Many Nobles flie out of *England*.

Mat. Paris.
Mat. Weſt.

King *Malcolme* marrieth Lady *Margaret*.

(12) The Conquerour now perceiuing the occaſion of new ſtirres, ſent vnto King *Malcolme* for the deliuerie of *Edgar* his enemie; which if he refuſed, hee threatened to denounce open warre againſt *Scotland*. But *Malcolme* minding more his owne honour, then King *Williams* threats, returned this anſwere, That he held it an vniuſt thing, yea and (in a Prince) a wicked part, to betray him to his enemy, that came vnto his Court for protection, as Prince *Edgar* was forced for feare of his life; whoſe innocency and demeanour toward *William*, his greateſt aduerſarie could not touch with the leaſt ſuſpect: alleadging further (beſides the reſpect of ordinary humanity, in this caſe euer religiouſly to be obſerued) the ſtraight bands of their neere alliance, which required him to tender the afflicted eſtate of his moſt louing wiues, moſt loued brother, comming vnder his Canopie, as it were for defence.

King *William* ſendeth for *Edgar* out of *Scotland*.

An honourable lying.

The loue of alliance.

(13) *William* thus fruſtrate of all hope from King *Malcolme*, and daily perplexed at the flight of the *Engliſh* vnto his kingdome, feared a reuolt and dangerous rebellion; to preuent which, hee cauſed foure ſtrong caſtles to be built, one at *Haſting*, another at *Lincolne*, the third at *Nottingham*, and the fourth at *Yorke*, wherein he beſtowed ſtrong gariſons: and diſarming the *Engliſh* of armour, commaunded euery houſe holder to put out both fire; and candle at eight of the clocke at night, at which houre, in euery City, Towne, and Village, hee cauſed a bell to be rung, of the *French* then called *Couerfew* (that is, *Couer-fire*) partly yet in practiſe, and in name very neere, commonly called *Curfue*: to preuent nightly tumults that might happily be done.

Fire and candle forbid at certaine houres vnto the *Engliſh*.

Mat. Weſtminſter.

(14) All this his circumſpection notwithſtanding, could not preuent the troubles that preſently aroſe; for *Goodwin* and *Edmund*, the ſonnes of the late King *Harold*, comming with ſome forces out of *Ireland*, and landing in *Sommerſetſhire*, fought with *Adnothus*, (ſometime maſter of their fathers horſe, but now a *Normaniſt*) whom they ſlew with many others, and taking great booties both in *Cornwall* and *Deuonſhire*, departed againe for *Ireland*.

Goodwin and *Edmund* out of *Ireland* inuade *England*.

Exceſter likewiſe, ſeeking to ſhake off the fetters of the *Normans* bondage, as alſo *Northumberland*, to recouer their former liberties, tooke Armes: againſt whom, King *William* in all haſt poſſible, ſent *Robert Cumin*, and went himſelfe ſtrongly prepared againſt *Exceſter*, which he moſt ſtraitly beleagured; at which time the Citizens thought it not enough to ſhutte their gates againſt him, but contemptuouſly taunted and flouted him, vntill a great peece of the wall falling downe by the eſpeciall hand of God, (as the Hiſtorians of that age report) they immediately ſet open their gates; and ſubmitted themſelues to his mercy. The chiefe inſtigator to their diſloialty was *Githa* the mother of King *Harold*, and ſiſter to *Swaine* King of *Denmarke*, with others ſiding againſt the *Normans*, who now ſeeing the yeelding vp of that Citie, ſhifted themſelues out of danger, and got ouer vnto *Flanders*.

Cambd. Damon

Exceſter yeelded to King *William*.

(15) But fortune to *Cumin* was no ſo fauourable in the North, nor himſelfe ſo circumſpect as valiant; for lying ſecurely, as hee thought in the City *Durham*, hee was on the ſodaine ſurpriſed in the night by *Edgar Atheling* and his followers, where *Robert* and ſeuen hundred of his *Normans* were ſlain, one onely eſcaping, who brought the bloody newes thereof to King *William*, which happened in the third of his raigne, the twenty eight of *Ianuary*, and yeere of Chriſt 1068. The depth of Winter notwithſtanding, he poſted into the north; whoſe only terror danted all further attempts, ſo that taking ſome of the Authors of this rebellion, he cut off their hands, and ſome their heads, conceiuing hereupon more hatred againſt the *Engliſh*, and in that ſpleene of diſpleaſure returned to *London*.

An.D. 1068

The *Normans* ſlaine in the North.

Polyder.

(16) Whiles theſe inſurrections were on foot in *England*, the fugitiue *Engliſh* in *Denmarke*, ſo far preuailed with King *Swaine*, that they procured his aid to recouer their rights, and the rather, as they alleadged, for that the Crowne of *England* was his, deſcending from thoſe that had before made conqueſt thereof: hee therefore ſent a puiſſant Nauie of three hundred ſaile, well fraught with ſouldiers, vnder the conduct of *Osburne* his brother, and *Harold* and *Canute* his ſonnes: who arriuing in *Humber*, landed their men for *Yorke*, and waſted the Country all the way as they went; vnto whom ſhortly ioyned *Edgar* and his aſſociates out of *Scotland*, ſo that their Army was exceedingly ſtrong. Whoſe approch ſo terrified the *Yorkers*, that for very griefe thereof their Archbiſhop *Aldred*, (who was wholly become the *Normans* fauorite) died, and the *Norman* Gariſons that there kept, leſt the enemy ſhould haue any ſhelter or ſuccour, ſet their ſuburbs on fire; the flame whereof carried with an ouer-high wind, ſoone conſumed a great part of the City it ſelfe, and therein, the faire Cathedrall Church of S. *Peters*, with a famous Library thereto adioyning.

An.D. 1069.

Matth. Paris.
Matth. Weſtm. lib. 2.

The *Danes* with *Engliſh* fugitiues inuade *England*.

Lib. Ebor. M. S.

Yorke ſet on fire by her owne ſouldiers.

(17) The Citizens, and Souldiers thus beſet with ſodaine flames, thinking to ſecure their liues from the fire, did enhazard them on the fury of the ſword; for comming vnawares vpon theſe hardy and well-appointed *Danes*, were forced to come to a diſordered fight, wherein though for a time they behaued themſelues moſt valiantly, yet being ouerlaid were diſcomfited, with the ſlaughter of three thouſand of their men. The *Danes*, ſwelling with this proſperous ſucceſſe tooke into *Northumberland*, bringing all to their obeiſance where they came; and the two yong gallants were thereby ſo fleſhed, & incouraged, that they intended to haue marched to *London*, had not the extremity of winter (enemy to all warlike enterpriſes) hindred them; yea and *William* as willingly would haue beene doing, if the ſame cauſe had not kept him backe: but when the time of the yeare was fit for warre, hee gathered a great hoſt, whereof the *Engliſh* were chiefe, this being his policy, to vſe their weapons each' againſt others, whereby their ſtrengths might be leſſened, that ſo whoſoeuer loſt, his *Normans* might winne: theſe ioyning battaile with the enemy, fought it out manfully; and laſtly, making a breach into a wing of the

The *Danes* victors ouer the *Engliſh*.

Williams policy to weaken the *Engliſh*.

Wil. Malmsbury.

Daniſh army therewith ſo daunted the reſt, that all of them gaue backe and fled; *Harold* and *Canute* to their ſhips, & *Edgar Atheling* by ſwift horſe into *Scotland*. Earle *Waltheof*, who with his owne hands had ſlaine many a *Norman* that day, was reconciled to King *William*, now left Conquerour of the field; whoſe wrath was ſo kindled againſt theſe *Northerne* diſturbers, that he waſted all the faire Country betwixt *Yorke* and *Durham*, leauing all deſolate for threeſcore miles ſpace, which nine yeares after lay vntilled and without any inhabitant; when grew ſo great a famine, that theſe *Northerns* were forced to eate the fleſh of men.

The North miſerably waſted.

An.D. 1070. *Polydor.*

(18) The Conquerour after theſe troubles bare more hatred vnto the *Engliſh*, whoſe inconſtancie (ſo he accounted their vnquenched deſire of liberty) he daily dreaded, eſpecially the Nobles, and men of power; whereupon hee beganne to deale yet more roughly, for light cauſes thruſting out ſome of them into exile, and depriuing more of their lands and goods, ſeizing moſt part of euery mans reuenews into his owne poſſeſſion, as gained by a lawfull conqueſt, cauſing them to redeeme them againe at his hands, and yet retained a propriety thereof vnto himſelfe, by receiuing an annuall rent, and other prouiſions and ſeruices, whereof if they failed, their lands were vtterly excheated to the crowne; neither ſpared hee the Corporations of Cities, Townes, Monaſteries, or Epiſcopall Sees; but tooke from them their ancient liberties and priuiledges, whoſe redemptions ſet at what rate it pleaſed himſelfe, ſoon weakened their eſtates, which was the onely thing he aimed at, and therefore often blamed *Canutus* for his ouer-much gentlenes extended towards thoſe, whom he had conquered, whoſe ſteps therein hee ment not to tread.

The *Engliſh* hated and baniſhed.

Matth. Paris.

(19) He charged the Clergy with armour, horſe and money, for the maintenance of his wars, wherein the Biſhops and Abbots were taxed at very great ſummes, which hee cauſed to be regiſtred and laid vp in his treaſury: ſo that hee did not onely bereaue their Abbies and Monaſteries of all their gold and ſiluer, but, by the report of *Roger Windouer*, laid hands vpon their Chalices and rich ſhrines, and for their further vndoing eſtabliſhed by decree, that no *Engliſh* Scholler ſhould come to promotion. In which reſpect alſo, whereas *King Alfred had, for the maintenance of many learned Diuines, (which might inſtruct his people in the Faith, in their owne vulgar tong) founded a goodly Colledge in Oxford, to be maintained wholly at the Kings charges, which was accordingly performed, and royally continued in all his ſucceſſors raigns:* King William, *deſiring vtterly to deſtroy the Engliſh tongue, and preaching therein; decreed, that the ſaid annuall expence ſhould neuer after be allowed out of the Kings Exchequer*, to the great impairing both of learning and religion. To further all which proceedings, his holy Father Pope *Alexander* the ſecond, ſet in a foote, ſending two Cardinals, and a Biſhop from the See Apoſtolike, who in a Councell degraded *Stigand* Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, *Egelwine* Biſhop of the *Eaſt-Angles*, beſides diuers other Biſhops and Abbots of the *Engliſh* nation, depriued for no euident cauſe, but onely to giue place to the *Normans*, in fauour of the King.

Roger Wind.

Will. Malmeſ.

Ex Archiu. Colleg. Vniuerſit. Oxon.

Tun. Apol. l. 2.

Wil. Thorne.

Marianus.

Gerua. Dorober.

(20) The ancient lawes of the land he abrogated for the moſt part, ordaining new, nothing ſo equall nor ſo eaſie to be kept; which his lawes although they neerly concerned the *Engliſh*, & therefore ought of them to haue beene familiarly knowne, were notwithſtanding written in the harſh *Norman* tongue, which they vnderſtood not; ſo that many perſons, partly by the iniquity of the law it ſelfe, partly by ignorance in miſ-conſtruction, and often alſo by the ſleights of Pleaders and Iudges, who might pretend for law what they liſt, were wrongfully condemned, in forfeiture of goods, lands, yea and alſo of life, and generally ſo intangled with their vnknowne interpretation, and tortured with their delaies, turmoiles and trauerſes, that they rather choſe to giue ouer their ſuites, then to follow them with their endleſſe vexations.

M. Mils in Will. Conq.

Hard lawes impoſed vpon the *Engliſh*.

He cauſed likewiſe his Broad-Seale, wherewith he confirmed his Deeds and Charters, to be inſcribed on the one ſide, to acknowledge him for the *Normans Patron*, and on the other, for the *Engliſh King*, as in the ſculpture thereof, at the entrance of his hiſtory is ſeene, which beareth this ſence;

King *William* his Seale.

This Signe doth William, Normans Patron ſhow:
By this the Engliſh him their King doe know.

(21) Theſe ſnares of his lawes, accounted the fetters of the Natiues, were by the Nobility ſought to be caſt off: for *Edwin* and *Morcar*, (the two ſtout Earles ſo often mentioned) fainedly reconciled to the King not long before, combining with *Frethe-rike*, the bold and rich Abbot of S. *Albanes*, ſet vp *Edgar Atheling* their Generall once againe, and fell into a new conſpiracy: *William*, Lion-like, ſtorming at the looſe and regardleſſe allegiance of theſe vnſufferable ſubiects, daily with freſh attempts ſo diſturbing his peace, with a mighty power haſtened againſt them, and armed as well with the ſpirituall ſword of *Lanfranck*, (then aduanced to be Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*) as with maile of Iron, or coats of ſteele, laid all barren whereſoeuer hee came: his oppoſites for their parts knowing his purpoſe, as deſperately maintained what they had begunne, and fully were reſolued to make the ſword their Iudge.

An.D. 1072 *Will. Malmeſ.*

The *Engliſh* riſe againſt *William*.

(22) The King by his Spials hearing the encreaſe of their power, and knowing to his reſtleſſe trouble, the vnwilling ſubiection of the *Engliſh*, entred conſultation with his Archbiſhop; who as *Rehoboams* Sages, gaue him counſell ſomewhat to beare with their abuſes, rather then to hazard the ruine of all in fight; and ſo farre preuailed in this his aduice, that an aſſembly was appointed to meete at *Berkhamſted* in the County of *Hertford*, where the King entring parley with the *Engliſh* Nobility, ſo far did winde himſelfe into their good opinions, (being a very politicke, and faire-ſpoken Prince) that they all forthwith laid downe their weapons.

1 King. 12. 6.

(23) And hee for his part fearing to loſe the crowne with ſhame, which he had gotten by the effuſion of ſo much bloud, gaue his oath vpon the holy Euangeliſts, and the reliques of Saint *Albane* the Martyr, (the ſame being miniſtred vnto him by Abbot *Fretherik*) ſwearing to obſerue, and inuiolably to keep the ancient lawes of this land; & moſt eſpecially thoſe compiled by King *Edward* the Confeſſor, though (as the euent ſoone ſhewed) he little ment to doe as hee pretended.

King *William* ſworne vnto King *Edwards* lawes.

(24) Peace thus eſtabliſhed, among other conferences beſeeming ſuch eſtates, it chaunced King *William* to demand the reaſon how it came to paſſe, that his fortune ſhould be in one dayes battaile to ſubdue the *Engliſh*, which the *Danes* before him could not doe in many; to which queſtion whilſt each ſtood looking on others, expecting what to anſwere, the ſtout Abbot *Frethericke* ſtept forth and ſaid:

(25) *The reaſon thereof may eaſily be giuen, if the occaſion be well weighed; for wontedly the land was defended by dint of Swords, vntill that their warlike wearers vpon their godly deuotions, laid them from their ſides vpon the Altars of Oriſons, which through ouer-long reſt are growne very ruſtie, and their edges too dull now for the field: for, (ſayd hee) the maintenance of martiall men, with a great part of this lands reuenewes, are daily conuerted to pious imployments, to maintaine and defend theſe holy votaries, whoſe prayers pierce more deeper then the ſword: and therefore thou art obliged O King to maintaine their peace, that haue beene the cauſe of thy ſo eaſie purchaſe.*

Lib. S. Alban. M. S. in vita Frethe-ric.

A good ſpeech ill taken.

(26) But *William* before the words were well out of his mouth, replyed and ſaid, *Is the Clergy ſo rich and ſo ſtrengthned, that the land thereby lieth weakened of her men*

King *Williams* angry answere.

men at Armes, and to keepe onely the religious in safetie shall the Laitie lie exposed to the inuasions of the Danes, and other forreine Enemies? surely out of your owne mouthes I will iudge you, and for redresse will first begin with thee: whereupon hee tooke from the Abbey of *Saint Albanes* all the lands and reuenewes that lay betwixt *Barnet* and *London-Stone*. Abbot *Frederick*, whose ouerbold answers had now offended the King, without delay called a chapter of his brethren, shewing them their approaching dangers, and to auoid the present storme, went himselfe to *Ely*, where hee desisted not from his wonted machinations against the Conquerour.

Lib. S. Alban.

(26) This conference ended, and the Kings oath receiued, the *English* Armies disband themselues, as dreaming they had now good Fortune by the foot, and hoping the greatest stormes of their dangers were past; which presently prooued but a Vaine surmise: for King *William* hauing compounded with the *Danes* that lay all this last winter in *Northumberland*, and payed them a great summe for their departure, beganne extreamely to hate the Rebels, and with full resolution of their destruction, suddainely set vpon them apart, which hee durst not attempt, when they were vnited, so that slaying many, imprisoning others, and prosecuting all of them with fire and sword, well was he that could be first gone.

Simeon Dun. Math. Paris.

King *William* worketh vpon aduantage.

(27) *Edgar Atheling* got againe into *Scotland*, and *Edwin* Earle of *Yorkeshire* following with the like intent, was slaine in the way by his owne Souldiers; *Egelwin* Bishop of *Durham*, *Morcar* Earle of *Chester*, *Siward* surnamed *Bran*, and *Hereward* (a very valiant Knight) got into the Ile of *Ely*, relying wholly on the aduantage of the place.

Raud. Higden. Henry Hunt. Math. Paris.

The Ile of *Ely* fortified against *William.*

This *Hereward* had receiued a hallowed Sword, and benediction, of his vnckle the Abbot of *Peterborow*, and had most valiantly defended his owne inheritance against the *Normans*, and with no lesse courage withstood the Conquerour, being made captaine of those now assembled.

Ingulphus.

(28) But the King, lest delay should giue them aduantage, and the Ile harbor more of such his vnbrideled subiects, with a great power hasted thitherward, and stopping vp the East-passage from all flight, or reliefe, drew a causy on the West through the deepe Fennes, euen two miles of length, where likewise hee then built the Castle of *Wisbech*: against which, they in the Ile raised another of timber and turffes, and called it according to the name of their Captaine, *Hereward*: at which place, many assaults and bickerings being made, but yet no entrance gotten, *Morcar* by boat escaped out of the Ile, and in *Scotland* obtained by price, what these distressed could not by praier; so that *Malcolme* the King, in rescue & reuenge of them, inuaded *Cumberland*, and forraged all *Theisdale*: *Hereward* also went out of the Ile, and got a gallant crew of choise and youthfull souldiers, which stood most stoutly for the defence of their liberties.

King *William* assaulteth the Ile of *Ely.*

Roger Wind.

The Scots inuade *Cumberland.*

(29) In the meane while, the Monkes, oppressed with miseries, sued for mercy vnto the King, & *Thurstan* the Abbot repairing to *Warwick*, where *William* then lay, offered him entrance vnto the Ile, if hee would restore to their Abbey the ancient possessions: the King then rejoycing, to obtaine that by wit, which *Canutus* could not doe by maine strength, accorded to the request, and in great hast, but no little difficulty, got into the Ile, where slaying a thousand of the Common sort, hee vsed great cruelty against the better, imprisoning many, and dismembring others, some of their hands, some of their eies, and some of their feete. *Egelwine* Bishop of *Durham* hee imprisoned, first at *Abington*, then at *Westminster*, whose dyet was either so sparing, or stomack so great in forbearance, or both (for both are reported) that ere long he died of hunger.

The *Abbot* would hold his, howsoeuer the rest fared.

(30) Howsoeuer the Monkes of *Ely* kept their promise with *William* for betraying of the Ile; he contrariwise brake his for their preseruation and peace; for by no meanes their praiers would enter his eares, till the sound of seauen hundred markes had opened the way; to collect which, they were forced to sell both the iewels and ornaments of their Church; which being brought to his receiuers, there wanted (whether by error or deceit) a groat in weight, (for in those daies greater summes passed by weight, not by tale,) whereof when the King vnderstood, hee in great (but captious) rage, denied them all composition for peace, whereupon with much suite hee was entreated to accept of a thousand Markes more, to raise which, they disfurnished their Monastery euen of things of necessary vse.

John Stow.

A small peece of money wanting made more to be paide.

(31) But the *English Fugitiues*, who had gotten the *Scots* to sticke to them, were not yet pacified, but entring into *Cumberland*, they wasted the Country before them, vnto the Territories of Saint *Cuthbert*, & city of *Durham*; to meet whom, King *William* sent *Gospatrick*, who lately reconciled to his fauour, and created Earle of *Northumberland*, shewed the like measure of cruelty vpon the *Scotish* Abetters, as they had done against the *English*. The Conqueror therefore not a little moued against King *Malcolme*, for that his Country was a receptacle of his Rebellious Subiects, and himselfe now the chiefe Leader of the Male-contents into his Kingdome, hasted into *Scotland*, with a desire and purpose to haue done much more then hee was able to accomplish: for entring *Galloway*, hee more wearied his Souldiers in passing the Marish grounds and mountaines, then with encounter or pursuite of the Enemy, so that hee was forced to giue ouer his enterprize, and then drew his forces towards *Lothiam*, where King *Malcolme* and his *English* lay, being fully resolued, there to end by battaile, either his troubles, or his life.

The *English* enter into Scotland but with small successe.

Polyd. v.

(32) But *Malcolme* wisely considering the euent of war, and that the occasion thereof was not for his owne subiects, but for a sort of forraine fugitiues, beganne to thinke, that the wrongs therein done to another hee could hardly brooke himselfe, and sent therefore to *William* proffers of peace; whereunto lastly the *English* King inclined, and hostages deliuered vpon further Conferences, what time (as I take it) vpon Stane-more, not far from an homely hostilerie called the *Spittle*, a Stone-Crosse (on the one side of whose shaft stood the picture, and armes of the King of *England*, and on the other the Image & armes of the King and Kingdome of Scotland, vpon that occasion called the * Roi-crosse) was erected, to shew the Limits of either Kingdome; some ruines of which Meere-marke are yet appearing; for King *William*, granting *Cumberland* vnto *Malcolme*, to hold the same from him, conditionally that the *Scots* should not attempt any thing preiudicial to the Crowne of *England*, (for which King *Malcolme* did him homage, saith *Hector Boetius* the *Scottish* writer) and the *English* being reconciled to his fauour, after hee had built the Castle of *Durham*, returned as cleared from all Northern troubles.

Math. Paris.

Henry Hunt. Gemeticensis.

A stone-Crosse erected for a Meere-marke to both the Kingdomes.

Hector Boetius.

* That is, *Kings-Crosse.*

Cambden Brit.

Hector Boet. lib. 12. cap. 10.

(33) But his *Norman* Dukedome, stirred somewhat vnto rebellion, called King *William* into those parts, where, by the prowesse of the *English*, hee soone brought all things to peace, and returned for *England*, better conceiting of that Nation, especially of *Edgar Atheling*, whom he courteously receiued and honourably maintained in his Court, allowing him a pound waight of Siluer euery day to spend; a rare example of a victorious Conquerour, shewed vpon a man so vnconstant, (who twice had broken his oath of fidelity) and dangerous to be so neere vnto his person, being, as he was, a Competitor of his Crowne.

An. D. 1074.

Will. Malms. Mat. Paris.

The bounty of King *William* towards *Edgar Atheling.*

(34) Whiles the King was in Normandy, *Ralph de Ware* Earle of *Suffolke* and *Norfolke*, tooke to wife *Emma*, the daughter of *William Fitz-Osborne*, and sister to *Roger* Earle of *Hereford*, cosen to King *William*, and that without his consent; by whose affinity he conceiued no small pride, and euen on the wedding day, when Wine had well intoxicated the braine, with a long circumstance perswaded his Guests vnto a Re-

bellion; vnto whom yeelded *Roger* Earle of *Hereford*, his Brides brother, and *Waltheof* Earle of *North hampton*, with many other *Barons*, *Abbats*, and *Biſhops*: But the next morning, when Earle *Waltheof* had conſulted with his Pillow, and awaked his wits to perceiue the danger whereunto he was drawne, repaired ſtraightwaies to Archbiſhop *Lanfranke*, who was left Gouernour of the Land in King *Williams* abſence, reuealing vnto him their Conference and Treaſons intended, by whoſe aduice he went ouer into *Normandie*, and there with ſubmiſſiue repentance, ſhewed the King what theſe Lords and himſelfe had intended.

John Stow.

A conſpiracy intended and reuealed.

(35) The Earles therefore of *Norfolke*, and *Hereford*, whoſe ſtate now lay open to chaunce, as deſperate men tooke themſelues to Armes, & ſought how to vnite their two powers into one. This ſudden ſound of warre ſoone rouzed the Subjects, ſo that *Wolſtane* Biſhop of *VVorceſter*, and *Egelwine* Abbat of *Eueſham*, hauing called to their ayde *Walter Lacie*, and *Vrſe* the Sheriffes of *Worceſter*, ſo manfully withſtood Earle *Roger*, that he with his Army could not paſſe ouer Seuerne to joyne with his brother *Norfolke*: And he againe was ſo ſore laide at, by *Odo* Biſhop of *Bayeux*, and *Geffrey* Biſhop of *Conſtance*, (who had aſſembled a mightie Army both of *Engliſh*, and *Normans*) that they conſtrained him firſt to *Norwich*, where, in the Caſtle hee beſtowed his Counteſſe, and thence fled himſelfe into *Little Britaine*, whither ſhortly ſhe followed.

Math. Weſtminſter. Henry Hunt. Simon Dun.

John Pike.

An.D. 1075

(36) *William* now returned from *Normandy*, and ſome reliques of rebellion remaining in the Weſt, he haſted thitherward, where, with ſmall adoe, he got Earle *Roger* into his hands, and condemned him to perpetuall priſon; the *Welſh* his Aiders (of whom alſo were many at the ſaid Marriage) he vſed with great ſeuerity; for of ſome he put out the eyes, of others he cut off the hands, hanged ſome vpon gibbets, and he that ſcaped beſt, went into baniſhment; neither Earle *Waltheof*, notwithſtanding he reuealed the conſpiracie, eſcaped vnpuniſhed; for after that the King had taxed him with ingratitude (he hauing formerly reſtored the Earledome vnto him) he cauſed his head to be chopt off at *Wincheſter*, (although he had before promiſed his pardon and life) his great poſſeſſions being his greateſt Enemies; for he is reported to haue beene Earle of *Northampton*, *Northumberland*, & *Huntington*, thought by the King to be fitter dignities for the *Normans* his followers; and the deſire of a new Marriage, moued *Iudith* his Wife not a little to ſet forward and haſten his death.

William returning vſeth ſeuerity againſt the Engliſh.

Wil. Malmsbury.

Henry Hunt.

A kinde-hearted Wife.

An.D. 1076.

(37) Theſe beginnings againſt the *Welſh*, King *William* proſecuted farther, entering into *Wales* with a ſtrong Armie, as purpoſing a finall end of thoſe Domeſticall warres, hauing ſo repleniſhed *England* with his *Normans*, that hee now promiſed himſelfe ſecurity and happineſſe of State: To him therefore the Princes of *Wales* vnable to reſiſt, performed their Homages at Saint *Dauids*, and with their Hoſtages hee returned as a victorious Conquerour.

Mat. Paris. Mat. Weſtminſter.

The Princes of Wales doe homage to *William.*

But the Seas of theſe troubles now growne quiet and calme, and he at ſome leaſure to thinke on future ſucceſſe, all on the ſudden a cloud aroſe in the *North*, which haſtily came on and threatned a ſtorme.

(38) For *Swaine* King of *Denmarke*, whoſe title (to his ſeeming) ſtood firme for the Crowne, manned forth two hundred tall Ships, whereof his ſonne *Canute*, and Earle *Hacon*, were Generals; for his brother *Osborne* he had baniſhed *Denmarke*, that baſely tooke money to depart *England* ſome few yeeres before, notwithſtanding his claime he made ſtill, though for money, ſtill ſtopped by his *Danes*: For ſo ſaith their owne writer *Adam Bremenſis*, that *continuall contention was betwixt* Swaine *and the baſtard, although* (ſaith he) *our Biſhops by bribes would haue perſwaded peace betwixt the two Kings*: Yea, and *Malmsbury*, our Writer, affirmeth, that *William* gaue bribes to Earle *Hacon* to be gone; though *Paris* and *Polydor* report, that when theſe *Danes* heard that their fauourites heere were vanquiſhed, they turned their Sailes for *Flanders*, and durſt not fight with King *William*.

Math. Paris. Henry Hunt. Simon Dun.

Will. Malmeſ.

Math. Paris. Polydor.

(39) But now a leſſe ſuſpected, but much more vnnaturall warre aroſe; for *Robert*, his eldeſt ſonne, (ſet on by *Philip* king of *France*, who did greatly dread this ſo haſtie groath of the Conquerour) claimed *Normandy* by gift of his father, promiſed to him immediately after his Conqueſt of *England*; a Noble Gentleman ſurely, but of an ambitious and haſty nature, prodigally ſpending and maintaining his followers aboue the compaſſe of his priuate eſtate; him *Philip*, & his own ill-nurtured Ambition, thruſt forward, and Q. *Maud* his mother ſupplied vnder hand, out of her owne Coffers, and King *Williams* Reuennewes, ſo that with Banners diſplaied, he entred *Normandy* in hoſtile manner, and there by force ſeized vpon diuers places to his owne vſe, and ſo without reſpect of dutifull patience, gained by force the free-gift of his father.

An.D. 1077

Robert warreth for Normandy.

Will. Malmeſ.

(40) King *William* hearing of his ſonne *Roberts* proceedings, was not (as great cauſe there was) a little offended thereat, and with a powerfull Army haſted to *Normandy*: where neere vnto the Caſtle of *Gerbory*, at a place called *Archenbraye*, hee joyned battell with his ſonne; where the fight was ſore and dangerous on both ſides, the Generals being ſuch men as they were; but in the heat of the foot battels that fought it out reſolutely, *Robert* commaunded a power of Horſe to breake in vpon the Rereward of his enemies, and himſelfe valiantly following, chanced to light againſt his owne Father, and with his Lance thruſt him through the Arme, bearing him off his Horſe to the ground. King *William* thus wounded & ſalne, called for helpe to be remounted, ſtorming to ſee his bloud ſpilt in his owne Land, and againſt his owne ſonne, which neuer had beene in battailes of other Countries, nor drawne by the weapons of forraigne enemies, and in great rage threatned the reuenge: *Robert*, that knew his Father by his voyce, haſtily alighted, and in his Armes tooke him from the earth, humbly deſiring his pardon for this vnknowne fact, and forgiueneſſe of his ouer-haſtie attempt; then mounting him vpon his owne Horſe, brought him in ſafetie out of the preſſe; who hauing eſcaped ſo great a danger, and ſeeing himſelfe for the preſent too weake to withſtand the enemie, left the honour of the field vnto *Robert*, with the loſſe of many his ſouldiers, ſlaine there both in the battaile and chaſe, beſides a great number that were hurt & wounded; among whom, *William Rufus* his ſecond ſonne was one, a man of a better temper, and more filiall regard to his parents, and therefore more deſeruedly and tenderly beloued then *Robert*; for which diſhonour now done to his Father, and diſloialty for his vnnaturall Armes, hee bitterly curſed him, and execrated the time wherein hee begat him: howbeit, others doe write, that for his moſt vndaunted courage at that time, iſſuing and ending in ſuch dutifull and tender care of his fathers ſafetie, hee preſently forgaue his former offences, and euer after had him in better reſpect.

Mat. Paris. Simon Dun.

King *William* wounded, and vnhorſed.

Will. Malmeſ.

He bandeth his ſonne.

(41) Theſe ſtirres thus qualified, and King *William* returned, hee went forward with his former determination, for ſetling a further aſſurance to himſelfe, and ſucceſſours, of the *Engliſh* crowne; to which end, firſt on the Eaſt-ſide of *London* (the mother City of the Land) he laid the foundation of a ſtately & ſtrongly fenced Caſtle, or Magazine of warlike munitions, intrenched with a large and deepe Ditch, now called the Tower of *London*; the ſurueyor of which worke, was *Gundulphus* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*; about the twelfth yeare of the Conquerours raigne, ſo much is leſſened the antiquity of that Citadell, & credite of ſuch as would haue it founded by *Iulius Caeſar*; vnleſſe (perhaps) we would thinke that King *William* did onely adde ſome new fort to the former; being built (ſaith *Fitz-Stephen*) with morter tempered with the bloud of beaſts.

An.D. 1078.

The Tower of London built. *John Stow. Regiſt. Epiſt. Roff.*

Stephanide.

(42) Then to enrich his owne Coffers (for hee is taxed by *Malmesbury* to be exceeding couetous) hee laid

Will. Malmeſ.

Florentius Wigor. Englands Suruay and generall iudgement.

laid great ſubſidies vpon the land: and that the ſame might amount to his great benefite, (though with the greateſt grieuance of the people) hee cauſed an exact ſuruey to be taken of the whole kingdome, yea and of euery particular part and commodity thereof; ſo that there was not an hide of land, lake, water, or waſte, but he knew the valuation, the owners, and poſſeſſors, together with the rents, and profits thereof, as alſo of all Cities, Townes, Villages, Hamlets, Monaſteries, and Religious houſes; cauſing alſo all the people in *England* to be numbred, their names to bee taken, with notice, what euery one might diſpend by yeere; their ſubſtance, money, and bond-men recorded: how many yokes of oxen, and plough-lands were in the Realme, and what ſeruices they owed, who held of him in Fee; all which was certified vpon the oathes of Commiſſioners. This done, he exacted ſixe ſhillings to be paied him for euery hide of land; which amounted to an huge maſſe of money. The Booke thus made of euerie ſeuerall ſuruey, was commonly called the rowle of *Wincheſter*, (as being there at firſt kept) but for the generality, and ineuitable cenſure thereof, is by Authors named *Liber Iudiciarius*, by the *Engliſh*, *Domeſday Booke*, kept to this day in the Kings Exchequer at *Weſtminſter*: of which collection *Robert*, a Poet at *Glouceſter* in ancient time, and ryme, wrote thus:

Ingulphus.

Higden. *Stow* calleth that Booke, *Domus Dei.*

Ingulphus.

Geruaſius Tilburienſ. *Robert Gloceſtrenſ.*

The King William, ver to wite the worth of his lond,
Let enqueri ſtretlich thoru all Engelond,
Hou moni Plou-lond, and hou moni Hiden alſo,
Were in euerich ſire, and wat hij were wurth yereto:
And the rents of each toun, and of the waters echone
The wurth, and of woods eke; that there ne liued none,
But that he wiſt wat hij were wurth of all Engelond,
And wite all clene, that wurth thereof ich vnderſtond,
And let it write clene inou, and that ſcrit dude iwis;
In the Treſorie at Weſtminſter, there it yut is,
So that vre Kings ſuth, when hij ranſome toke,
Yrede wat ſolc might yiue, hij fond there in yor boke.

Englands exactions.

(43) This exaction was gathered with ſuch extremity, & paid with ſuch impoueriſhing of the *Engliſh*, that they greeuouſly groned vnder their miſerable eſtate, whereby more hatred grew daily to the King, and his Normans; whoſe loue againe to them-ward was ſo little, that hee ſought by all meanes to bring the *Engliſh* name, and Nation to ruine: for it is noted by *Caſtor*, and *Rowſe*, *that no Engliſh man was permitted to beare any office of Credit, or Countenance in this Conquerours dayes*, and accounted it was a great ſhame to be called an *Engliſhman*, or to marry into their bloud.

John Caſtor. *John Rowſe.* Engliſhmens reproach. *Mat. Paris in Guil. Conq.*

(44) Theſe greeuances ſeeming vnſufferable, the *Engliſh* incited *Malcolme* King of *Scotland* once more to enter King *Williams* confines, waſting all before him vnto the Riuer *Tyne*; againſt whom the *Conquerour* ſent *Robert* his ſonne, ſurnamed *Courtoiſe*, who marching with a mighty Army, made ſhew of doing much more then hee did; this onely being memorable, that neere to the mouth of *Tyne* he laid the foundation of a Caſtle, whereof the towne of *New-caſtle* did afterward take both her beginning, and Name; though long before that time there was a place called *Monk-Cheſter*, becauſe (as it ſhould ſeeme) it had been either the habitation, or poſſeſſion of ſome Religious Order.

Simon Dunel. *Malcolme* inuadeth *England.*

Cambden in Ottadinis.

(45) Neither was *Swaine*, King of *Denmarke*, ſo quailed by his former expeditions, but that hee had a minde once more to graſpe at the *Engliſh* Crowne, preparing a mighty *Armado* that way, as was conſtantly reported and beleeued; King *William* therfore reteined a great power of French Souldiers with others, which hee had lately brought with him from *Normandy*, to disburden himſelfe of whoſe Charges, hee appointed them to bee maintained at the coſts of the *Engliſh*, both for their wages, and other prouiſions, which was another great burden vnto the *Engliſh*, though it long laſted not; for that the *Daniſh* King better aduiſing himſelfe, gaue ouer the enterpriſe, and thereupon theſe Souldiers were diſcharged.

Simon Dun. Danes prepare againſt *William.*

Mat. Weſt. The Engliſh charged with the maintenance of forraine Souldiers.

(46) Another griefe and offence he miniſtred againſt both God and man, for the fruitfull Countrey lying South from *Sariſbury* vnto the Sea, hee diſpeopled, pulling downe Townes, and Villages, with 36. Mother-churches, from mans vſe, & Gods diuine ſeruice; & for 30. miles, laid open the country, ſome ſay out of policie, to haue ſafe ariuage from *Normandy* in time of need: others ſay, for beaſts, & for his own game in hunting, or to vſe the words of *Gualter Mapes*, who liued immediatly after, *to dedicate the ſame vnto wilde Beaſts and Dogs-game*; which place, called anciently *Ytene*, was euer ſince named the *New-Forreſt*: impoſing great penalties both pecuniary, and corporall on all ſuch as offended in hunting his Game: in ſo much that he was then called the *Father of wild beaſts*, more fauouring them then the People his Subjects. But Gods juſt judgement not long after followed this ſo vnreaſonable, and cruell act: for in this Forreſt, *Richard* his ſecond ſonne being goared by a Deare, (others ſay, blaſted with a peſtilent Ayre) was vntimely ſlaine: And *Ruſus* his other ſonne miſtaken for a Deare was by chaunce ſhot thorow with an Arrow, by *Walter Tyrell*. *Henry* likewiſe his Grand-child by *Robert Courtoiſe*, whilſt he hotly purſued the chaſe, was ſtrucken by a bough into the jawes, and as *Abſolon*, left hanging vntill he died.

King *Williams* depopulations.

Cambd. in Hantſhire.

Gualter Mapes.

King *William* the father of wilde Beaſts.

Iudgements of God on King *Williams* iſſue in New-Forreſt. *Cambden.*

Thus, no doubt, God puniſhed his ſinnes, (euen on his children, & childrens children) who had both taken away the places, and vſe of his ſeruice, and alſo diſherited multitudes of Chriſtian people to their extreme pouerty, for his vnſatiat and ſuperfluous pleaſure: ſo that (as ſome then thought) the Earth it ſelfe alſo ſeemed to cry Reuenge, when as vpon the ſixt of *Aprill*, and fifteenth of King *Williams* Raigne, a moſt fearefull Earthquake, with a warring noiſe, did ſhake the ground.

Matth. Paris.

(47) Other great calamities are noted to haue hapned vpon his people, as burning feuers ſtrangely conſuming the people: Murrens deuouring infinite numbers of Cattle; abundance of raine, and concourſe of water-flouds beyond credite, whereby the Hilles were ſo ſoftned to the very foundations, that ſome of them fell, and ouerwhelmed the Villages which were in their way: moſt of the principall Cities of *England* much endammaged by fire, and *London* eſpecially, where the Cathedrall Church of Saint *Paul* (as much as was combuſtable) was conſumed to aſhes; and if that may alſo be noted (which cauſed not the leaſt wonder) tame, and domeſticke fowles, as Hennes, Geeſe, Peacockes, and the like fled into the Forreſts, and Woods, and became very wilde, in imitation of men, degenerating then into ſauages: for in thoſe times euen the Church-men (and therefore leſſe maruaile of others) became vnlike themſelues: *Walter* Biſhop of *Durham*, bought of King *William* the Earledome of *Northumberland*, maintained Murtherers, and was murthered himſelfe. *Odo*, another Biſhop, and Earle alſo, to reuenge his death, made *Northumberland* deſolate, beheading and diſmembring the poorer ſort, and at great ranſomes fining the rich. And Pope *Gregory* for his part played *Rex* in this Land, ſending hither his Buls with damning Curſes againſt the married Clergie: commaunding that none ſhould heare their Maſſes: which how it was diſgeſted, either by God, or man, let vs heare *Paris* an ancient Monke (and therefore herein no partiall man) ſpeake his minde.

Calamities falling on the Land.

All things degenerate.

Roger Wendouer. *Marianus.*

Pope *Gregories* Buls againſt maried Prieſts.

Math. Paris. in Guil. Conq.

" Pope

Inhibiting of married Priests a new deuice, and inconsiderate.

"(48) Pope *Gregory* in a generall Synode excluded "the married Priests from execution of their holy "offices, and forbad the Lay-men to heare their "Masses; a president new, and proceeding (as it "seemed to many) out of inconsiderate judgement, "contrary to the sentence of the holy Fathers: which "haue written, that the Sacraments of the Church, "by the inuisible operation of the holy Ghost, haue "their due effect, whether they are dispensed by "men good or bad, &c. By which fact so grieuous "a scandall is arisen, that holy Church was neuer "rent with a greater schisme in the time of any he- "resie whatsoeuer; whiles some stand for the right, "and others striue against it. Moreouer, whereas "few obserue this chastitie enioyned (for that "though some for gaine, or vaine-glory, doe hypo- "critically pretend it; yet many doe heape vp in- "continency with perjury, and manifold adulteries) "by this occasion the Lay-men shake off all due re- "spect to sacred orders, and ecclesiasticall gouerne- "ment; they prophane the holy mysteries, they "baptize Infants, annointing them with the sordid "humor of their ears in stead of holy oyle, they burn "the tithes due to the Priests; our Lords body con- "secrated by a married priest they tread vnder their "feet, and often doe wilfully cast forth the bloud of "our Lord vpon the ground.

Popish Continency hypocriticall.

Gregory 7.

(49) This *Gregory* (before called *Hildebrand*) sate in *Peters chaire* with such pranks of impietie, that his gouernement was odious to the *Romans*, who wished an end of his raigne and life, so that certaine Southsaiers imploied in that busines gaue forth, that after *Gregory*, *Odo* should be Pope. *Odo*, our said Earle, the Conquérours brother, fed with full hope that hee was the man, sendeth to *Rome* to buy him a Pallace, adorning it with stately and ouer-lauish trimmings; Salutes the Senators with great gifts and complements, stuffeth bagges with money, and letters to such as might doe much in the election, and prouides honourable personages to attend him to *Rome*. Among the which for chiefe, was *Hugh* Earle of *Chester*, with many great men and Knights of the Land: for the *Normans* variable, and desirous to see forraine Countries, were contented to forsake their faire lands in the West Climate, to accompany this proud Prelate ouer the Riuer *Poo*.

Odo, King *Williams* brother, affecteth the *Papacy*.

This jolly traine was set forward into the Isle of *Wight*, and there in great pompe ready to set saile into *Normandy*, when on the sodain King *William* vnlooked for, was euen among them, and in his great Hall, in presence of his Nobles, thus spake:

King *William* condemneth his brothers Ambitions.

"(50) Excellent Peeres, I beseech you hearken "to my words, and giue me your counsell: at my sai- "ling into *Normandy*, I commended *England* to "the gouernement of *Odo* my brother Bishop. In "*Normandy* many forraine foes haue risen vp a- "gainst mee, yea and inward friends I may say, haue "inuaded mee: for *Robert* my sonne, and other "yonglings whom I haue brought vp, and giuen "Armes, haue rebelled; vnto whom my false "Clients, and other bordering enemies haue giuen "their assistance: but they haue not prospered, "God (whose seruant I am) euer defending mee: "neither haue they gotten any thing of mine, be- "sides Iron in their wounds: They of *Anion* pre- "pared against mee, whom with the onely feare of "warre I haue pacified. These businesses you know "haue drawn me into *Normandy*, where I haue staied "long, and imploied my painfull endeuours on pub- "like behooues. But in the meane time, my brother "hath greatly oppressed *England*, spoiling the Chur- "ches of Lands and Rents, hath made them naked "of Ornaments giuen by our Predecessors, and hath "seduced my Knights, with purpose to traine "them ouer the Alpes, who ought to defend the "Land against the inuasions of the *Danes*, *Irish*, and "other Enemies ouer strong for me; but my greatest "dolour is for the Church of God, which he hath af- "flicted, and vnto which the Christian Kings that "raigned before me, haue giuen many gifts, and with "their loues honored, for which now (as we beleeue) "they rest, reioycing with a happy retribution in a "pleasant State: *Ethelbert*, *Edward*, *Saint Oswald*, *Al-* "*thulph*, *Alfred*, *Edward the Elder*, *Edgar*, and my co- "sen and most deare Lord *Edward*, haue giuen Riches "to the Church, the spouse of God: But my Brother "to whom I committed the whole Kingdome, vio- "lently plucketh away their goods, cruelly grindeth "the poore, and with a vaine hope stealeth away my "Knights from mee, and by oppression hath exaspe- "rated the whole Land with vniust taxations; con- "sider thereof, most Noble Lords, and giue mee (I "pray you) your aduice, what is herein to be done.

His Oppressions.

(51) At which pause, when all stood mute, as fearing to giue their opinions in so weighty a poynt, concerning so great a Person, the King thus continued his speech.

"Hurtfull rashnesse is euer vnsufferable, and must "at length be repressed. This man hath oftentimes "banded himselfe against his owne father, and vp- "on a stomacke, blowne vp with pride and folly, hath "fallen off to the King of *France*: therefore lest with "ouermuch lenity, we buy too late a repentance, he "shall remaine Prisoner, yet not as a *Bishop*, whose "name I both honour and reuerence, but as an Earle, "subiect to the Lawes and Censure of his King.

His Treacheries.

His imprisonment.

Which accordingly was done; vpon seizure of whose estate, this Prelate was found so well lined in purse, that the heapes of yellow mettall did moue admiration to the beholders, and many of his bags were taken vp out of the bottome of Riuers, where they were hidden full of gold ground into powder.

His Auarice.

(52) Soone after, some displeasure hauing arisen betwixt King *William*, and *Philip* King of *France*, he hauing first generally caused to be taken the Oath of *English* Alleageance to himselfe and successors, with a mightie masse of money (fitted for some great attempts) departed to *Normandy*; where falling sicke, and keeping his Bed more then his wont, the *French* King hearing that his disease was in his belly, gaue him this frumpe; *Our Cosen William* (said he) *is laid now in Child-bed: Oh what a number of Candels must I offer at his going to Church? surely I thinke a hundred thousand will not suffice.*

Will. Malms. Matth. Paris.

Some write King *William* tooke Physicke to take downe his great fat belly. *Higden.*

King *William* hearing thereof, is said to make this answere; *Well, our Cosen of France I trust shall be at no such cost; but after this my Child-birth, at my going to Church* (swearing by the resurrection and brightnes of God,) *I will* (said he) *find him one thousand candles, and light them my selfe.* And accordingly towards *August* following, when both the Trees, Fruites, Corne, and Ground, was most flourishing, hee entred *France* with a mighty Army, spoyling all the West parts thereof before him; and lastly, set the City *Meux* or *Mauntz* on fire, wherein hee consumed the faire Church of our Lady, in the wals whereof was enclosed an *Anchoret*, who might, but would not escape, holding it a breach of his Religious vow to forsake his Cell in that distresse. The King busied in these attempts, cheered his men to feede the fire, and came himselfe so neere the flames, that with the heate of his harnesse, he got a sicknesse, and the same encreased by the leape of his Horse, that burst the inward rimme of his belly, and cost him his life.

wil. Malmsb. King *Williams* Oath.

Stow saith two Anchorites.

(53) At which time feeling death to approach, he deferred not to addresse his last *Will*, wherein he commaunded all his *Treasure* to be distributed to *Churches*, *Gods Ministers*, and the *Poore*, limiting to each their seuerall portion and quantity, which hee caused to be ingrossed in writing by Notaries before him: Amongst which, he bequeathed to the Church and Monkes of *Saint Stephens* at *Cane* in *Normandy*, two Mannors in *Dorsetshire*, one Mannor in *Deuonshire*, another in *Essex*, much lands in *Barke-shire*, some in *Norfolke*, a Mansion house in *Woodstreet* of *London*, with many Aduowsions of Churches; yea, which is to be wondred at, hee gaue his *Crowne*, and Regall Or-

King *Williams* last Will and Testament.

Ex libro Cadomensis Monast.

His sacrileges.

Ornaments thereto belonging, to the ſaid Church, being of his owne foundation; for the redemption whereof, King *Henry* his ſonne, gaue the Mannor of *Brideton* in *Dorſetſhire*, to preuent any danger that thereof might ariſe; and vnto the Churches by fire deſtroyed in *Meuxe*, hee gaue great ſummes of money to repaire them: and ſo preparing himſelfe for God, briefly ranne ouer the carriage of his former life; the ſumme whereof, (as much as beſt fitteth this place) wee will declare as hee ſpake it to them that were preſent.

His laſt Speech on point of death.

"(54) Being laden with many and grieuous ſins, "*(O Chriſt)* I now tremble, who am ready to bee "taken hence, and to be tried by the ſeuere, but iuſt "examination of God. I that haue alwais bin brought "vp in warres, and am polluted with the effuſion "of bloud, and now vtterly ignorant what to doe;

Of his Sinnes.

"for I cannot number my offences, they are ſo in-"finite, and haue beene committed by me now theſe "ſixty foure yeeres: for which, without any delay "I muſt render an account to that moſt vpright "Iudge. From my tender infancy and age of eight "yeares, I haue hitherto ſuſtained the weight and

Of his *Norman* troubles.

"charge of Armes to defend my Dukedome, go-"uerned by mee now almoſt fiftie ſixe, both in pre-"uenting thoſe ſnares that haue beene laide for my "life, and in vanquiſhing thoſe Conſpirers which "would haue vſurped my right: a ſtiffe-nec-"ked people I may ſay, my Arme hath ſtill ma-"naged, I meane the *Normans*, who with an hard

Of his *Normans* qualities.

"hand, if they bee curbed, are moſt valiant, and "in hazardous attempts inuincible: for, as they ex-"cell all men in ſtrength, ſo doe they contend to "ouercome all men by valour. But if the reine bee "once let looſe, and laide in their neckes, they will "teare and conſume one another; for they are euer "ſeditious, and deſirous of new ſtirrings; experi-"ence whereof ſufficiently I haue had, not only of "my confederates and allies; but euen of mine owne

Of his friends & Kindreds vnkindneſſe.

"kindred, denouncing mee to be a baſtard, degene-"rate, and vnworthy of gouernment: againſt whom, "I haue beene forced to put on Armour, before I "was by age ripe to weild it: all which I haue van-"quiſhed, and ſome of them captiuated, God ſo "preſeruing mee, that they neuer had their deſires.

Of his *Engliſh* Conqueſt.

"A royall Diademe, which none of my predeceſſors "euer ware, I haue gotten, not by right of inheri-"tance, but by heauenly grace. What labours and "conflicts I haue ſuſtained againſt thoſe of *Exceſter*, "*Cheſter*, *Northumberland*, *Scots*, *Gauls*, *Norwegi-"ans*, *Danes*, and others, who haue endeuoured to "take the Crowne from mee, is hard to declare;

Outward triumphes leaue inward horrors.

"in all which the lot of victory fell euer on my ſide: "which worldly triumphes, howſoeuer they may "pleaſe the ſenſe and outward man, yet they leaue an-"inward horrour, and fearefull care which pricketh "mee; when I conſider, that cruell raſhneſſe, was "as much followed, as was the iuſt proſecution of "the cauſe. Wherefore I moſt humbly beſeech "you, O yee Prieſts and Miniſters of Chriſt, that "you in your prayers will commend mee to God, "that hee will mitigate my heauy ſinnes, vnder "whoſe burden I lie preſſed, and by his vnſpeake-

His workes of deuotion.

"able mercy make mee ſafe among his Elect. Nine "Abbeies of Monkes, and one of Nunnes, which my "Anceſters founded in *Normandy*, I haue enrich-"ed and augmented; and in the time of my gouerne-"ment, ſeauenteene Monaſteries of Monkes, and "ſixe of holy Nunnes, haue beene founded by my "ſelfe and my Nobility; whoſe Charters I haue freely "confirmed, and doe by princely authority con-"firme againſt all emulations and troubles; in them "God is ſerued, and for his ſake many poore peo-"ple releeued; with ſuch Campes both *England* and "*Normandy* is defended, and in theſe Forts let all "younglings learne to fight againſt the Diuell and "vices of the fleſh. Theſe were the ſtudies that I "followed from my firſt yeeres, and theſe I leaue "vnto my heires, to be preſerued and kept. In this "then (my children) follow mee, that heere and for "euer you may be honoured before God and Men:

His Counſell to his Children.

"And chiefly, O you my very bowels, I warne "you to frequent & follow the company and coun-"ſell of good and wiſe men, and gouerne your "ſelues accordingly, ſo ſhall yee long and happi-"ly proſper. Doe iuſtice to all, without partiall af-"fection; for it is a true wiſedome indeed that can "diſcerne betwixt good and euill, right and wrong. "Shunne wickedneſſe, relieue the poore, ſuccour "the weake, but ſuppreſſe the proud, and bridle the "troubleſome. Frequent the Church, honour the "religious, and without wearineſſe bee obedient "vnto the Law of God. The Dukedome of *Nor-*

The diſpoſe of his States.

"*mandy*, before I fought againſt *Harold* in the Vale "*Senlac*, I granted vnto my ſonne *Robert*, for that he

Of *Normandy*.

"is my firſt begotten, and hath already receiued ho-"mage of all the Barons almoſt of his Country: that "honour giuen cannot againe be vndone; but yet "without doubt, I know it will be a miſerable Regi-"on, which is ſubiect to the rule of his gouernment; "for hee is a fooliſh proud knaue, and is to be puni-"ſhed with cruell fortune. I conſtitute no Heire to

Of *England*.

"the Realme of *England*, but doe commend it to the "euerlaſting Creator, whoſe I am; for I poſſeſſe not "that honour by any title of inheritance, but by the "inſtinct of God, the effuſion of bloud, and the per-"iury of *Harold*; whoſe life bereaued, and his fa-"uourers vanquiſhed, I made it ſubiect to my Do-"minion. The Natiues of the Realme I hated, the "Nobles I diſhonoured, the vulgar I cruelly vexed; "and many vniuſtly I diſherited. In the Countie "of *Yorke*, and ſundry other places, an innumerable "ſort with hunger and ſword I ſlew: and thus "that beautifull Land, and noble Nation, I made de-"ſolate, with the deaths of many thouſands, (woe "worth the griefe.) Theſe then my ſinnes, being "ſo great, I dare not giue the offices of that "Land to any other then to God, leſt after my death "they yet be made worſe by my occaſion. Yet *Wil-*

King *Williams* Legacie to his ſonne *Henry*.

"*liam* my ſonne, whoſe loue and obedience from his "youth I haue ſeene, I wiſh (if ſo be the will of God) "may flouriſh in the Throne of that Kingdome, with "a long life and happy raigne.

(55) *Henry* his youngeſt ſonne ſurnamed *Beau-clerke*, hearing himſelf vtterly neglected in his Fathers diſtribution, with teares ſaid to the King: *And what Father doe you giue mee?* to whom hee anſwered, *Fiue thouſand pounds of ſiluer out of my Treaſurie I giue thee. But what ſhall I doe with Treaſure*, ſaid *Henry*, *if I ſhall haue no dwelling place or habitation?* His father replied, *Bee patient my ſonne, and comfort thy ſelfe in God, ſuffer quietly thy elder brother to goe before thee: Robert ſhall haue Normandy, and William England: but thou in time ſhalt intirely haue all the honour that I haue gotten, and ſhalt excell thy Brethren in riches and power.*

After which ſpeeches, hee preſently called his ſon *William*, to whom hee deliuered a letter ſigned with his owne Seale, written vnto *Lanfranck* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and commaunded him therewith to haſt for *England*, leſt in that ſpatious Kingdome ſome ſuddaine troubles ſhould ariſe; and ſo with a kiſſe bleſſed him in Chriſt. His priſoners hee commaunded to be ſet at liberty, affirming that hee had done Earle *Morcar* much wrong, whom as hee then confeſſed, hee had impriſoned more for feare then for fault; onely his halfe brother *Odo* he would haue had to remaine a perpetuall priſoner, but that by the importunate interceſſion of friends hee was releaſed.

He writeth into *England*.

(56) The period of this Great Conquerour now come neere to his laſt, when this Sunne ſo gloriouſly raiſed to the height of his courſe, muſt now of force ſet in the Weſt, the dying King (for Kings muſt die) hauing raiſed his weake body vpon the Pillowes, heard the ſound of the great Bell in the Metropolitaine Church of Saint *Geruis* neere *Roan*, and demanding the cauſe, one replied that it did then ring prime to our Lady; whereupon with great deuotion lifting his eyes towards heauen, and ſpreading abroad his hands;

King *Williams* death.

With ſuch doctrine was good deuotion abuſed, contrary to the preſcript of God, *Iſai. Chap. 33. 16.*

hands, *I commend my ſelfe* (ſaid he) *to that bleſſed Ladie*, Mary, *Mother of God, that ſhee by her holy prayers may reconcile mee to her moſt deare Sonne, our Lord Ieſus Chriſt*; and with the words yeelded vp his Ghoſt, vpon Thurſday the ninth of September, the fifty ſixth of his Dutchie, the twenty one of his Kingdome, the ſixtie foure of his age, and yeere of Chriſt Ieſus 1087.

Princes friends.

(57) Wherein; as we ſee the inſtability, both of Mans life, and Glory, (a point fitting for great Princes euer to thinke on;) ſo by the ſequell we ſhall perceiue, how ill-rooted and vngrounded the friendſhip is, which attends the greatneſſe of ſoueraignes, whoſe Fauourites chiefe or only ends are their owne Ambition and Gaine, the fewell whereof once beginning to decay, the fire of their ſeeming-deuotion will bee quickly colde. For no ſooner had this late-glorious Princes Soule bidden farewell to his Body, but his dead Corps was preſently abandoned by his followers of neereſt place, and beſt meanes, who poſted homewards apace to defend their owne; and by the meaner and his inferiour ſeruants, hee was diſpoyled of Armour, Veſſels, Apparell, and all Princely furniture, euen ſo farre from all wonted and due reſpect, as that they left his dead Body naked vpon the floore; like true Kites, preying whileſt any thing was to be had.

His Corps forſaken of all ſorts.

The qualities of Court-Kites.

The ſudden fame of his death ſtroke ſuch feare into the Commons hearts as was admirable, euery man ſhifting for one, but all neglecting the funerall rites of their King, vntill that one *Harluins* a poore Country Knight, vndertooke the Carriage of his Corpes vnto *Cane*, and at his owne coſt, both by Sea and Land vnto *Saint Stephens* Church, which this dead King had formerly founded.

At his entrance into *Cane*, the Couent of Monkes came foorth to meet him, and to celebrate the buriall with all Ceremonies beſeeming; but behold euen at that inſtant, a ſudden chance of fire happened, which preſently inuaded a great part of the Towne, that, as his Corpes before, ſo now his Hearſe was of all forſaken, whiles they addreſſed themſelues to repreſſe that furious Element: which done, and the Funerall Sermon ended, the Stone-Coffin ſet in the earth, in the Chancell betwixt the Chorale and the Altar, and the body ready to be laid therein, one *Aſcelinus Fitz-Arthur*, a man of ſome Note, ſtood vp and forbad the buriall: *This very place* (ſaid he) *was the floore of my Fathers houſe, which this dead Duke violently tooke from him, and heere vpon part of my inheritance founded this Church: This ground therefore I challenge, and in Gods behalfe, forbid that the Body of my diſpoiler, be couered in my Earth, neither ſhall it be interred in the precincts of my right.* Whereupon they were enforced to compound with him for a preſent ſum of money then deliuered, and with conſent of his ſonne *Henry*, for a hundred pound weight of ſiluer after to be paid, and ſo the Exequies went forward; when, behold again the Corpes laid into the Tombe, was with the largeſt, which being preſſed, the belly (not bowelled) brake, and with an intollerable ſtench ſo annoyed the by-ſtanders, that neither Gummes, nor Spices, fuming from the Cenſures, could be any whit ſenſible to relieue them, inſomuch that all with great amazement haſtning away, they left the Monks to ſhuffle vp the buriall, and they were ſoone glad to get them to their cels.

His Hearſe alſo abandoned of all.

His buriall place denied him.

Annoiance at his funerall.

Hence *Stowe* notes their report for fabulous, who wrote that his Body was found vncorrupt 500. yeeres after his death.

(58) This then was the life and death of this great Monarch, the Conquerour of Men, but not of Death, nor ſuruiuing Enuie; a bright example of the dimme glory of Man, who in life had the poſſeſſions of Kingdomes and Dukedomes, men at Armes, riches, and honour, and all things thereto adhering; but after his death, neither Ornaments, nor Attendants, nor place of buriall, till it were bought; all which, priuate men ſeldome want: ſo vaine is the pompe of this world, and ſo vncertaine the ſtate of her darlings.

(59) Hee was for ſtature indifferent, of countenance ſterne, his fore-head high, and haire verie thinne, fat and corpulent of body, with his belly bearing out, ſo ſtrong of joynts and armes, that few could bend his Bow; of witte ready, and very politique, in ſpeech eloquent, reſolute in attempts, in hazards valiant, a great Souldier, and as great in ſucceſſe; rough and couetous towards the *Engliſh*, in his taxes, lawes, and in giuing to his *Normans* their lands; whoſe Charters were of a farre other tenour, forme, and breuity, then thoſe teadious and perplexed conueyances, ſince in vſe, as by theſe few inſerted may appeare:

His deſcription for lineaments and qualities. *Wil. Malmsbury.*

Ran. Higden. Polyc. lib. 7. cap. 4.

I William King, the third yere of my raigne,
Giue to thee Norman Hunter, to me that art both leeſe and Deere,
The Hop and the Hopton, and all the bounds vp and downe,
Vnder the Earth to Hell, aboue the Earth to Heauen,
From me and mine to thee and to thine,
As good and as faire, as euer they mine were,
To witneſſe that this is ſooth, I bite the white waxe with my tooth,
Before Iugge, Maude, and Margery, and my yongeſt ſonne Herry:
For a bow and a broad arrowe, when I come to hunt vpon Yarrow.

Stow ex libro Richmond. King *Williams* Charter to Hunter.

(60) At the ſuite of *William* Biſhop of *London*, he granted the City (whoſe chiefe Magiſtrate was then called the Portreue) their firſt Charter written in the Saxon tongue, confirmed with greene waxe, whereas the Saxons before vſed only to ſigne with guilt croſſes, and ſuch like markes: the Copy thereof is this:

Lambert Peramb.

" *William Cyng greit William Biſcop. & Godfregeſ*
" *Portgerefan & ealle tha Burhwaren the on Lunden be-*
" *on, &c. William* King, greeteth *William* Biſhop,
" and *Godfrey Portreue*, and all the Burgeſſes that in
" *London* be, *French* and *Engliſh*, friendly. And I doe
" you to wit, that I will, that you enjoy all the Law
" which you did in the daies of *Edward* King. And
" I will that each Childe bee his Fathers inheri-
" tour after his Fathers daies. And I will not ſuffer
" that any Man you any wrong offer. God you
" keepe.

Hollinſ. Lamb. Peramb.

(61) In the like Charter, granted to his Nephew *Alane* Earle of *Britaine* for Lands in *Yorkeſhire*, hee writeth himſelfe *William* ſurnamed *Baſtard*; and yet it ſeemeth, hee was offended at *Guy* of *Burgundy* for tearming him *Nothus*; perhaps, becauſe that word ſignifieth ſuch a one, whoſe Father is vnknowne, whereas King *Williams* was not only known, but renowned alſo.

Iohn Leland.

(62) Howſoeuer hee was ſterne and hard to the *Engliſh*, yet to his *Normans* hee was facile and too indulgent, much deuoted to Religion and frequenting the Church, both morning and euening; The Clergie that liued according to their rule and profeſſion, hee both honoured and richly endowed; but to the licentious was very rough and hard handed: his Vncle *Malgerius* Archbiſhop of * *Rotomage*: for his diſſolute life hee diſgraded: his brother *Odo* Biſhop of *Baieux*, hee impriſoned, and many of the *Engliſh* depriued, as we haue heard.

Will. Malmeſ.

* *Roan.*

(63) Beſides his many other ſtately buildings, both for fortification and deuotion, three Abbeies of chiefe note he is ſaid to haue raiſed, and endowed with large priuiledges and rich poſſeſſions. The firſt was at *Battle* in *Suſſex*, where hee wonne the Diadem of *England*, in the valley of *Sangue-lac*, ſo called in *French*, for the ſtreames of bloud therein ſpilt: but *William of Newberie* deceiued in the ſoile it ſelfe, which after raine ſheweth to be redde; affirmeth

Battle-Abbay, ſo called of a battell there fought againſt *Harold.*

Will. Newbery.

firmeth, that after any ſmall ſhowre of raine, the earth ſweateth forth very freſh bloud, as by the euident ſight thereof (ſaith hee) doth as yet plainlie declare, that the voice of ſo much Chriſtian bloud there ſhed, doth ſtill crie from the earth to the Lord.

(64) But moſt certaine it is, that in the very ſame place where King *Harolds* Standard was piched, and vnder which himſelfe was ſlaine, there *William* the Conquerour laid that Foundation, dedicating it to the *Holy Trinity*, and to *Saint Martine*, *that there the Monks might pray for the ſoules of Harold and the reſt that were ſlaine in that place*: whoſe Priuiledges were ſo large, that they, and others of the like condition, were afterwards diſſolued by Act of Parliament, when it was found by experience, that the feare of puniſhment being once taken away, deſperate boldneſſe, and a daring will to commit wickedneſſe, grew ſtill to a greater head: for it was enfranchiſed with many freedomes, and among others, to vſe the words of the Charter, were theſe: *If any Thiefe, Murtherer or Felon, for feare of death, flie and come to this Church, let him haue no harme, but let him be diſmiſſed, and ſent away free from all puniſhment. Be it lawfull alſo for the Abbot of the ſame Church to deliuer from the Gallows any thiefe or robber whereſoeuer, if he chance to come by, where any ſuch execution is in hand.*

Mat. Paris in Will. Conq.

Chron. de Bello.

The Standard it ſelfe curiouſly wrought all of gold and precious ſtones, made in forme like an armed man, Duke *William* preſently vpon his victory, with great complements of curteſie, ſent to Pope *Alexander* the ſecond; as good reaſon it was, the Popes tranſcendent pleaſure and power, being the ſtrongeſt part of the Dukes title to the Crowne, and his curſing thunderbolts the beſt weapons whereby he attained to weare it.

(65) At *Selby* alſo in *Yorkeſhire*, where his yongeſt ſonne *Henry* was borne, hee founded the Abbey of Saint *Germans*: at *Exceſter*, the Priorie of Saint *Nicholas*; and to the Church and Colledge of Saint *Martins le grand in London*, hee gaue both large priuiledges, and much land, extending from the corner of the City wall, by *Saint Giles* Church without *Criplegate*, vnto the common Sewer, receiuing the waters, running then from the *More*, and now *More-fields*.

Selby Abbey.

Exceſter Priory.

John Stow.

(66) At *Cane* in *Normandie*, he founded the *Monaſtery* of Saint *Stephen* the firſt Chriſtian Martyr, adorning it with moſt ſumptuous buildings, and endowing it with rich reuenewes; where his Queene *Maud* had erected a Nunnerie for the ſociety of vailed Virgins, vnto the honour of the bleſſed Virgin *Mary*. In which Monaſtery Queene *Maud* his wife, was buried before him, and laſtly himſelfe after a moſt glorious and victorious raigne. In whoſe tombe (opened by the Biſhop of *Bayeux*, in *Anno* 1542.) was found a guilt plate of braſſe, wherein was ingrauen this Epitaph.

Saint *Stephens in* Cane.

Verſ. 9. pag. 184.

Qui rexit rigidos Northmanos atque Britannos,
Audaciter vicit, fortiter obtinuit,
Et Cenomenſes virtute coercuit enſes,
Imperij q. ſui legibus applicuit,
Rex magnus parua iacet hac Gulielmus in vrna:
Sufficit & magno parua domus domino.
Ter ſeptem gradibus ſe voluerat atque duobus,
Virginis in gremio phœbus & hic obyit.

In Engliſh.

He that the ſturdy *Normans* rul'd, and ouer *Engliſh* raign'd.
And ſtoutly wonne, and ſtrongly kept, what hee ſo had obtain'd,
And did the ſwords of thoſe of *Mains*, by force bring vnder awe,
And made them vnder his command, liue ſubiect to his law,
This great King *William* lieth here, entomb'd in little graue,
So great a Lord, ſo ſmall a houſe, ſufficeth him to haue.
When *Phœbus* in the Virgins lap, his circled courſe apply'd,
And twenty three degrees had paſt; euen at that time he died.

His Wife.

(67) *Maud* the wife of King *William*, was the daughter of *Baldwine* the fifth, ſurnamed the *Gentle*, Earle of *Flaunders*; her mother was *Alice*, daughter of *Robert* King of *France*, the ſonne of *Hugh Capet*: Shee was married vnto him when hee was a Duke, at the Caſtle of *Angi* in *Normandy*, and in the ſecond yeere of his reigne ouer *England*, ſhee was crowned Queene vpon *Whit-ſunday*, the yeere of Grace, 1068. And although ſhe maintained *Robert* in his quarrell for *Normandy*, and out of her owne coffers paid the charges of warre againſt his Father, and her owne Husband; yet, becauſe it did proceed but from a motherly indulgence for aduancing her ſonne, it was taken as a cauſe rather of diſpleaſure, then of hatred, by King *William*, as himſelfe would often auouch, holding it an inſufficient cauſe to diminiſh the loue, that was linked with the ſacred band of a matrimoniall knot. Shee departed this life the ſecond day of *Nouember*, the ſixteenth yeere of his reigne, and of Chriſts humanitie, 1083. for whom he often lamented with teares, and moſt honourably enterred her at *Cane* in *Normandy*, in the Church of S. *Maries*, within the Monaſterie of Nuns, which ſhe had there founded.

Wil. Malmsbury.

King *William* regardfull of matrimoniall agreement.

His Iſſue.

(68) *Robert*, the eldeſt ſonne of King *William*, and of Queene *Maude* his wife, was ſurnamed *Curtuoiſe*, ſignifying in the old *Norman-French*, Short-Bootes: he ſucceeded his father onely in the *Duchie* of *Normandy*, and that alſo he loſt afterwards to his brother *Henry* King of *England*, at the battell of *Ednarchbray* (in that Dukedome) the yeere of our Lord 1106. where he was taken priſoner, and hauing his eies put out (an vnbrotherly puniſhment) was committed to the Caſtle of *Cardiffe* in *South-Wales*; and after twenty eight yeeres impriſonment, there deceaſed, the yeere before the death of his ſaid brother, *Anno* 1134 and was buried at *Glouceſter*, in the midſt of the Quier of *Saint Peters* Church; where remaineth a Tombe with his Carued Image at this day. Hee had two wiues, the firſt, *Margaret* daughter of *Herbert*, Earle of *Maygne*, both married in their Child-hood, and ſhee died before they came to yeeres of conſent: The other was *Sibyll*, daughter of *Geffrey*, and ſiſter to *William*, Earles of *Conuerſana* in *Italy*, and Neece of *Robert Guiſcard*, Duke of *Apulia*: By her he had two ſonnes *William* and *Henry*; this *Henry* was he that was ſlaine by miſchance, as he was hunting in the *New-Forreſt* in *Hampſhire*.

Robert.

A cruell reuenge of one brother on another.

Henry ſlaine in his Grandfathers New-forreſt.

William the Elder, ſurnamed in Latine *Miſer*, was Earle of *Flanders*, in right of Queene *Maude* his *Grand-mother*, ſucceeding *Charles* of *Denmarke* in that Earledome; he alſo had two wiues, the firſt *Sibyll*, (whoſe Mother, called alſo *Sibyll*, was the daughter of *Fowlke* Earle of *Anion*) after diuorced from him, and remarried to *Terry* of *Alſac*, his Succeſſour; the ſecond was *Ioan*, the daughter of *Humbert* Earle of *Morien*, now called *Sauoy*, ſiſter of Queene *Alice* of *France*, wife of King *Lewis* the *Groſſe*: hee died ſixe yeeres before his father, of a wound receiued at the ſiege of the Caſtle of *Angi* in *Normandy*, the 27. of *Iuly*, in the 28. yeere of the Reigne of King *Henry* his vncle, and of our Lord, 1128. hee was buried at *Saint Omers* in the Monaſtery of *Saint Bartin*, and left no iſſue behinde him.

William.

Richard.

Richard slaine in his Fathers New Forrest.

(69) *Richard*, the second sonne of King *William* and Queene *Maude*, was born in *Normandy*, and after his Father had attained the Crowne came into *England*, where, being then very yong, as hee was hunting in the *New-Forrest* of *Hampshire*, he came to a violent & sudden death, by the goring of a Stagge; (others say, by a pestilent ayre,) and is noted to be the first man that died in that place, the iustice of God punishing on him his Fathers dis-peopling of that Country: his body was thence conueied to *Winchester*, and there buried on the Southside of the Quire of the *Cathedrall Church*, where there remaineth a monument of him with an inscription entitling him a *Duke*, and some suppose of *Boloigne*.

William Rufus, or the Redde.

(70) *William*, the third Son of King *William* and Queene *Maud*, was borne in *Normandy*, in the 21. yere of his Fathers Dukedome, ten yeeres before he was King, 1059. hee was surnamed of the *Red* colour of his haire, in French *Rows*, in Latine *Rufus*; he was brought vp vnder *Lanfranke* the learned *Lumbard*, who was Archbishoppe of *Canterbury*, of whom he receiued both instructions of knowledge, and the order of Knighthood; hee serued vnder his Father at the battaile of *Gerberoth*, in *Normandy*, 1079. wherein he was wounded: and hee alwaies framed his actions so pleasing to his Fathers humor, as that he thought him much worthier then his elder brother to succeede in his Kingdome.

Henry Beau-clerke.

(71) *Henry*, the fourth, and youngest sonne of king *William* and Queene *Maud* his wife, was borne in *England* at *Selby* in *Yorkeshire*, the third yeere of his Fathers raigne, and of our Lord God, 1070. his childhood was trained vp in learning, at *Cambridge* saith *Caius*; but the ancient Annales of Saint *Austins* in *Canterbury*, say, he was *Philosophiâ peregrè informatus, instructed beyond Sea in Philosophy*; where for his notable knowledge in the Liberall Sciences, hee was surnamed by the *French*, *Beau-clerke*, thatis, *the fine Scholler*. Vpon his returne he was made Knight, being 16. yeers old, by his Father at *Westminster*, in *Whitsontide*, the nineteenth yeere of his Raigne, *Anno* 1086. and though at his Fathers death he had nothing bequeathed him but Treasure, yet afterward he succeeded his Brothers, both in the Kingdome of *England* and *Dutchie* of *Normandy*.

Iohn Caius Cantabrig. Annales S. Augustin. Cantuar. M. S.

Cicelie.

(72) *Cicelie*, the Eldest daughter of King *William* and Queene *Maude* his wife, was borne in *Normandy*, brought vp in *England*, and carried againe into *Normandy*, where in the ninth yeere of the Kings Raigne, and the yeere of our Lord 1075. she was by her Father on *Easter day*, with great solemnity offered vp in the Church of *Feschampe*, and vailed to be a Nunne in the Monastery there; but was afterward elected by the Nunnes of our *Lady* at *Cane*, to be *Abbesse* of their *Monasterie*, founded by her Mother, which she gouerned, and where she died and was enterred.

She is vailed a Nunne.

Constance.

(73) *Constance*, the second daughter of King *William*, and Queene *Maud*, was the first wife of *Allayne* Earle of little *Brittaigne*, surnamed in the *Brittish*, *Fergent*; in *English*, *Red*. In regard of which marriage, and his seruice done at the conquest of *England*, his Father in law gaue him all the lands of Earle *Edwine*, whereon he built the Castle, and wherof he made the Earledome of *Richmond*, which long after, belonged to the Earles and Dukes of *Britaigne* his Successors; although he had his children by another wife; for shee died very young and without issue; and was buried in the Abbey of S. *Edmondsbury* in *Suffolke*.

The Earledome of *Richmond* erected.

Alice.

(74) *Alice*, the third daughter of King *William* and Queene *Maud*, was married to *Stephen* Earle of *Bloys* in *France*, and had issue by him *William* an Innocent, *Thibaud* surnamed the Great, Earle of *Bloys* and *Champain*, *Stephen* Earle of *Mortain* and *Boleine*, (who was King of *England*) *Henry* a Monke of *Cluny*, after Abbot of *Glastenbury*, and Bishop of *Winchester*, *Mary* married to *Richard* Earle of *Chester*, and *Emme*, wife of one *Harbert*, an Earle of *France*, and mother of Saint *William* Archbishop of *Yorke*: Shee suruiued Earle *Stephen* her husband, and in her widowhood tooke vpon her the profession of Religion in the Priorie of Nunnes at *Marciguy* in *France*, where she ended her life.

Saint *William* Archbishop of *Yorke.*

Gundred.

(75) *Gundred*, the fourth daughter of King *William*, and of Queene *Maud*, was married to *William* of *Warrein*, a Nobleman of *Normandy*, who was the first Earle of *Surrey* in *England*; by whom shee had issue *William* the second Earle, Progenitors of the Earles that followed; and *Rainold* of *Warrein*, her second sonne, who had also Issue. Shee died in Childbed, three yeeres before her husband, at *Castleaker* in *Norfolke* the 27. of May, in the 20. yeere of her Fathers reigne, being in the yeere of our Lord, 1085. and is buried in the Chapter-house of Saint *Pancrase* Church within the Priory, at the towne of *Lewes*, in the County of *Sussex*.

Ela.

(76) *Ela*, the fifth daughter of King *William*, and his Queen *Maud*, in her Child-hood was contracted in marriage to Duke *Harold*, when hee was in *Normandy*, being then a yong Widower. Notwithstanding, hee refusing her, tooke another wife, and vsurped the Kingdom of *England*, after the death of King *Edward*, whereby he occasioned his owne ruine, and Conquest of his Country, which afterward ensued when her Father sought reuenge, so much (as some write) to the discontentment of this Lady, that for griefe of these mischances, shee euer after refused marriage, and led a single and solitarie life; though others, vpon better warrant collect, that shee died young, and before *William* her Father set forth for *England*; *Harold* himselfe pleading, that hee was free from all couenants and promises to Duke *William*, by reason of the death of this his daughter.

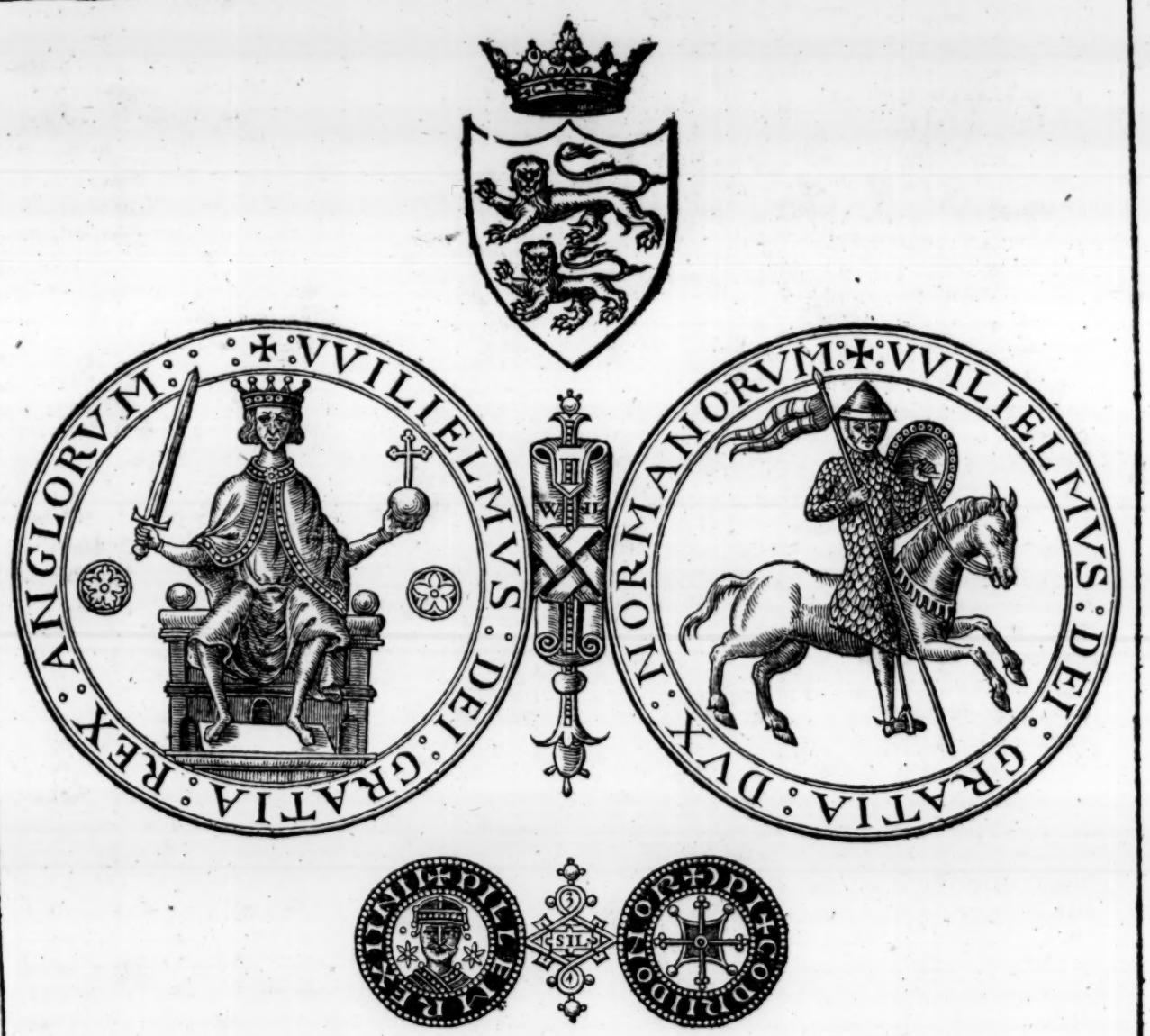
Margaret.

(77) *Margaret*, the sixth and yongest daughter of King *William* and Queene *Maud*, was in her childhood giuen in marriage to *Alphonso* King of *Gallicia* in *Spaine*, that afterward was so renowned for the Conquest of the City *Lysbon*, for his victories against the *Mores*, and for the slaughter of their fiue Kings, and was the founder of the Kingdom of *Portugall*, the first King thereof, and the first bearer of the fiue Shields of the said fiue Kings, which are to this day the Armes of the same. But this Lady being thus contracted, deceased before those things happened, and before she came to yeeres of lawfull consent to the marriage.

William Rufus.

WILLIAM THE SECOND, SVRNAMED RVFVS, THE FORTIETH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISH: HIS ACTS; RAIGNE; AND VNTIMELY DEATH.

Monarch 40



CHAPTER III.

An.D.1087. *William Rufus comes into England.*

William posting for *England*, & Archbishop *Lanfrank* his earnest soliciter by liberall gifts giuen, and promises made to abrogate the ouerhard lawes of his Father, had the readier passage into the opinions of them that could doe most: and the more to notifie his intended milde gouernement, with other his noble inclinations to princely vertues, as eye-witnesses of his fauours towards the *English*, hee brought with him from *Normandy*, *Morcar*, the stout Earle of *Chester*, and *Wilnoth* the sonne of King *Harold*, both of them releasd out of prison, and then held in especiall fauour with him. But most of the States standing for *Robert Curtoise* his elder Brother (a man deemed of a more liberall disposition, and better temperature towards the Subjects) their titles had beene tried by swords, had not *Lanfrank* and *Wulstan*, both wise and reuerend Prelates, by their Counsels and Meditations stayed their hands.

Lanfranke and *Wulstane* sway the Peeres for *Rufus*.

Ypodigma. Neustriæ.

Simon Dunel.

The Peeres with well to his elder brother.

Math. Paris. Ypodigm.

(2) Consent thus gotten, and all voices giuen for *William*, he was crowned their King at Westminster, vpon Sunday the twenty sixt day of *September*, and yeere of Saluation, 1087. by the hands of *Lanfrank* Archbishop of *Canterbury*; vnder whom he had beene educated euen from his Childe-hood, and by him made fit both for Warre and Gouernment, had not the variable inclination of his owne minde carried his actions past the limits of any stayed compasse.

William Gemit. Mat. Paris. His Coronation.

His disposition.

(3) *Robert* vpon discontents that *Normandy* was still detained, before his Fathers sickenesse, was gone into *Germany*, to solicite their assistance for his right to that *Duchie*: but hearing of his death, hasteth into the Prouince, and was there peaceably receiued,

An.D.1088. *Rand. Higden in Polychr. lib. 7. cap. 5.* *Robert* possessed of *Normandy*.

and made their Duke: which title notwithstanding, seemed to him dishonourable; his yonger brother being inuested to a Kingdome, and himselfe disinherited; no other cause mouing, but his ouermuch gentlenesse, being by nature composed nothing so rough, as was *Rufus*.

His disposition.

(4) The like emulation incited *Odo*, Bishoppe of *Baieux* (his vncle) against *Lanfrank* the Archbishop, who now ruled all, and had worn him out of fauour with the Conquerour his halfe-brother, whom hee taught the distinction of imprisoning *Odo*, as an Earle, not as a Bishop: now therefore seemed the time most fitting for a just reuenge: & albeit that *Rufus* brought him from *Normandy*, where he had beene captiuated, and restored him his honours & dignities in *England*; yet hee, vngratefull man, enuying that *Lanfranck* should goe before him, complotted the downefall aswell of the one, as of the other. And drawing into this conspiracy, *Robert* Earle of *Mortaigne* and *Hereford* his brother, with many other of the *English* Nobility, wrote his Letters into *Normandy* vnto his Nephew, hasting him to repayre into *England*, and recouer his right, which by his meanes hee promised should soone be effected.

Odo: emulation against *Lanfrank*.

Polyc. lib. 7. cap. 5.

He conspireth against the King.

(5) The busines thus wrought to Duke *Roberts* hand, and the *English* resorting daily into *Normandy*, assured his hopes of a happy successe, onely the hinderance was want of money, and that very much as the world then went with him, hauing euer borne himselfe no lesse then his birth, nor euer had made his bags his *summum bonum*. In these extreames, he well saw the lesse was to be followed, and to set a Dukedome at stake to cast at a Kingdome, he thought it ods sufficient, though the chance were doubtfull: Therefore to his younger brother *Henry*, who had store of Gold, and wanted Land, hee morgaged the Countie of *Constantine*, a Prouince in *Normandy*, and then sent to *Odo*, that hee should expect his landing on the West-coast of *England* by a day prefixed.

Inuiteth *Robert* to try for the Crowne.

Duke *Roberts* hopes for *England*.

His wants.

His supply by morgage of his Land.

(6) The Bishop now growne bold vpon Duke *Roberts* great power, shewed himselfe the first in the Action; and fortifying *Rochester*, beganne to molest the peace of *Kent*, sending to his complices abroad to doe the like, which was not long in performing: for in the West, *Robert de Mowbray* Earle of *Northumberland*, assisted by *Geffrey* Bishoppe of *Constance*, sacked *Bath*, and *Berkley*, with a great part of *Wilt-shire*, and strongly fortified the Castle of *Bristow* against King *William*: In *Norfolke*, *Roger Bygod*, in *Leicestershire* *Hugh Grentemeisnil* did shrewdly waste those Countries: *Roger Mountgomery* Earle of *Shrewsburie* with his *Welshmen*, assisted by *William* Bishop of *Durham* (the Kings domesticall Chaplain) *Barnard* of *Newmerch*, *Roger Lacie*, and *Ralph Mortimer* (all of them *Normans* or *French-men*) with fire and sword past through the Country of *Worcester*: and surely, the stirres were so great, and Duke *Robert* so fauoured, that by the judgement of *Gemeticensis*, had hee hasted his arriuage, or followed the occasion, the Crowne of *England* had easily beene set vpon his head.

Odo the ring-leader for Duke *Robert*.

Rob. Mowbray and other his associates. *Wil. Malmsb.* *Simon Dun.*

Bristow fortified against King *William*.

Henry Hunt.

Duke *Robert* very faire for the Kingdome.

Wil. Gemetic.

(7) All in an vprore, and *Rufus* thus turmoiled, he appointed his Nauie to scowre the seas, and to impeach his brothers arriuage: then gathering his forces, and knowing well how to please the vulgar, promiseth againe to abolish their ouer-hard lawes, & presently to put downe all vnjust Impostes and Taxations, whereby the People were soone drawne to stand in his defence; and among them *Roger Mountgomery* was reconciled to the King.

King *William* promiseth to mollifie his lawes.

Thus now growne strong, & his enemies decreased, hee led his Army into *Kent*, where the sedition first beganne; the Castles of *Tunbridge* and *Horne* he recouered, as likewise *Pemsey*, wherein his vncle *Odo* had strongly immured himselfe, whose lacke of victuall, by King *Williams* strait siege, allaied the pride of that great-hearted man; so that he not onely surrendred the same, but promised the deliuerie of *Rochester* also, strongly manned, with *Eustace* Earle of *Boloigne*, and a sort of other gallant Gentlemen, euen the flower of *Normany* and *Flanders*.

He waxeth strong.

(8) *Odo* comming to *Rochester* for the deliuery of the * Castle, according to his promise, was by them surprized, and laid in strait prison, whether in displeasure, or vnder colour, and with consent of *Odo*, I will not say; but certaine it is, that the King tooke the matter so to heart, that he sent forth his Proclamation through *England*, commaunding that euery man should repaire to that siege, whosoeuer would not be reputed a *Niding*, a word of such disgrace, and so distastiue vnto the *English*, that multitudes seemed rather to flie, then runne to that seruice; whereupon the Castle was surrendred, and *Odo* banished into *Normandy*, lost all his liuings and honours in *England*.

Odo his great heart taken downe. *Simon Dun.*

An. D. 1089.

* This Castle some say was built by *Odo*, but it appeares to haue beene built by *William* Conquerour. Domesday-book. *Wil. Gemet.*

Niding a word of Reproch. *Cambd. in Kent.*

Math. Paris.

Odo leaues *England*.

(9) Whilest these things were in acting betwixt King *William* and his Barons, Duke *Robert* with his *Normans* was landed at *Southampton*, hauing passed some conflict with the Kings ships at the sea: whom *Rufus* so feared (if mine Author say true) that he sent Messengers vnto him in most submisse maner, protesting that he tooke not the Crowne as his owne, by any right; but rather to supply the time in his absence: neither did hee account himselfe King, but as his substitute to hold the crown vnder him; yet seeing the matter had beene so farre passed, and the Emperiall Crowne set on his head; hee most humbly desired that it might so rest, proffering to pay him three thousand Markes by yeere, and to resigne it to him at his death: whereat Duke *Robert* shaking his head (belike he saw no other remedy) easily consented, and returned forthwith into *Normandy*.

Rufus pretendeth submissiueness to his brother. *Polychr. lib. 7. c. 5.*

(10) And, if wee compare this with the Monke of *Saint Albans* report, wee may well beleeue, that *William* was forward enough in his offers, though euer as vnready in performance; for the *Barons* then being vp, and he not able to allay them, did that by his word, which he could not by his sword, protesting to them that he was willing to resigne the Kingdom, and would be content either with Money or Possessions, if those that were his Fathers Ouer-seers should thinke it meete; and for any Ordinances touching the affaires of the Common-weale, he would referre it wholly to themselues, prouided alwaies his owne honour should not thereby be impeached. But when the Cloudes of these feares were altogether ouerblowne, no budde once appeared from these faire planted grafts.

Math. Paris. *William Rufus*, a cunning Time-seruer.

Faire words appease fooles, and often deceiue the wise.

(11) For *Lanfranke* deceased, and both King depriued of a politike director, and Common-wealth of a principall Statist, hee presently shewed the bent of his inclination, lauishly giuing where no deserts had engaged, and exacting extreame tributes, when no Necessitie required; alwaies couetous, yet neuer thriftie; and still gathering, yet neuer enriching his Coffers: All Ecclesiasticall promotions then vacant, he assumed into his owne hands, and kept the See of *Canterbury* without an Archbishoppe aboue foure yeeres, setting to sale the free-rights of the Church, and he that would giue most came soonest to preferment, whereby both the Lands and good esteeme of the Clergy was daily diminished.

Lanfranke dieth.

King *William* an ill manager of Ecclesiasticall promotions. *Geru. Dor.*

(12) The Storme thus cleared without any thunder; King *Rufus* set the eye of desire vpon Duke *Roberts* dominions, who lately had done the like with his; and suddenly burst into *Normandy*, as *Scipio* did into *Africke*, pretending reuenge of injuries done to his Kingdome; first therefore surprizing the Castles of *Saint Valery* and *Albemarle*, he stored them with his owne Souldiers; then piercing forward did great spoile in the Countrie. *Robert* destitute of meanes and knowing his *Normans* euer vnfaithfull, sent to *Philip* the

Pope *Vrbane* not at leasure then to remedy Church wrongs.

An. D. 1090

Ypodigma. Neust.

King *William* enters *Normandy*.

the *French* King, desiring his assistance against this Brother-Enemy; who preparing towards *Normandy*, was stopped with such golden showres from King *William* that hee could not passe, so that Duke *Robert* was constrained to make a peace with his brother, though for himselfe a very sorry one, as saith *Gemeticensis*; which, as *Paris* reporteth, was effected by twelue Princes vpon either part, and the conditions as followeth: that King *William* should retaine and enjoy the County of *Ewe* with *Fescampe*, the Abbacie of *Mount Saint-Michael*, and all the Castles he had gotten in *Normandy*: for the Duke it was agreed, that his brother King *William* should ayde and assist him, to recouer those lands and territories beyond the seas, which had beene belonging to their Father; That all such *Normans* as had lost their liuings in *England*, in taking part with Duke *Robert*, should be restored: and lastly, whether of them should die first, the suruiuer should be his heire.

Peace made betwixt the King and Duke.

Will. Gemet. Matt. Paris.

Ypodig. Neust. Matth. Paris.

(13) Peace thus establisshed, and both their powers vnited, they bent altogether against *Henry* their yongest brother, who fearing after-claps, had strongly fortified the Castle of *Mount Saint-Michael*, situated vpon the confines of *Normandie* and *Britaine*: him, whom they ought to haue prouided for, (saith *Gemeticensis*) they went about to expell, and all the Lent long laid siege against him.

Both brethren oppugne *Henry* the younger brother.

Will. Gemet.

It chanced one day as his men sallied out, & made a brauado in the face of their beleaguers; King *William* alone, more bolde then wise, rode against them, thinking none so hardy as to encounter him single; but presently a Knight slew his horse vnder him, & his foote entangled in the stirrupe hee was ouerthrowne; his enemy therefore with drawne sword, was ready to haue slaine him, had hee not reuealed himselfe by his voyce: the armed Men with great reuerence then tooke him vp, and brought him another horse; when the King not staying for the stirrup, sprang into the saddle, and with an angry countenan ce demanded, who it was that ouerthrew him? the Knight as boldly answered, and shewed himselfe who he was; By *Lukes-face*, quoth *William* (for that was his oath) thou shalt bee my Knight, and be enrolled in my Checke, with a Fee answerable to thy worth.

King *William* endangered in a Siege.

King *William* preferres him that ouerthrew him.

William's Oath, *Edmerus* saith, his oath was, *By Gods face.*

(14) During this siege, Prince *Henry* being sore distressed for water, and knowing Duke *Robert* to be of the milder temperature, sent him word of his want, desiring to haue that permitted, which God had made common, and giuen euen to brute beasts, aswell as to men; Duke *Robert* therefore commaunded him to be supplied, whereat *William* was wroth, telling his Brother he wanted discretion, and policy in warre, which allowed all aduantages to surprise the Enemy: And doest thou (said *Robert*) esteeme more of water, which is euery where to be got, then of a Brother, hauing no more but him and mee? In which dissension, Earle *Henry* got thence; and by policy tooke a very strong towne called *Danford*, where presently was a reconciliation made amongst these three Brethren, who thereupon forthwith tooke the Seas together for *England*.

An. D. 1091

Rand. Higden in Polychr. lib. 7. c. 5.

A friendly Enemie.

An vn-brotherly brother.

Will. Gemet. The three brethren reconciled. *Ypodigm. Neustr.*

(15) About this time, in the yeere of Grace, 1091. and fourth of King *Rufus* his raigne, one *Eneon*, the sonne of *Cadiuor*, Lord of *Dyuet*, mouing rebellion against *Rees ap Tewdor* Prince of *Southwales*, drew to his side *Iestyn* Lord of *Glamorgan*, vpon promise to become his sonne in law by the marriage of his daughter: *Ieyn* notwithstanding, judging their faction too weake, sent *Eneon* into *England*, where hee was well acquainted, to procure ayde against *Rees*: who entring conference of his businesse with *Robert Fitz-hammon*, a worthy Knight, of the Kings Priuie-Chamber, wrought so far with him, being a man easily drawne to the exercise of warre, that for a Salarie he vndertooke the seruice, and with twelue Knights, and a competent number of Souldiers went into *Wales*, where ioyning with *Iestyn*, in battle slew Prince *Rees ap Tewdor*, with *Conan* his sonne. *Robert Fitz-hammon*, now minding to returne, demanded his pay, according to couenants, which *Iestyn* in some part denied, alledging that *Eneon* had gone beyond his commission: whereupon such discord arose, that these friends fell out, and *Eneon* thus touched in his reputation, sided with the *English* against his owne Country-men; whereupon a battaile was fought, and *Iestyn* with most of his *Welsh* slaine, so that *Robert* with his followers obtained a fruitfull possession in those parts, (which by their posterities are enjoyed euen to this day) whose names, as they are found written in a *British* record, were as followeth:

Cbron wallie.

Warre betwixt *Rise* Prince of Southwales, and *Eneon.*

Rob. Fitz-hammon aides *Eneon.*

Rob. Fitz-hammon and his followers possessions in *walles.*

	NAMES.	POSSESSION.
1	*William de Londres.*	*Ogmor.*
2	*Richard de Grana Villa.*	*Neth.*
3	*Pagan de Turberuile.*	*Coity.*
4	*Robert de S. Quintin.*	*Lhan Blethyan.*
5	*Richard de Syward.*	*Talauan.*
6	*Gilbert de Humfreuile.*	*Penmarke.*
7	*Roger de Beckrolles.*	*East Orchard.*
8	*Raynald de Sully.*	*Sully.*
9	*Peter de Soore.*	*Peterton.*
10	*Iohn Le Fleming.*	*Saint George.*
11	*Oliuer de Saint Iohn.*	*Fonmon.*
12	*William de Estirling.*	*Saint Donats.*

The Knights who attended *Fitz-hammon.*

(16) As these things were commenced betwixt *England*, *Normandy*, and *Walles*, *Malcolme* King of *Scotland* entred into the *English* Marches as farre as to *Chester in the Streete*, doing much harme; whose farther out-rage to preuent, *William* incontinently hasted, sending by Sea a great Nauie of Shippes, and by Land his brother *Robert*, though with much losse of either: for his *Fleet* was torne by tempest, and his horsemen through hunger and cold perished in those barren parts: at length the Kings come to an Interview, where by the meanes of *Edgar Atheling*, a peace was concluded to both their contents: for *William* restored vnto *Malcolme* twelue Villages, which hee had held in *England* vnder his Father, and gaue him yeerly twelue Markes in Gold: And King *Malcolme* for his part promised to keepe true peace with him, as hee had done with the Conquerour, whereunto hee gaue him his Oath, as saith *Mathew Paris.*

An. D. 1092.

Gemet. *Malcolme* King of *Scotland* enters *England* with a power.

King *William* and *Malcolme* meete, & enter League.

Ypodigm. Neustr.

Matth. Paris.

(17) But as these two Kings of Enemies were made friends, so the two Brethren of reconciled friends became againe enemies: for Duke *Robert* well perceiuing, that King *William* meant nothing lesse then performance of couenants; (protracting time vpon some secret purposes, as his jealous head conceiued) in great displeasure returned into *Normandy*, taking with him *Edgar Atheling*, whom he held in an especiall account.

King *William* and Duke *Robert* at variance againe.

(18) King *William* then repairing those Castles which the *Scots* had destroyed, new built in *Cumberland* the City *Carleil*, which two hundred yeares before had beene spoyled by the *Danes*; and hauing defenced it with walles, built there the *Castle*, *Churches*, and *Houses*, wherein hee placed a Colonie of Southerne Souldiers, with their wiues and children, granting large priuiledges to the place, which the City enjoyeth euen vnto this day.

Carleil reedified.

Peopled with a Southerne Colony.

Endowed with large Priuileges.

(19) And hauing setled his affaires thus in the North, returneth with triumph into the South, where immediately hee fell daungerously sicke, in the sixth yeare of his Raigne, at the Citie of *Glouceste*r; whose sinnes beganne to sit so neere his heart, (not looking to continue to commit many more) that hee sore repented him of the same, making

An. D. 1093.

King *William* falleth sicke, and voweth amendment.

Mat. Paris. Henry Hunt.

making many promiſes to amend his life, if God would be pleaſed to giue him longer life: the hard lawes againſt the *Engliſh*, he vowed to reforme, as alſo his own vices, & to ſettle peace and good order in the Church, then farre out of frame, for almoſt all the Monkes in *England*, liued rather like Conſuls, being Hunters, Hawkers, Dicers, and great Drinkers (ſaith *Higden*,) little regarding the rules of their profeſſion. Thoſe Biſhopricks & Monaſteries that were vacant, and in his owne hand, hee forthwith, and (much againſt his wont) freely beſtowed: the Archbiſhopricke of *Canterbury* vpon *Anſelme* a learned *Norman* Abbot: the See of *Lincolne* hee gaue to *Robert Bluet* his Chancellour, a man of meane learning, and ſome other touches, but otherwiſe of many ſingular parts.

Polychron lib. 7. cap. 6.

Ger. Dorob. Godwin in his Catalogue of Biſhops. *Hic humilis, diues: (res mira) potens, pius: victor, Compatiens: mitis, cum pateretur, erat.*

(20) But the danger paſt, and health recouered, he beganne to be more ſicke in minde, ſoone repenting him of his too-ſoone Repentance: for as in ſpending his owne wealth, hee was very prodigall, ſo was he very diligent to enter into other mens eſtates, and to gaine from them what hee could, and therefore tampereth with *Anſelme*, perſwading him, that the trouble of the Archbiſhops place was very burthenous, eſpecially for a man wholly brought vp within the walles of a Monaſtery, deuoted to contemplation, and vnexperienced in the mannage of great affaires of State. But all this Art could not induce him to let goe his hold-faſt of the Kings abſolutely paſſed promiſe, nor yet to ſatisfie his great deſire with money, and therefore the King paid himſelfe out of his Lands. Likewiſe from *Roger* of *Lincolne* hee exacted fiue thouſand pounds; and the Commons hee fined for tranſgreſſion of his penall lawes; and in truth moleſted all for money: None were rich but Treaſurors and Collectors, none in fauour but vnconſcionable Lawyers, and none rewarded but Promoters: ſo that his ouer-haled ſubiects fled daily out of the Realme; againſt whom hee publiſhed Proclamations, with an inhibition that none ſhould depart without his ſafe Conduct.

Ypodig. Neuſtri. King *William* regaineth his health, and loſeth his good purpoſes. *Goodwine* in the life of *Anſelme.*

Polycron. lib. 7. cap. 7.

Ran. Higden.

(21) Soone after this, *Malcolme* King of *Scotland* came vnto *Glouceſter*, to conferre with King *William* touching the Peace of both the Realmes; but conceiuing a grudge, for that hee was not entertained according to the Maieſty of his eſtate, departed in diſpleaſure without ſpeech with the King; and immediately raiſing a power againſt *England*, deſtroyed the Country vnto *Alnewicke* Caſtle.

King *Malcolme* commeth to *Glouceſter.* *Will. Gemet.*

Departeth diſcontent *Will. Malmeſ. Polydor.* Raiſeth a power.

Robert Mowbray then Earle of *Northumberland*, a moſt valiant Souldier, ſeeing his Country thus ouer-runne, made head againſt him, not ſtaying for directions from his King; and lying in Ambuſh for his returne, ſo ſore and ſodainely diſtreſſed his forces, that both King *Malcolme* himſelfe and his ſonne Prince *Edward* were there ſlaine.

Will. Gemet. Is ſlaine, with his ſon the Prince. *Simon Dun.*

(22) Hereupon Earle *Mowbray* growing proud and greatly ſuſpected by King *William*, beganne to fortifie the Kings Caſtles, with Munition and Armes againſt the like inuaſion, indeede againſt the Kings will; who ſent him word ſomewhat roughly, to deſiſt from his doings, and preſently to repaire to his Preſence; which whileſt hee lingered and neglected to doe, King *William* ſent his brother *Henry* to ſpoile *Northumberland*, and immediately followed after himſelfe, where without much adoe, hee tooke the Earle, and committed him priſoner to *Windſore* Caſtle.

Earle *Mowbrayes* greatneſſe ſuſpected by the King.

Math. Paris.

Is taken and impriſoned.

(23) Theſe ſtirres in the North are diuerſly reported: for *Walſingham* in his *Ypodigma Neuſtriæ*, ſaith, that *Robert Mowbray* and *William* of *Anco* with others, conſpired to depriue the King both of crowne and life, and to haue ſet vp *Stephen de Albemarle*, his Aunts ſonne: the iſſue of which treaſon was preuented by ſurprizing *Mowbray*, who died a Priſoner. *William* of *Anco* was puniſhed with loſſe both of his eyes and his virility; and *William Aluerie* (the Kings Godfather, Kinſman and Sewer) cruelly whipped, and all naked goared in bloud, though guiltles, was hanged. *Hector Boetius*, the Scottiſh, Hiſtorian relates ſomewhat otherwiſe of the death of King *Malcolme*; as that the [illegible]*ſh* hauing gotten the Caſtle of *Anwike*, King *Ma[illegible]e* with a ſtrong ſiege enuironed it about; when, the *Engliſh* diſtreſſed, and ready to ſurrender, a certaine Knight amongſt them attempted a very deſperate enterprize, for mounted vpon a ſwift horſe, vnarmed, excepting onely a light Speare in his hand, vpon the point whereof he bare the keyes of the Caſtle, he rode directly to the *Scotiſh* Campe, and was with great applauſe brought vnto their King, where couching his ſtaffe, as though he meant with ſubmiſſion to deliuer him the keyes, ſodainely ranne him into the left eye, and through ſwiftneſſe of his horſe eſcaped, leauing the King there dead: for which act King *William* (ſaith he, though erroneouſly) changed the Knights name into *Perceeye*, whence that Noble Family is deſcended.

Hector Boetius, lib. 12. cap. 12.

Malcolme ſlaine vnder ſhew of ſubmiſſion.

The name of *Percyes* ancienter then Perceing of *Malcolmes* eye. *Vide Cambd. in Northum. Gemeticenſis.*

Gulielmus Gemeticenſis ſaith indeed, that it was reported that King *Malcolme* was ſlaine by a guile, declaring not the manner, but by the hands of *Morell*, Nephew to Earle *Mowbray*, where likewiſe died Prince *Edward* his ſonne, and the greateſt part of his Armie, with which dolefull newes (ſaith *Hector*) his Queene *Margaret* (called the Saint) within three daies after died of griefe. But *Paris* hath ſet it downe, as is ſaid; and in the ſame yeere makes *William* the Conquerour of *Wales*; ſince which time the *Engliſh* Monarchs haue beene accounted their chiefe Gouernours.

Saint *Margaret* (*Edgar Athelings* Siſter) dieth for griefe of her huſbands death; few ſuch Saint-like wiues. *Hector Boetius. Math. Paris.* The *Engliſh* Monarchs of *Wales.*

(24) Grudges now grown betwixt *King William* and Duke *Robert* his brother, ech accuſing other of breach of oath and of Couenants; *William* from *Haſtings* ſet ſaile into *Normandy*, where ſome bickering fell betwixt the two Brethren, but by the mediating of certaine graue perſons, their quarrels were compriſed, and Princes choſen to be their Arbitrators; which hearing indifferently all allegations, adiudged *King Rufus* in the fault, who thereupon (as thinking nothing right, but what went with him) was ſo farre from following their award, that being offended with their cenſure, hee preſently aſſaulted, and tooke the Caſtle of *Burren*; neither did *Robert* for his part ſleepe the whiles, but ſurpriſed the Caſtle of *Argenton*, which was by former couenants giuen to *King William*, drawing likewiſe *Philip* the *French King* to his ſide, who with his Army entred *Normandy* for his aſſiſtance.

An. D. 1094. *Will. Malmſ.* [illegible]*gden.* [illegible]*un.*

A breach againe betwixt the two Brethren, but made vp for a time.

(25) King *William* then waying into what danger hee had brought himſelfe, (all approuing Duke *Robert*, and diſallowing his Acts,) hee ſought to doe that by money, which he could not by ſword. Therefore to thoſe ſouldiers, which in heat of his furie, hee had commanded to bee ſent him into *Normandy*, (euen twenty thouſand, now in readineſſe, and at *Haſtings* ſtaying for a winde) he ſent a countermand, exacting of euery common ſouldier tenne ſhillings in money for the releaſe, and ſo without further trouble to return to their homes; with which ſumme he ſo pacified the French King, that hee now left *Robert* to looke to himſelfe, who thus forſaken, was conſtrained to come to an vnreaſonable peace.

King *William* refuſeth the cenſure of his Arbitrators.

Both parts againe in Armes.

King *William* preuailes by money.

Matth. Paris.

The French King leaues his friend for money.

(26) And the more willingly, for that the holy wars for *Ieruſalem*, deliberated of fiue yeares before, were now hotly purſued by Pope *Vrbane* the ſecond, (whom *Bibliander* blameth to be the cauſer of much Chriſtian blood-ſhed) onely to ſet vp that, which Chriſt by propheſie had laid in deſolation. Among theſe Chriſtian valiant Captains Duke *Robert* would be one, but wanting money, (no newes at all to his coffers) he ſent to his brother King *William* to be ſupplied, and for the ſumme of ſixe thouſand, ſixe hundred, ſixty ſixe pound of ſiluer, (*Paulus, Aemilius* ſaith, ſixe thouſand nine hundred thirty foure more) morgaged his Dutchy vnto him, giuing him the poſſeſſion thereof before his departure.

The warres for the Holy-Land *Theod. Biblian.*

Duke *Robert* going to *Ieruſalem* morgageth his Dukedome. *Henry Hunt. Will. Thorne. Paul. Aemil. Will. Gemet.*

(27) To make vp which ſumme, he did not onely oppreſſe and fleece his poore ſubiects, but rather (to vſe the words of *Paris*) with importunate exactions did

King *Williams* extreame exactions *Math. Paris.*

Not ſparing Churches and Monaſteries.

did as it were flea off their skins; for the Churches and Monaſteries, hauing ſold away their Iewels and Chalices to ſatisfie his appetite, and anſwering they could make no more; the King replyed, with ſome ſcorne; And haue you not, I beſeech you, Coffins of Gold and Siluer for dead mens bones? Accounting the money laid out vpon this holy Expedition, to be better imployed then to garniſh the reliques of the dead.

Aedmerus.

An.D.1095.

(28) The King thus finding his fortune in all things pliable to his wiſhes, and his heart therewith greatly puffed vp, his purpoſe was now at his returne from *Normandy*, to make a full conqueſt of *Wales*; therefore redoubling his forces hee drew into the Marches, where pitching his Tents, hee conſulted with his Captaines what was beſt to bee done. The *Welſhmen* finding themſelues ouer-weake, fled according to their accuſtomed manner, into the Woods and Mountaines, taking thereby ſuch aduantage againſt their purſuers, that the King returned without any notable deede done; and with the like ſucceſſe hee vndertooke an other Expedition againſt them the yeere following.

His expedition for *Wales*.

The *Welſh* flye to their Mountains.

An.D.1096.

(29) But bearing a minde ſtill to ſubdue all *Wales*, he had firſt in his eie the Iland *Angleſey*, againſt which he ſent *Hugh Mountgomery* Earle of *Shrewesbury*, and *Huph Lupus* Earle of *Cheſter*, who there executed their Conqueſts with very great cruelties, cutting off the Noſes, Hands, and Armes of their reſiſters, without regard of age, or ſexe, nor ſparing either places or perſons, ſacred or prophane. At which very time it chanced *Magnus* King of *Norway*, the ſonne of *Olanus*, (the ſonne of *Harold Harfager*) to haue made his Conqueſt of the *Iles* of *Orkeney*, and then wafting along the Seas, ſought to come on Land in *Angleſey*, whom to impeach, theſe Earles made all their powers: where *Hugh Mountgomery* armed at all parts, but onely the ſight of his Beuer, was ſhot into his right eye, whereof hee died eight daies after.

Angleſey inuaded. *Mat. Paris.*

An.D.1097.

Cruelty there vſed. *Ginald. Cambr.*

Norwegians aſſault *Angleſey*.

An.D.1098.

Mountgomery kild in the eye.

(30) The holy voyage now ſet forward, (vnto which Pope *Vrbane* was a chiefe inſtigator) thirty thouſand Chriſtians tooke the Signe of the Croſſe, wearing it on their garments as the cognizance of their deuoted warfare: The chiefeſt Captaine of which Princely army, was *Peter* a poore Hermit, who returning from *Ieruſalem*, certified the Pope of the Chriſtians great miſery vnder thoſe mercileſſe Infidels: but the good man more exerciſed in prayers (the weapons of Votaries) then expert to guide an Army, was ſoone entrapped among the *Bulgares*, and ſlaine, with moſt of his Souldiers. But yet the buſineſſe ſtill proſecuted, the number of all degrees and ages flocking to the ſeruice, is reported to haue amounted (a thing almoſt incredible) vnto ſeauen hundred thouſand. In chiefe commaund of which huge Armie, were imployed many braue Princes of Chriſtendome; as *Godfrey* the famous Duke of *Loraine*, with his brethren *Euſtace* and *Baldwin*: *Bohemund* Duke of *Naples*, and his Nephew *Tancredus*: *Robert* Earle of *Flanders*: *Hugh le grand*, brother to *Philip* the *French King*; *Raymund*, Earle of *S. Egidius*; and beſides many other great Princes, the foreſaid *Robert* Duke of *Normandy*, not the laſt in eſteeme for his renowned ſeruice; as his memorable proweſſe in that imployment did afterwardes make apparant vnto the World. All theſe meeting at *Conſtantinople* (where *Alexius* was *Emperour*) paſſed ouer *Helleſpont*, and proceeded with better ſucceſſe then the *Hermit* had done, ſubduing Cities and Countries before them, with the ſlaughter of an hundred thouſand Infidels, and purchaſe of great ſpoyles: and laſtly, tooke *Ieruſalem* the holy Citie, in the thirtie ninth day after the Siege thereof. But let vs from *Iewrie* returne into *England*.

Synodus Claromontana. The Holy voyage.

Peter, an Hermite, the Captaine.

The number of the Army. *Math. Paris.* The Generals of the Army. *Henry Hunt. lib. 7.*

Mat. Paris.

Their fortunate ſucceſſes.

Th. Lanquet. *Ieruſalem* taken Chriſtians.

An.D.1099.

(31) King *William* at reſt whileſt his Brother and the reſt were in warres, thinking now both of fortifying and beautifying his Kingdome, cauſed new walles to be built about the Tower of *London*, and at *Weſtminſter*, (* where before was the ancient Palace of Saint *Edward* and his Anceſtours) laid new foundations of a moſt large and Princely Palace; the Hall whereof, by the teſtimony of *Paris*, ſhould haue extended (if he had liued to finiſh it) from the Riuer *Thameſis* euen vnto the common high way, as might appeare by the firſt ground-works, at the time wherin *Paris* wrote: but that ſtately Building, which now we call the *Great Hall*, he finiſhed as it now ſtandeth, containing in length two hundred and ſeuenty foote, in breadth ſeuenty foure: yet (when ſome praiſed the largeneſſe thereof) hee found fault that it was not made bigger, accounting it ſcarſe worthy the name of a Bed-Chamber, in reſpect of that which he intended to build.

* *Ingulphus.*

Mat. Paris. Stowes ſuruey.

Weſtminſter-Hall built.

The length and breadth thereof.

Rand. Higden.

And certes, of a right magnanimous diſpoſition was this *Rufus*, as appeared at ſuch time, when ſitting at dinner, purpoſing forthwith to take his pleaſure in hunting, a meſſenger brought him ſudden newes of the Siege of *Mayne*, a Citie in *Normandy*: whereto when the King anſwered, *He would take aduice what to doe: But thy Subiects* (replyed the party) *are in diſtreſſe, and cannot be delayed*; whereat the King ſwore his wonted Oath, that *if they could not, they ſhould not, and that hee would not turne his backe till he were with them*; and thereupon commaunded to breake downe the wall that he might goe forth the next way to the Sea, leauing ſtraight Commiſſion for his Nobles to follow him with all celerity.

Maine in *Normandy* beſieged. *Henry Hunt.*

The Kings readineſſe to releeue them.

Will. Malmeſ.

(32) But the winds being contrary, and thereby both the Sea and the King in a great rage; his Pilote miſdoubting hazard of Shipwrack, deſired him humbly to expect a while, till thoſe boyſterous Elements were calmer, and paſſage more ſafe. Whereunto he anſwered, as no whit daunted: *Haſt thou euer heard that any *King hath beene drowned? therefore hoyſe vp the Sailes, I charge thee and be gone.* The City vpon this vnexpected ſpeede of the King, was ſoone releaſed, and *Helias*, Conſull of *Cinomannia*, who did beleaguer it, being taken by a traine, was by King *William* jeſted at to his face, as a man neither of Martiall proweſſe nor policie: at which indignitie the Noble *Helias* diſdainingly ſtorming, with great boldneſſe ſaid vnto *Rufus*: *I am now thy Priſoner, not by thy proweſſe, but by chaunce of warre, and my owne misfortune: but were I at libertie, thou ſhouldeſt well know, I am not the man thus to be laughed at.* The King well-liking the confidence of his ſpirit: *Well then* (ſaid he) *I giue thee full liberty, goe thy waies, do what in thee lieth; I am the man that euer will mate thee.*

* Yes, King *Pharao* was drowned, if the Pilot durſt haue ſo replied. *Wil. Gemetic.*

The courage of *Helias* a Priſoner.

King *William* releaſeth him.

(33) And ſurely, howſoeuer he might be blemiſhed with many ſtaines of bad Gouernment, yet for his valour and reſolutions in wars he is greatly commended; and ſo much by ſome, that, if it were not againſt the faith of Chriſtianity, it might be thought (ſaith *Malmesbury*) that the ſoule of *Cæſar* had entred into the body of this *Rufus*, as that of *Euphorbus* is ſaid to haue done into *Pythagoras*: yea, & thoſe ſtaines (wee may well thinke) were no whit leſſened by his ſtory-writers, who were dependants of the Romiſh See: for that he little fauoured their Holy Father, or any ſuch as adhered vnto the See of *Rome*, againſt the Prerogatiue of his Crowne; as eſpecially appeared in his Offence conceiued againſt *Anſelmus* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, for his too *Romiſh* humor. There was at that time a Schiſme in the *Roman* Church, which Monſter-like, had then two heads on one Body, the Emperor (who claimed that as his right) placing one, and the *Roman* Clergy abetting another, *Vrbanus* by name, with whom conſorted *Anſelme*, againſt the Kings command.

His great valour.

Will. Gemet. lib. 4. His praiſes much impaired by partiall writers.

His oppoſition to the Romiſh Church.

Two Popes of *Rome*. *Matth. Paris.*

The King alledged, that no Archbiſhop or Biſhop of the kingdome ſhould (or ought) be ſubject to the *Pope* or Court of *Rome*, with whom they had nought to doe: that he and his Realme had as large franchiſes, euer ſince the receiuing of the Chriſtian faith, as the Emperour had in his Empire; and that therefore none ought in his Realme to be receiued for *Pope*, whom himſelfe and his State ſhould not firſt approue:

No Engliſh Biſhop ſubiect to the Pope. *Eadmerus. Holinſh.* The King of *England* hath as great priuiledges as the Emperour.

approue: that without his licence none ſhould goe or appeale to *Rome* in any cauſe: that *Anſelme* could not keepe his Allegeance to his Soueraigne, and alſo to the *Pope*. Vpon all which points the Prelates of *England*, excepting only *Gundulphus* B. of *Rocheſter*, aſſented to the King againſt *Anſelmus*, that he was guilty of High-Treaſon, for attempting to depriue the Crowne of theſe prerogatiues.

Math. Paris alibi, except alſo *Ranulphus Ceſtrenſis Epiſc.*

(34) And becauſe the King then vrged, that herein hee did no more then his Father had done before him, it ſhall not be impertinent to obſerue heere, how that, as *Vrbanus* vſed *Anſelmus* for his inſtrument to draw the King to his becke; who performed that truſt with ſuch thankes of the *Pope*, that he gaue him and his ſucceſſours the honour to ſit at his right foot in any open Synod, in theſe words; *Includamus hinc in orbe noſtro, tanquam alterius orbis Papam*: So Pope *Gregory* before him vſed Archbiſhop *Lanfrancks* helpe for vndermining of *William* the Conquerour, and to ſubject him and his State to the Papacie; which that it may appeare the better, I will here inſert the Conquerours owne Letter to the *Pope*.

Pope *Gregory* was juſtly by all mens iudgements (ſaith *Paris*) depoſed for Treaſon againſt the Emperour.

Tho. Rudborne in medulla Chronicorum.

To Gregory, *the moſt Excellent Paſtor of Holy Church*, William *by the grace of God, King of* England *and Duke of* Normandy, *wiſheth health and friendſhip: Your Legat* Hubert *(Religious Father) came vnto me, exhorting me, in your name, to make Allegeance to you, and your Succeſſors, and to take better order for the money which my Predeceſſors were wont to ſend to the Church of* Rome. *The one I haue granted; of the other I haue not admitted. Fealty to you, I neither would nor will make; for I neither promiſed you ſo much, neither finde I that euer my Anteceſſors did performe it to yours. The * money hath beene negligently gathered, my ſelfe almoſt theſe three yeares being in* France; *but being by Gods mercy returned into my Kingdome, as much as is Collected is now ſent by the ſaid Legate: the reſt ſhall be ſent when it may conueniently, by the meſſengers of* Lanfrancke *our faithfull ſeruant. Pray for vs, and for the good eſtate of our Kingdome; for I haue loued your Predeceſſors; and my deſire is aboue all others ſincerely to loue you, and to heare you obediently.*

Amongſt *Lanfranks* Epiſtles, *M. S. vetuſt.*

The Pope would haue *William* Conquerour to ſweare him allegeance.

This money was the *Peter-pence* or *Romeſcot*, which *Edward* Confeſſor calleth *Eleemoſynas*, as giuen of Almes to the Church of Rome.

His Holineſſe was then very wroth, that things did not cotten better to his deſires in *England*. But *Lanfranck* cleared himſelfe of the blame, ſhewing him how diligently, but indeede traiterouſly) hee had beſtirred himſelfe, in counſelling the King to yeeld to ſweare obedience to the *Pope*: *Suaſi, ſed non perſuaſi*, (ſaid he,) *I haue ſo aduiſed him, but I could not perſwade him.*

Lanfranke counſelleth the King to ſubiect himſelfe to the Pope. *Epiſt. Lanfran.* M. S.

(35) By which incredible pride and Popiſh incroachments, attempted by the meanes of theſe chiefeſt Prelates of the Kingdome, King *William Rufus* (no doubt) ſaw it was high time for him to preuent farther miſchiefes to his State, by following his Fathers ſteps in timely repreſſing ſuch Papall intruſions: yea ſo farre was he from yeelding his necke to that yoake, that hee auowed, that the *Popes*, though boaſting of *Peters* Chaire, had not from him any power of binding or looſing, whoſe godly ſteppes they wholly neglected, following onely after Lucre and worldly Honours: that alſo it was but impoſture to teach Interceſſion, and bootleſſe to vſe Inuocation to Saints, euen to Saint *Peter* himſelfe. And as for the reſt of the Romiſh Clergie, who then gaue themſelues ſtrangely to worldly and fleſhly pleaſures, wearing their guilt Girdles and Spurres, and trimming their buſhie Locks; their looſe liues the King much deteſted, and ſought to puniſh; which moſt incenſed their Choler: and theſe were the haires no doubt in thoſe Monkiſh writers Pennes, that euer blotted his faire name, vnder their faſt-running, and vneuen hands. For ſo much may we gather from *Gemeticenſis*, the Recorder of his life, who hauing reported many Acts of this Kings, ſeemeth laſtly to checke himſelfe for going ſo farre: where (he ſaith,) *Theſe and many other like things wee could truly report of him, were it not we think it vnconuenient largely to relate his actions, becauſe hee perſecuted verie many of Gods ſeruants, and the holy Church not a little, for which it is thought by the moſt part of wiſemen, that he repented too late and vnprofitably.*

Will. Rufus prudently treads his fathers ſteps. *Eadmerus.*

He denieth the Popes power, *Soluendi & Ligandi.* *Holling.*

Againſt Praying to Saints.

Rand in Polychr. lib. 7. cap. 9.

Gemetic. l. 7. c. 8.

A very wiſe reaſon.

(36) And true it is, that ſome of them haue taxed him for great *Pride* and *Couetouſneſſe*, whereof yet ſome pregnant examples to the contrary are not wanting; as, (though the inſtance be ſomewhat familiar) when his Chamberlaine bringing him a paire of new hoſe, and he demanding the price, was anſwered that they coſt three ſhillings; *Away baſe fellow* (quoth he) *are thoſe beſeeming a King? bring mee of a Marke price*: his ſeruant went, but brought him another paire of no greater coſt, but tolde him (as great Mens reckonings vſually are made) that they were of the rate appointed: wherewith the King was very well pleaſed, and diſburſed that great Price to fulfill his owne pride.

Rob. of Glouc. Chron. S. Albans.

An example of *Will. Rufus* his wonderfull Pride.

Euery baſe knaue will now goe coſtlier.

(37) His Couetouſneſſe what it was, may hence appeare, that when two Monkes whoſe Abbot was lately dead, repaired to his Court, and each in large offers out-vied and ouerbad the other, to ſucceede in the Abbacie; a third Monke very ſober, and poore in ſhew, accompanying them in their buſineſſe, ſtood by; whom the King asked what he would giue to be made Abbot? Nothing, ſaid the Monke; for I entred my profeſſion to be poore, and hitherto haue beene, little eſteeming the pompe or riches of the World. Then thou art the man, (replied the King) and ſhalt be their Abbot, more worthy in thy pouertie, then they for their price; and ſo conferring on him that high honour, checked the others, to their open infamy and reproach.

His auarice. *Polydor. Virg.*

Polyc. lib. 7. cap. 11

As the like he alſo did to *Hugh* a *Norman* Knight, and Souldier by profeſſion, who of a ſincere deuotion had entred the Monkiſh Order in the Monaſterie of S. *Auguſtines* at *Canterbury*, and at the death of *Vido* the Abbot, was but a Probationer; when comming with others to the King for the election of another, was choſen himſelfe (though ſore againſt his will) without any requeſt or proffer; whoſe penitency and vnfained humility ſo moued the King, that in this his Election he burſt forth into teares.

A princely choice. I would all Simoniacks might ſo be ſerued.

(38) Other faults I graunt hee is charged with, wherein we haue not and cannot vtterly acquit him: as this beſides others, that his chiefeſt Conſorts were Effeminated perſons, Ruffians and the like, and himſelfe ſaid to haue delighted continually in Adulteries, and the Company of Concubines, *etiam coram Sole*, ſhameleſſe and in the ſight of the Sunne; though none of them be named, nor any his illegitimate iſſue knowne; and yet onely, or eſpecially for his ſins, many ſtrange ſignes of Gods wrath are reported to haue happened in the time of his raigne.

A preferment beſtowed vnlooked for.

Of King *Williams* incontinency.

Math. Paris. No Iſſue illegimate of his, knowne.

(39) For in his ſecond yeere a terrible and moſt dreadfull Earth-quake happened: And in his fourth, a vehement Lightning pierced the Steeple of the Abbey at *Winſcombe*, rent the beames of the roofe, caſt downe the Crucifixe, brake off his right legge, and withall ouerthrew the Image of our Lady ſtanding hard by, leauing ſuch a ſtench in the Church, that neither incenſe, holy-water, nor the ſinging of the Monkes could allay it. And not long after, ſo great a tempeſt of winde happened, that in *London* it bare downe ſixe hundred Houſes, and blew off the roofe of *Bow-Church*, which with the Beames were borne into the Aire a great height; ſixe whereof being twenty ſeuen foote long, with their fall, were driuen twenty three foote deepe into the ground, the ſtreets of the City lying then vnpaued.

An. D. 1089. Strange accidents of his time, Earthquake. Lightning.

Windes.

John Stow.

In the ninth of his Raigne a blazing-Starre appeared with two buſhes, and other Starres ſeemed to ſhoote darts each againſt others, to no little feare and amazement of the beholders. The laſt of his Raigne, the Sea breaking ouer his limited bankes, drowned an innumerable multitude of people in many Countries, and in *Kent* ouerwhelmed the Lands that ſometime were Earle *Goodwins*, which as yet are called *Goodwins Sands* lying very dangerous for all Nauigators. But moſt fearefull was the Wel of bloud, which for

An. D. 1096. Vncouth Stars.

Deluge.

Goodwin Sands. Hector Boetius.

A Well of Bloud.

Will. Malmeſ. Matth. Weſtm. Henry Hunt. Rand. Higden.

Preſages of his death.

Matth. Paris. ad An. 1100.

Matth. Paris. Genetiçenſis.

King *William* ſlaine with an Arrow in hunting.

for fifteene daies roſe vp out of the ground at *Finchamſted* neere *Abington* in *Barkeſhire*. His owne dreame, wherein it ſeemed the veynes of his Armes to be broken, and abundance of his bloud ſtreaming on the floore; as likewiſe that Monkes, who in his ſleepe ſaw the Crucifixe to ſpurne the King to the ground: theſe with many like, were held as preſages of his death, which preſently followed. Of all which, or the moſt part, what better cenſure can wee giue, then that which King *William* himſelfe (when this laſt viſion was told him) did deliuer; ſaying, *Well, a Monke he is, and can dreame (Monachiluter) as Monkes vſe to doe, onely for to gaine. Giue him an hundred ſhillings, leſt he ſhould thinke he had dreamed booteleſſe.*

(40) Whatſoeuer force thoſe preſages had, it is true, that vpon the ſecond day of *Auguſt*, as hee was hunting in the new-Forreſt, and in the place called *Chorengham*, all his Company being ſcattered from him; ſauing onely a *French* Knight; whoſe name was *Walter Tirrell*, the King with his arrow ſtrooke a Stag, which yet not greatly hurt ranne away; to marke therefore the courſe that it tooke, he held vp his hand betwixt his eye and the Sunne, when vnawares alſo *Walter Tirrell* ſo ſhot, that his Arrow glancing againſt a tree, ſtrooke the King in his breſt, who haſtily breaking off ſo much as ſtucke out of his body, with one onely groane fell downe and died. Of which ſudden chance, his followers ſoone vnderſtanding, moſt of them made away, but thoſe few which remained, laid his body (baſely God wot, but as neceſſity ſuffered) into a Colliers Cart, which drawne with one ſilly leane Beaſt, through a very foule and filthy way, the Cart broke, and there lay the ſpectacle of worldly glory, both pittifully goared, and filthily bemired, til afterward he was thence conuaied vnto *Wincheſter*, and buried vnder a plaine flat Marble-ſtone in the Quire of Saint *Swithens*, the *Cathedrall Church* of the City, whoſe bones were ſince taken vp, and laide into a Coffer, with the bones of *Canutus*. Hee died after hee had raigned twelue yeeres, eleuen moneths lacking eight daies, being the yeere of his age forty three, and of *Chriſt Ieſus*, 1100.

Mat. Paris.

Yeeres of his age and Reigne. *Will. Malmeſ.*

(41) Hee was of perſon indifferent, not of any great ſtature, yet very well ſet, his belly (like his Fathers) ſomewhat bearing out: of complection * ruddy, whereof hee tooke his ſurname, and his haire ſomewhat yellow, his fore-head flat and ſquare, and his Eyes diuerſly coloured; a ſtammering tongue, eſpecially in his anger; gorgeous in apparrell, and of no ſparing diet; very bountifull to Souldiers, often hard to Church-men, burdenſome to his Subjects, an expert Souldier, that could well both endure labour of the Body, and put off cares of the minde; in his affaires circumſpect, of his word ſtedfaſt, and in his warres no leſſe diligent, then fortunate. He gaue to the Monkes called *de Charitate*, the great New-Church of *Saint Sauiors* of *Barmondſey* in *Southwark*, which hee built, with his Mannor of *Barmondſey* it ſelfe, and all the appurtenances, together with the Towne of *Charleton*: confirming all that had beene giuen them before. Hee alſo of an olde Monaſtery in *Yorke* founded a new *Hoſpitall*, to the honour of Saint *Peter*, for the ſuſtentation of poore men and women: dying as we haue ſaid, without Wife or Iſſue, or without reſpit of time for diſpoſe of his Crowne, or other wordly affaires.

His deſcription of minde and body.

* *Boetius* thence ſurnames him *Red-face.*

His workes of deuotion.

Lib. Barmond.

Henry I.

HENRIE, THE FIRST OF THAT NAME, THE FORTIETH ONE MONARCH OF THE ENGLISH-MEN: HIS ACTS, RAIGNE, WIVES, AND ISSVE.

Monarch 41.

CHAPTER IIII.

An.D. 1100. *Wil. Malmsbury. Iohn Rowſe. Annales S. Aug. Matth. Paris.*

HEnry, the yongeſt ſonne of the Conqueror, and third King of his race, was born heere in *England*, and brought vp in Learning euen from his child-hood, whereby hee gained to himſelfe the high honour very rare in thoſe daies, eſpecially in Princes, to be, and to be ſtiled the *Beauclerk*: whoſe portion of Treaſure was not a little, giuen him by his father, neither any whit ſpared by himſelfe to purchaſe friends at the death of his brother, **Henry* of *Newburgh* the right Noble, vertuous and learned Earle of *Warwicke*, euer making his way both with the Clergy and Nobles, who *refuſed to admit any King but with capitulation and couenants to their owne likings.

(2) The ſteps then by which hee mounted the Throne of Maieſty, were the diſlikes of *Williams* ouer-hard curbing of his *Natiues*, as he euer called the *Engliſh*, the raſh & giddy head of his brother *Robert*; his abſence in *Syria*, for whoſe returne to ſtay was dangerous, and whoſe election for King of *Ieruſalem*, was likely to imploy his perſon there ſtill: his *Engliſh-birth*, hauing both a King and Queene to his Parents; his faire promiſes for reformation of bad and rigorous Lawes, impoſed by his Father and Brother, the reſtoring of the Clergy from exile, and to their Church-Liuings; remiſſion of Taxes exacted on the Subjects; and due puniſhments of ſuch perſons as were the chiefe Cauſers thereof; in which behalfe to ſatisfie the People hee committed *Ralphe* Biſhop of *Durham* to the Tower. Then promiſing by Oath to frame juſt Lawes grounded on thoſe of *Saint Edward* (then which nothing was more deſired) did winde himſelfe ſo farre into the loues of all, that with a generall concurrence he was ſaluted King.

(3) He

* This was the firſt Earle of *Warwicke* from the Conqueſt, ſo to continue onely *ad placitum*. *M. Tho. Miles. Th. Rudborne.*
* A politicke, but traiterous courſe of capitulating. *Math. Paris.*

Henries helpes to the Crowne. *Will. Gemet.*

Idem.

Roger Houed.

Henry Hunt.

Ralphe Biſhop of *Durham* impriſoned. *Math. Paris.*

His Coronation. *Ger. Dorob.*

(3) Hee began his raigne the second of *August*, the sacred rites of whose Coronation were celebrated at *Westminster*, by *Maurice* Bishop of *London*, (in the absence of *Anselme* Archbishop of *Canterbury*) the fifth day of the same moneth, the yeere of *Christ* 1100. When *Henry* the fourth possessed the Imperiall Diadem, *Philip* the first swaied the Scepter of *France*, *Edgar* wore the Crowne of *Scotland*, and *Paschall* the second sate in the See of *Rome*.

Will. Malms. The forraine Princes raigning in his time.

(4) His first businesse was to put in execution what he had promised; and because he might be thought vnfit to guide a large kingdome, who cannot reforme those who are euer at his elbow, began, (as a good Prince ought) with his owne Court and Household (as knowing that to be the paterne and warrant of others enormities) whence hee cashiered all Court-minions & nice or effeminate wantons, and enacting a decree against his Courtiers rapines, Adulteries and Robberies, punished their Thefts with * death, and Lechery with the losse of their Eies, and other parts peccant.

The reformation of his Court. *Rand. Higden in Polychr. lib. 7. c. 12.*

(5) Then he restor'd to the *English* the vse of lights, which his father forbad by the ringing of a Bell, and had now continued for the space of thirtie three yeeres, ordaining likewise many good Lawes, and common Liberties, exemplified at large in *Matthew Paris*, which summarily may be thus abridged.

* *Houeden. Wigornienf.* * *Malmesl. lib. 5. de Regibus.*

Publike Liberties by him granted. *Stowes* Annales.

Math. Paris.

1 *The Freedome of the Church from oppressions, or reseruation of their Possessions vpon vacancies.*

2 *That the Heires of his Nobility should possesse the Lands of their Fathers, without redemption from him, which fauours the Nobles likewise should afford to their Tenants.*

3 *That the Gentry might giue in Marriage their Daughters and Kinswomen without his licence, so it were not to his Enemy.*

4 *That the widow should haue her Iointer, and not be compelled to marry against her owne liking.*

5 *That the Mother or next of kindred, shall be Guardian of the Lands of her Children.*

By losse of right hand, saith *Malmes.* Of Hand and Genitals, *Gemeticens. lib. 7. cap. 23.* Of Eies and Genitals, *Houeden. Malmes. lib. 5. Simon Dun. Will. Malmes.*

6 *That Coiners of false Money should be * punished; and likewise ordayned a measure to the length of his * Arme to be a standard for Commerce among his People.*

7 *Then did he forgiue all debts to the Crowne before his owne time, and murthers committed before the day of his Coronation: with some other like indulgences: But, to the greatest content of the People, hee gaue power and strength vnto King* Edwards *Lawes.*

King *Edwards* Lawes reuiued againe.

(6) To these his Ordinances he set his Name and Seale, with the subscription of sundry Peeres, commanding as many Copies as there were Counties in *England* to be transcribed and kept in the Monasteries of euery Prouince. Then did hee recall *Anselme* Archbishop of *Canterbury* forced out of the Land by *Rufus*, and bestowed all vacant Church-liuings vpon the worthiest persons. But to ground his new planted affection more deepe in the hearts of the *English*, hee became a suter to *Edgar* King of *Scotland*, to haue his sister to wife, which was *Maude* the daughter of Queen *Margaret*, Sister to *Edgar Atheling*, and Grandchilde of *Edmund Ironside*, whereby his issue might meerely be both of the *English* bloud, and of the ancient *English* Kings.

His Charters sent to be kept in Monasteries. *Math. Paris.*

Ger. Dor.

Ypodigma. Neustriæ.

His Marriage into the English bloud. *Will. Gemet. cap. 25. Matth. Paris.*

(7) Shee by report of some Writers had vowed Virginity, and was brought vp in a house of Religion at *Westminster*, (hauing entred the profession of a Nunne vnder her Aunt *Christian*) whose sanctity and knowledge both in matters humane and diuine, with her mother *Margarets*, are highly commended (saith *Gemeticensis*) in a book written of their liues: notwithstanding others hold that she vailed her selfe but for a shift, to put off some vnworthy matches, which her father *Malcolme* would haue imposed her; and indeed this scruple was such a core in *Anselm* his mouth, that he would not pronounce the words of Contract vntill her selfe had cleared the doubt by her open confession.

His Wife first a votary. *Gemetic. cap. 18.* *Eadmerus.* *Rand. Higden in Polychron. lib. 7. cap. 16.*

(8) Duke *Robert*, who now had bin fiue yeres in the holy warres, and therin borne himselfe with such valour, that he of all the Christian Princes was thought the worthiest to bee annointed King of *Ierusalem*, had their voice and election, standing in the Temple before the Altar, vpon *Easter-Eue*: and that the rather by a miracle of his Taper, which tooke light of it selfe, or from Heauen (if wee will be so light to beleeue it:) but he hearing of the death of *Rufus*, refused that in hope to haue *England*; for which his neglect of Diuine appointment, it is said God neuer after prospered him: Then returning from *Syria* into *Normandy*, was there ioifully receiued, and assumed again his *Dukedome* (which he had engaged to his brother *William*) without repaiment of any mony: where hearing that *Henry* his younger, was stept into his throne of *England*, laide projects in his minde how to defeate him. And to further these his designes, *Ralphe* Bishop of *Durham*, corrupting his keepers, brake out of the Tower of *London*, & gat into *Normandy*, where he instigated Duke *Robert* against his brother of *England*; others also delighting in alterations, solicited *Robert* to make into *England*, with promise of their assistance to recouer the Crowne.

* *Matth. Paris.* Duke *Roberts* noble seruice in the Holy warres. Duke *Robert* elected King of *Hierusalem.* *Ran. Higden. in Polychr. lib. 7. c. 12. Matth. Paris.* He returnes into *Normandy.* *Will. Gemet. cap. 12.* His attempts for *England.* *Matth. Paris. Roger. Houed.* *Wil. Malmsb. Henry Hunt.*

(9) King *Henry* for his part resoluing to hold what he had got, neglected no meanes to keepe the Diadem as it was set, and therefore rigged forth his Nauie to secure the Seas, manned his Fortresses, and with a great Army repaired towards the coast, where neere vnto *Hastings* hee lodged his Campe, relying more vpon his owne strength and valour of his People, then any just title he had to the Kingdome.

King *Henry* strengthneth himselfe against Duke *Robert.*

(10) Duke *Robert* by this time had taken the Seas, and was vpon the Kings fleete before they were aware, where preparing for Conflict, the most of the *English* fell to the *Normans*, either by the perswasion of the Duke, or in hatred of *Henry*, that then began to tyrannize ouer them, as they did imagine: By which meanes the Duke, had safe-landing at *Portesmouth*, and did not a little reioice in this his fortunate beginning; threatning his brother to be reuenged for his wrongs & blaming the Nobility for suffering him thus to be abused, whilest he for the common good of Christendome, was imployed in the Holy-Lands warre. King *Henry*, as wise, as the other was valorous, wrought vnder-hand for an agreement of peace; for hee very well saw, that the euent of warre hath commonly issue from the first successe, and at one and the same time doth bolden and weaken the courage of the multitude; therefore certaine Noble-men on both sides so trauised the businesses, that the Brethren in short time became friends, and a composition made to both their contents. The agreement was thus, that, because *Henry* was borne after his fathers Conquest of this Land, and stood now the Crowned King with common consent, hee should during his life, enioy the same, paying Duke *Robert* in way of fealty three thousand Markes by yeere: and the suruiuour to be heire to his brother deceased, if hee died without a sonne. In which it was also concluded, that all, either *English* or *Normans*, which had taken part with the King or Duke, should be pardoned of all offences, and their Liuings againe restored: for the Confirmation whereof, and the performance accordingly, twelue Princes vpon either parties took their Corporall Oathes; and the Armies presently dissolued.

An. D. 1101. An. Reg. 2. The *English* fall off to Duke *Robert.* *Matth. Paris.* The Duke landeth in *England.* *Will. Gemet. cap. 12.* K. *Henry* labours for a peace. *Henry Hunt.* Agreement made betwixt the Brethren. The couenant of Peace. *Will. Thorne. Mat. West. Geru. Dor.*

Duke *Robert* entertained in King *Henries* Court. *Will. Gemet.* Cap. 13.

(11) The *Norman* Duke princely entertained the ſpace of ſixe moneths in the Court of King *Henry*, ſhewed himſelfe rather open and credulous, then any way ſuſpitious, in all his carriages; and ſo with much liking, and loue to his brother, departed vnto his own Country. But the Sunne-ſhine of theſe faire daies, began forthwith to be ouer-caſt, by the incitation of ſuch as endeuoured to ſow diſcord betwixt the two Brethren: and not onely thoſe in *Normandy*, which euer buz'd jealouſies into Duke *Roberts* eares, but euen in *England* alſo, ſome fell in diſlike of King *Henry*, and affecting alteration, with the malignant eye of enuy beheld the glory of his beauteous Crowne.

Robert Beliaſme againſt the King. An.D.1102.

(12) Amongſt whom, *Robert Beliaſme* Earle of *Shrewsbury*, the eldeſt ſonne of *Roger Mountgomery*, ſtrengthened the Towns and Caſtles of *Shrewsburie*, *Bridgenorth*, *Tichile*, and *Arundell*, with victuals, munition, and men, againſt the King; alluring likewiſe the fickle *Welſhmen* vnto his deſignes. *Henry* therefore in rage & haſt, marched thitherward with a great power; againſt *Arundell-Caſtle*, he raiſed another of wood, and tooke it; beſieged *Bridgenorth*; which preſently yeelded, and *Shrewsburie* ſent him their keyes and pledges of their obeiſance: when *Beliaſme* with his brother *Arnulfus*, and *Roger de Poytiers*, were conſtrained to abiure the Land for euer, and thereupon went into *Normandy*, where they ceaſed not to raiſe more ſparkes from that brand which others before them had blowne.

Simon Dun. An.Reg.3.

Roger Houen. *Matth. Paris.*

Henry Hunt.

(13) Neither were thoſe men buſier to raiſe ſtirres abroad, then was Archbiſhop *Anſelmus* to doe it at home; who being a man of a ſtiffe reſolution, in a Councell holden at *London*, drew on him the offence both of the King and Clergie: for therein, firſt, he excommunicated all married Prieſts, * *halfe the Clergie of England at that time, being either maried or the ſons of married Prieſts*; next he inhibited all lay-men to heare their maſſes. But this thing (ſaith *Paris*) howſoeuer it ſeemed good to ſome, *yet vnto others very dangerous, leſt while they affected after a purity which was aboue their ſtrength, they might fal into impurity of a higher quality.* In this Councell alſo *Anſelme*, peremptory vpon the Popes aſſiſtance, depriued many great Prelates of their promotions, becauſe they had accepted their Inueſtures from the King, which was done by receiuing of a Paſtorall ſtaffe and a ring, an ancient rite, teſtifying that their donation was from their Soueraigne, (as S. *Wulſtan* receiued his Staffe from S. *Edward*, and therefore profeſſed hee would reſigne it onely to him,) in which number were the Abbots of *Ely*, of *Ramſey*, of *Perſcors*, of Saint *Edmunds*, of *Taueſtock*, *Peterborrow*, *Burch*, *Bodiac*, *Middleton*, and *Stoke*: for which his bold parts, and for refuſing to conſecrate certaine Biſhops, aduanced by the King, great contention fell betwixt them: and the Archbiſhop, taking himſelfe much wronged by the preſent ouer-bearing power, appealed vnto his Holy Father, Pope *Paſchall*, and ſoone after went in perſon to *Rome*.

** Goodwin in vita Anſelmi.*

Eadmerus. *Matth. Paris.*

Contention about inueſtures.

Matth. Paris in Will. Ruſo.

The Archbiſhop goes to *Rome*.

(14) Whither likewiſe the King ſent his Ambaſſadors, namely *Herbert* Biſhop of *Norwich*, with *Robert* biſhop of *Lichfield*, both of them of his Priuie-Counſell, and *William Warenaſt* his procurator, a Clergy-man, of a very bold ſpirit and ſpeech; who in debating his Soueraigns cauſe before the *Pope* and *Cardinals*, with threatning Language and countenance, auouched, that the King his *Maſter would not loſe his right in the Inueſtures of the Church, for the loſſe of his Kingdome*: whereto the Pope, (no Crauant to bee dared on his owne dung-hill) as ſtoutly anſwered; *If, as thou ſayeſt, the King will not loſe the donation of Churches, for the loſſe of his Kingdome; know thou for certaine (before God I ſpeake it) that I would not ſuffer him to enioy them without puniſhment, no not for the ſauing of my head*: notwithſtanding which braue words againſt the King, yet the degraded Abbots were reſtored throgh the Clemency of the Papall See, which is neuer wanting to any, as long as *the white & red*, (to vſe the very words of a Monke) *made interceſſion for them*. But

An.D.1103. An.Reg.4. *Will. Thorne. Tolydor.* The King ſends Ambaſſadors to *Rome*.

The King wil not looſe his inueſtures for his Kingdome. *Matth. Paris.*

The Pope will looſe his head, rather then ſuffer kings to haue inueſtures.

Siluer and gold beſt mediators to the Pope. *Parisienſis.*

from the Church to the State.

(15) *Robert Curtuoiſe*, either to ſound his brothers deſignes, or to congratulate him in a brotherly loue, came into *England*; where he was ſo royally entertained, that all ſuſpition was quenched, and himſelfe ſo well contented, that at the onely motion and requeſt of *Queene Maud*, hee remitted the three thouſand Markes, couenanted to be paide yeerely vnto him, though he were leſſe able to forbeare, then King *Henry* to giue. But when his wants told him of this his ouer-lauiſh releaſement, hee openly exclaimed againſt King *Henry*, that hee had craftily circumuented, and deceitfully cheated him; and now giuing open eare and credit to ſuch as ſought their diſ-vnion, gaue his Brother all occaſions of enmity, who was ready enough of himſelfe, to make the leaſt very great. For beſides this preſent diſpleaſure conceiued againſt Duke *Robert*, he added others, and this eſpecially, that hee had wilfully waſted the Inheritance which his father had left him, to wit, the Dukedom of *Normandy*, hauing nothing now almoſt in that Dominion beſides the City of *Roane*, which he would haue parted with alſo, had not the Citizens thereto denied their conſents.

Duke *Robert* entertained in *England*. An.D. 1104 *Will. Gemet. Henry Hunt.*

He remits 3000. markes a yeere to King *Henry*. An.Reg.5.

D. *Roberts* patrimony waſted. *William Gemet.*

(16) Neither was it the leaſt motiue to King *Henries* diſpleaſure, that his traiterous ſubiects were ſo willingly receiued by his brother; for beſides *Robert Beliaſme* and others, *William*, Earle of *Mortaigne* in *Normandy*, and of *Cornwall* in *England*, the ſonne of *Robert*, halfe-brother to the Conquerour, becauſe the Earledome of *Kent*, (which he made claime vnto, as heire to his vnkle *Odo*) was denied him, in a diſcontent got him into *Normandy*, where beſides his valiant aſſaults of the Kings Caſtles, and Souldiers, hee much endangered the poſſeſſions of *Richard* Earl of *Cheſter*, then a child and the Kings *Warde*: ſo that the flames of warre raiſed by theſe ſeditions, ſeemed to be blown from *England* vnto the parts beyond the Seas, and to fire the territories of the *Engliſh* there; neither is it eaſie to declare (ſaith *Houeden*) what miſery (the meane while) by exactions, the land felt here at home.

William Earle of Mortaign againſt the King. *Ypodigm. Neuſtr.*

Matth. Paris. Ran Higden. lib.7. cap.13. Will. Malmſ.

Matth. Paris.

(17) For the King incited into *Normandy* vpon theſe occaſions, by large diſtributions of money carried out of *England*, wonne the *Normane* Nobility to reuolt from their Lord, and tooke the Towne and Caſtle of *Caen* by compoſition, and burnt *Bayon* with the beautifull Church of Saint *Maries*, whereupon the Priories of *Normandy* yeelded themſelues vnto his Protection; by whoſe example the *Britaines* and thoſe of *Anion* did the like; ſo that their Caſtles and forts were filled with the Garriſons of King *Henry*, Duke *Robert* in no wiſe able to reſiſt; which done, *Henry* with triumph returned into *England*.

K. *Henry* allures the *Normans* to ſide with him. An.D. 1105 *Roger Houed.* An.Reg.6. *Henry Hunt.* Forts of *Normandy* yeelded to the King.

(18) The *Curtuoiſe*, by his *Normans* thus vncourteouſly dealt with, ſaw it was booteleſſe againſt ſo great a ſtreame to ſtriue, and therefore thought beſt to lay away weapons, and to become himſelfe a Mediatour for Peace. With which reſolution taking the Seas, hee followed his brother vnto *Northampton*; where humbling himſelfe in a more dejectiue manner, then either his birth, or owne nature could well brooke, deſired the Kings peace, both in reſpect of their brotherly vnion, and the regard of his owne accuſtomed clemency; willing him to conſider, that warre was not only vnnaturall betwixt brethren, but that a reproach euer followes the chariot of the Victor, deſiring him not to triumph in his ouerthrow, who was now ready to render all that he had into his hands: but King *Henry* muttering to himſelfe, turned away from his brother without any anſwere.

An.D.1106. Duke *Robert* leaues force, and truſts to perſwaſion. An.Reg.7. *Matth. Paris. Henry Hunt.* D. *Roberts* ſubmiſſion.

K. *Henry* reſpects it not.

(19) *For God* (ſaith *Paris*) *not pleaſed to giue the effect, though the* Beau-clearke *felt a remorſe in conſcience, for vſurping his Kingdome (being indeed very learned, and well vnderſtanding the dueties both of equity and Law) and thereupon beganne both to feare ſome violent inſurrection of the ſubiects, and alſo the reuenging wrath of God vpon him, for his trecherous & vniuſt dealings towards his elder brother, to whom vndoubtedly the Kingdome*

Matth. Paris.

K. *Henry* reſiſts the counſell of his owne conſcience.

Kingdome by all right did appertaine : yet ſtood hee rather in feare of men then God (whoſe fauors he cunningly laboured to keepe) whom he meant to pleaſe another time by building of an Abbey for his ſatisfaction. Duke *Robert* then ſeeing and deteſting the Kings ſwolne pride, poſted backe vnto *Normandy* to gather his powers. *Henry* alſo held it good policy, not to giue paſſage vnto *Roberts* wrath, knowing him a Souldier, and well waying his deſperate eſtate: and therefore calling his Lords vnto *London*, in an aſſembly tickled their eares with theſe delectable and ſmooth words.

A preſumptuous ground to defer repentance.

King *Henry* wins his Nobles with faire words.

Math. Paris.

" (20) My friends, and faithfull Counſellors, and " natiue Countrimen, you know by true report, " how my Brother *Robert* was elected, and by God " himſelfe called to be the fortunate King of *Ieruſa-* " *lem*, and how vnfortunately, or rather inſolently, he " refuſed that ſacred eſtate, whereby he is now moſt " iuſtly reprobated of *God* : you alſo know by many " other experiments, his pride and arrogancy; for be- " ing a man of a warring humour, he is not only im- " patient of any peace, but alſo wilfully deſireth to " trample vpon you as men of abiect and contemp- " tible diſpoſition, vpbraiding you for idle droanes, " for belly-gods, and what not? But I your King, na- " turally inclined to bee both humble and peaceable, " take delight in nothing more then to do you good, " to maintaine your tranquillity and ancient liber- " ties, (as I haue often ſworne vnto you,) and meeke- " ly and willingly to yeeld my ſelfe to your aduiſes, " whereby I may circumſpectly gouerne you as a " clement Prince : and to that end euen now will " I confirme (if your wiſedomes ſo thinke fit) your " ouer-worne and vndermined Charters, and will " roborate them moſt firmely with a new oath and " ratification. Meane while, all the lawes which the " holy King *Edward* by Gods inſpiring did eſta- " bliſh, I doe heere command to bee inuiolablie " obſerued, hereby to moue you to adhere ſtedfaſtlie " vnto mee, in repulſing cheerefully, willingly, and " powerfully, the wrongs offered me, by my brother " ſhal I ſay? nay, by my moſt deadly enemy & yours, " and of the whole *Engliſh* Nation : For if I be guar- " ded with the valours and affections of *Engliſhmen*, " I ſhall ſcorne the threates of him and his *Nor-* " *mans*, as forceleſſe, and no whit to bee feared. And with theſe faire promiſes (which yet afterwards hee vtterly neglected) hee ſo wonne the hearts of them all, that they would die with him, or for him, againſt any hoſtility whatſoeuer.

King *Henries* confidence of the *Engliſh*.

(21) Duke *Robert* gone, and preparing for warre, *Henry* thus ſetled in his peoples affection, followed him with all expedition, hauing in his company the choyce Nobility of *England*, *Normandy*, *Gaunt* and *Britaine*, ſo that hee was exceedingly ſtrong. With *Robert*, for men of chiefe account, were *Robert Beliaſme*, Earle of *Shrewsburie*, and *William* Earle of *Mortaigne*, in like diſpleaſure with the King, and therefore armed with the like deſperate boldnes.

Mat. Paris. King *Henrie* inuades *Normandy*.

(22) *Henry* with his Army had pierced into *Normandy*, euen as farre as * *Tenerchebray*, a Caſtle of the Earle of *Mortaignes*, vſing all meanes poſſible to ſurpriſe the ſame; for whoſe reſcue, the Duke with theſe his Conſorts, made all diligence to reſolue the ſiege, and after ſome few skirmiſhes ioyned a bloody battaile, brauely fought on each part, where at the firſt on-ſet, the Kings power (though much greater in number) went downe; but by their multitude and manhood (eſpecially through the * Kings example and encouragement) they ſoone preuailed; where Duke *Robert*, with Earle *William*, and ſundry others of good note, manfully fighting in the very preſſe of their enemies, were taken priſoners; but * *Robert Beliaſme* eſcaped by flight. And thus (as *Mathew Paris* obſerued) Gods Iuſtice and Mercy tooke effect; his Iuſtice vpon *Robert*, for his refuſall of *Ieruſalems* title, and vnto *Henry* his fauour, according to the propheſie of King *William* his Father. This battaile was fought, and *Normandy* wonne, vpon

Wil. Gemetic. **Matth. Paris* calls it *Herchebray*.

A fierce battell betwixt the Brethren and their forces. *Mat Paris.* Duke *Robert* taken priſoner. *Eadmerus.* *Math. Paris.* *Yet he alſo long after was taken and caſt into perpetuall priſon. *Wil. Malmsbury.*

Saturday, being the Vigill of S. *Michael*, euen the ſame day forty yeeres that *William* the Baſtard ſet foot on *Englands* Shoare for his Conqueſt; God ſo diſpoſing (ſaith *Malmsbury*) that *Normandy* ſhould be ſubiected to *England* that very day, wherein *England* was ſubdued to *Normandy*.

Mat. Paris ſaith, it was the 8. Calend. Maij. *Normandy* conquered. *Will. Malmeſ.*

(23) *Robert Curtuoiſe*, that now vnfortunate Prince, and *William Mortaigne*, that valiant, but headſtrong Earle, were forthwith ſent into *England* and impriſoned; the Earle in the Tower of *London*, and the Duke in *Cardiffe* Caſtle in *Wales*, after hee had gouerned the Dutchy of *Normandy* ninteene yeeres; and was for eſteeme in Chiualrie accounted among the beſt Captains that the world then afforded, had hee not beene (as commonly martiall ſpirits vſe to be) too raſh and vnſtaied in his other enterpriſes; which headineſſe did now draw vpon him a penance of twenty ſixe yeeres continuance, in the afflicted ſtate of a forlorne Captiue. And *Henry* now no longer as a brother, receiuing the keyes of *Normandy*, as a Conquerour returned into *England*.

Wil. Gemet.

Roberts raſhneſſe ouerthrew him.

(24) But long it was not ere Duke *Robert*, weary of this vnwonted dureſſe, ſought to eſcape; and hauing liberty to walke in the Kings Meadowes, Forreſts, and Parkes, brake from his Keepers without any Aſſiſters, or meanes for ſecurity; who being miſt, was preſently purſued, and taken in a quag-mire, wherein his Horſe lay faſt: whereupon the King hearing of this his attempt, conſidering that woods were no walles to reſtraine the fierce Lyon, and that to play with his claw was to endanger a ſtate, commanded him not onely a greater reſtraint and harder durance; but alſo (a thing vnfit for a brother to ſuffer, and moſt vnworthy for *Beauclerke* to act) both his eyes to be put out, cauſing his head to be held in a burning baſon (to auoyd the deformity of breaking the eye-bals) vntill the glaſſie tunicles had loſt the office of retaining their light.

An. D. 1107.

Math. Weſtminſter.

An. Reg. 8.

Mat. Paris.

Duke *Roberts* eies put out. *Mat. Paris.*

(25) Hauing thus quieted all forraine oppoſitions, King *Henry* ſet his minde to preuent Domeſticke; and therefore (about this time) thoſe *Flemmings*, whoſe Lands the Seas had denoured ſome few yeeres before, and place was granted them in *Cumberland*, firſt by King *Rufus*, and afterwards by *Henrie*; were now by the King, vpon better aduiſement, remoued into *Wales*, both to disburden his In-land of ſuch gueſts, and that ſo they might bee a defence betwixt him and thoſe euer-ſtirring people. Which proiect nothing deceiued his expectation; for by the teſtimony of *Giraldus*, *They were a Colony ſtout and ſtrong, and continually endured the warres of the* Welſh; *a Nation moſt accuſtomed to ſeeke gaine by cloathing, by traffique alſo and Marchandize, by Sea and Land, vndertaking any paines, or perils whatſoeuer. A people of very great power, and as time and place required, ready by turnes to take plough in hand and till the ground, as ready alſo to goe into the field and fight it out; and that I may adde thus much more* (ſaith hee) *a Nation moſt loyally deuoted to the Kings of* England, *and as faithfull to the Engliſhmen.*

An. D. 1108.

Flemmings placed in *Wales*.

An. Reg. 9.

Giral. Camb.

The commendation of the *Flemmings*.

(26) By the which his policy, hee attained that which his brother *Rufus* could not, who many a time had but ſmall ſucceſſe in thoſe parts, though otherwiſe, euer ſped moſt fortunately in all his aduentures of warres: But it is thought by ſome, that as the Mountainous craggineſſe of the Country; and ſharpneſſe of the Aire encouraged them in their rebellion; ſo the ſame impeached *Rufus* his ſucceſſe.

The *Flemmings* great helps for reſtraining the *Welſh*.

King *Rufus* had little ſucceſſe in *Wales*.

But King Henrie (ſaith *Malmesburie*) *who with many a warlike expedition went about to force the* Weiſhmen, *euer ſtirring vnto Rebellion, for to yeeld and to ſubmit themſelues; in the end reſolued vpon this wholeſome policy; for to take down their pride, he brought thither all the Flemmings that dwelt in* England : *a great number of which Nation in thoſe daies, in regard of his mothers kindred by her Fathers ſide, flocking hither, were cloſely ſhrouded in* England, *inſomuch as they for their multitude ſeemed burdenſome vnto the Realme : Wherefore he ſent them all together with their ſubſtance, their wiues, and*

Will. Malmeſ. lib. 5.

King *Henry* diſburdens *England* of the *Flemmings*.

and Children, vnto Rosse *a Countrey in* Wales, *as it were into a common auoydance, thereby both to purge his own kingdome, and also to quaile and represse the desperate boldnesse of his Enemies.*

(27) And now being free from all feare of subuerters, King *Henry, growing disdainfull* (saith *Paris*) *refused to fulfill what he had so often promised to his Nobles, heaping threats vpon threats; for God had bestowed on him three bounties, wisedome, victory, and riches, aboue any of his Predecessors: but for all these he shewed himselfe to God most vnthankefull*: And of his Clergy (wee may say) too regardlesse, in suffering *Anselme*, newly reconciled, to lay heauy punishments vpon the married Priests, putting many from their places, because they denied to put away their lawfull wiues, whereof great contention followed, and grieuous sinnes in short time committed, both against God and Nature.

The King violats his promise to the Peeres. *Matt. Paris.*

Ansel. still molests maried Priests.

Eadmerus.

(28) Among these proceedings in *England*, *Philip* King of *France* deceased, and his sonne *Lewis*, surnamed *Crassus*, succeeded in his gouernment, which how hee stood affected to *Henry* was doubted, and therefore to make sure worke, the King sailed into *Normandy*, furnishing his Townes, Castles, and Fortresses, with all habiliments of warre, with prouisions befitting such suspected times; and so returning, hee found attending his comming, the Ambassadors of *Henrie the fourth* Emperour, as suters from their Master to obtaine Lady *Maud* the Kings daughter in Marriage, then not past fiue yeeres of age, which was willingly granted, and the espousals by way of Proxy solemnized, with great feasts and magnificent triumphes.

King *Philip* of *France* dieth, and *Lewis* succeedeth *Polydor.* King *Henrie* strengthens *Normandy.*

An.D.1109. His daughter married to the Emperour. *An. Reg.* 10.

(29) About which time the death of Archbishop *Anselme* happening, gaue no small hope to the Clergy, as themselues conceited, againe to enioy the liberty of matrimoniall society; wherein they were not a little deceiued: for the King seemed willing that the Ecclesiasticall Ordinance before made should bee more neerely looked into; whereupon men for feare, and in the sight of men, carried themselues accordingly, *but if in secret they did worse* (saith *Eadmerus*) *let the charge light on their own heads, sith euery man shall beare his owne sinnes: for I know*, (saith hee) *that if Fornicators and Adulterers God will iudge, the abusers of their owne Cosens, (I will not say, their owne Sisters and Daughters) shall not surely escape his iudgement.*

An.D.1110 Archbishop *Anselme* dieth.

An. Reg. 11. Appearing Chastity did breed secret impurity.

Eadmerus.

(30) The Kings peace, which seemed to be secured by his new affinity with the Emperor, and his glory raised to the height, began now to be enuied, and his brother *Duke Roberts* extreamities greatly to be pitied, both by some *English* and also *Normans*. For *Foulke* Earle of *Anion* both threatned the reuenge, and by corrupting the inhabitants wanne the City of *Constance*, from his obeysance. To stay whose irruptions King *Henry* passed into *Normandy*, where hee vsed great extremity, and put to death *Helias* Earle of *Cenomannia*, who held that County against him; for which cause *Godfrey* Earle of *Gaunt* tooke such displeasure, that hee entred into that Earledome, and marrying the said *Helias* his daughter, kept the County perforce against King *Henries* great power. But *Robert de Beliasme* that had escaped at Duke *Roberts* ouerthrow, was then taken and committed prisoner to *Warham* Castle, too gentle a punishment for so blood-thirstie a man, whose nature was such, that hee delighted himselfe onely in cruelty, an example whereof hee shewed vpon his owne sonne, who being but a childe and playing with him, the father for a pastime, put his thumbes in the boyes eyes, and thrust out the balles thereof.

An.D.1111. *An. Reg.* 12.

King *Henry* goes into *Normandy* against Rebels. *Matth. Paris.*

Robert Beliasme an old Traitor take.

A bloudy father and a cruell pastime. *Chro. Wallie.*

(31) These warres somewhat asswaged, King *Henry* returned into *England*, where the people conceiued much grudge at his importable taxes, and the Clergy no lesse at his reseruation of Church liuings in their vacancies, vnder pretence of keeping them for the worthiest; but how vnworthily he oftentimes bestowed them, may be gathered by that pretty reproofe of *Guymundus* his Chaplaine, who greeuing to see vnworthy men (for the most part) aduanced to Bishoprickes and other dignities; when on the Rogation day hee celebrated diuine seruice in the Kings Chappel, being to read that lesson out of S.* *Iames, it rained not on the earth* III. *yeeres, and* VI. *moneths*, hee purposely read it, *it rained not, one, one, one, yeares, and fiue, one, moneths.* All men either laughing or wondering at his reading; the King checkt him for it, and askt him the reason; marry (quoth he) I see you bestow your preferments onely on such, as can reade so: which secret touch the King well weighing, did both presently preferre him to the gouernment of Saint *Frideswides* in the Vniuersity of *Oxford*, and afterward was more carefull in all other his choices.

Regist. S. Fridesc. wide. Oxon.
* Iames 5.17.

(32) The King had not beene long in *England* after his returne from *Normandy*, before the *Welshmen* (then a restlesse people) were in Armes against such *English*, as had set footing in that Countrie, which were *Gilbert Strangbowe* Earle of *Strygil*, and others, whose lands in the south part *Owen ap Cadogan* sore molested and spoiled; the like did *Gruffith ap Conan* Prince of *North-Wales*, vpon *Hugh* Earle of *Chesters* Countie, and both of them denied King *Henry* either seruice or tribute. These Earles so incensed the King, touching these and other outrages of the *Welshmen*, that in a rage he vowed not to leaue one aliue in all *North-Wales*, nor in *Powys-land*; and straight repairing thitherward, diuided his Armie into three parts. The first was led by Earle *Gilbert*, against *South-Wales*; the second band by *Alexander* King of *Scotland*, and *Hugh* Earle of *Chester*, against *North-Wales*; and the King himselfe led the third, vnder whose Standard was the chiefe strength of middle *England*. But the *Welsh* seeing themselues far vnable to withstand this present preparation, took into the Mountaines and Woods, (their surest holds) where being followed, with great difficultie many of them were slaine, and the rest yeelded to King *Henry*; who now as a Conquerour, in Triumph, returned to *London*.

An.D.1114. *Florentius Wigor. Math. Paris. Mat. West. Iohn Castor. Chron. Wallia.*

The King goes with a power against the *Welsh.*

Henry Hunt.

Flor. Wigorn.

The *Welsh* subdued.

(33) Whither immediatelie resorted vnto him, the Ambassadour of his sonne in law the Emperour, to haue his wife Lady *Maud*, now marriage-able, to be sent vnto him; to which request the King most willinglie condescended, and to furnish her forth accordingly, laid * a taxe vpon his Subiects, taking three shillings for euery Hide of land: whereupon she was presently conducted by his greatest Peeres into *Germany*, and at *Mentz* married to *Henry* the fourth, being there consecrated and crowned his Empresse.

Mat. Paris. Henry Hunt.
*Lawyers cal this *Ayde a file marier, & Polydor Hist. lib.* 11. saith this was the first president: but falsely; for both this, and that other at knighting of the kings children, are mentioned in the *graund Custumier* of *Normandy*; and was in vse amongst the *Romane* Emperours? *Suetonius in Caligula.* The English Kings Eldest Sonnes Dukes of *Normandy.*

(34) Shortly after King *Henry* tooke the Seas for *Normandy*, and there created his sonne *William* (about the age of twelue yeeres (*Houeden* saith but eight) Duke of that Country, causing the people to sweare him fealty, whereof grew a custome that thenceforth the Kings of *England* made euermore their eldest sonnes Dukes of *Normandy*; which done, he returned, and nothing recorded of his next yeeres aduentures, but onely that the Sea gaue place to the Sands, and by low Ebbes restored some part of her treasures that long had laien hid and buried in her depth; the riuers likewise forgat their wonted swiftnes; and as it were seemed vnwilling to pay their ancient tribute into that deiected Element, and among them *Thamesis* not the least, whose waters so failed for two daies, that betwixt *London* Bridge and the Tower, shee became passable and scarce two foot deepe.

Will. Thorne.

An.D.1115. *Math. Paris.*

(35) King *Henry* free now from all forraine and domesticall trouble (onely *Gruffith ap Rees* somewhat vnquiet in *Wales*) gaue his thoughts to assure the Crowne into his line, and to ordaine lawes for the well-gouerning of his people; for calling an assembly at *Salisbury*, caused the Estates both Spirituall and Temporall, to sweare fealty to himselfe, and to

An.D.1116. *Polydor. lib.* 11.

Geru. Dor.

The beginnings of our Parliaments.

The difference betwixt this and the Ancient vſe of the State.

to his ſonne *William*, the Hope of ſucceſſion: then reforming many abuſes, and ending certaine contentions both of his Nobles and Prelates, laid heere the firſt foundation of our High Court of Parliament: for the *Engliſh* Kings, in elder times, ordered the affaires of the Common-wealth, by their Edicts, by their officers, and by the Gouernours of euery Country, and ſeldome had the ioynt-aduice of their people; ſauing onely at beginning of their gouernment, and in time of warre; whereas now the Subiect, beſt vnderſtanding his owne grieuances, hath both liberty in choice of their Knights and Burgeſſes, as alſo free voice to complaine thereof in that honourable aſſembly.

Campaigne.

(36) At this time *Theobald* Earle of *Bleſis*, Nephew vnto King *Henry*, vpon occaſion of diſpleaſure roſe vp in Armes againſt the *French* King, to whoſe aid King *Henry* ſent; whereat *Lewis* found himſelfe ſore agrieued, and drew to his ſide *Baldwine* Earle of *Flanders*, and *Foulke* Earle of *Aniou*, who together tooke oath to diſ-poſſeſſe *Henry* of *Normandy*, and to make *William*, the ſon of the *Curtoiſe*, Duke thereof, to whom it belonged by right and deſcent; to which alſo many of the Nobles of *Normandy* conſented; pittying the wrong of the noble ſpirited Child, and the wretched captiuity of the blinde, and ouer-boren Father.

Henry Hunt. Offence & cauſe of debate betwixt King *Henry* and King *Lewis* of *France.*

Attempts to diſ-poſſeſſe K. *Henry* of *Normandy.*

(37) *Henry* as wiſely wrought againſt their deſignes, and leauying a great taxe vpon his Subiects, paſſed therewith into *Normandy*, where vniting the aides of the foreſaid *Theobald*, as alſo of the Earle of *Britaine*, with his *Engliſh*, hee made a great ſhew in the field: at which time King *Lewis*, with the Earles of *Flanders* and *Aniou*, being entred *Normandy*, and hearing of King *Henries* approach and power, ſtaid ſcarſly one night, but as men without hart or courage returned, and left the Country for him: ſo that all things ſeemed well quieted for a yeere or two; nothing diſturbing King *Henries* peace, excepting only the expectance of the Popes Legate, whom hee prohibited to enter *England*, and the death of his Queene *Maude*, the very mirrour of piety, humility, and princely bounty.

Henry goeth to ſecure Normandy.

Mat. Paris.

An.D.1117.

Flor. Wigor.

An.D. 1118.

An.D.1119.

A pitcht field betwixt the Kings of *England* and *France.*

An. Reg. 20.

Will. Malmeſ. lib. 5.

(38) But coales of diſpleaſure kindled betwixt King *Henry* and *Lewis* of *France*, were not quite extinct, though they had laine for a while, as raked vp vnder cold aſhes. For the next yeere following, and twentieth of his raigne, *Lewis* came into *Normandy* as hot in rage to doe ſomewhat, as before he departed thence calme and cold; where forthwith he began to moleſt the Country; which K. *Henry* for a while ſuffered, till his friends noted him of cowardize; to "whom he replied; *that he had learned of his Father, to "break the foole-hardines of the French, by patience, ra-"ther then by force*: that they ſhould not wonder, if he "were loath to bee prodigall of their bloud, whom "he found ſo faſt friends vnto him: that hee would "not gladly winne a Kingdome with their deaths, "whoſe liues hee ſtill found deuoted to all hazards "for his cauſe: that hee vſed this backwardneſſe, "onely to ſtay them whom he ſaw ſo forward to te-"ſtifie their zeale voluntarily; euen with their bloud: "which to proceed from prouidence, and not from "daſtardlineſſe, they ſhould ſoone perceiue. This accordingly hee made good; and a pitched field was fought betwixt the Kings of *England* and *France*; whereof let vs heare the Monke *Paris* report. *The French King* (ſaith hee) *hauing ordered his Armie into two Battalions, in the former of them placed* William *the ſonne of Duke* Robert, *the brother of King* Henry; *the other*, Lewis *himſelfe led, conſiſting of his ſpeciall and chiefeſt Souldiers. King* Henry *alſo diſpoſed his forces into three Battailes, the firſt, conſiſting of his Peeres and men of* Normandy: *In the ſecond, himſelfe kept among his owne guard, and daily attendants: and in the third, he marſhalled his ſonnes with the maine ſtrength of the Footemen. The Armies thus ordered, the troupes on both ſides gaue aſſault, whereof the firſt Battalion of the French brake through the rankes of the Norman Nobles, ouerthrowing their Horſemen, and forcing them to ſcatter; in which violence they likewiſe brake into King* Henries *battaile, and put it much out of order: but hee taking courage, and comforting his men, beganne a moſt bloody and bold conflict: wherein himſelfe was twice ſtrooke vpon the head by* William Criſpin *County of* Eureux *(whom for his offences* Henry *had before baniſhed) whoſe ſword and ſtrokes were ſo ſure and ſo heauie, that albeit the Kings Helmet was impenetrable, yet with fine force was it beaten flat to his head, inſomuch that the blond came forth in abundance: but* Henry *feeling himſelfe to bee wounded, gathered with his rage more ſtrength, and ſtroke the ſaid County in ſuch ſort, that at one blow he ouerthrew both him and his horſe, and tooke him priſoner; by which example his Souldiers were led to fight like Lyons, and the French to betake themſelues vnto flight.* In this Battaile died many thouſands, and among them *Baldwine* Earle of *Flanders*: King *Henry* returning victorious, was receiued triumphantly into *Roan.*

Mat. Paris. The Army of the *French* King.

The Army of the *Engliſh* King.

Henry Hunt. The King dangerouſly aſſailed.

Tpodign. Neuſtr.

And as brauely acquits himſelfe.

Baldwine Earle of *Flanders* ſlaine.

An.D.1120.

(39) *Foulke* Earle of *Aniou* hauing loſt *Baldwine* his martiall Companion, and ſeeing it was bootleſſe to bandy againſt the *Beauclarke*, fell to an agreement with him, which was confirmed by giuing his daughter vnto his ſonne Prince *William* (now ſeauenteene yeeres olde) whom *Henry* made inheritor of all his Kingdomes, whereupon both *France* and *Flanders* became his reconciled friends, and *William* did homage to King *Lewis* for his Dutchie of *Normandy*. Theſe things thus ordered, King *Henry* vpon the twenty fifth of *Nouember*, looſed from land at * *Barfluit*, and proſperouſly arriued in *England.*

Geru. Dor. Prince *William* marrieth the Duke of *Anious* daughter. *Roger Houed.*

Prince *William* doth homage for *Normandy.*

* *Hareflet.*

(40) Prince *William*, who now wanted but onely the name of a King, commanded another ſhippe to bee prepared for himſelfe, his Brethren and Siſters, with many other Nobles and Gallant Courtiers, both of *England* and *Normandy*, who plying the Mariners with pots and wine (therein being inſtruments of their owne calamity approaching) made them bragge to out-ſaile the Kings ſhip gone before; and in the night putting forth from land, with a mery gale, made way ouer the dancing waues as ſwift as an arrow: but (as if the Heauens would haue King *Henries* too great felicities allaid, and tempered with ſenſe of Courtly variety, in the middeſt of their iollity and ſinging, (alas they ſang their laſt, and little thought on death) for ſuddainely the ſhippe daſhed againſt a Rocke, not very farre from the Shoare, at which fearefull diſaſter, a hideous cry aroſe, all of them ſhifting (and yet through amazedneſſe not knowing how to ſhift) to ſaue themſelues from the danger: For God repaying the reward for ſinne, *ſuffered not thoſe* * *vnnaturall wantons* (for ſuch were many of them, ſaith *Paris*) *to haue Chriſtian Buriall, but were ſo ſwallowed vp of the Sea, when her waues were moſt calme.* Prince *William* got ſpeedily into the Cocke-boate, and might well haue eſcaped, had hee not pittied his ſiſter the Counteſſe of *Perche*, crying vnto him for helpe; when turning the boat to her aid, ſo many ſtriued to get in (euery man in ſuch a caſe eſteeming his life as much as a Prince) that with their weight it preſently ſuncke, and of ſo princely a Traine no one eſcaped to relate that dolefull tragedie, ſaue onely a baſe fellow (a Butcher ſome ſay) who ſwamme all the night vpon the Maine-maſte, and got ſhoare in the morning, with much danger of life.

A moſt lamentable ſhipwracke. *William Malmeſ.*

* *Sodomitica labe infecti ferè omnes*, ſaith *Paris.*

Prince *Williams* pitty to his ſiſter coſt him his life.

Malmſ. lib. 5. de Reg. Onely one of all his traine eſcapeth.

(41) This was the moſt vnfortunate Shipwracke that euer hapned in our Seas, bringing an inconceiueable heauineſſe to the King, and whole State: for therein periſhed Prince *William* Duke of *Normandy*, the ioy of his Father, and hope of his Nation; *Richard* his baſe Brother, his Siſter *Maud* Counteſſe of *Perch*, *Richard* Earle of *Cheſter*, with his wife Lady *Lucy*, the Kings Niece by his Siſter *Adela*, *Otwell* the Earles Brother, the yong Dukes Gouernour, diuers of the Kings chiefe Officers, and moſt of the Princes, *Geffrey Riddle*, *Robert Manduit*, *William*

The chiefe of thoſe who then periſhed. *Math. Paris. John Stow. Rand. Higden.*

William Bigod, Geffrey Arch-deacon of Hereford, Walter de Crucie, and many other of prime note and esteeme, to the number of one hundred and sixty persons, none of their bodies being found, though great search was made for them.

An.D.1121. *Eadmerus.*

(42) King *Henry* thus at once depriued of all his lawfull posterity (onely *Maud* the Empresse excepted) vpon the tenth of *Aprill*, and two and twentieth yeere of his Raigne, married his second Wife *Adelicia*, a Lady of surpassing beauty, the daughter of *Geffrey* first Duke of *Louain*, in hope (though it proued otherwise) to haue repaired his late losses by issue of her; whose Coronation was appointed to be celebrated by *Roger* Bishop of *Sarisbury*, the infirmity of *Palsey* so troubling *Ralphe Archbishop of Canterbury*, that himselfe could not performe it; yet because *Roger* was not appointed by him, he forbad his imployment; and the King wearing his Crowne, saith the Monke of *Chester*, this testy olde man could hardly be entreated by the Lords, to with-hold his hands from striking the same from the Kings head; of such Spirits then were those spirituall Prelates, and iealousie to loose their pompous preheminence of honour: but his high top was somewhat borne down by the boysterous blasts of Pope *Calixt*, from whose holy hand *Thurstan* Arch-bishop of *Yorke* (contrary to the Kings commaund, and his owne * Oath) hauing receiued consecration, and thereupon forbidden by the King to put foot againe within his Dominions, his Holinesse commanded his New-Creature should be installed (* against all right and custome) without professing any subiection to the See of *Canterbury*; and threatned with his curse to interdite both Prouinces till that was performed. The cause of the Popes indignation against *Ralph* is supposed to bee, for that hee had receiued his * Inuestiture of the King, who contrary to the Canons of the late Romane Synode, did still challenge and practise that * Regall prerogatiue.

King *Henry* marieth againe. *Gemeticensis. Geru. Dor. Henry Hunt. Matth. Paris.*

Rand. Higden in Polyc. lib. 7. ca. 15.

A Cholericke Prelate.

Eadmerus.
* *Matth. Paris ad An. 1119.*

* *Polyc. lib. 7. c. 15.*

* *Paris An. 1113. Rome sub Vrbano, Anno 1094.*
* *Paris* there calls it *Their ancient Custome*, and *An. 1112.* it had continued 300. yeres, and vnder 60. Popes.

(43) Whether it were about this contention of Inuesting, or about a Fryer of the *Holy Sepulchre*, whom (as *Malmsb.* saith) the King had imprisoned, or about *Thurstans* hard vsage; certaine it is, that the Pope much desiring to haue priuate talke with the King, came to him into *Normandy*, and so at *Gisors* conferred (saith *Paris*) the *Great King and the High Priest*: but notwithstanding the Popes threates or intreates, *Thurstan* was kept in banishment full fiue yeares, and then for the Popes pleasure was restored. But at this meeting the King was so liberall of rich gifts to the Pope and his Cardinals, that therefore the *Pope* (saith a Monke) *held him a most wise and eloquent perswader, and his actions very iustifiable*: But it seemeth the Cardinals were neither so eloquent nor learned as they should be, for that (saith hee) *two youths in the Kings Company, Sonnes of the Earle of Mellent* (learned both, and therefore fit to bee with that learned King) *reasoning of some points with them, and disputing Scholler-like with Logicall Syllogismes, the Grand Rabbies* (vsed to other exercises at *Rome*, then studying) *were quite gauelled*, & had nought to say, but that *more learning was in these Westerne parts, then they had thought.* But as these Church-stirres did not a little disquiet the King, so also did new *Welsh* tumults, raised by *Meredith ap Blethyn*, who with the three sonnes of *Cadogin, Eneon, Madoc*, and *Morgan*, sore troubled the Kings people and peace, by breaking into the Marches, and especially into *Cheshire*, where they burned two Castles. The King therefore making towards them, had sent his maine Armie to conduct the Carriages, whilst himselfe with a small Company tooke a neerer way through the Mountaines and Straites; which being fore-laid by the Enemy, was with great courage set vpon, and through the aduantage of the place, many of his men slaine, and more hurt by the *Welsh* Archers, whose showers of Arrowes rained thicke vpon them from the higher ground: amongst which, one was so levelled at the King, that it strucke him on the breast, yet being surely armed, did him no hurt; but hee therewithall wonderfully dismaied, and by likelihood fearing some treason amongst his owne, (for, then hee swore *by our Lords death*, his vsuall oath, that no *Welshman* shot that Arrow, but one of his owne Prouincials) and considering that by these his ouer-rash proceedings his glory purchased in more famous parts, might againe be lost in this wilde and rude Country; came to a Parley and Peace; receiuing of the King a thousand head of Cattle, and leauing Lord *Fitzwarren* Lieutenant of the Marches, returned to *England*, where hee held three Parliaments in the same yere, one at *Norwich*, another at *Northampton*, and the third at *London*.

William Malmsb.

Goodwins Catalogue.

Matth. Paris.

Will. Malmsb.

Will. Malmsb. Rand. Higden.

Chron. Wallie.

New attempts in *Wales.*

An Army conducted against them

The King strucke with an Arrow.

King *Henries* vsuall Oath. *Malmesb. lib. 5.*

A Peace concluded.

John Caster. Chron. Wallie.

(44) The *Normans* still repining at the Captiuity of *Robert* their late Duke; and standing well affected vnto his Sonne, thought now the time fitting, (Prince *William* being dead) to raise the other *William* his Cosen Germane into his place: who as the Monke of *Chester* affirmeth, married *Sybil* the other daughter of *Foulke*, Earle of *Anion*, with whom hee receiued the Earledome of *Cenomannia*, vpon displeasure that King *Henry* with-held the formers dowry in *England*. The chiefe in this action was *Robert* Earle of *Mellent*, who was lately fallen off from the King: *Henry* therefore hasting into *Normandy*, besieged his Castle *Pont-Audomar*, and tooke it, and at that time built a large and high wall with many Bulwarkes about the Tower of *Roan*, repaired the Castles of *Caen, Arches, Gisors, Faleise, Argenton, Damfort, Vernon, Ambres*, and sundry others.

An.D.1122. The *Normans* set vp Duke *Roberts* sonne.

He marrieth *Sibyl* daughter to the Earle of *Anion.* *Ran. Higden. in Polychr. lib. 7. c. 16.*

An.D.1123. *Roger Wind. Matth. Paris.* King *Henry* repaires the Castles of *Normandy.*

(45) In the meane time, Earle *Mellent* desirous to bee reuenged vpon the King, associated *Hugh* Earle of *Montfort* and others vnto his aide, who entring *Normandy* with fire and sword, did much harme as they went, thinking to bring all to their obeysance: against whose outrages, *William Tankeruile* the Kings Chamberlaine, and Lieutenant in those parts, addressed himselfe, and training them into danger of an Ambush, laid for that purpose, after long fight tooke them both prisoners, and presented them to his Master, whereby the warres ceased for a time in those parts.

An.D.1124.

Henry Hunt. Matth. Paris. *Tankeruile* takes the Traiterous Earles in *Normandy.*

Mat. West.

(46) In this the Kings absence, but yet with his licence, *Iohannes Cremensis* the Popes holy Cardinal, came into *England*, sent by *Honorius* the Second, there to redresse the still continued sinne-seeming abuse of the Clergy, in retaining and vsing, according to Gods owne Ordinance, the Society of their wiues. This Pontificall Prelate was entertained by all the Bishops and Abbots with great and costly Presents, and afterward being solemnely set in a Councell at *London*, vpon the birth-day of the *Blessed Virgine*, made a solemne Oration in praise of Virginitie and Chastity, with a terrible inuectiue against the maried Priests: and to amplifie their sinnes the more, he shewed what extreame impiety it was, to rise from the bedde of vnlawfull lust, (for so was their chaste Marriage termed) and with polluted hands to touch the Sacrament of the body of Christ: but the same night following he * *hauing that very day consecrated that holy Sacrament*, was himself taken with a Whore, the matter being so apparant, that it could not bee hid, (neither ought it to be silenced, saith *Huntingdon*) to the great reproach of those most vnchaste boasters of Chastitie, as both *Paris* and *Higden* themselues doe confesse: and so hee returned to *Rome* with shame enough, but with little successe in that intended businesse: till some few yeeres after * King *Henry*, seeming very desirous to settle his pretenced continency in the Cleargy; in a Councell held at *London*, obtained (through simplicity of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, saith *Paris*, that himselfe should haue the execution of iustice & punishments of the Priests, that offended either in keeping of their wiues, or vsing of Concubines, (for likely those that liked not the one, loued the other, as

Henry Hunt. Matth. Paris. Huntingdon. Roger Houed.

Taken with a whore the same day he celebrated the Sacrament. *Matth. Paris. Huntingdon. Reg. Higden.*

* Viz. An.D. 1129. *Polydor. Mat. Paris. Huntingdon. Roger Houed.*

as well as *Cremensis*) but euen then alſo, the Kings end being onely to get in ſummes of money, which he had ſtill occaſions to vſe, euery man redeemed his liberty by his purſe, and matters rather proued worſe, then any whit reformed.

An.D. 1126. Emperour *Henry* (the Kings ſonne in law) dieth.

(47) Whileſt King *Henry* about his ſaid affaires lay in *Normandy*, newes was brought him that *Henry* the Emperor, his ſonne in law, was dead; whereupon hee preſently ſent for his Daughter the Empreſſe; and with her he returned into *England*, where calling a Parliament, in the preſence of himſelfe, and of *Dauid* King of *Scotland*, hee cauſed the Nobles, (and firſt before all other, *Stephen* his Sifters Sonne who firſt did violate it,) to ſweare fealty to her, as to his lawfull, and now onely heire, by whom they ſhould againe come to bee gouerned by the ancient *Engliſh* Royall bloud, from which hee ſhewed her to be deſcended: which Oath was this, that they ſhould, as much as in them lay, after King *Henries* deceaſe, (if he died without Heire-Male) eſtabliſh her Queene of the *Monarchy of Great Britaine*, now called *England*. *But whether they did or no: (*ſaith *Gemeticenſis) belongs not to me to tell*: but this our Story ſhall hereafter relate, and make knowne.

The Empreſſe comes into *England*.

The Peeres ſweare fealty to Empreſſe Dowger the Kings daughter. *Malmſ. Nouel. lib. 1. Hunting. lib. 8.*

(48) *Giraldus* and *Higden*, and ſome ancient *Manuſcripts* affirme (but with very little probabilitie or credit) that *Henry* the Emperour died not at this time (as was giuen forth;) but that rather vpon a *remorſe of conſcience*, for impriſoning his owne naturall Father, *Henry* the third vnto death; and alſo his Spirituall Father the Pope, with his Cardinals; repenting theſe outrages, hee laid aſide his Imperiall Roabe, and ſecretly fledde into *England*, where at *WeſtcheHer*, hee became an Hermite, changing his name vnto * *Godſtall*, where he ſo liued the ſpace of ten yeeres, and was buried in the Cathedrall Church of *Saint Werburga* the Virgine. Vpon which his ſuddaine flight and miſſing, the Empreſſe *Maud* * ſome ſay, was ſuſpected to bee guilty of his death, and for that cauſe was kept continually in the Queenes Chamber. Indeed, that ſhee abode ſtill in *Chamber with the Queene, Paris* records; but hee giues a wiſer reaſon thereof, *for that her Father did loue her exceedingly, as being now his ſole Heire*; and where ſhould an Empreſſe rather liue then with a Queene? a Daughter, then with her Mother? a faire Lady, a Widow, and an Heire of ſo great a Kingdom, then where her perſon might bee ſafeſt from danger, her minde from inueigling, and her carriage from ſuſpition? But as for that other idle coniecture, it is razed out, both by thoſe Writers, who record his Buriall, and Monument at *Spire*, (as * *Higden* himſelfe ſignifieth) and alſo by the pen of *William Gemeticenſis*, who reporteth her *to bee a woman generally well thought of, and approued among the greateſt Princes of the Empire, for her prudent and gratious behauiour towards the Emperour her husband; inſomuch that they became ſuters vnto her, ſeeking by all meanes to attaine her to gouerne them, and to that end attended her to King* Henry *in* Normandy *to ſolicite the ſame; to whom in no wiſe hee would giue his conſent, meaning to make her his Succeſſor in the Kingdome*: Whereunto *Malmsbury* (who then liued) accordeth; ſaying, ſhee was very vnwilling to haue come out of thoſe parts of the Empire, where both her dowry and acquaintance lay, and that the Princes of thoſe Countries came more then once into *England*, to haue her for their Empreſſe, but that the King would not part with the Heire of his Crowne.

Antiq. Manuſcr. Giral. Itiner. Polych. lib. 7. c. 16. Houed. in Hen. 1. Henry the Emperour ſuppoſed not to be dead.

* *As being now called of God,* ſaith *Treuiſa.*

* *John Stow.* The Empreſſe falſely ſuſpected.

Matth. Paris.

**Polyc. lib. 7. c. 16*

Wil. Gemet. The good eſteem of the Empreſſe.

Malmſ. Nouel. lib. 1.

An.D. 1127. (49) But King *Henrie* afterwards deſirous to bee free from the variances of theſe forraine Princes, and hearing that *Foulke* Earle of *Anion* had giuen his Earledome, with the territories of *Gaunt* and *Turyn*, vnto his Sonne *Ieffrey Martell*, ſurnamed *Plantaginet*, (himſelfe minding to abide at *Ieruſalem*, whereof he was King in right of his wife *Milliſſent*, the daughter of *Baldwine de Burge* lately deceaſed) thought him the fitteſt to be linked into his alliance, and therefore concluded a marriage betwixt the ſaid

Matth. Paris. Will. Gemet.

The Empreſſe married to the Earle of *Anion.*

Ieffrey, and his only lawfull daughter Lady *Maud* the Empreſſe, though partly againſt her liking, as both *Gemeticenſis* and *Geruaſius* of *Canterbury* doth declare; which was ſolemnized in *Normandy* the third of *Aprill* accordingly.

Gemeticenſis. Geru. Dor.

(50) That *William*, ſonne to the *Curtoiſe*, was formerly fauoured by Earle *Foulke*, wee haue ſhewed, but now hee was further followed with increaſe of Fortune, and the *French* Kings aide, onely for a rubbe in King *Henries* way; for *Charles* Earle of *Flanders*, being traiterouſly murdered by his owne People without any his iſſue to ſucceed him, *Lewis* of *France* (to make *William* faſter to him) ſet him in poſſeſſion as the next heire in blood vnto that Earledome: *William* being the ſonne of Duke *Robert*, and *Robert* the Eldeſt of Queen *Maud* (the wife of the Conquerour) and ſhee daughter to Earle *Baldwin* the fifth; whoſe iſſue Male now failing, the right was from her deriued vnto this her Grand-child *William*.

William (ſonne to Duke *Robert*) made Earle of *Flanders.*

Mat. Paris.

Williams title to *Flanders.*

An.D. 1128. (51) This Ground-worke vnto greatneſſe King *Henry* diſliked, leaſt by his Nephewes height himſelfe might bee ouer-topped, and his blind fathers wrongs the ſooner redreſſed: therefore hauing by his daughters marriage made *Anion* his, from *Normandy* hee inuaded *France*, euen vnto *Heſpard*, where for eight daies hee remained as ſecure as in his owne Kingdome, and partly by feare, partly by faire paiments, wrought *Lewis* to withdraw his aide from yong *William*: neither ſo ceaſed, but that he inſtigated *William de Ypres* to diſturbe *Williams* ſtate, and did alſo draw a certaine Duke, named *Theodorick*, out of *Germany*, with a band of *Flemmings*, who entred *Flanders* in Hoſtile manner.

King *Henry* inuaded *France. Mat. Paris.*

He vſeth meanes to diſturbe *Flanders.*

(52) With theſe laſt, Earle *William* (a Prince for his age of incomparable proweſſe) ſoone met, and giuing them battell, with an inuincible courage brake through the enemies troopes, in ſuch ſort that they were diſcomfited, and the Earle had the day; whence in this heate of bloud, hee marched vnto *Angi*, a Caſtle of King *Henries*, which after a ſtrong ſiege, being vpon the ſurrender, by a ſmall wound which Earle *William* receiued in his hand, hee ſhortly died, but not without immortall fame, for magnanimity and valour.

Earle *William* great valour.

Mat. Paris.

He dies of a ſmall wound in his hand.

(53 Were it not reported by ſome Writers of note, I might heere well paſſe ouer certaine preſaging dreames (as the Monkes interpreted them) which King *Henry* had, being ready now to goe into *Normandy*: for to his ſeeming he ſaw a ſort of ruſticke plough-men with their Inſtruments of husbandry; after them Souldiers with their weapons of Warre; and laſtly, the Biſhops with their Croſier ſtaues, all of them angerly threatning, and attempting his death: wherewith hee was ſo perplexed, that leaping out of his bed, hee called for helpe; but ſeeing it but a dreame, as a dreame hee eſteemed it, and paſſed ouer into *Normandy*: where long hee ſtaid not, but that his Daughter *Maud*, vpon ſome diſpleaſure, departed from her husband, and came with her Father into *England*. Some write that *ſhe was the prouoker of certain diſpleaſures betwixt her Husband and Father, which ſo affected his minde with paſſions of wrath and griefe, that many thought it was a great haſtning of his end*; and indeed *Malmsburie* witneſſeth, that the King vpon his death-bedde paſſionately mentioned the wrongs and indignities wherewith her husband had diſquieted his mind. Howbeit ſoone after this her departure from him, by conſent of the States, who met at *Northampton*; ſhee was reconciled to her Husband; ſent vnto him vpon his intreaty, and bare him a ſonne, whoſe name was *Henry*; for ioy whereof, King *Henry* aſſembled his Lords, and againe made his ſaid Daughter, and the lawfull Heires of her body his Succeſſors in his Dominions.

Huntingdon lib. 7. Will. Malmsbury in Nouella Hiſtoria. Higden.

The Empreſſe departs from her husband.

An.D. 1131. *Roger. Houed. Houeden. in Henric. 1. Huntingdon. hiſt. lib. 7. Malmeſ. nouell. lib. 1.*

The Empreſſe to her husband. *Henry Huntingdon. lib. 7.*

An.D. 1131. *Ger. Dor. Matt. Paris*

(54) And then preparing againe for his laſt and fatall paſſage into *Normandy*, tooke ſhipping vpon the Nones of *Auguſt*, (the very day wherein he firſt receiued the Crowne,) when hapned ſo wonder-

An. D. 1133 *Will. Malmeſ. in nouel. lib. 1.*

full an Eccliplſe of the Sunne, that *Malmsbury* the reporter ſaith, himſelfe then ſaw the ſtarres plainly in the Firmament about the Sunne, and that two daies after, ſo great and fearefull an Earth-quake hapned, that the houſe wherein himſelfe ſate, was lifted vp with a double remoue; and others ſay, that out of riffes in the earth, burning flames aroſe, that could not be quenched, which diuers judged to be fatall prodigies of the deathes of thoſe Princes that ſoone after enſued.

The Kings laſt voiage into *Normandy*, preſaged to be fatall.

Polychr. lib. 7. c. 17.

An. D. 1134. *Robert Curtoiſe* dieth in priſon.

(56) For *Robert* the *Curtoiſe*, after twenty ſix yeers impriſonment and blindeneſſe, through griefe conceiued at the putting on of a faire new roabe, (too little for the King, and therefore in kindneſſe ſent to Duke *Robert* to weare) grew weary of his life (as diſdaining to bee mocked with his brothers caſt cloathes,) and curſing the time of his vnfortunate Natiuity, refuſed thenceforth to take any ſuſtenance, and ſo pined himſelfe to death. His body was buried at *Glouceſter* in the Church of Saint *Peter*, and middle of the Quire, where to this day remaineth his Tombe, with a carued Image of his feature, as the monument of a moſt vnfortunate man.

Mat. Paris. Matth. Weſtm.

King *Henry* dieth in *Normandy*.

(57) And not long after King *Henry* in *Normandy* comming ſcarſe very well from Hunting in the Forreſt of *Lyons*, and Towne of Saint *Denys*, made his repaſt of a diſh of Lampreyes (which meate hee too well loued, but could neuer well digeſt;) whereupon he fell more greeuouſly ſicke, and the ſame ſtill increaſing, after ſeauen daies ſickneſſe, vpon the firſt of *December*, the ſixty fiue of his age, and yeare of *Chriſt Ieſus*, 1135. when he had raigned King of *England*, thirtie fiue yeeres, foure moneths, lacking foure daies, and Duke of *Normandy*, twentie nine yeeres and foure moneths: hee died in the ſaid Towne of St. *Denys*, and from thence was conueyed to *Roan*, where his Bowels, Eyes, and Braines, were taken out, and buried; the body alſo ſliced, and powdred with much ſalt, was wrapped in a Buls hide to auoide the ſtinch, being ſo intollerable, (a point fitting for ſuch great Princes to thinke on, and in their great glory and pleaſures to remember their fraile and humane condition,) that the Phyſitian, who tooke out his Braines, was poyſoned therewith, and preſently died: whereupon ſome obſerued, that other Kings killed men in their life, but hee alſo *after he was dead; thence was his Corpes carried into *England*, and honourably buried vpon the day of Chriſts Natiuity, at *Reading* in *Barkeſhire*, in the Abbey that himſelfe had there founded, and endowed with large poſſeſſions.

Houeden. Will. Malmeſ. Math. Paris.

An. D. 1135.

Will. Gemetic. Math. Paris.

Polyc. lib. 7. cap. 17

Math. Paris. Henry Hunt. l. 8.

Mat. Weſt. Matth. Paris. Simon Dun.

(58) After his death, (ſaith *Huntingdon* and *Houeden*,) men ſpake their minde as freely of him, as of any other dead man: ſome commending him for theſe three glorious felicities, * *Wiſedome*, *Victory*, and *Wealth*: others condemning him for three eſpeciall vices, **Couetouſneſſe*, *Cruelty*, and *Lechery*; ſome inſtances of which wee haue touched in the relation of his life; the firſt three, in obtaining and keeping the Crowne: the laſt, in his moſt grieuous taxations, cruell handling and impriſoning his Brother; and his incontinency of life ſhall preſently appeare, by his many illegitimate Iſſues, the fruites of his wantonneſſe, and witneſſes of his ſhame: in that Princes who are to puniſh ſuch ſinnes in others, ought themſelues eſpecially to be free from them: for though their liuing fortunes ſtoppe mens tongues from vpbraiding: yet after their death the tongues of the vulgar, and pennes of the learned, will make the infamy of their vices to be immortall.

Huntingdon. lib. 8. Houeden. Rand. Higden in Polychr. lib. 7. c. 17.

* His eſpeciall preheminence.

* His eſpeciall vices.

Princes vices come to light after their deaths.

(59) Hee was for perſonage of a reaſonable ſtature, broad breaſted, well iointed, and full of fleſh: amiable of countenance, ſharpe and faire eyes, blacke of haire, and that ſomewhat careleſly hanging on his forehead; his minde was enriched with many vertues, a follower of Iuſtice, a louer of Religion, ſeuere againſt theeues, and all effeminate nicities; So that hee commanded mens long haire (which againſt God and Natures law was matchable at that time with womens) to bee cut off: temperate of diet, and neuer drinking but for thirſt; valiant in battaile, yet very circumſpect, ſeeking rather to winne by wiſe care, then by effuſion of bloud: and by the report of moſt Writers excelled all the Princes of the World in his time, in *Mercy*, *Wealth*, and *Bounty*, vnto *Monaſteries*: the land hee defended by Garriſons of Souldiers planted on the Confines of his neighbour Princes, building many Forts, Bulwarkes, and Caſtles; beſides twenty fiue Townes and Cities: whatſoeuer was wiſely or vertuouſly performed in his Gouernement, is chiefly aſcribed to his younger yeares inſtitution in true Learning and Philoſophy, which was *the *great furniſhment of him vnto the Science of Regality*; being often heard to ſay, that hee eſteemed *an vnlearned King but a crowned Aſſe*. In which regard (ſaith * *Roſſius*,) *hee tooke chiefe pleaſure to reſide in his new Palace, which himſelfe built at Oxford, both for the delight he had in learned men, himſelfe being very learned, and for the vicinity of his new Parke at Woodſtock*, which he had fraught with all kind of ſtrange beaſts, *wherein hee much delighted, as Lyons, Leopards, Lynces, Camels, Porcupines, and the like.* His delight alſo in workes of deuotion, ſhewes it ſelfe both in the erection and indowment of the Collegiate and * Epiſcopall Sees of *Carleile*, and * *Ely*, as alſo of the Abbayes of *Hide*, *Circeſter*, *Reading*, and the Priorie of *Dunſtable*: His Wife Queene *Maud* founded the Priorie of *Holy Trinity* within *Algate*, and the Hoſpitall of Saint *Giles in the Fields*: ſo that by himſelfe, his Queene, and other deuoted perſons, twentie foure foundations to religious vſes (if not more) were erected in the raigne of this King.

Higden. l. 7. ca. 12. Malmeſ. lib. 5.

Wil. Gem. cap. 33.

* *Malmeſb. lib. 5. in Hen. 1.*

* *Roſſius*, that Pallace he called *Beau-mont*, where afterward King *Richard* the firſt was borne.

He built alſo the Caſtle at Woodſtocke.

Malmeſ. lib. 5.

* *Pariſ. An. 1132.*

* *Higden. l. 7. c. 14. Goodwins Catalogue of Biſhops.*

His Wiues.

(60) *Maude*, the firſt Wife of King *Henry*, was the daughter of *Malcolme the third*, ſurnamed * *Canmoir*, King of *Scotland*: her mother was S. *Margaret*, daughter to *Edward*, ſonne of *Edmund the Ironſide*, King of *England*. She was married vnto him at *London* in the firſt yeare of his raigne, *Anno* 1100. by *Anſelme* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*: hauing formerly vowed her ſelfe a Nunne, which ſome ſwore ſhee did not for loue of ſingle life, but to auoide ſome vnworthie matches, which her Father would haue impoſed on her. Her Coronation was at *Weſtminſter* by the ſame *Anſelme*, on Sunday the eleauenth of *Nouember* in the ſame yeare. Shee was his Wife ſeauenteene yeeres and more, famous for her learning, loue to learning, charitie to the poore, and all vertuous diſpoſitions; and deceaſed at *Weſtminſter* the firſt of *May*, in the eighteenth yeere of his raigne, and yeere of our Saluation, 1118. where ſhee was buried in *S. Peters* Church, on the right ſide of King *Edward* the Confeſſor.

His firſt Wife.

* Great head.

Malmeſ. lib. 5.

Will. Malmeſ. Ibidem.

(61) *Adelicia*, or *Alice*, the ſecond Wife of King *Henry*, was the daughter of *Godfrey* the firſt Duke of *Louaine*, by the daughter of the Emperour *Henrie* the fourth, and ſiſter to Duke *Godfrey*, and *Iocelin* of *Louaine*. Shee was married vnto him the nine and twentieth of *Ianuary*, in the twentie one of his raigne, and yeere of Chriſt, 1121. and was crowned the morrow after, being Sunday. Shee was his wife fifteene yeares, but euer childleſſe, and ſuruiuing him, was re-married to *William Daubeny* Earle of *Arundel*, and was Mother of Earle *William* the ſecond, *Rayner*, *Godfrey*, and *Ioan*, married to *Iohn* Earle of *Augi*, &c.

His ſecond Wife.

She was euer barren.

His Iſſue.

(62) *William*, the ſonne of King *Henry*, and Queen *Maud* his firſt Wife, was borne the ſecond of his Fathers raigne, and of *Chriſt*, 1102. When he came to age of foureteene yeares, the Nobility of *England* did him homage, and ſware their fealties vnto him at *Shrewsburie*. The third yeere after, hee married the

William.

Mat. Weſtminſter.

1 Cor. 11. 14.

the daughter of *Foulke*, Earle of *Aniou*; and the ſame yeere hee was made Duke of *Normandy*, doing his homage for the ſame to *Lewis* the *Groſſe*, King of *France*; and receiued the homage and oathes of the Nobility of that Country: but in his returne for *England*, hee was vnfortunately drowned neere vnto *Barbfleet* vpon the twenty ſixt of Nouember, the yeere of Grace 1120. and eighteenth of his owne age, without any iſſue, to the great griefe of his Father.

Maud. (63) *Maud*, the daughter of King *Henry*, and of Queene *Maud* his firſt wife, was borne the fourth yeere of her Fathers raigne. She was the ſecond wife of the Emperour *Henrie* the fourth, eſpouſed at ſixe yeeres of age, and at eleuen with great ſolemnitie was married and crowned his Empreſſe at *Mentz* in *Germany*, 6. *Ianuary*, *Anno* 1114. the ninth of her husbands, and foureteenth of her Fathers Raignes. Shee was his wife twelue yeeres, and ſuruiued him, without any iſſue by him; & comming into *England* a widdow, ſhee had fealty ſworne vnto her by the Nobility, and was re-married to *Geffrey Plantaginet* Earle of *Aniou*, ſonne of *Foulke* King of *Ieruſalem*, vpon the third of *Aprill*, and yeere of Grace 1127. by whom ſhee had iſſue, *Henry*, the ſecond, King of *England*, *Geffery* Earle of *Nantes* in *Britanie*, and *William*, who was called Earle of *Poyto*: She was his wife twenty three yeeres, and ſuruiuing him alſo, continued a widdow the laſt ſeuenteene yeeres of her life, which ſhe ended in the City of *Roan* the tenth of *September*, 1167. the fourteenth of the raigne of King *Henry* her ſonne, and was buried in the Abbey of *Bec* in *Normandy*.

Richard. (64) *Richard*, a ſecond ſonne to King *Henry*, and Queene *Maud*, by the teſtimony of *Geruaſius* the Monke of *Canterbury*, who maketh *Maud* their eldeſt Child, *William* the ſecond; and laſtly, *Richard*; and then (ſaith hee) ſhee left bearing: but *Malmsbury* ſaith, ſhe had but two Children, one of each ſexe.

Euſem. (65) *Euſem*, alſo another daughter, and fourth Child (by *Hector Boetius* the *Scottiſh* Hiſtorian) is ſaid to be borne vnto the *Beuclarke* by Queene *Maud*; the credite of the two laſt, I leaue to the reporters, who onely thus name them, without any further relation.

His Naturall Iſſue.

Robert. (66) *Robert*, the naturall ſonne of King *Henry*, was Earle of *Glouceſter*, and married *Mabil* daughter and heire of *Robert Fitz-hammon* Lord of *Glamorgan*, by whom hee had iſſue *William* Earle of *Glouceſter*, *Richard* Biſhop of *Bayon*, *Roger* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, and *Maud* the wife of *Randolph Gernon*, the mother of *Hugh Keueliot* Earle of *Cheſter*, and *Richard* his brother: Earle *William* married *Auis* daughter of *Robert Boſſu* Earle of *Leiceſter*, and had iſſue three daughters and heires of that Earledome, which by *Auis* the ſecond of them, in the end deſcended to *Clare* Earle of *Hertford*. This Earle *Robert* died the laſt of *October*, in the twelfth yeere of King *Stephen*, and was buried at *Briſtow* in the Church of S. *Iames*, which hee had founded, and his body laide in the midſt of the Quire; vnto him *William Malmsbury* dedicated his Booke called *Hiſtoria Nouella*.

Richard. (67) *Richard*, another natural ſonne of King *Henry*, was as it ſeemeth by an ancient Regiſter of the *Monaſtery* at *Abington*, born in the raigne of King *William Rufus*, of the widow of *Anskill*, a Nobleman of the Country adioyning to the ſaid Monaſtery; and it ſeemeth he is that *Richard* that was drowned in the *Norman* Seas, neere *Barbfleet*, among the reſt of King *Henries* children.

Raynold. (68) *Raynold*, the naturall ſonne of King *Henry*, was borne of a daughter vnto Sir *Robert Corbet*, Lord of *Alceſter* in *Warwickſhire*, by the gift of the King in fauour of her, who was after married to *Henry Fitz-herbert* his Chamberlaine. This *Raynold* was created Earle of *Cornwall*, and Baron of *Caſtle-comb*, with conſent of King *Stephen*, and had iſſue foure Daughters; of whom haue ſprung many faire branches.

Robert. (69) *Robert*, another of that name; was borne of *Eduth*, the ſiſter of *Iue*, ſonne and daughter of *Forne*, the ſonne of *Sigewolfe*, both of them great Barons in the North: which *Eduth* afterwards King *Henry* gaue in marriage to *Robert Doilie*, Baron of *Hook-Norton* in *Oxford-ſhire*; and with her gaue him the Mannor of *Eleydon*, in the County of *Buckingham*, by whom hee had iſſue *Henry Doylie* Baron of *Hook-Norton*, who oftentimes mentioneth this *Robert* in his Charters, euer calling him *Robert* his brother the Kings ſonne.

Gilbert. (70) *Gilbert*, another naturall ſonne of King *Henry*, is named in the additions to the ſtory of *William Gemeticenſis* the *Norman* Monke, in the Chronicle of that country, written by *Iohn Taylor*, being a Tranſlator of that worke out of Latine into French, and laſtly, in the Treaties betwixt *England* and *France*, written in the French tongue by *Iohn Tillet*, Secretarie to their late King *Henrie* the ſecond, and yet in them, not any other mention is made, but onely of his name.

William. (71) *William*, alſo a naturall ſonne of *Henry* the King, had giuen vnto him the Towne of *Tracie*, in *Normandy*; of which he tooke his ſurname, and was called *William of Tracie*: But whether hee were the Progenitor of the *Tracies*, ſometime Barons in *Deuonſhire*, or of them that now be of the ſame ſurname; or whether Sir *William Tracie*, one of the foure Knights that ſlew *Thomas Becket* Archbiſhop of *Canterburie*, were any of his poſterity, is not certainely reported: nor any thing elſe of him, more then that hee died a little after his Father, which was in the yeere of Chriſt, 1135.

Henry. (72) *Henry*, another naturall ſonne of King *Henry*, was borne of the Lady *Neſta*, daughter of *Rees ap Tewdor* Prince of South-Wales, who was the Wife of Sir *Gerald Windſor*, and of *Stephen*, Conſtables of the Caſtles of *Pembrooke*, and *Abertiuie* in Wales, and Progenitors of the Families of the *Fitz-geralds*, and the *Fitz-Stephens* in *Ireland*; hee was borne and breed, and liued, and married in *Wales*, hauing iſſue two ſonnes, namely, *Meiler* and *Robert*, of which, *Meiler* the elder married the daughter of *Hugh Lacie*, Lord of *Methe* in *Ireland*; hee was at the conflict in the Ile of *Angleſey*, betweene *Magnus* the ſonne of *Harold Harfager*, King of *Norway*, and *Hugh* of *Mountgomery*, Earle of *Arundell* and *Shrewsbury*, wherein hee was ſlaine, as ſome ſay, with the ſaid Earle, *Anno* 1197.

Maud. (73) *Maud*, the Naturall daughter of King *Henry*, was Counteſſe of *Perche*, and the firſt Wife of Earle *Rotroke*, the firſt of that name, ſon of *Arnolfe de Heſding*, the firſt Earle of that County: Shee had iſſue by him one onely daughter, named *Magdalen*, wife to *Garcy* the fourth King of *Nauarre*, mother of King *Sanches*, ſurnamed the wiſe, from whom all the Kings of *Nauarre* are deſcended: Shee died vpon Friday the twenty ſixth of *Nouember*, in the twentith of her Fathers raigne and yeere of Grace 1120. being drowned in the Sea with her brother Duke *William*.

Maud. (74) *Maud*, another of that name, and naturall daughter of King *Henrie*, was married to *Conan* the firſt of that name, ſurnamed the *Groſſe*, Earle of little *Britaine* in *France*, ſonne of Earle *Alan* by *Ermengard* his ſecond wife; by *Alan* ſhee had iſſue *Howell*, pronounced illegitimate, and diſherited by his ſuppoſed father *Conſtance*, that died without iſſue; and *Bertha* the wife of *Eudes* Earle of *Porrohet*, mother of Earle *Conan* the yonger, who by *Margaret* ſiſter of *William* King of *Scots*, had iſſue *Conſtance*, maried to *Geffrey* ſonne of King *Henry* the ſecond.

Iulian. (75) *Iulian* likewiſe, an other naturall daughter of King *Henry*, was married to *Euſtace* the illegitimate ſonne of *William* Lord of *Breteuil* in *Normandy*, who was the ſonne and heire of *William Fitz-Osborn*, and elder brother of *Roger*, both Earles of *Hereford*

in *England*, and this *Eustace* had hee beene lawfully borne in wedlocke, had beene heire to the Earledoms of *Hereford* and *Iuerie* : notwithstanding he had as small a part in that inheritance of the Towne of *Pacie* from which he tooke his surname, being commonly called *Eustace* of *Pacy*, and had issue by this *Iulian* his wife, *William* and *Roger* of *Pacy* his sonnes.

(76) A naturall daughter of King *Henry* recounted by the continuer of the History of *William Gemeticensis*, and by *Iohn Tillet* his follower, is reported by them to haue beene married to one *William Goet* a *Norman*; but in neither of these writers is any mention made of her name, or of his estate, issue, or other relation.

(77) Another naturall daughter of King *Henrie* is without name, recited by the said Authors, and by them reported to be married to the Vicount of *Beaumont*, which is a Towne within the Countie of *Maygne*. Shee had issue by him, as *Roger* of *Houeden* writeth, *Richard Vicount Beaumont*, Father of Queene *Ermengard* the wife of King *William* of *Scotland*: and *Robert* the Abbot of *Mount-Saint Michael* mentioneth another of her sons, named *Ralphe*, who (as he saith) was Bishop of *Angiers*.

(78) Another naturall daughter also of King *Henry* is recited by the *Normane* and *French* writers before auouched, and reported by them to be married to *Mathew* of *Montmorancy*, the sonne of *Bouchard* of *Mountmorancy*, from whom perhaps descended the House of *Mountmorancy*, who after came to be Earles and Dukes, being growne to bee one of the greatest houses in *France*, next to the Princes of the bloud, for possessions, alliances, and honour.

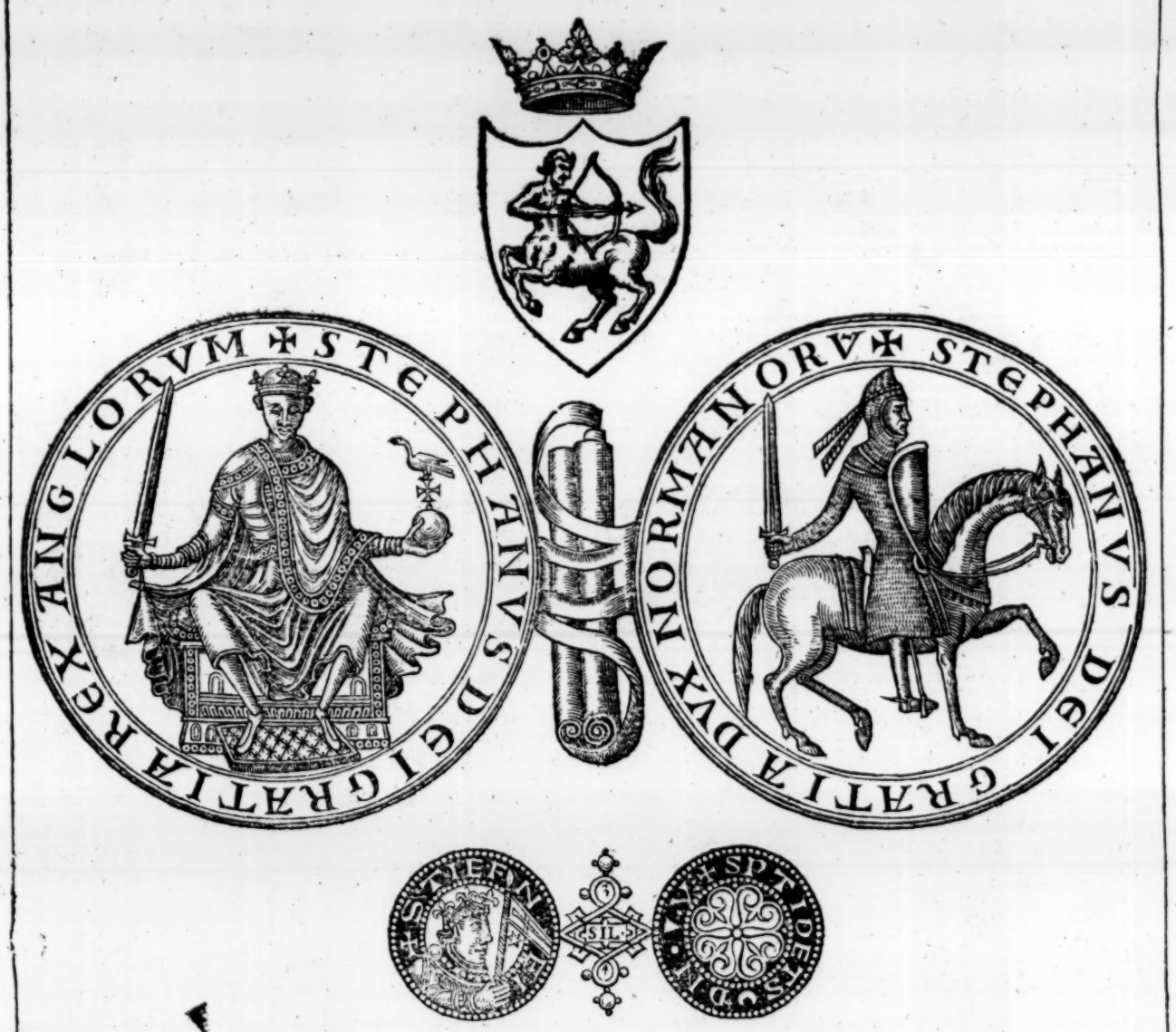
(79) *Elizabeth* the last naturall daughter of King *Henry* recounted by the former Authors, was vnmarried in the time of the one, and her husband vnknowne to the other; but both of them agree, that she was born of *Elizabeth* the sister of *Walleran* Earle of *Meulan*, who was sister also of *Robert Bossue* Earle of *Leicester*, wife of *Gilbert* Earle of *Pembrooke*, and mother of Earle *Richard Strangbow*, the Conquerour of *Ireland*. *Elizabeth.*

STEPHEN,

Stephen.

STEPHEN, THE TWO AND FORTIETH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISH-MEN: HIS RAIGNE, ACTS, AND ISSVE.

Monarch 42.



CHAPTER V.

An.D.1135.

King *Henries* Iſſue defeated of the Crowne by *Stephen*.

THough the Empreſſe *Maud* had fealty ſworne vnto her in the life time of her Father: and again both her ſelfe, and iſſue ordained to be his ſucceſſors in *Englands* Throne, as hath beene ſaid; yet ſo powerfull is *Ambition*, where the Obiect is a *Diademe*, and ſo weake are all aſſurances which are built on the wauering *Multitude*, that King *Henries* prouidence, was ſoone defeated, and with his death all fealties reuerſed, and that by him onely who had * contended to bee the formoſt of the Laitie in taking that oath, euen *Stephen* Earle of *Mortaine* and *Bolloine*; a man whoſe deſcent was very Noble, being the third ſonne of *Stephen* Earle of *Bloys* and *Champaigne*, who was the ſonne of Earle *Eudes*, and he of Earle *Theobald*, the ſonne of *Gerlon* the *Dane*, the companion of *Rollo* Duke of *Normandy*; his mother was * *Adelicia* the third daughter of *William* the Conqueror by Queen *Maud* his wife: And himſelfe was aduanced to be Earle of *Mortaigne* by King *Henry* his vncle, whoſe Crown he now endeauoured to vſurpe, being otherwiſe for his many princely parts, worthy to weild a Scepter, if his claime thereto had beene iuſt and warrantable.

Malmſ. Nouel. lib. 1 Wil. VValſingham. Floriacenſis. King *Stephen* his deſcent.

* Some call her *Adela*, others *Alice*.

(2) For as ſoone as Natures courſe had brought King *Henry*, where Princes and pooreſt Subiects are all equall; forthwith hee was working to diſpoſſeſſe his Iſſue, which onely now reſted in *Maud* and her Children; in which attempt it happened fortunately for him that his yonger Brother *Henry* was then Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and a very potent man in the State, who had induſtriouſly ſtirred himſelfe in making way to his entrance; and (vpon aſſurance of all liberties to the Church and Common-wealth) had drawne on alſo *William* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the very firſt man that had ſworne

Will. Gemet.

Stephens brother his chiefe Agent.

Malmſ. Nouel. lib. 1 Math. Paris. Henry Hunt. Archbiſhop of Canterbury *Stephens* abettor.

ſworne vnto *Maude* the Empreſſe: by whoſe example many others were winded into the like perjurie, * traiterouſly auowing, that it was baſeneſſe for ſo many, and ſo great Peers, to be ſubject vnto a Woman. And to helpe forward thoſe audacious beginnings, *Roger* Biſhoppe of *Salisbury*, the late Kings Treaſurer, proteſted (*Malmsbury*, who reports it, himſelfe heard it from him) that they were free from the oath made to the Empreſſe; for that without conſent of the Barons ſhe had married out of the realme; but that which wrought moſt, was the teſtimony of *Hugh Bigot*, * Seneſcall vnto King *Henry* departed, who comming ouer with *Stephen*, tooke his corporall oath, that the King on his death-bed, vpon ſome offence taken againſt his daughter *Maude*, diſinherited her, and appointed this *Stephen*, his nephew, to be his ſucceſſour. Theſe colourable inſtigations ſo moued the * *too-credulous* Archbiſhop and the Peeres, that they all ſwore fealty vnto him, and became his Liege-men.

*A traiterous poſition. *Rog. de Wendouer. Matth. Paris.*

Malmsb. Nouel. lib. 1. Idem.

* Or high Steward. *Matth. Paris. Tho. Wal. Ypodigma. Neuſt.*

* *Idem.* Fealty ſworne to *Stephen.*

(3) His firſt landing in *England*, (being at *Whitſand-bay*) by a tempeſt of thunder ſo wonderfull and terrible, that the people thought verily the end of all was at hand, did prognoſticke the ſtorms of troubles which his perjurie brought with him; for euen then both *Douer* & *Canterbury* fortified themſelues againſt him, though *London* gaue better leaue to his entrance, whoſe Perſon and preſence drew euer the affections of the beholder, being in all parts compleate with natures endowments, of perſonage paſſing comely, of diſpoſition louing, cheerefull, and affable to the meaneſt, alwaies very liberall; but now eſpecially, knowing his *Purſe* the beſt *Lawyer* to plead for his *Title*; and in Martiall proweſſe gaue place to none of that time, wherein, though his whole raigne was continually ſpent, yet (by reaſon of King *Henries* great Treaſure left) neuer burthened hee the Commons with any exactions, a thing that euer gaineth the loue of the common ſort: neither is he taxed with any other obſeruable crime, ſaue onely his perjurie againſt the Empreſſe *Dowager*, and her ſonne.

Malmſ. Nouel. lib. 1. Matth. Weſtm.

Stephens louely qualities. *Will. Malmeſ. Ibidem.*

(4) Hee entred his gouernement the yeare of Chriſt Ieſus, 1135. the ſecond day of *December*, and was crowned at *Weſtminſter* the twenty ſixt of the ſame Moneth, being Saint *Stephens* day, by *William Corbell* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who with the reſt of the Prelates doing him homage, and knowing now hee would yeeld to any conditions (for performance whereof his * Brother of *Wincheſter* did there engage himſelfe for a pledge) they all tooke their oath of allegiance, conditionally, (traiterouſly, I might ſay) to obey him as their King, ſo long as he ſhould preſerue their Church-Liberties, and the vigour of Diſcipline: And that the Lay-Barons made vſe alſo of this policie, appeareth by *Robert* Earle of *Glouceſter*, who ſware to be true Liege-man to the King, as long as the King would preſerue to him his dignities, and keepe all Couenants, whereupon the King promiſed for the preſent, that he would ſpeedily reforme the ouer-hard Lawes of his Predeceſſors, and mollifie the extreames thereof, to their owne likings, vnder his Seale and Charter: and ſo thence haſtening to meete the Corps of his deceaſed Vncle, (which was now brought into *England*) he honoured that pompous funerall, with his owne, and all his great Prelates and Peeres attendance at *Reading*; whence preſently hee went to *Oxford*, where he ſealed his fore-promiſed Charter, of many indulgent fauours: * prefacing therein, that hee attained the Crowne by Election onely; and that Pope *Innocentius* confirmed the ſame; whereby may bee conceiued, that his Holineſſe, either out of hatred to the Empreſſe, (whoſe husband * *Henry* was no friend to the Papacie) or for ſome other holy ends, had no ſmall hand in aduauncing *Stephens* perjured and diſloyall intruſion. The Tenour of the * Charter it ſelfe is; *That all Liberties, Cuſtomes, and Poſſeſſions, graunted to the Church, ſhould be firme and in force*; *that all Perſons and Cauſes Eccleſiaſticall ſhould appertaine onely to Eccleſiaſticall Iudicature: that none but Clergy-men ſhould euer intermeddle with the vacancies of Churches, or any Church-mens goods; that all bad vſages in the Land touching forreſts, exactions, &c. ſhould be vtterly extirpate; the ancient Lawes reſtored, &c.* As *Stephen* well knew, that they had choſen him their King, onely to make their vſes of him, ſo theſe immunities he granted, rather to bleare their Eies, then * with any purpoſe to manacle his owne hands with ſuch Parchment-Chaines.

Rend Higden. Roger Houed.

**Will. Malmeſ. lib. 1. noual.*

Alleageance ſworne conditionally to the King. *Idem.*

King *Stephens* faire promiſes.

Wil. Malmeſ. Houeden.

(5) *Thus his entrance was very peaceable*, (ſaith *Geruaſius* of *Canterbury*) *but by little and little, ciuill diſcord increaſed*, to the lamentable deſtruction of Men, and the Land: whereto *Robert* Earle of *Glouceſter*, halfe-brother to the Empreſſe, whoſe wiſedome and power King *Stephen* much feared, gaue a ſecret beginning, when amongſt them that ſwore him fealty, hee concluded his (as wee ſaid) with this reſeruation, that his owne authority ſhould be nothing empaired, meaning no longer to reſpect him as his King, then the King ſhould him as a Peere: and a generall ſufferance to erect Caſtles, for ſtrength, throughout the Land, was no ſecuritie to his peaceable eſtate: Intended indeed to ſtrengthen the Kingdome againſt *Maud* the Empreſſe; but proued the bane of all ſubjectiue obedience: which was politickly conſidered by *Henry Fitz-Empreſſe*, in the concluſion of Peace betwixt King *Stephen* and him, when a thouſand one hundred and fifteene Caſtles ſo raiſed, were againe razed and caſt downe.

Geruaſ. Dorob.

Matth. Paris.

Malmeſ. Nouel. lib. 1.

Caſtles generally raiſed in *England.*

Walſingham. Ypodig. ad Ann. 1151.

(6) The firſt man that profeſſedly ſet himſelfe oppoſite to *Stephens* vſurpation, was *Baldwin de Redners*, who fortified the Citie and Caſtle of *Exceſter* againſt him; the *Welſhmen* alſo, bearing in minde the harms that K. *Henry* had done them, deſired reuenge, and made many ſlaughters vpon the Kings people: Againſt theſe, *Stephen* proceeded with his band of *Engliſh* and *Flemmings*, and after a ſtrong and chargeable ſiege, by famine drew forth *Baldwin*, his wife, and children, all which he diſherited, and expulſed the Land, vſing ſo great lenity towards all other offenders there, that it gaue great encouragement to others rebellions. But in *Wales* the buſineſſe proſpered not ſo well, where at *Cardigan* a great battell was fought, with ſuch ſlaughter and ouer-bearing of the *Engliſh*, that the men, by women, were taken and led away Captiue, and ſo many drowned by the fall of a Bridge ouer *Temd*, that a paſſage was made ouer the water with the dead Carkaſes therein heaped.

Exceſter firſt reſiſts King *Stephen.*

Hen. Hunting. lib. 8. Flor. Wigorn.

(7) Neither thus onely, but ſome of the *Engliſh* alſo diſtaſting King *Stephen*, ſecretly inſtigated *Dauid* King of *Scotland*, to reuenge the wrongs done to the Empreſſe *Maud*, a ſeruice as they vrged it, very gratefull vnto her, and euen pleaſing to God and Man. Hee therefore conſenting, inuaded the Borders, and tooke from the *Engliſh* both *Carleile* and *New caſtle*, which he ſtuffed with Garriſons. Againſt theſe, King *Stephen* prepared, and with a great power came into thoſe parts, where diuers accidents by diuers reporters are related, yet all agree that ere-long peace was concluded, *Carleile* ſtill enioyed by King *Dauid*, and the Earledome of *Huntingdon* by Prince *Henry* his ſonne; for which he did homage at his fathers commaund, *Dauid* himſelfe refuſing ſo to doe, (as *Hector Boetius* the Scotiſh Writer affirmeth) for that he had *giuen his faith before vnto* Maud *the Empreſſe.*

Polydor. An. D. 1138 *Ypodigm. Neuſtr.*

Matth. Paris.

Will. Gemet.

Hector Boetius. lib. 12. cap. 17.

(8) King *Stephen* returned, and all in good quiet, he ſuddenly fell ſicke of a *Lethargy*, yea, and in ſuch danger of life, that the common report gaue forth he was dead, which ſtirred great troubles both in *England*, and elſe-where, for thereby his friends were ſtricken into great feare, and the factious more bold to prepare for Queene *Maude*; for *Hugh Bigot* one of his chiefeſt and firſt raiſers, fortified himſelfe in the Caſtle of *Norwich*, and would not deliuer it vnto any ſaue onely to the King, yea and very vnwillingly alſo vnto him: and in *Wales*, *Owen* and *Cadwalader* the

Simon Dun.

Matth. Paris. Henry Hunt. lib. 8.

Hen. Huntingdon lib. 8. Houeden.

Hen. Huntingdon.

* *Malmeſ. nouel. lib. 1.* King *Stephens* Charter.

* This *Henry* impriſoned the *Pope.*

* Dated *apud Oxenford* 1136. *reg.* 1

Chron.Wallie.

the ſonnes of *Gruffith ap Conan* Prince of that Country, carried great ſpoyles from the *Engliſh*, as of other goods, ſo alſo of Horſe and Armour, and habiliments for warre; likewiſe in *Normandy*, Conſpiracies began to bud forth; for *Geffrey* Earle of *Anion*, who in right of his wife made claime vnto all, eaſily got the hearts and endeauours of many to adhere vnto the true heire; poſſeſſing himſelfe of certaine Caſtles; but entring further on the Demaines of one *Talevaz*, a man of note (proſcribed for ſome offence or diſpleaſure by King *Stephen*) the *Normans* diſliking that, and ſome other his doings, ſent for *Theobald* Earle of *Bloys* (*Stephens* elder Brother) offering him both their Dukedome, and their ſwords, and liues to defend him in it; who comming to *Luxonia*, *Robert* Earle of *Glouceſter*, (not vnwilling any way to weaken King *Stephen*) deliuered vnto him vpon compoſition, the County of *Faleſia*, himſelfe carrying no ſmall ſumme of money thence out of King *Henries* Treaſury, and very throughly, (though ſecretly) watching all opportunities to aduance the title and deſignes of the Empreſſe.

Tumultuous attempts in Normandy. Pariſienſis. Walſingh. Ypodig. Malmsb. Nouell. lib. 1.

(9) *Stephen* recouered, and hearing theſe ſtirres, prepared himſelfe firſt into *Normandy*, at whoſe approach, after ſome ſmall attempts, the people (diſtracted betwixt feare and ſenſe of their duety) yeelded themſelues vnto his power; ſurrendring their fenced Cities, and other ſtrong holds. This good ſucceſſe thus fortunately begunne, hee hoped further to proſecute, by meanes of a League, which hee lately had made with *Lewis* the ſeuenth, King of *France*: and hereupon created *Euſtace* his eldeſt ſon liuing, Duke of *Normandie*, commanding him to do his homage for the ſame to *Lewis*.

Stephens elder Brother laies claime.

Idem.

Stephen goeth into Normandy. Will. Newberj.

Ger. Dorob. He makes league with France. Huntingdon. lib. 8. Houeden. Math. Paris. His ſon Euſtace Duke of Normandy.

(10) Earle *Theobald* ſeeing himſelfe thus defeated of his hopes and purpoſes, ſtormed at the wrongs done by King *Stephen*; for hee, (his elder by birth, and *Bloyſes* Earledomes lawfull heire) laide his title both for *Normandie* and *England* alſo, now vſurped by *Stephen* his yonger: notwithſtanding (rage nought auailing without power) hee came to a compoſition, and remitted his Claime for two thouſand markes annually to be paid. *Geffrey* of *Anion* likewiſe, whoſe title by his Wife was better then them both, not able at the preſent (being ſo farre ouer-matched by the Kings power, wealth, and confederates) to doe what he would, yeelded to neceſſitie, and for fiue thouſand markes yeerely to be paid, ſuffered *Stephen* quietly to enioy the Crowne.

Stephen buyeth his elder brothers title. Ypodig. Neuſt. Roger Wendouer. Houeden. Huntingdon. lib. 8. Math. Paris. He ſtoppeth the Empreſſes huſbands mouth with money.

An.D.1138.

An.Reg.3.

(11) Hauing thus at once ſwept the two greateſt rubbes out of his fortunes way, hee well hoped that all cloudes of diſpleaſure, and oppoſition, were now ouer-blowne, when vnexpectedly newes came, that *England* was in tumults, the ſparkes of conſpiracie kindled ſecretly before in the hearts of factious *Peers*, now openly breaking forth, vpon aduantage of his abſence in *Normandy*: therefore, hauing not altogether compoſed his buſines in thoſe parts, he tooke ſhip for *England* in the depth of the winter; and euen in the *Vigill* of Chriſts Natiuitie, beſieged, and after tooke the Caſtle of *Bedford*, that was manned againſt him in the behalfe of the *Scots*; about which time *Dauid* their King hauing entred *Northumberland* in the quarrell of Queene *Maude*, the ruder ſort of his Armie (as commonly the beſt gouerned is not emptie of ſuch) reuenged too tragically the wrongs of the Empreſſe, in ripping vp the wombes of women with childe, and toſſing their Infants vpon the points of their ſpeares, ſlaying the Prieſts at the Altar, and diſmembring the ſlaine bodies in moſt vnhumane manner.

Ger. Dor. England againe in tumults

King Stephen returnes into England.

Roger Houed.

Mat. Paris. The King of Scots againſt King Stephen.

Ypodigm. Neuſtr. Houed. in Steph. Huntingdon. lib. 8.

(12) Againſt theſe, King *Stephen* made haſtilie forward, affirming it no policie, *to giue one houres reſt vnto the Enemie*: and threatning more then hee accompliſhed, entred *Scotland*; whence after ſome ſmall reuenge wrought, hee was haſtily recalled; ſo many of his Nobles in *England* now in Armes againſt him, that hee was in a ſort beſet on euery ſide. And what other could hee, a *Vſurper*, expect from them, but *Treaſon*, whom himſelfe had formerly taught to be *Traitors* to their rightfull Soueraigne? But yet (as no *Rebellion* was euer without pretence of *Reaſon* and *Iuſtice*) they alledged, that hee had * violated his *Oath* touching their Forreſts, and other Immunities of Church and Common-wealth: but Church and Common-wealth were but publike colours for priuate grudges, (as *Malmesburie*, who then liued, well vnfouldeth,) which the Great-Ones conceiued againſt their King, becauſe he would not grant them ſuch Caſtles, Commands, and Lordſhips, as themſelues liked and expected of him, whom they thought to be ſo obliged vnto them, that he ought denie them nothing. The endleſſe and ſhameleſſe importunities of theſe men, ſometimes hee put off, alleadging thereby, the *impaire of his Crownes reuenewes*; ſometimes hee was faine to ſatisfie, *diſtruſting their falling from him*: whoſe loialty notwithſtanding beeing built on ſo vn-noble grounds, was but coloured, and therefore could not long be permanent. Neither was it. For *Robert* of *Gloceſter* (the Empreſſes halfe-brother, and now her chiefe Counſellor and Captaine) finding thoſe particular diſlikes apt to be wrought on, and made ſeruiceable for a common behoofe; whetted on with the touch of conſcience, and counſells of religious learned men, (who vrged him, with the *hazard both of his credit, and ſoule, for neglect of his firſt, and only-lawful Oath to the Empreſſe*) ſent threatning meſſages vnto King *Stephen*, charging him with his Oath of Allegiance vnto Ladie *Maude* his Soueraigne, againſt whom hee had ſhewed himſelfe a moſt perfidious man, and had impiouſly drawne him, with others, to doe the like; and ſo denouncing *Stephen* an open Enemie to the State, and himſelfe vnto *Stephen*, made ſtrong his faction with the aſſiſtance of many Nobles; among whom, *Milo*, a chiefe man of warre, and High Conſtable to King *Stephen*, reuolted from him, and became a great helpe to their proceedings.

* Huntingdon. l. 8.

Malmeſ. Nouel. lib. 2. pag. 105.

Idem. lib. 1. pa. 102.

Idem.

Earle Robert ſends threats to King Stephen.

Idem.

Malmesb. Nouel. lib. 1.

(13) Earle *Robert*, (whom eft-ſoones the enraged King diſcharged of his honours and poſſeſſions in *England*) tooke into the Caſtle of *Briſtow*, and made good alſo his Caſtle of *Slede*; his complices likewiſe did the like in other places: for *William Talbot* manned the Caſtle of *Hereford*, *William Louell* the Caſtle of *Carie*, *Paganell* the Caſtle of *Ludlow*, *William de Mount* the Caſtle of *Duneſtor*, *Robert de Nichol* the Caſtle of *Warram*, *Euſtace Fitz-Iohn* the Caſtle of * *Meltune*, *William Fitz-Alain* the Caſtle of *Shrewſburie*, and *Walkelinus* the Caſtle of *Doure*. And thus thoſe Forts which were erected to defend the Crowne, firſt offended the King, ſome few whereof as he recouered, he flatted to the ground, and wiſhed the other no higher walls; ſtill ſwearing *by Gods Birth* (his vſuall Oath) hee would not ſo ſlightly be vnſeated of his Crowne, and wondring what ſhould mooue them, who had ſo readily aduanced him, ſo ſpeedily to vnſtate him. One freſh motiue to theſe Noble-mens diſcontents was the Kings * ſeizing on ſome great men and their lands, on bare ſuſpition of their loyaltie; and on the other ſide, the extraordinarie fauour, which *Stephen* ſhewed to *William de Ypre*, and his *Flemings* (which they interpreted as a contempt of themſelues and their Nation) whoſe counſells he generally followed, and chiefly relyed vpon: In diſdaine whereof, they ſent word to the Empreſſe, that within fiue Moneths, ſhee ſhould haue the Realme at commaund, according to their Oathes made to her Father.

English Peeres for tiſie againſt the King.

Henry Hunt. lib. 8. Houeden.

* De Maltona.

King Stephens vſuall Oath. Malmeſ. Nouel. lib. 1.

Malmesb. Nouel. libro ſecundo.

Ger. Dor.

(14) Theſe turmoiles thus working in the bowels of the Kingdome, *Dauid* King of *Scotland* had better opportunitie to aſſayle the ſides and skirts thereof; and following what hee had begunne, with a verie great Armie entring *Northumberland*, made great ſlaughter of the *Engliſh*, and deſtruction of their Countrey: Againſt whom the Northren Lords prepared, at the commaund of *Thurſtan* Arch-biſhop of *Yorke* (left by King *Stephen* Lieutenant in thoſe parts) who being by ſickeneſſe kept from the Field, appointed

An.D.1139.

The King of Scotland his attempts againſt Stephen.

Simon Dun.

appointed *Ralph* Biſhop of *Durham* his Generall; whoſe Inuectiue Oration before their ioyning of battaile, occaſioned vpon the fore-ſaid miſdemeanors of ſome vndiſciplined *Scotiſh*, is at large ſet downe by *Houedon*, *Huntingdon*, *Wendouer*, and others; in the cloſe whereof, hee abſolueth from puniſhment of ſin, all ſuch of his ſide, as ſhould die in this battaile: which made the *Engliſh* more deſperate in fight, who ſo ſorely preſſed vpon their enemies, that they forſooke their King, he notwithſtanding valiantly perſiſting, til his deareſt friends ernestly vrged him to auoid. But his ſonne *Henry*, eſteeming more of glory then life, ruſhed in amongſt his retiring ſouldiers, and with vndaunted courage, perſwading them to regard themſelues and his preſence, with threat of ſhamefull deaths to all ſuch as fled, he held them in for a time; till at length ouer-laid with the maine-battaile of the *Engliſh*, the magnanimious Prince *Henrie*, likewiſe quitted the field, bitterly curſing the frowardneſſe of Fortune, and the miſchance that hapned that day.

Houeden. Wendouer. Henry Hunt.

This field was fought in Auguſt *An.* 1138. neere the mouth of *Humber*. *Math. Paris.*

The great valour of Prince *Henry* of *Scotland*.

Math. Paris. Houeden, & alij. Polyd. Virgil.

(15) With like fortunate ſucceſſe, proceeded *Stephen* againſt his diſobedient Barons, and wanne from them the *Caſtles* of *Hereford*, *Glouceſter*, *Webley*, *Briſtow*, *Dudley*, and *Shrewsbury*, whereby hee weakned Earle *Robert* ſo much, that he was conſtrained to flie into *France*, and there inſtigated his ſiſter the Empreſſe to come into *England*.

Ran. Higden.

Earle *Robert* leaues *England*.

(16) Theſe domeſticke oppoſites thus remooued out of his way, King *Stephen* re-addreſſed himſelfe for the North, to proſecute that which *Thurſtan* had begunne: firſt therefore winning the Caſtle of *Leids*, he went into *Scotland*, where by the perſwaſion and proweſſe of *Mars* and *Vulcan* (ſaith *Paris*) a Peace was concluded betwixt the two Kings; and *Stephen* thence returning, brought Prince *Henry*, (whom he created Earle of *Huntingdon*) with him into *England*, and at the ſiege of *Ludlow*-Caſtle, the aduenturous Prince was almoſt ſurpriſed, where the beſieged with an Iron Grapple pluckt him from his Horſe, and ſo had taken him, but that King *Stephen* himſelfe, with great valour and honour recouered him: who hauing wonne the Caſtle, went preſently to *Oxford*, whither newes was brought him that the Empreſſe was preparing for *England*.

A Peace betwixt the King of *England* and *Scotland*. *Math. Paris. Henry Hunt.*

Houeden. Henry Hunt.

An. D. 1140.

(17) To make all ſure as he went, *Stephen* thought it good to demoliſh and race thoſe Caſtles lately built, (hauing had experience to what troubles they had brought him) and to preuent the building of new; and namely, that of the *Diuiſe*, now (as he ſurmiſed) in fortifying againſt him: hee therefore ſent for *Roger* Biſhop of *Salisbury* (the Founder both of that Caſtle, as alſo thoſe other of *Sherborn* & *Malmſbury*) a man who in a bad cauſe had ſtood King *Stephen* in good ſtead, howſoeuer ſome enuying his greatneſſe, had incenſed the King againſt him and other Prelates, as if they were fallen from his ſide. The Biſhop ſtanding peremptorily on his innocencie, yet miſtruſting the euent, craued the company of *Alexander* Biſhop of *Lincolne*, and of *Nigell* Biſhop of *Ely*; ſo with a great and well-appointed traine, repaired to *Oxford* vnto the Court, where *Stephen* had ſummoned a Grand-Councell of the States.

King *Stephen* plückes downe the Caſtles.

Malmeſ. Nouel. lib. 2.

Henry Hunt. Houeden.

A great Councel at *Oxford*.

Geruaſ. Dorob.

(18) The King, who expected of Church-men humility, ſeeing them now armed as men for the field, commaunded his attendants to take armour likewiſe, and ſo entring communication of diuers matters with his Peeres and Prelates, their Souldiers caſually meeting, fell at variance, where the Biſhops friends had the worſe, ſo that many of them were wounded, and the reſt forſaking their maſters ranne away. This great aſſembly thus diſturbed, the King required the Biſhops to ſatisfie his Court for theſe outrages of their ſeruants, *which ſatisfaction ſhould be, to deliuer the keyes of all their Caſtles to the King, as pledges of their fidelity*, which they refuſing, the Biſhops of *Salisbury* and *Lincolne* were laid hold of; but *Ely* eſcaped to the Caſtle of *Diuiſe*: *Alexander* was impriſoned, till hee had yeelded him his Caſtles of *New-warke*, and * *Slaford*; *Roger* the Caſtles of *Sherborne*, and the *Diuiſes* (accounted then one of the goodlieſt Caſtles of *Europe*) beſides fortie thouſand Markes in ſiluer; (which loſſes the Biſhop did not long ſuruiue.) The King imployed the money to purchaſe Lady *Conſtance*, ſiſter to *Lewis* King of *France*, to be wife vnto his ſonne *Euſtace*: all which was to ſtrengthen himſelfe againſt the Empreſſe *Maud*, whoſe comming hee continually feared, and now before his expectation ſhee was landed in *England*, at a fit time for her deſignes, when all the great Prelates, (who formerly were his chiefeſt friends) were highly incenſed againſt the King for ſuch oppreſſion of their Brethren.

Malmeſb. Nouel. lib. 2. Huntingdon. Rog. de Wendouer.

Latford. Paris.

Wendouer. Paris.

Polychr. lib. 7. cap. 18.

Roger Houed.

(19) The place of her arriuage was at the * Port of *Arundell*, into which Caſtle ſhee was joyfully receiued by *William de Albeny*, who had married Queen *Adeliza*, the late wife to King *Henry*, whoſe Dowrie it was; from hence Earle *Robert* diuerting his courſe onely with tenne Horſe-men, and as many Archers, (for in all hee brought ouer but one hundred and forty with him for ſo great an exploit) paſſed through the Land vnto *Wallingford* and *Glouceſter*, ſoliciting his Complices for the aide of his ſiſter the Empreſſe. * A man who then liued, holds him, in this bold attempt with ſo ſmall forces, no way inferiour to *Iulius Caſar*, whom *Liuie* reports to haue begun his ciuill warre, & to haue ſet himſelfe againſt the whole World, onely with fiue Cohorts of Souldiers.

The Empreſſe arriues in *England*. *Malmesb. Nouel. lib. 2. Huntingdon. Rog. de Wendouer.*

*At *Portſmouth* ſaith *Geruaſ.*

Matth. Paris. Earle *Robert* brings but 140. men, to the winning of the Crowne of *England*.

* *Malmesb. lib. 2.*

(20) King *Stephen* as then lay in ſiege of *Marleburgh*-Caſtle, but hauing intelligence of this more dangerous an enemy, diſlodged thence, and with all expedition made towards *Arundell*; whereat the Empreſſe, wanting her Counſellor, was wonderfully perplext, yet wanted not a womans wit to helpe at neede; inſomuch that by the report of *Geruaſius*, *leſt her dignity and right might any way be endammaged, ſhee tooke an oath, that none of theſe the Kings enemies, by her aduice or conſent had entred the Land, but with condition to carry themſelues orderly, without impeachment of the honour and allegiance due to the King*; By which policy (to giue it no worſe name) ſhe ſo ſatiſfied king *Stephen* (whom all do cenſure for too-much credulity and facility towards his foes (that hee cauſed her to be conuayed honourably vnto *Briſtow*, where ſhee remained the ſpace of two Moneths, and then got thence vnto *Wallingford*.

Stephen haſtes to the Empreſſe.

Her politique excuſe. *Ger. Dor.*

Roger Houed. Henry Hunt.

(21) Earle *Robert* in the meane while diſperſed the newes of the Empreſſes approach, vnto whoſe aid ſo many gathered, that the ſame Monke reporteth, *no man was able to ſet downe their multitudes in context of Hiſtorie, much leſſe by way of Computation: then beganne* (ſaith he) *both labour and dolour, which brought the whole Realme to a moſt grieuous diuiſion, and in a maner to an vtter ruine: for thoſe that fauoured the King, what euill ſoeuer could be wrought or imagined, they did againſt them, that tooke part with the Empreſſe: and contrariwiſe, Earle* Robert, *whoſe power daily encreaſed, tortured with cruelties all thoſe that ſtood for the King; and to augment a more miſchiefe, the Flemings left their owne Countrey, and came ouer by multitudes, like vnto a Company of hunger-ſtarued Wolues, ſeeking to bring the Lands felicitie vnto nothing.*

The Empreſſes power increaſeth *Geruaſius*.

Flemings came to King *Stephens* aide.

(22) *Stephen*, whoſe head was now full of troubles, delaid no time to forward his Fortunes, but ſtraightwaies beſieged *Maud* and her brother in *Wallingford*-Caſtle; notwithſtanding, wearied with long labour and profiting little, he cauſed a Tower of wood to be there erected, which he ſtrongly fortified with men and munition, and then remooued to the ſiege of *Malmesbury*. His brother alſo of *Wincheſter*, a ſtout and politique Prelate indeede, beſtirred all his wilie wittes in *Stephens* behalfe; for inuiting certaine Noble-men to his Palace at *Wincheſter*, retained them priſoners, till hee had compelled them there, to reſigne their Caſtles to the King. In the meane while Earle *Robert* ſubdued and ſpoyled *Worceſter*: *Ralph Painell*, in the Empreſſes fauour, burned *Nottingham*; and *Ranulph* Earle of *Cheſter*, joyning in wiſhes with *Robert* (whoſe daughter he married) ſhewed himſelfe not

King *Stephen* beſieges *Wallingford* Caſtle. *Geru. Dor.*

The Biſhop of *Wincheſter* entraps the Nobles. *Math. Paris*

not vnwilling to annoy King *Stephen*, though he had receiued great honours at his hands. The Empreſſe herſelfe, the better to ſecure her owne perſon, and to giue acceſſe vnto her fauourites, tooke into *Lincolne*, where ſhe meant to make her abode, ſtoring the City with all prouiſions neceſſarie.

Simon Dun. Rog. Houeden.

(23) King *Stephen*, as vigilant as the other was politique, made ſtraight-waies thitherward, and begirt the Citie with a ſtraite ſiege, where he had ſurpriſed his greateſt Enemie, had ſhe not found meanes thence to eſcape: and ſo poſſeſſing himſelfe of the Citie, ſetled it, and the whole Countrey in very good quiet. Soone after whoſe departure, *Ranulph* Earle of *Cheſter*, with his Counteſſe and Brother, comming to *Lincolne*, to keepe their Chriſtmas; the Citizens knowing the Kings jealouſies, and *deſirous to currie-fauour with him*, ſent ſecret intelligence, that if he would ſurprize both thoſe Brethren, he had now the fitteſt aduantage: whereto the King giuing eare, came thither with great expedition; and whiles they, thus circumvented, ſtood on their guard in the Caſtle, the Earle eſcaped forth, and went to craue ayde of the Empreſſe, for reſcue of his Wife and Brother whom hee left beſieged. Earle *Robert*, hearing the newes, and glad of ſo faire an opportunity, ioyned with *Ranulph*, and they both gathered all their powers both of *Welſh* and *Engliſh*, for the releeſe of their friends in *Lincolne*: where, reſolutely firſt wading through the Riuer, (which parted them from the Kings Armie, and was then deepe) vpon Candlemas day, and yeere of Chriſt Ieſus one thouſand one hundred fortie one, they pitched their Tents, and in the Kings ſight ordered their Battaile: One Squadron whereof, was lead by Earle *Ranulph*: the *Diſherited* were the Guiders of another; in the third was Earle *Robert* himſelfe; and the *Welſh-men* ſerued for the Wing. Their troupes thus marſhalled, *Ranulph* appointed in rich Armour, and full of braue reſolution, ſpake thus to his followers, in the preſence of *Robert* of *Gloceſter*.

Matmesb. Nouel. lib. 2.

Niger. Polydor. Nic. Triuet.

King *Stephen* and his aduerſaries pitch their Battle

Rand. Higden.

Ranulphs Oration before the battle. *Roger Houeden.*

"(24) I yeeld you vnfained thankes, (Inuincible "Captaine, and you, our companions in Armes) "which heere ſo reſolutely witneſſe your loues vn-"to mee, vpon my ſole requeſt, euen to the hazard "of your owne liues. Sith then, I am the chiefe cauſe "of this your perill, it well befits me, that I my ſelfe "be formoſt in the hazard, and giue the firſt on-ſet "of battaile againſt this faithleſſe King; who made "vs a ſhew of truce, onely to take aduantage for our "ruines; and therefore both mine owne courage, "and the Kings vnjuſt dealing, giue mee cauſe to "hope, that I ſhall forth-with breake aſunder the "ſtrongeſt array of his Armie, and make my way "through their midſt, by dint of this my Sword. It "ſhall be argument of your proweſſe, to follow mee, "leading you the way, and to imitate mee, giuing "you example. My thoughts already tell mee, that "euen now I am breaking through his Battles, "trampling on the neckes of his Chief-taines, and "piercing with this my Sword the very ſides of the "King himſelfe. His ſpeech though ſhort and head-die, as more fitting a Souldier then an Oratour, yet well ſuited with the time, and was ſeconded with great applauſe of the Souldiers: Whereupon *Robert* Earle of *Gloceſter*, ſtept forth and ſaid.

Henry Hunt. Earle *Roberts* Oration before the Battle. *Roger Houeden. Henry Hunt. Polychron.*

"(25) It is not againſt right, moſt noble Earle, "that the honor of this daies ſeruice, and firſt aſſault, "ſhould be permitted vnto you, in regard of the "greatneſſe both of your deſcent, and your martiall "atchieuement; but yet, if Deſcent be ſtood on, "I my ſelfe am both the ſonne, and nephew, of a "mightie King; if Valour, heere now are many of "choiſeſt worth, of whom none liuing can challenge "precedence for proweſſe. But other reaſon ought "now to ſway. For ſith the King, contrarie to his "Oath made to my Siſter, impiouſly vſurped the "Kingdome, he hath made a confuſion of all things, "both in cauſing the bloud of many thouſands to "be ſpilt, and in making many Owners (as himſelfe was) of that which was not their owne, by de-"priuing other of their rightfull inheritance: Theſe "therefore thus diſherized, ought of right (in aſſu-"rance of helpe from their righteous Iudge and re-"uenger) giue firſt aſſault on their vnrighteous op-"preſſor; and God who juſtly judgeth his people, "will (doubtleſſe) looke downe from his heauenly "habitation, and will not leaue vs ſuccour-leſſe, "whiles in a juſt cauſe, wee impugne a moſt vnjuſt "Intruder. But one thing, (moſt reſolued Cap-"taines and ſouldiers) I would haue you throughly "to conſider, that through theſe Fennes (which "with ſo much a doe you haue paſſed (there is no "way fit for eſcape: heere muſt we either vanquiſh, "or leaue our liues, for hope of flight is none at all, "nor is there any other way left vs now to goe, but "by our ſwords into the Citie: and (if I geſſe a-"right) euen this, that we haue no meanes to flie, "will be to vs the meanes (by diuine aſſiſtance) to "get the Victorie; becauſe they muſt needes truſt to "their Man-hood, who ſee no hope to thriue by "their Cowardize. Indeede, the Citizens of *Lin-"colne* keepe nigh to their houſes, and in the brunt of "the Battle, there will their mindes bee, and thither "will their heeles follow, whiles you victoriouſly "ſhall keepe the Field. And conſider farther with "mee, what kinde of Captaines they haue: Firſt, *A-"laine* Duke of *Britaine*, he comes armed, not againſt "you, but God himſelfe, a furious perſon, ſpotted "with all filth of ſinne, in malice vnmatchable, who "thinkes it his greateſt diſhonour, to ſee any man ex-"cell him in crueltie: With him commeth the trea-"cherous Earle *Robert Mellent*, the very craftes-ma-"ſter of fraud, in whoſe heart dwels impiety, guile "in his mouth, cowardize in his actions; high of "minde, vaine-glorious in words, degenerous in per-"formance; laſt in the fight, firſt in the flight. Next, "comes *Hugh By-god*, his name neerely ſounding his "perjurie; who thought it not ſufficient to breake "his Oath with the Empreſſe, but that hee muſt be "once again forſworne (as all the world doth know) "that *Henry* at his death bequeathed the Crowne "vnto *Stephen*, to the prejudice of his owne daugh-"ter; a man (in a word) who accounts *Treacherie* "a *Vertue*, and *Periurie* a courtly quality. Among "theſe Gallants, marcheth the Earle *Albemarle*, a man "of a ſingular conſtancy in euill; very readie to at-"tempt, and very loath to leaue any miſchiefe; whoſe "Wife, through irkeſomeneſſe of his inſufferable fil-"thy qualities, is gone from him; and the Earle that "keepes her, hee commeth againſt vs too, a notori-"ous Adulterer, and the *Non-pareill* of impurity, a "true Souldier of *Bacchus*, a ſtranger to *Mars*; to "whom the ſight of all bloud, except of the Grape, "is very fearefull. Then ſetteth forth *Simon* Earle of "*Hampton*, whoſe deeds conſiſt altogether in words, "and whoſe liberality onely in promiſes; for when "hee hath ſaid, he hath done, and yee get no more. "Laſtly, you ſee heere gathered a knot of Peeres, all "like to their Prince, accuſtomed to robberies, en-"riched with rapines, fatned with Man-ſlaughters, "and all tainted with perjurie. You therefore (No-"ble ſpirits) whom great *Henry* aduanced, and this "*Stephen* hath caſt downe, whom *Henry* made "wealthy, and *Stephen* hath impoueriſhed, be now "couragious, and vpon aſſured confidence of your "great valours, yea, of Gods juſtice, ſeeke both your "juſt *Reuenge*, which GOD euen puts into your "hands, on theſe vngodly wretches; and immortall "*Glorie*, which ſhall hence-forward attend both "your ſelues, and your poſterity for euer. If you are "all of this minde, for executing this Iudgement of "God now vpon them, then vow your ſelues vnto "God, and this his ſeruice; and forbeare, nay rather "forſweare to ſhew your backes to your foes.

Alain Duke of *Britaine.*

Robert Mellent.

Hugh By-god.

Earle *Albemarle.*

Earle *Simon.*

At which words, all ioyntly lifting vp their hands, and acclamations vnto Heauen, with a terrible ſhout abjured all thought of flight, and quickning vp their braue ſpirits, aduanced gallantly towards the enemy.

King *Stephens* addreſſe to the Battle.

(26) King *Stephen*, the meane while, was farre from being idle, who alſo ordered his Armie into three ſeuerall Battalions: the greateſt part and beſt harnaſſed, whoſe Horſes he had ſent away (perhaps alſo to depriue his men of all hope of flight) hee appointed to remaine on foot with himſelfe, and certain of his Nobles, all vnder one Banner. The Horſemen hee diſpoſed into two ſeuerall wings, the one commaunded by *Alaine* Duke of *Britaine*, *Hugh Bigod* Earle of *Norfolke*, *Simon* Earle of *Hampton*, with the two Earles of *Mellent* and *Warren*; and the other Wing was gouerned by *William de Ypres* the Fleming. Then the King, becauſe his voice was not very pleaſing or audible, commaunded *Baldwine Fitz-Gilbert*, a Man of great honour and proweſſe, to vtter his minde vnto the Army, who ſtanding conueniently to be heard, ſpake vnto them as followeth:

Matth. Paris. Simon Dun.

Hen. Hunting. Roger Houed.

"(27) All ſuch as addreſſe themſelues, and expoſe their liues, to the hazard of battaile, haue "three things aduiſedly to be thought on: The e-"quitie of their cauſe; the Number of the Forces; "the ſufficiency of their men. The firſt, leſt they "endanger the ſtate of their Soules; the next, leſt "they be ouerlaied with multitude of their enemies; "and the laſt, leſt while they preſume vpon num-"bers, they finde them but faint-hearted, to their "vtter ruine. But in all theſe, wee know our ſelues "to be ſufficiently furniſhed. The Iuſtice of our "cauſe is, for obſeruing the vow made before God "vnto our King, to withſtand them that haue falſifi-"ed their faith, euen to the hazard of our liues. For "our number, in Horſemen, tis not inferior to theirs; "in Foot-men wee farre exceede them: and for ſuffi-"ciency, what words can equall the noble valour of "ſo many Earles, Lords, Captaines, and Followers, "trained vp euer in the warres? But aboue all, the "incomparable proweſſe and preſence of our King, "will be in ſtead of thouſands to vs. Sith then "this our Lord, and the Lords Annointed (to whom "you vowed your faith) is in Field heere amongſt "you; now performe this your vow vnto GOD; "aſſured, that the more conſtant you proue in this "your Princes ſeruice, and faithfull againſt thoſe "faithleſſe perjured perſons, the more ſhall your re-"ward be at the hands of God, and of him. There-"fore be both couragious and confident, the rather, "conſidering againſt whom you fight; euen againſt

Earle *Robert.*

"*Robert* the *Baſe-borne* General, whoſe vtmoſt worth "is well knowne; for hee can threaten much, and "performe as little: a Lions tongue, and a Hares "heart: his faire ſpeech is his credit, his foule acti-

Earle *Randulph.*

"ons are his ſhame. *Chesters* Earle what is hee? a "man audacious, but without all iudgement; heady "to plot a Treaſon, but ſtill wauering in the purſuit "of it: ready to runne into battaile, but vncircum-"ſpect in any danger; ayming beyond his reach, and "conceiting things meerely impoſſible; and there-"fore hath hee few with him that know him, but "leades onely a rout of vagrant Raſcals: ſo there is "nothing in him to be feared; for whatſoeuer hee "beginnes like a Man, he ends it like a Woman; vn-"fortunate in all his vndertakings; in his encoun-"ters ſtill either vanquiſhed, or if he chance (rarely "God wot) on a victorie, it is with farre greater loſ-

The *Welſh.*

"ſes then the conquered. The *Welſhmen* he bring-"eth, are fitter for our contempt then feare: their "raſhneſſe you may eaſily ſee, for it is naked and vn-"armed, who wanting both military Art and Pra-"ctiſe, runne head-long, like brutes vpon the Hunters "Iauelins. The reſt, as well Nobles (if ſuch they "may be tearmed) as common Souldiers, are but "ſtraglers and runnagates: of whom I would wiſh "their number greater; for the more they be, the "more ſucceſleſſe will be their ſeruice. You "therefore (great Peeres and Worthies) it now be-"houeth (and indeed it much behooueth you) to be "very mindefull, both of your Valours, and Noble-"neſſe: this day aduance your Prowes to the height, "and following the fore-ſteps of your famous An-"ceſtors, leaue to your poſterities both a noble pat-"terne, and an euerlaſting renowne. Your daily "ſucceſſe of victories, ſhould quicken your hearts "this day to atchieue brauely, and the continuall "miſcarrying of our enemies, will quicken their "heeles to flie as ſpeedily: and (I dare ſay) they al-"ready repent of their comming hither, and are by "this time caſting how to be gone, if the nature of "the place would giue them leaue. Then ſith it is "vnpoſſible for them either to fight, or flie; why "come they hither, but euen by Gods owne appoint-"ment, to offer themſelues, and all their prouiſions "into your hands? and heere you ſee their Horſes, "their Armour, yea and their bodies, to reſt at your "pleaſure: reach forth therefore your warlike "hands to ſeize on that joyfully, which God hath "freely brought you.

Which exhortation hee had ſcarſly cloſed, when the noiſe of Trumpets, and ſhout of the enemies comming on, was Rhetoricke enough to incite them to their taskes.

The Battles ioine

(28) A ſore battaile was fought, and with equall ſucceſſe a long time maintained: for the band of the diſherited, whoſe particular wrongs whetted their courage, (and were therefore politiquely placed in the front) brake terribly into the Kings Vaunt-gard, and contrariwiſe *William* of *Ypres* into the *Welſh*, vntill the Foreward of the Kings Horſemen beganne to ſhrinke backe, and (not without ſuſpition of Treaſon) galloped away; when preſently the Earle of *Cheſter* encountred the Kings battaile of foote, in whoſe ſtrength he repoſed moſt truſt; but it being ouer-laide with Aſſailants, beganne alſo to faint and to flie, leauing the King enraged, both with his friends faint-heartedneſſe, and with his foes ſucceſſe. *A very ſtrange ſight it was,* (ſaith Paris) *there to behold King* Stephen, *left almoſt alone in the field, yet no man daring to approach him, whiles grinding his teeth, and foaming like a furious wild Boare, he draue backe with his battle-axe whole troupes aſſayling him, and maſſacring the chiefeſt of them, to the eternall renowne of his courage: If but a hundred ſuch had there bin with him, a whole Army had neuer bin able to ſurprize his perſon:* yet as he was ſingle, he held out, till firſt his Battle-axe brake, and after that, his ſword alſo, with the force of his vnreſiſtable ſtrokes, flew in peeces; and he now weaponleſſe, and (by an vnknowne, doubtleſſe an vn-noble hand) ſtricken downe with a great ſtone throwne at him, was ſeized on by *William* of * *Kahames*, a moſt ſtout Knight, and by Earle *Roberts* commaund, preſerued from any violence to his perſon, was carried priſoner vnto *Maud* the Empreſſe at *Glouceſter*, and thence was ſent bound vnto *Briſtow*, where in the Caſtle he remained in ſafe cuſtody.

Henry Hunt. Will. Parvus. Matth. Paris.

Polydor.

Ger. Dor.

Matth. Paris. King *Stephens* great valour.

Huntingdon. King *Stephen* taken priſoner.

Ypodigma. Neuſt. Malmſ. Nouel. lib. 2. An. Reg. 6.

* *Alias de Kains. Huntingdon.*

Math. Paris.

(29) The Empreſſe hauing thus got the Lion in her hold, triumphed not a little in her owne fortune, and now as ſole Soueraigne of *Englands* Monarchie, commaunded all buſineſſe, elected her Councellors, and beſtowed many dignities, where ſhe moſt fauoured. Notwithſtanding, that ſhe altered not her ſtile of Empreſſe, or Queene of *Romanes*, may appeare by this her *Broad-ſeale* enſuing; vnder which ſhee granted the cuſtody of the *Tower of London* vnto *Geffrey de Mandeuil*, and his Heires, couenanting with him therein, *that ſhe would not make peace with the Citizens of London, without the ſaid Geffreis conſent, becauſe they were his mortall enemies:* but this Earle being afterwards vnawares apprehended in the Kings Court at *Saint Albans*, could not be releaſed, till he had ſurrendred both the *Tower of London*, and other his Caſtles to the King.

The Empreſſe abſolute gouernour of the Kingdome.

Charta Matild. Imperatricis.

Geru. Dorobor.

Vpon theſe happy ſucceſſes of the Empreſſe, the States-men ſtood not any longer for *King Stephen*, but their *Faiths* turning with his *Fortunes*, all of them ſurrendred their allegiance vnto her; the *Kentiſh* onely excepted, where *Stephens Queene*, and *William de Ypres*, maintained his quarrel to the vttermoſt of their powers.

Huntingdon. lib. 8.

(30) But

THE TRVE SCVLPTVRE OF MAVD THE EMPRESSES BROAD SEALE, APPENDANT TO HER CHARTERS.

Ger. Dor. The Clergie approoues the Empresses title.

William Malmſ. Malmſ. Nouel. lib. 2.

(30) But the Empreſſe conducted in State to *Wincheſter*, had the Regall Crowne of the Kingdome there deliuered her; no man more forward then *Henry* the Biſhop, and Brother of *Stephen*, who vpon the vowing to be *ruled by his aduiſe in affaires of Eſtate*, being then the *Popes Legate*, ſolemnely in a Synode of the Clergie, accurſed all ſuch as withſtood the Empreſſe, and bleſſed all them that aſſiſted her intereſt: but both hee, and his friends forgot not to adde that wonted trayterous clauſe of their oath, *ſo long to keepe faith to her, as ſhee kept her Couenants with them*: and ſo with applauſe of the people, ſhee came to *London*, and after much perſwaſion and mediation (for that the Citizens were very ſtiffe againſt her) was receiued into the City with a roiall Proceſſion.

The Empreſſe receiued into London.

(31) Neither was King *Stephen* thus defeated of *England* onely, but *Normandy* alſo caſt off the yoake of ſubjection: for *Geffrey* of *Anion*, husband of the Empreſſe, hauing ſome intelligence of this atchieued victorie, induced the *Normans* to incline vnto him, by publiſhing the captiuation of *Stephen*, vnable now to relieue them, or himſelfe; and *Dauid* King of *Scotland* for his part was not behinde, to ſet forward the claime of Lady *Maud*, aſſuming in her behalfe the County of *Northumberland*.

Normandy falleth from King Stephen. Will. Paruus.

(32) *Maud* thus eſtabliſhed, all now eſteemed her as *Fortunes* deare-darling, and beheld her as their onely riſing-Sunne; the Priſon-walles ouerſhadowing the Preſence, feature, and fauours of the now-dejected vnfortunate *Stephen*, whoſe ſorrowfull wife Queen *Maud*, inceſſantly ſollicited the Empreſſe in her Husbands behalfe, deſiring his liberty, but not his Crowne, which hee was now contented to let her enjoy; and thereunto offered for pledges many great perſons, who proteſted for him to the Empreſſe, that hee thenceforth would deuote himſelfe vnto God, and either become a Monke or a Pilgrime: *Henrie* of *Wincheſter* alſo became a ſuiter vnto her in the behalfe of his Nephew *Euſtace*, King *Stephens* ſonne, that the * Counties belonging before to the Father, might be conferred vpon the ſonne.

Ger. Dor.

Stephen deſires liberty, and not the Crowne.

Ypodigm. Neuſtr. King Stephen would be a Monke or Pilgrim.

* Bolloigne and Mortaine.

(33) The *Londoners* likewiſe hauing receiued her into the Citie as their Lady, thought now (as moſt doe with new Princes) they might haue what they would aske, and became her importunate Suppliants, that the ouer-hard Lawes impoſed by her Father, might now be remitted, and thoſe of King *Edward* might wholly be in force. But ſhee rejected all theſe Petitioners, out of Pride, ſay ſome; but it may ſeeme rather of policy, holding it ſafeſt, to paſſe affaires of importance, not vpon intreaty, but by due aduice, and to gouerne the ſubiect with a ſeuere auſtereneſſe, rather then an indulgent lenitie. But this too regular ſtrictneſſe, which might haue done well in a ſetled gouernement, in this her yet greene, and vnſecured eſtate, prooued not ſo behouefull. For firſt, Queene * *Maude* ſent to her ſonne *Euſtace*, that their ſuites muſt bee obtained onely by warre; willing him to make ſtrong his partie by the aſſiſtance of the *Kentiſh*: the Nobles likewiſe, *Stephens* vnder-takers repined, that they were ſo ſlightly regarded, or rather rejected: and the *Londoners* alſo ſtorming at the repulſe of their deſires, deuiſed how they might take the Empreſſe their Priſoner, and ſo redeeme King *Stephen*, to whom their affections were euer firme: but ſhee hearing of their conſpiracie, fled ſecretly in the night, and tooke into *Oxford*, which in all her difficulties ſhee euer found true vnto her, out of their loue, both to her cauſe, and to her Father; and threatning due reuenge for her late wrongs, wrought it vpon the Nobles in priſon, and (more then was due or decent) vpon *Stephen* himſelfe, whom ſhe commanded to be laden with Irons, and to bee abridged of all princely ſeruices.

The Empreſſe not facile to grant ſuites.

Her ſtifneſſe incommodious.

* King *Stephens* wife.

The Nobles offended, fall off from her. *Malmsb. Nouel. lib. 2.*

The *Londoners* conſpire againſt her. *Nic. Triuet.*

Roger Houed.

(34) *Wincheſters* high mind not broking the Empreſſes deniall of his ſuite, in behalfe of his Nephew *Euſtace*, vpon ſecret conferences with Queene *Maud*, by her lamentable entreaties, began to melt in his affection towards the diſtreſſed King his brother; and in fine, reſoluing to trie the vttermoſt for him, abſolued all thoſe whom before hee had excommunicated; pretending, *that the Barons had all kept faith with her, but ſhe had not kept touch with them*; and thinking this a fit time to worke for his brother, ſolicited the diſcontented *Londoners* in his behalfe, and ſtored the Caſtles of *Waltham*, *Farnham*, and *Wincheſter* with Munition and Men; meane while the Empreſſe came ſpeedily to *Glouceſter*, to conferre with *Milo* her chiefeſt friend, and preſently againe returning to *Oxford* (*which ſhe choſe for her Court and chiefe place of abode) was there maintained onely at his charge, not hauing one dayes diet, or prouiſion of her owne; to requite which fidelity, and other noble ſeruices, ſhee there created him Earle of *Hereford*.

Ger. Dor.

Malmſ. Nouel. lib. 2.

Henry of Wincheſter recalls his Excommunication.

* Idem loco citato. The Empreſſe maintained at *Milo* his charges.

(35) Her forces recollected, & thither aſſembled, ſhe went forthwith to the City of *Wincheſter*, accompanied with *Dauid* King of *Scotlond* her vncle, Earle *Robert* her brother, and many other Nobles; where ſending for the Biſhop being then in the City (whoſe aide ſhee could hardly ſpare, and therefore was deſirous of his reconcilement) though hee miſtruſted ſome peril, yet not daring to ſend a deniall, returned the Meſſenger with this equiuocall anſwere, that he would **with all ſpeede addreſſe himſelfe*, as if hee had meant to follow them: ſo forthwith iſſuing ſecretly out of the City, did indeede *addreſſe himſelfe* to worke her ruine: for ſending for Queene *Maude*, her ſonne *Euſtace*, the *Londoners*, and *William Ypres*, (afterwards created Earle of *Kent*) made ſtrong his part, himſelfe and friends abiding in the City, whiles

The Biſhop of Wincheſter equiuocateth. *Ego parabome. Will. Malmſ.*

the Empreſſe and her Nobles defenced themſelues in the Caſtle, not aduenturing to goe forth amongſt ſo many their mortall enemies: and ſoone after, to worke his wrathfull will, knowing the Citizens to be more affected to the Empreſſe then to him, commaunded the ſaid Citie to be ſet on fire, *where in, the Monaſtery of Nunnes, aboue twentie Churches, *the Couent of S. Grimbald, and the better part of the City, were conſumed to aſhes.*

Will. Malmſ. Geruaſ. Dorob.

Heo fires *Winchester.*

* Alias, *The Couent at Hyde. Malmesb.*

(36) Seauen weekes thus ſpent, in this counter-ſiege of the Citie and Caſtle, the Biſhoppe, to deceiue the Empreſſe, commaunded peace to be proclaimed, and the Gates to be ſet open towards euening. The Empreſſe then, who had indured ſuch troubles, and ſo long a reſtraint, greatly deſired to change her lodging, and to recreat her perplexed ſpirits in ſome other place; ſo taking horſe, accompanied with her brother, *Reinold* Earle of *Cornewall*, her ſeruants, and many others her friends, beſides Earle *Robert*, who followed behinde with a troupe of Nobles and Knights; preſently at the Biſhoppes commandment, ſhee was purſued by his Souldiers, and many of her traine wounded and taken priſoners; the Empreſſe by good prouidence eſcaped into the Caſtle of *Lutegareſhall*, and thence to the Caſtle *Dinize*: where vnderſtanding that ſhee was ſtill in hazard to be ſurprized, ſhe deuiſed, (as what will not neceſſitie endure, and a womans wit deuiſe?) to be laid in a coffiine as dead, bound faſt with cordes; and ſo, as if it had beene her Corſe, carried in a Horſe-litter to the Citie of *Glocester*: in which bonds of her owne diſtreſſe, ſhee had good occaſion to remember the chaines of King *Stephens* captiuitie. To ſuch extreamities were theſe two Princes at the ſelfe-ſame time ſubiect, that whiles they turmoiled for ſpacious Kingdomes, brought themſelues to the very extream wants, of aire, and of elbow-roome; but with ſuch dalliance doth *Fortune* (wee ſee) oftentimes follow her game, that ſhee maketh euen Monarchs the *Balls* of her play, and toſſeth them laſtly into the *Hazard*, whence hardly they eſcape with ſafetie of life. Yet this was not the worſt; for Earle *Robert* her brother, whileſt hee *was buſier in prouiding for her ſafetie then for his owne*, was taken by his purſuers at *Stoubreg* with others; brought backe to *Wincheſter*, and there preſented by the Biſhop vnto Queene *Maude*, King *Stephens* Wife, who committed him to the cuſtodie of *William Ypres*, and he for more ſafety to *Gloceſter*; but others taking ſanctuarie in the *Nuns* Monaſtery of *Warwell*, were burned together with the place: Thus then the King on the one ſide, and the Earle on the other, were kept in ſafe cuſtodie; but the Queene labouring for the Kings releaſe, and the Counteſſe for the Earle, many Articles were propounded, and many meſſengers imploied: at length, this was thought fitteſt, that *Stephen* ſhould be reſtored to his Kingdome, and *Robert* vnder him to haue the whole gouernement of the Land; ſo that both of them ſhould now iointly vphold that, which they (the two Ring-leaders) by oppoſition had caſt downe. But Earle *Robert* as he was no whit dejected in mind, with any frowne of *Fortune* whatſoeuer, ſo reſerued hee his fidelity to the Empreſſe vnſtained, and vnmoued either with feare or faire inticements, ſtill refuſing to capitulate for his freedome, but to his Siſters liking; who likewiſe bare ſo braue a mind, that were her ſtate neuer ſo weake, ſhee would not conſent, nor giue the leaſt eare to any compoſition for the Crowne.

Malmeſ. lib. 2.

The Empreſſe carried as a dead Corſe. *Will. Walſingham. Ypodigma Neuſtria.*

Wil. Malmsbury.

(37) Then was enmity increaſed, the Kingdome diuided, and the peoples hatred kindled in mainetaining the factions, all fore-running the ruine of the Land: For theſe two Chief-taines wearied with irkſomneſſe of Irons, and hard impriſonment, made exchange the one for the other, without any farther mention of peace, and ſo ſtudied not onely to renew their former deſignes, but to encreaſe the Lands miſerie by more eager warres. *Stephen* in *England* wrought the people for him, and *Robert* * *taking pledges of the Nobles to attend and guard the Empreſſe at Oxford till his returne*, went into *Normandie* to ſolicite *Geffrey* her husband for her defence. But the Earle hauing troubles with his owne Nobilitie, and the *Normans* ſcarſly brought to any ſubiection, thought it not conuenient by his owne abſence for a ſtate in hope, to hazard that in hand; and therefore ſent with *Robert* ſome ſtrength of Armes, and with them his young ſonne Prince *Henrie* into *England*.

Wil. Malmsb.
An.D.1142. The King and Earle *Robert* redeeme each other out of priſon. *Roger Houeden.*

Math. Paris.
* *Malmesb.*

The warres renewed.

(38) The Empreſſe in his abſence, had well fortified her ſelfe in *Oxford*, whom *Stephen* (vſing the benefit of *Roberts* abſence) followed with an eager purſuite, and wanne the Suburbes euen vnto the Citie-gates; then girt hee the Empreſſe with ſo ſtrait a ſiege, (meaning neuer to giue ouer, till hee had now made her ſure in his poſſeſſion) that for two moneths whatſoeuer *Strength* or *Stratageme* could performe in aſſault or defence, was there put in practiſe, till at length great penurie enforced to thinke of a ſurrender: but ſhee, a woman (whoſe ſexe hath often deceiued wiſe-men) reſolued once againe to ouerreach her foe by wit, whom ſhee could not by force: whereto the time did fit her wiſhes; for being a Winter, ſharpe aboue meaſure, the Riuer *Thamiſis* that runnes by the Citie-walls, was then congealed with a ſtrong cruſted Ice, and beſides a great ſnow did then continue, and had couered the ground. *Maude* vpon theſe aduantages, put in practiſe a moſt dangerous attempt: for cloathing her-ſelfe, and ſome choiſe of her company, in white linnen-garments, to deceiue the eies of the Sentinels, iſſued ſecretly by night out of a poſterne-gate, and paſſing the frozen Riuer, ranne on foote, through ice, and ſnow, ditches, and vallies, for fiue miles, euen to *Abington*, the falling ſnow ſtill beating in their faces; and there taking horſe, the ſame night got to the Caſtle of *Wallingford*, to the great joy, and alſo admiration of all that were therein.

The Empreſſe beſieged in *Oxford.* *Geruaſ. Dorob.*

Nic. Triuet. Will. Newb. Higden.

Walſingh. Ypodig.

Ger. Dor.

Math. Paris. She eſcapes by a wile.

Will. Malmeſ. Simon. Dun.

Ypodigm. Neuſtr. Geru. Dorob.

(39) In the meane while, Earle *Robert*, with Prince *Henrie*, were arriued in *England* at *Warrham* hauen, and preſently beſieged the Caſtle there, (ſo to withdraw the King from ſiege of his ſiſter;) but hearing of the happie eſcape of the Empreſſe, came with young *Henrie* vnto his Mother, whoſe ſight made her forget the griefe and ſorrowes that ſhe had long indured. Then was *Oxford* vpon conditions yeelded to the King; and *Wilton* fired by the baſtard Earle *Robert*: The Towre of *London*, with the Caſtles of *Walden*, *Pleiſes*, and *Lincolne*, yeelded to *Stephen*; the Caſtles of *Warrham*, and *Portland*, yeelded to *Robert*: The Earles of *Cheſter*, and *Eſſex*, ſurprized by the King; *William Martell* the great fauourite, taken and impriſoned by the Earle. Thus ſundrie yeeres paſſing with variable ſucceſſes to and fro, and euery yeere heaping on each ſide freſh calamities, to the great ruine of the whole land; the Empreſſe, euen wearied with thoſe warres and vncertainties of ſucceſſe, went into *Normandie*, chuſing rather to be vnder the protection of her husband in peace, then to raigne in *England* perplexed with troubles: and to the ſame end ſhe had not long before, ſent her young ſonne *Henrie* to his father, who deſired to haue him rather heire of a Dukedome with ſafetie, then of a Crowne with daily hazard.

Prince *Henrie* arriueth. *Geruaſius.*

An.D.1143

An.D.1144.

An.D.1145. *Matth. Paris.*

An.D.1146.

The Empreſſe and the Prince returne to *Normandie.*

An.D.1147. *Geruaſ. Dorob.*

(40) *Stephen*, that by a freſh ſurprizall of *Randall* Earle of *Cheſter* had got *Lincolne*, and entring thereinto (which no King before him durſt doe, for that certaine wizards had propheſied euil luck vnto ſuch) at the ſolemnization of Chriſts Natiuity, did there weare the Regall Crowne on his head, and after the Empreſſes departure, cauſed the Barons of *England*, to ſweare allegiance vnto prince *Euſtace* his ſon; by which two complements, he ſuppoſed all had bin ſure on his ſide; and the rather, for that the moſt faithfull, puiſſant, and euer-renowned Earles, *Robert* of *Gloceſter*, and *Milo* of *Hereford*, the two great and glorious pillars, which had by many Conqueſts ſupported their *Aniouenians* cauſe, were now conquered by death; and the reſt of the Nobles, applying themſelues to the Times,

Kings durſt not enter *Lincolne* before King *Stephen.* *Geruaſius.*

Earle *Robert* and Earle *Milo* die.

An.D.1148. Prince *Henry* returneth into *England*.

Times, kept themselues quiet in the absence of these Competitors; all which gaue no little assurance vnto *Stephens* estate.

An.D.1149. *Ger. Dor.*

(41) But *Henry Fitz-Empresse*, growne now from a Child, thought it best a while to leaue *Mercury*, (for it is said hee was *Bookish*) and to follow *Mars*; so knowing his presence would preferre much his purposes (for men would bee loth to hazard all for one, who himselfe would neglect all) hasted againe into *England*, with an Armie of valiant and choise Souldiers; to whom ioyned the discontented Earle of *Chester*, *Roger* the sonne of *Miles* deceased, with many more Knights and *Gallants* of the *English*: hee therefore tooke into the North, and met with *Dauid* his cosen, King of *Scotland*, of whom hee was most honourably receiued, and solemnely sacred with the Military honour of Knighthood: and thence forward sought all occasions to prouoke both King *Stephen*, and his son *Eustace* against him: and hauing setled some courses with certaine Peeres for the pursuit of his designes in *England*, he returned into *Normandy* to compose and set forward some other businesses, which might be auaileable for these his ends.

Roger Houed. Ger. Dor.

Prince *Henry* returneth into *Normandy*.

An.D.1150.

(42) Where long he staied not, but that *Geffrey* his Father departed this life, and left him his Heire both of *Anion* and *Normandy*; and the yeere following, hee matched in marriage with *Eleanor* Dutches of *Guien* and *Aquitane*, lately diuorced from *Lodowicke* King of *France* for consanguinity, and adultery (saith *Paris*) after shee had borne him two daughters; *Lodowicke* fearing issue-male by this marriage, to the dis-heriting of his said daughters, greatly impugned Duke *Henry*; and *Stephen*, suspecting his greatnesse, now being Duke of *Normandy*, *Anion*, *Aquitane* and *Guien*, both of them sought each way to impeach his peace: *Lodowicke*, with Prince *Eustace*, in the parts beyond seas, and *Stephen* in *England*, to make sure his succession, sought to inuest the said Prince *Eustace* with the *English* Diademe; both to preuent, and vtterly to depriue *Henry Fitz-Empresse* for euer: for calling a Counsell at *London*, King *Stephen* commaunded *Theobald* Archbishop of *Canterbury* to consecrate Prince *Eustace* for their King; which hee refused to doe, and that by commandement from the Pope (whose holy See can deale on both sides, as makes most for their aduantage) alledging now, that his Father was an vsurper, and perjured Intruder: whereupon the honest Archbishop fled into *Normandy*, and the King seized vpon all his possessions. It may seeme, that one cause of the Popes inclining to young *Henries* title, was to strengthen him against his enemy King *Lewis* of *France*, who had highly offended his Holines, for *casting the Popes Bulles* (whereby hee required the fruits of Vacancies of all Cathedrall Churches in *France*) *into the fire*, *saying*, *hee had rather the Popes Bulls should rost in the fire, then his owne soule should frie in hell.*

Mat. Paris.

Henry Hunt.

Prince *Henry* marieth *Eleanor*, diuorced by King *Lewis*.

An.D.1151.

The Archbishop of *Canterbury* refuseth to consecrate *Eustace* King.

Ger. Dorob.

An.D.1152.

Henry Hunt.

Gernasius.

Ibidem.

K. *Lewis* casts the Popes Buls into the fire.

(43) King *Stephen* thus defeated of his purpose, and seeing his Title questioned by the Church, who had before approued it, resolued to make it good by the sword: for winning the Castle of * *Muby*, fortified *Malmesbury*, and laid a straight siege vnto *Wallingford*; against which, hee erected the Castle *Cranmerse*, to stop the passages of their relieue, or comming forth. But *Henry* after hee had calmed the boisterous stormes of warre, in the parts beyond the seas, came ouer into *England* well appointed, vnto whom also resorted many of the Nobility, who yeelded vp themselues, and aboue thirty strong Castles to the young Duke; now well furnished, hasted to raise the siege of *Wallingford*, and there vndertooke a great enterprize; for hee incircled the *Besiegers* with a great and deepe Trench, whereby hee kept them from relieue, as they did keepe the *Besieged*.

* *Forte Newbery.*

An.D.1153. *Henry* Fitz-Empresse comes againe into *England*.

(44) *Stephen* following hastily to succour his men, (though with the lesse edge, for that he *neuer sped well in any assault of that Castle*) pitched downe his Tents, euen neere his enemy; and ready on both sides to giue battaile, the Winter stormes were suddenly so troublesome, that nothing could bee done; but those somewhat ouer-blowne, and the Armies scarse three furlongs asunder; as King *Stephen* was busied in disposing of his hoast, and giuing direction for order of the battaile, his horse vnder him rising with his fore-feet, fell flat vpon the earth, not without danger to his Rider; and thus did hee thrice ere hee left; which thing his Nobles secretly muttering, interpreted for an vnlucky presage: when *William* Earle of *Arundell*, a bold and eloquent man, went to him and aduised him to a peace; affirming the title of Duke *Henry* to be iust; that the Nobility on both parts there present, were neerely linked in Alliances and bloud, and how these stood affected was very doubtfull; yea, that Brethren were there assembled, the one against the other, whereof must needs follow an vnnaturall warre betwixt them, and of dangerous consequence, euen to him that conquested. With these and the like allegations, at last *Stephen* began to bend, & a parley for peace was signified vnto the Duke. *Henry* already warme for the battaile, and his thoughts fixed on nothing lesse then peace, could hardly moderate his youthfull affections; yet at his friends importunity, hee yeelded to conferre with King *Stephen*.

Ger. Dorob.

(45) The place for conference was so appointed, that the Riuer *Thamesis* parted the presence of these two Princes; so that from either banke they saluted each others, and after a long conference, agreeing on a truce, and vpon faire tearmes of amity departed, commanding all weapons and attempts of warre to be laid aside.

Mat. Paris.

(46) But *Eustace*, who hitherto had attended Fortune for the Crowne, and now hopelesse to haue as his Fathers Successor, was greatly displeased with this new moulded friendship, and in a fury departed the field, purposing to raise himselfe by his owne meanes; and comming to *Bury*, vrged the Monkes of Saint *Edmunds* for money to set forward his heady designes: But the wiser amongst them vnwilling to bee wagers of new warres (which though ill for all sorts, yet proued euer worst to the Cleargy mens possessions) denied his request; wherewith enraged, hee commanded his men to carry their corne and other prouision into his owne Castle, situated hard by. But being set at dinner, *wee read of him* (saith mine Author) *that euen the very first bit that hee put in his mouth, draue him into a frensie, whereof shortly after he died; whose body was interred at Feuersham in Kent.*

Iohn Texter.

Polychr.

Ger. Dorob. Prince *Eustace* dieth.

(47) The death of Prince *Eustace* so much aduantaged Duke *Henry*, that thereupon (the truce in likelihood expiring) many fell off vnto him, and many Castles were deliuered, as *Bertwell*, *Reading*, *Warwicke*, *Stamford*, and others; whereat *Stephen* was not a little displeased, and thinking to entrap the yong venturous Duke, with a strong Army followed him vnto *Wallingford*: *But God himselfe looking down from heauen* (saith *Mathew* of S. *Albans*) *made there an end of those long calamities, by stirring the minds of chiefe men in the land to labour for peace*: such was *Theobald* Archbishop of *Canterburie*, and *Henrie* Bishop of *Winchester*, who hauing troubled the Realme with fire and sword, mooued now to repentance, wrought so effectually with his brother, that hee enclined vnto a wished peace, contented to adopt the Duke for his Sonne and Successor; and so comming both together to *Oxford* (a blessed sight to so distressed and distracted a Kingdome;) there did all the Nobles doe fealty to him, as to the vndoubted Heire of the land; and the Duke to acknowledge this as a fauour, yeelded him the honour of a Father, and the royalty of all Kingly power during his life.

Polydor.

Matth. Paris.

The King and *Fitz-Empresse* accorded.

Gernasius.

(48) Notwithstanding, the cleere Sunne-shine of these faire daies, was somewhat darkened with a cloud of treacherie, and lewd attempts of the *Flemings*; who enuying *Englands* peace, vpon *Barham Downs*

An.D. 1154.

Prince *Henry* in danger by treachery.

Ger. Dorob. cap. 14.

Downes, intended to ſurpriſe Prince *Henry* in his returne from *Douer*, and preſence of King *Stephen*. In this conſpiracie was *William* the Kings ſon, though but young, who himſelfe meaning to haue one caſt at the Crowne, inſtantly before it ſhould haue beene effected, was through the wantonneſſe of his horſe caſt to the ground, and with the fall brake his legge; to whoſe aſſiſtance, whiles euery one gathered and lamented, *Henry* vpon ſecret notice of the treaſon, haſted vnto *Canterbury*, and thence to *London*, and ſoone after ouer the ſeas into *Normandy*.

Prince *Henry* goeth into *Normandy*.

King *Stephen* dieth.

(49) And *Stephen* now after he had raigned eighteene yeeres, ten moneths, and odde daies, departed this life at *Douer*, in the Monaſtery of the Monkes, of an *Iliacke* paſſion, mixed with his olde diſeaſe the *Emrods*, the twenty fiue of *October*, and yeere of Chriſts Natiuity, 1154. *A moſt worthy Souldier*, ſaith *Paris*: and (in a word) one who wanted nothing but a iuſt title to haue made him an excellent King; in his ordinary deportment very deuout; the fruites whereof were ſhewed in erecting with ſufficient endowments, the Abbeyes of *Coggeſhall* in *Eſſex*, of *Furneſſe* in *Lancaſhire*, the houſes of *Nunnes* at *Carew*, and *Higham*, an Hoſpitall at *Yorke*, and the Monaſtery of *Feuerſham* in *Kent*, where his *Queene*, his ſonne, and laſtly, himſelfe were enterred: but ſince his body for the gaine of the lead, wherein it was coffined, was caſt into the riuer. So vncertaine is man (yea greateſt Princes) of any reſt in this world, euen after buriall; and reſtleſſe may their bodies be alſo (who for filthy lucre) thus deny the dead the quiet of their graues.

Paris. Booke of S. *Albanes.*

John Stow.

His Wife.

(50) *Maud*, the Wife of King *Stephen*, was the daughter of *Euſtace* Earle of *Bulloigne*, the brother of *Godfrey*, and *Baldwin* Kings of *Ieruſalem*: her Mother was *Mary*, ſiſter to *Maud* Queene of *England*, wife of King *Henrie*, her husbands Predeceſſor. Shee was crowned at *Weſtminſter* vpon Sunday, being *Eaſter-day*, and the two and twenty of March, in the firſt yeare of her husbands raigne, and of Grace, 1136. and being Queene fifteene yeeres, ſhee died at *Henningham* Caſtle in *Eſſex*, the third of *May*, and yeere of Chriſt, 1151. and was buried in his Monaſtery at *Feuerſham* in *Kent*.

Ger. Dor.

His Iſſue.

(51) *Baldwin*, the eldeſt ſonne of King *Stephen* and Queene *Maud* (bearing the name of King *Baldwin* his vncle) was borne in the time of the raigne of K. *Henry* his fathers vncle; and died in his infancy, during the raign of the ſame King. He was buried at *London* in the Church of the Priorie of the *Trinity* within *Algate*, which was a houſe of blacke * *Canons* of the *Auguſtinian* order, founded by Queene *Maud*, the firſt wife of the foreſaid King *Henry* the firſt.

(52) *Euſtace* the ſecond ſonne of K. *Stephen*, and of Queene *Maud* his wife, being the heire apparant to them both; when his Father was King, was created Earle of *Bolloigne*, which dignity was the inheritance of his mother. Hee married *Conſtance* ſiſter of *Lewis* the ſeuenth King of *France*, daughter of King *Lewis* the *Groſſe*: who afterward was re-married to *Raimond* the third, Earle of *Tholouze*: for *Euſtace* died before her, without Iſſue by her, the tenth day of *Auguſt*, in the eighteenth yeere of his Fathers raigne, and of Grace, 1152. He was buried by his mother in his Fathers Monaſtery at *Feuerſham* in *Kent*.

*The firſt Canon Regular in *England* was of this place. *Ann.* 1108. and the Prior thereof was Alderman of *London*. *Stowes* Suruay.

(53) *William*, the third and yongeſt ſonne of King *Stephen* and Queene *Maud*, married *Iſabel* daughter and heire of *William Warren*, the third Earle of *Surrey*, with whom he had that Earledome, he was in his Fathers life time Earle of *Surrey*, Lord of *Norwich*, and *Peuenſey* in *England*, Earle of *Mortayne*, and Lord Eagle of *Normandy*. After his fathers death, King *Henry* the ſecond made him Knight, reſumed thoſe things that he held of the Crowne, reſtored him to all that his Father held before hee was King. And ſo he was Earle of *Bolloigne*, *Surrey*, and *Mortaine*, and being with him in his iourney to *Tholouze*, died without iſſue, in his returne homeward, in the Moneth of October, the ſeuenth of King *Henries* raigne, and of Chriſt Ieſus, 1160.

(54) *Maud*, the eldeſt daughter of King *Stephen* and Queene *Maud*, was borne before her father was King, in the raigne of King *Henry* the firſt, her vncle; in whoſe time alſo ſhee deceaſed, being but young, (though ſome report ſhee was wife to the Earle of *Millen*) and was enterred at *London*, with her brother *Baldwin*, in the Priorie of the Trinity aforeſaid, then commonly called *Chriſts-Church*, and now lately named the *Dukes-Place* within *Algate*.

Stowes Suruay. p. 105.

(55) *Marie*, the yonger daughter of King *Stephen* and Queene *Maude*, was a Nunne, and Abbeſſe of the Nunnerie at *Rumſey* in *Hampſhire*; notwithſtanding, when her brother *William*, Earle of *Bolloigne*, was deceaſed without iſſue, ſhee was ſecretly taken from thence, and married to *Matthew* the younger ſonne of *Terry* of *Alſac*, and brother of *Philip* Earle of *Flanders*, who in her right was Earle of *Bolloigne*. Shee was his wife ten yeeres, and was then diuorced from him, by the ſentence of the Pope, and enforced to returne to her Monaſterie, hauing had iſſue by him two daughters, which were *Ide* and *Maude*, allowed by the cenſure of the Church to be legitimate. Lady *Ide*, the elder, was married to *Raymond* of *Damp-Martine*, in her right Earle of *Bolloigne*; and *Maud*, the yonger, to *Henrie* Duke of *Lorraine*.

His Naturall Iſſue.

(56) *William*, the Naturall ſonne of King *Stephen*, is miſtaken of ſome to bee the ſame *William*, that was Earle of *Bolloigne*. Others, who know that *William* Earle of *Bolloigne* was lawfully borne, do thinke that his father had no other ſon named *William* but him; wherein let *William* Earle of *Bolloigne*, the lawfull ſon of King *Stephen*, be himſelfe a lawfull witneſſe of the truth, who hauing beſt cauſe to know it, doth beſt prooue it; and in an ancient Charter of his, being written in thoſe daies, and extant in theſe, doth name him for a witneſſe, and calleth him his Brother.

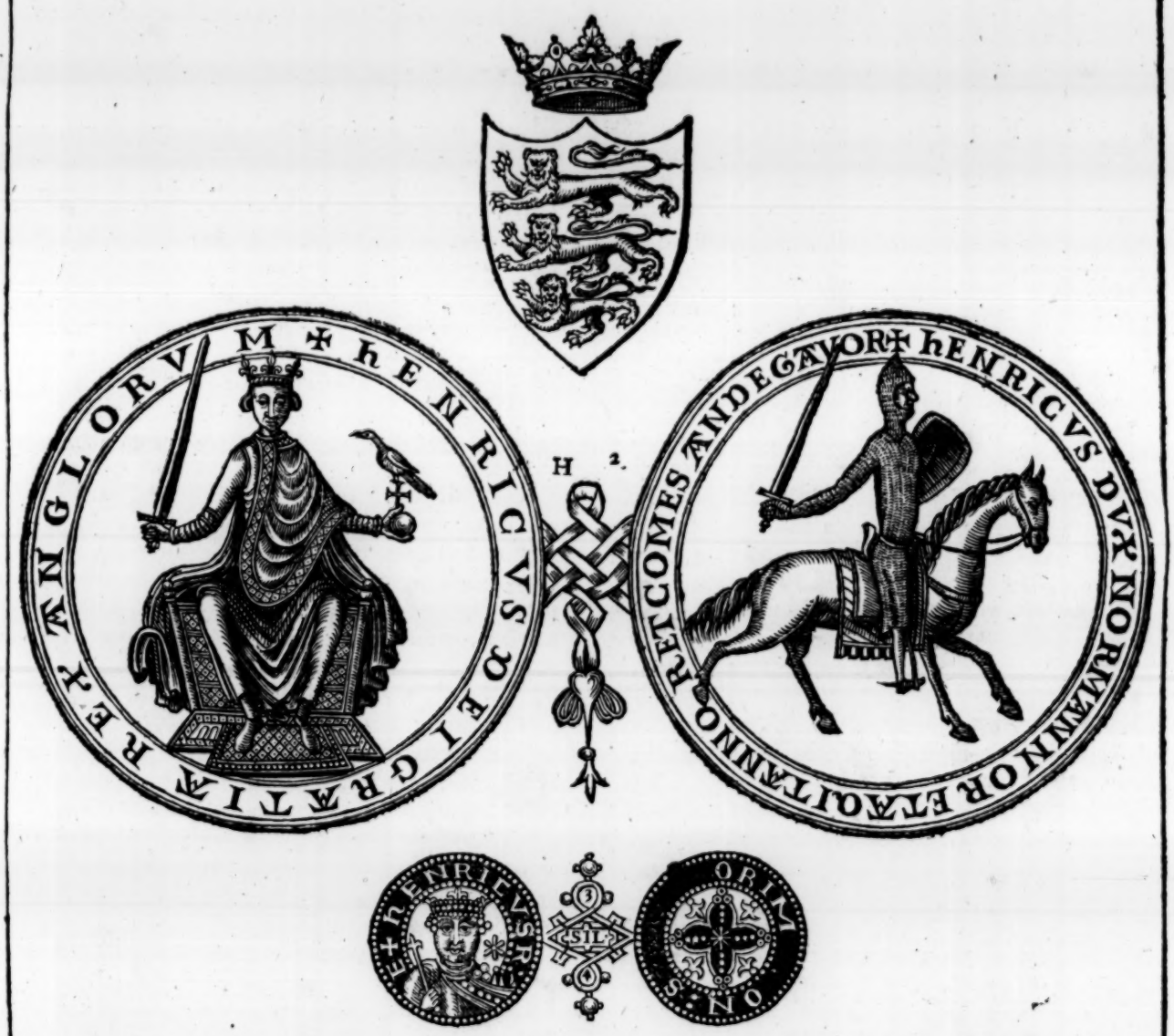
(57) *Geruais*, another Naturall ſonne of King *Stephen*, begotten on a gentle-woman named *Dameta*, and borne in *Normandy*, was brought into *England* by his father, the fifth yeere of his Raigne, *Anno Dom.* 1140. Hee was the ſame yeere, by his fathers meanes, made Abbot of *Weſtminſter*, and ſo continued for the ſpace of twenty yeeres: hee deceaſed there the twenty ſixth of *Auguſt*, in the ſixt yeere of the raigne of King *Henrie* the ſecond, the yeere of Grace 1160. and lieth buried in the South part of the cloyſter, within the ſaid Monaſterie, vnder a flat ſtone of black marble, which is remaining there vntil this day.

HENRIE

Henry second

HENRIE THE SECOND, DVKE OF NORMANDY, GVYEN AND AQVITAINE, THE FORTIE THIRD MONARCH OF THE ENGLISH-MEN, HIS RAIGNE, ACTS AND ISSVE.

Monarch 43



CHAPTER VI.

HEnry, of that name the second, by the double interest of descent and adoption (as you haue heard) succeeded in the Kingdome of *England*, whose Pedegree, (which *Mathew Paris* extendeth by the mothers side, in a right line vp to *Noah*) and former fortunes, hauing already been touched; his counsels, acts, and other affaires of greatest importance, after the death of King *Stephen*, come now to be handled.

Ad A.D.1155.

(2) He came not to the Crowne vnexpected, nor vndesired; for the opinion of the man, and hope conceiued of his future gouernment, had the force to hold *England* in good obedience without the presence of a King, about sixe weekes, whose entrance like that of the Soule into the Body, did quicken, and enspirite the Realme, as then (in the person of *England*) this clozing verse, or Epiphoneme spake:

The great expectation of King Henrie.

Matth. Paris. Henry Hunt.

Spiritus es, caro sum: te nunc intrante reuixi.
Thou, soule; I, Body am: by thee to life I came.

Henry Hunt.

Neither did his presence diminish the expectations raised, but was saluted King with generall acclamations, and with no lesse ioy, at *Westminster* by *Theobald* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, anointed and crowned: the summe of whose first courses for setling his State was this.

His accesse and Coronation. *Ypodigm. Neustr. Matt. Paris.*

(3) Sundry Castles (nests of Rebels) hee flatteth to the earth, some others he fortifies or resumes at his pleasure; chiefly such estates, as had beene alienated from the Crowne, as the hire and vniust reward of those who withstood his claime. Others write, that he promiscuously tooke all such lands into his owne possession, as were by Iurors found vpon oath to haue belonged at any time vnto the Crowne. Some Earles vnduly created, he reduceth to priuate condition, and purgeth the Realme from forraine

His first actions. *Mat. Paris.*

Lib. Monast. S. Albani. Polyd. Vir. lib. 13.

Pseudo-Comites, saith *Mat. Paris.*

forraine Souldiers; chiefly from the *Flemings*, whose mercenary swarmes most pestered the same, and had most infected him. And because Gouernment is the Soule of State, and Wisedome the Soule of Gouernment, hee chooseth to himselfe a Body of Councell out of the most eminent persons of both sorts: such was *Theobald* Archbishop of *Canterbury*; and for that selfe consideration, he laid the Chancellorship of *England* vpon *Thomas Becket*, and held in speciall fauour *Iohn* of *Oxenford*, with sundry other Prelates of chiefest note: of the Laity, hee had *Robert* Earle of *Leicester*, chiefe Iusticiar of *England*, *Richard de Luci*, *Iocelin de Bailull*, *Alan de Neuile* and others: but for a Cabanet-Counsellour at all times, he had his owne mother, *Matildis* the Empresse, one of the most sage and experienced Ladies of the World. Thus then furnished, and assembling a Councell at *Wallingford*, he as well for his owne securing, as for the assurance of his Children, sweares the Realme to the succession of his sonnes *William* and *Henry*, the one being in remainder to the other.

Roger Houeden.

Roger Houeden.

Math. Paris. ad A.D.1155. Ger. Dorob.

(4) But quiet consultation did not take vp the most of his time, euen in the daies of these Sunne-shining beginnings: for the raigne of *Stephen*, a most gentle Prince (who thought, out of the necessitie of his owne estate, that it was not safe for him to be seuere) hauing giuen way for many of the mighty to maintaine sundrie insolencies; these now feeling a restraint, began not a little to repine: but *Hugh de Mortimer*, wanton with greatnesse, and the most arrogant man aliue, stuft his Castles of *Gloceſter*, *Wigmore* and * *Bridge-north* with rebellious Garrisons; which *Henry* notwithstanding reduced to subiection, though in the siege of the last-named, not without imminent perill of his person, had not *Hubert de S. Clare*, cast himselfe betweene death and the King, taking the arrow into his owne bosome to preserue his Soueraignes life. It bound *Tiberius* to *Seianus* most of all, when a part of the banqueting Caue in which they were, suddenly falling, *Seianus* was found to haue borne the ruine from the Emperour, with the perill of his life: but *Seianus* suruiued that aduenture, which our *Senclere* did not, saue onelie in the better renowne thereof, which deserues to be immortall, being an Act of Piety, worthy of a Statue, with *Codrus*, *Curtius*, *Manlius*, or whosoeuer else haue willingly sacrificed themselues for their Country, or for the Father of their Country, the King.

Lib. Monast. S. Al.

Math. Paris.

* *Powel in hist. Camb. p. 222.* mistakes a *Bridge* for a *Castle*. In olde Records indeede *Bridge-North*, is called *Brugs*, which caused that errour.

Powel writes that it was a Welshman, who shot the arrow at the King, *ibid.*

Roger Houed. Annal. p. 2.

(5) *Henrie* thus hauing in some sort setled *England*, hasteth into *France* to King *Lewis*, the first yeere of his raigne, and there did homage vnto him for *Normandy*, *Aquitane*, *Aniou*, *Main*, and *Louraine*, which partly were his patrimony, and partly the inheritance of *Elinor* his wife.

Mat. Paris ad A. Dom. 1561.

Polyd. Virg. in H. 2.

(6) His domesticke enemies being subdued, or appeased, hee put his brother *Geffrey* by force to a pension, the summe whereof (if it be any thing to the purpose to know) was 1000. l. *English*, and 2000. l. *Aniou* by yeere, wringing out of his possession all such territories, as by their Fathers last Will and Testament, were bequeathed to h m in *France*. But *Geffrey* did not long enioy the said annuity, or his brothers friendship: for in the third yeere, death brought a discharge, and *Henry* was disburdened of those paiments. For his violence in taking away those lands, King *Henry* might alledge he was eldest brother; but that allegation might be auoided with his owne consent, which once hee gaue: but the great *Elixar*, called *Reason of State*, (though falsly so called, vnlesse it be seasoned with Iustice, and Religion) hath so transmutatiue a faculty, as to make Copper seeme Gold, right wrong, and wrong right; yea, when all Pleas faile, it will stand for good, while there are forces to support it.

(7) This accord between the two brethren, being thus (howsoeuer) established, the King repaires into *England*, and at *Chester* enters amity with *Malcolme* King of *Scots*, on such termes, as his Grandfather had done, yet *Saluis omnibus dignitatibus suis, sauing to himselfe all his dignities:* and the said *Malcolme* restored to *Henry* the City of *Carleil*, *Newcastle* vpon *Tyne*, &c. and *Henry* restored to him the Earledome of *Huntingdon* in *England*. And so iustly dreadfull did the growing puissance of this young Monarch appeare to his greatest enemies, that *Hugh By-god* Earle of *Norfolke*, who had potent meanes to doe mischiefe, rendred his Castle to be at his disposall.

Roger Houed. fol. 281. pag. 2. Annal. par. postr.

Matth. Paris. Typodig. Neustri. Hector Boetius. lib. 13. C. 1. saith it was at *London*.

(8) The *Welsh* notwithstanding forsooke not themselues, but did some memorable matters, vnder conduct of the valiant Prince *Owen*, against the *English*, in defence of *North-Wales*, and their Countries liberty, to the losse of the *English*, and extreame danger of the Kings owne person, whose Standard-Royall was cowardly abandoned, and the King reported to be slaine: for which *Henrie de Essex*, the *Kings Standard*-bearer at that conflict, was afterward accused by *Robert de Montford* his neere Kinsman, and in single battaile within lists was vanquished at *Reading*, where the said *Henry de Essex* was shorne a Monke, and died. *Mathew Paris* relates the whole voyage of King *Henry* summarily thus: That *Henry* prepared a very great Army against the *Welsh*, with full purpose to ouercome them both by land and sea; that hee cut vp the Woods and Forrests, and laid open a way; that he recouered the Castle of *Ruthlan*, and other fortresses taken from his Ancestors; that he repaired the Castle of *Basingwerke*, and that hauing brought the *Welsh* to his will, hee returned with triumph into *England*.

Hist. of Camb.

John Stow.

Matth. Paris.

(9) After this, himselfe and his Wife Queene *Elinor* being openly crowned vpon Christmas day, (* some say Easter day) at the Citie of *Worcester*; they both at the *Offertorie* laid their Diadems vpon the high Altar, vowing neuer to weare them after; this being now the third time in which at three seuerall places, *Westminster*, *Lincolne*, and *Worcester*, he had beene crowned. This deuout act of his, did flow perhaps out of some such speculation as that of *Canutus*, who thought none truly worthy the name of *King*, but *God* alone; or that, vpon which *Godfrey* of *Bolloign*, refused to weare a crowne of gold in *Hierusalem*, where our Lord and Sauiour had beene crowned with thornes. For this King had at times the pangs and symptoms of mortification and piety, and did herein acknowledge the onely giuer and taker-away of Kingdomes *God-almighty*; putting himselfe, and Realme, vnder the protection of that Maiesty of whom he held paramount; and professing (as it were) that from thenceforth hee would direct his actions to the glory of his omnipotent Master, which is indeede the onely finall cause of all true monarchie.

* *Roger Houed. Matth. Paris. Typodigm. Neustr. Roger Houed. Guliel. Tyre. Houeden.*

(10) Not long after, hauing established his affaires in *England*, hee crost the Seas into *Normandy*, where successiuely sundrie matters of importance fell out: as the seizure of the City of *Nants* in *Britaine* after his brother *Geffreis* death; his iourney to *Paris*, being inuited thither by *Lewis* and his wife the Queene; the vnprofitable siege of *Tholouze* laid by King *Henrie*, where *Malcolme* King of *Scots* was in companie with him; the vnripe marriage of his sonne *Henrie*, to *Margaret* the *French* Kings daughter, whom *Thomas Becket* then Lord Chancellor had formerly conducted with very great State from *Paris*, by consent of parents, for that purpose; the offence taken at those spousals by *Lewis*, for that the children were but infants, and that himselfe was a looser thereby; the warre heereupon attempted by *Lewis*, fortifying *Chaumount*, which (the *French* hauing quit the Field by flight) King *Henrie* recouered with aduantage; the Armies of both these great Kings, being afterward at point (as it were) to ioyne, dispersed vpon reconciliation of the two Kings, by reason

An. D. 1158. *Math. Paris ad A.D. 1158. vsque ad A.D. 1163.*

Roger. Houeden.

reason of a marriage concluded vpon, betweene *Richard*, King *Henries* second son, and *Alice* the *French* Kings daughter: All which and some other, not drawing with them any extraordinary sequel, nor affording much matter for ciuill document, must not preponderate the handling of things more rare and considerable.

An.D.1163. The great contention between the King and *Becket* Archbish. of Canterbury.

(11) For after these accidents, began the famous controuersie betweene the King and his Arch-bishop *Becket*, a man of an inuincible stomacke and resolution in his life, and after death reputed by some for a great Saint or Martyr; as is likewise noted of *Henrie* * that he was the most politicke, martiall, rich, and honoured Prince of all his time. This Prelate, by birth a *Londoner*, (though his mother, a *Sarazen*, * say some) by profession a * Ciuilian, was by *Theobald* Archbishop of *Canterburie*, both made his Archdeacon, and also placed about the person of Duke *Henrie*, who being now King, aduanced him in the very first yeere of his raigne to be Lord Chancellor of *England*, in which high honour he carried himselfe *like another King*, and afterward vpon the death of *Theobald*, though the Monkes obiected against *Becket*, that *neither a Courtier nor a Souldier* (as * he had bin both) were *fit to succeed in so high and sacred a function*, yet the King gaue him that Arch-bishopricke, partly in reward, and partly in further hope of his ready & faithfull seruice. Which to be true, a *Legender* of his Miracles can best relate. *Nonnullis tamen, &c. Many* (saith he) *iudged his promotion not Canonicall, because it was procured more by the importunity of the King, then by the voices of Clergie, or People; and it was noted as presumption & indiscretion in him, to take vpon him to guide the Sterne, who was scarce fit to handle an Oare, and that being skil'd only in worldly affaires, he did not tremble to ascend vnto that sacred top of so great dignity.* Whereto agreeth the reports of two learned Monkes who then liued, (for such Authors only we will herein follow, as shal be vnpartiall) *one of which testifies, that the Pope about that time calling a Councel at *Tours* (& the King *giuing Licence to his Arch-bishops and Bishops to goe thither*) Becket *secretly surrendred his Arch-bishoprick*, which he had receiued *from the Kings* hand, into the Popes hands. The other saith, *Becket* himselfe confessed, that, *not Canonicall Election did call him, but publicke power droue him in, nor the will of God, but mans pleasure, placed him in the roome.* Howsoeuer, these being memorable arguments of the Kings exceeding loue; let vs now see how this great Prelate endeuoured to deserue it, or how he chanced to lose it.

Nubrigensis, l. 2. c. 16. vt conregnare videretur. Gernasius ad An. 1154. Regis Rector & quasi Magister. * Fox in Acts. p. 264. * Nubrig. l. 2. c. 16. Howeden. Chron. de Possione & mirac. beati Th. MS. Fox. p. 287.

* Gul. Nubrig. l. 2. c. 16. Matth. Par. ad An. 1163. permissione, Regia, &c. * Nubrig. per operam, manumque Regiam. Ger. Dor.

(12) Great and flourishing was the state of the *English* Church and Common-wealth at this season; the quiet of both which, *the King studied* and hoped to establish by the vndoubted assistance of his great fauorite *Becket*, whose counsell & authority he knew might much further his princely designes, especially touching affairs of the Church, & abuses of Churchmen, which then were grown to a dangerous height: whereof let vs heare the Monk of *Nuborough* speak; *It was declared in the Kings presence, how that Clergy men had committed aboue an hundred murthers vnder his raigne; wherwith the King highly offended, he was in punishing of them somewhat too vehement; but the blame of the Kings too much earnestnes, must lie on the Prelates, in as much as they gaue the cause therof: for, whereas sacred Canons ordaine, that Clerks found guilty, not onely of hainous and grieuous sins, but also of lesser, should be degraded, and thousands of such were in the Church of* England, *like innumerable chaffe amongst a little good corne; yet very few such, for these many yeeres haue beene depriued. The Prelates forsooth, while they bestirre themselues, rather to vphold the liberties and dignities of Clerks, then to chastice & cut off their vices, thinke they doe God and his Church good seruice, in protecting frō publike Discipline such hainous offenders, whom (by duty of their places) they ought to correct according to the Canons censure, whereby they through their impunity, hauing liberty to do what they list, haue neither feare of God, (whose iudgement they thinke is farre off) neither of men in authority, sith on the one side their Prelats neglect to reforme them, & on the other side they are thus exempt by their order from the temporal Iurisdiction.*

The causes of the debate betwixt the King and Becket.

Nubrig. loco cita.

Gul. Nubridg. l. 2. c. 16.

(13) This being the state of the Church & Realm, wherein some were so iniured without remedy, and others so iniurious without coertion, as if neither sort were in condition of Subiects; the King (who was a man of excellent Wisedome, Constancy, and Zeale) *tooke especiall care of quickning the publike Discipline, and the rigour of ancient lawes*, which thus lay neglected; for which end *hee had setled choise Ministers of Iustice through all parts of his land*; and *vpon complaints brought him by his Subiects of the remissenesse, and other defects of his Iudges, hee accordingly by his princely prouidence applied remedies, and chastised the delinquents.* The like remissenes (to censure it no harder) was complained of in his Spirituall Iudges; occasioned by a murther, committed by a Priest of *Sarum* Dioceese, whom the Archbishop commanded to be depriued, & put into an Abbey, wherby he was freed from sharper punishment, intended by the Kings Iusticiaries: with which (and some other like affronts of his Archbishop) the King conceiued no little displeasure, as requiring that *Iustice should be administred to all alike without partiality*, and seeing this apparantly to tend vnto the ruine of all royall gouernment: the Archbishop on the other side, stood no lesse *peremptorie on the immunities of his Cleargy and See*: yea so farre, as that he challenged from the Crowne (to the Kings great offence) *the custody of Rochester Castle and other Forts*, which the King for securing his state had resumed into his owne hands.

Idem Nubrig. l. 2. cap. 1.

Howeden. M. Fox.

M. Fox. p. 264.

Nubrig. l. 2. c. 16. fine delectu.

Gernas. Dorob. ad An. 1163. cum gestiret iura Cant. Ecclesiæ reuocare. Ibidem.

(14) This maine controuersie betweene *Regnum, & Sacerdotium*, the *Crowne* and the *Mitre*, Howeden (who then also liued) thus summarily deliuers: *The King would that all such of the Clergy as were deprehended in any Robbery, Murder, Felony, burning of houses, and the like, should be tried & adiudged in his temporall Courts, as Lay-men were: against which, the Archbishops resolutiō was, that al Clergy men so offending should be tried only in the Spirituall Courts, and by men of their owne coate, who if they were conuict, should at first be only depriued of their office and benefice: but if they should againe be guilty of the like, they should then be adiudged at the Kings pleasure.* The King finding himselfe to be hereby but a *Demi-King*, depriued of all Soueraignty ouer one half-deale of his Kingdome, and perceiuing *Beckets* stiffenesse, in thus contesting with his Soueraigne, to be no way mollifiable by whatsoeuer his old fauours, or fresh perswasions; notwithstanding resolued to put nothing in execution, which should not first be *ratified & strengthened with consent of his Bishops*; of whose ready assent to so iust demands, hee had no cause to doubt: who thereupon assembling at *Westminster*, the King, tooke both offence there, at the Archbishops thwarting his desires, and occasion also to establish sundry other Articles, which hee called his Grandfathers customes, peremptorily vrging *Becket* to yeeld thereunto, without any such reseruation of *sauing in all things his order, and right of the Church* wherewith he would haue limited his assent.

Roger Howeden. ad An. 1163.

Nubrigiensis.

Gernas. Dorob.

(15) The points in those Ordinances which the Archbishop principally stucke at, as * himselfe did set them downe in his letters to the Pope, and his owne *Suffragan* Bishops within the Dioceese of *Canterbury*, were principally these; 1. That none should appeale to the See of *Rome* for any cause whatsoeuer, without the Kings license. 2. That it should not be lawfull for any Arch-bishop or Bishop to depart the Realme, and repaire to the Pope, vpon his summons, without the Kings license. 3. That no Bishop should excommunicate any one whomsoeuer, holding of the King in chiefe, or put any other of his officers vnder *Interdict*, without the Kings license. 4. That Clerks criminous should bee tried

Points which the Archbishop wold not consent vnto. * Ep. Tho. ad Alex. 3. PP. Ep. Th. ad Suffr. suos. apud Roger Houed.

before ſecular Iudges. 5. That it ſhould not bee lawfull for a Biſhop to puniſh any one for periurie or faith-breach. 6. That the Laity, whether the King or other ſhould hold pleas of Churches and Tithes, &c.

(16) Theſe points ſo neerely touched the Papall *Soueraignty*, and *Church-Liberties*, that the reſolute Metropolitane mainely oppoſed his whole powers againſt them. *Henrie* alſo perſiſted, as his Grandfather *Henry* the firſt had done, who hauing a * like warre with *Anſelm* his Archbiſhop, was ſo vehement therein, as hee would not ſuffer him to returne into *England* (though after ſome yeeres baniſhment) vnleſſe he would abſolutely binde himſelfe to obſerue, not his Fathers cuſtomes onely, but his brothers alſo, who were the two fatall *Williams*, the *Conquerour* and *Rufus*.

* See before in *Henry* the firſt.

Reaſons mouing King *Henry* to vrge the Archbiſhop to aſſent.

(17) Many reaſons moued *Henry* to attempt this buſineſſe; as firſt, the enlargement of his Regall authority: Secondly, to exempt his State by degrees, from the dependancy on any externall Gouernment, as lineally claiming both from a Conqueſt, and from *abſolute-Soueraigne* Anteceſſors, and ſo to introduce that free Empery, to which he ſaw no way lie open, but by ſubordinating the Perſons and Cauſes of Church-men to the ſecular ſoueraignety, in a few points firſt, and then in other. And that this was the ſecret, will not obſcurely appeare in * that Article, which was ſummarily this: That *appeales ſhould be made from the Conſiſtory to the Arch-deacon, from him to the Biſhop, thence to the Archbiſhop, and ſo to the King*. Thus farre M. *Fox*; but *Mathew Paris* hath more: *That the King ſhould command the Arch-biſhop to end the ſuit, and that it ſhould proceed no further without licenſe of the King.*

* *Acts and Mon. pag.* 265.

Matth. Paris.

(18) A third reaſon was, for that hee had by his owne perſwaſions, and by the Councell of one *Ernulph* a * Biſhop, drawn vnto his purpoſes the Archbiſhop of *Yorke*, and all the other Biſhops in a manner, who were now ſure vnto him, and ready to yeeld to his demands, which they ſaw, did tend to the good of the State wherein they liued. Moreouer, hee was perſwaded of great facility in obtaining his deſire, both in regard of the * aduantage which the Schiſme then vpholden by *Frederick* the Emperour againſt *Alexander* the third did giue, which might make the Pope afraid to leeſe or hazard his friends: as alſo for that the King, till he found the contrary, thought himſelfe aſſured of his *Thomas*, whom (if * *Gilbert* Biſhop of *London* ſaid true) he aduanced to that dignity againſt the will and liking, aſwell of *Matildis* the Empreſſe his mother, as of the Clergy and people.

* *Houeden.*

* *Epiſt. Th. apud Rog. Houed.*

* *Ep. ad Th. apud Rog. Houed.*

(19) Beſides theſe and other reaſons encouraging the King, Pope *Alexander* very deſirous to keepe the Kings loue (though ſecretly wiſhing well to *Beckets* attempts) ſent one *Philip* his Almoner purpoſelie to compoſe the controuerſie, by *whom the Pope and Cardinalls required the Archbiſhop to make promiſe vnto the King to the keeping his ſaid Ordinances abſolutely, and without any ſauings or exceptions:* whereupon *Thomas* ſeeing his ſcrupuloſity thus diſapproued by his Soueraigne, by all his Brethren the Biſhops, and by the Court of *Rome* it ſelfe, hee rode to *Woodſtocke* to the King, and there promiſed, that he would keepe his ſaid lawes, *bonâ fide, & ſine malo ingenio*, in good faith, and without *mal-engin*.

An. D. 1164
A. Reg. H. 2. 10.

Houeden.

Nubrig. l. 2. c. 16. calls him *Hominem Scrupuloſum.*

Rog. Houed.

(20) The King afterward (ſuppoſing now all contradiction had end, and that *Thomas* would not wauer in his faith) called an Aſſembly of the States at *Clarendon* (of which place in *Wilt-ſhire* and not in *Normandie*, as * ſome haue miſtaken, the ſaid Cuſtomes called by the King, *Auitæ*, were denominated) to collect and enact thoſe Lawes: where *Iohn of Oxenford* ſitting Preſident, *Becket*, relapſing againe from his promiſe giuen to the King, ſaid, that he had greeuouſly ſinned in making that abſolute promiſe, and that he would not ſinne therein any more.

The Councell at *Clarendon.*

* *M. Fox.*

Math. Paris. The Archbiſhop violates his promiſe.

(21) At which, the King was ſo vehemently ſtirred and inflamed, that hee threatned baniſhment and deſtruction to him and his. But the Arch-biſhop, hauing definitely reſolued to vndergoe any perill, was yet ſo ſoftned with the teares, praiers, and kneelings of ſo great and honourable perſonages, as the Biſhop of *Salisbury*, and *Norwich*, the Earles of *Leiceſter*, and *Cornwall*, and two knights *Templars*, *Richard de Haſtings*, and another, priuately repairing vnto him, that before the King, the Clergy, and people, *hee ſware* in verbo Sacerdotali, *in the word of a Prieſt, and* de plano, *ſincerely, that hee would obſerue the Lawes, which the King entituled Auitæ, and all the Biſhops, Abbots, Priors, and whole Clergie, with all the Earles, Barons, and Nobilitie, did promiſe and ſweare, the ſame faithfully and truly to obſerue & performe, to the King, and to his heires for euer.* But when the King, not ſo contented, would haue him (as *euery one of the Biſhops* had done before him) to *ſubſcribe and affix his ſeale* to an inſtrument, in which thoſe *Cuſtomes* or *Lawes* (being in number *ſixteene*) were comprehended; hee once againe ſtarting from his faith, did abſolutely refuſe, alledging that hee did promiſe it, onely to doe the King ſome honour, *verbo tenus, in word onely*, but not with intent to confirme thoſe Articles; neither could the example of the whole State mooue him, nor the credit of *Rotrod*, Archbiſhop of *Roan*, (though ſent from the Pope) compoſe the difference, becauſe *Henry* would not otherwiſe agree then as the Pope did by his Bull confirme thoſe Lawes, which would not be granted.

The Arch-biſhop would not relent ſo farre as to ſubſcribe. *Roger Houeden. Ger. Dor.*

Idem.

Mat Paris.

Guil. Nubrig. Houeden. Gerualius.

Vide Gerualium where they are all *verbatim* recited.

Becket againe ſtarts from his word. *Ger. Dor. Ibidem.*

(22) *Henry* heereupon ſent in Ambaſſage *Iohn of Oxenford*, and one *Ridell*, his Clerkes, to the *Romane* Biſhop, praying that the *Legatine* power for *England*, might be committed to *Roger* Archbiſhop of *Yorke*, that ſo he might at laſt bring *Thomas* vnder; but neither did this plot thriue: for that the Pope (knowing that the cauſe was his own more then *Beckets*) would not be an Author of any grieuance vnto him, (who in ſorrow for that hee had ſo yeelded in promiſing, ſuſpended himſelfe from vſe of his prieſtly function, till vpon ſute hee was * repermitted) yet ſomewhat to gratifie the King, he by his Bull granted a ſleight authority; *which when the King ſaw to be but ſuperficiall, and not well horned for his purpoſe, with great diſdaine, he ſent the Bull backe againe to the Popes ſtall.*

The King diſpatcheth Embaſſadors to the Pope.

* *Matth. Paris. Ger. Dor. Houeden.*

(23) There followed now vpon *Thomas* ſundry moleſtations: for firſt, hee was * condemned in dammages for a Manor, which *Iohn de Marſhall* claimed; notwithſtanding the Archbiſhop had enioyed the ſame for a long time, without interpellation or diſturbance. Then was there at *Northampton*, (where the king had ſummoned a Parliament) an account demanded of him for the king, to the value of thirtie thouſand pound, which came to his hand during his Chancellorſhip. Whereunto his anſwere was, * That ſeeing he had formerly accounted, and that the kings eldeſt ſonne *Henrie*, on his Fathers behalfe, and all the Barons of the Exchequer, and *Richard de Lucie* Iuſticiar of *England*, had acquitted him toward the King of all accounts, and that hee came free from all actions and dangers to the Archbiſhopricke, that now therefore hee would not anſwere, as a Lay-man, hauing heretofore had ſo ſufficient diſcharge: which refuſall of his was aggrauated with diuers accuſations layde vpon him, as of contempt towards the King, in denying to come to his preſence, being thereto commanded by him, and the like: whereto though he made excuſes (reaſonable enough, if true) yet the *Peeres & the Biſhops condemned all his moueables to the Kings mercy:* and the Prelates perceiuing the Kings diſpleaſure to tend yet to ſome farther ſeuerity, premoniſhed him to ſubmit himſelfe, for that otherwiſe the Kings Court *intended to adiudge him a periured perſon, and alſo a Traitor, for not yeelding temporall allegiance to his Temporall Soueraigne, as himſelfe had ſworn to doe:* and accordingly the Prelates themſelues by ioynt conſent adiudged him of Periury, & by the mouth of the Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, diſclaimed thenceforward all obedience vnto

The Arch-biſhop called to account. * *Rog. Houed.*

* *Matth. Paris. Rog. Houed.*

Matth. Paris. Gerualius.

Idem.

Idem.

vnto him, as their Archbiſhop. The next day, whiles the Biſhops and Peeres were conſulting of ſome further courſe with him; *Becket*, not as yet daunted, cauſed to be ſung before him at the Altar: *The Princes ſit and ſpeak againſt me, and the vngodly perſecute me, &c.* And forthwith taking his ſiluer Croſier in his owne hands, (*a thing ſtrange and vnheard of before*) enters armed therwith into the Kings preſence, though earneſtly diſſwaded by all that wiſhed him well: wherewith the King enraged, commanded his Peeres to ſit in iudgement on him, as on a Traitor and Periured perſon; and accordingly they adiudged him to be apprehended, and caſt into priſon. The Earles of *Cornewall* and *Leiceſter* (who ſate as Iudges) citing him forthwith to heare his ſentence pronounced; hee immediately appealed to the See of *Rome*, as holding them no *Iudges competent*: whereupon all reuiling him with the name of Traitor, and the like; he replying, *That were it not for his function, he would enter the Duell or Combat with them in the field, to acquit himſelfe both of Treaſon and Periury*, ſped from the Court, and from thence without delay into *Flaunders*, diſguiſing himſelfe vnder the name of *Dereman*.

Nubrig. Houeden. Dorobornenſis.

Dorobornenſis.

Houeden. Geruaſius.

Geru. Dorobor.

Mat. Paris.

An. D. 1164.

(24) The King on the other ſide, to leaue nothing vndone, whereby to atchieue his deſire, forthwith diſpatched away *Gilbert*, Biſhop of *London*, and *William*, Earle of *Arundel*, to the *French* King, that he would not harbour nor cheriſh one that was fled as a Traitor; but preuailed not: for hee, vpon the contrary dealt with the Pope, *That as hee loued the Romane Church, and the aid of France, ſo hee would ſupport the cauſe of Thomas againſt the King:* which whether he did it out of Faction, rather then Deuotion, let others iudge: for as we may eaſily thinke that the *French* would gladly incommodate the King of *England*: ſo this is not to be denied, that *Lewis* was * often afterward a Mediator for peace, and vndoubtedly held the man himſelfe in great eſtimation both aliue and dead.

Another Embaſſage from the King to the Pope.

Rog. Houeden. Geruaſius.

** Math. Paris. Rog. Houed. & alij.*

(25) The Archbiſhop growing thus in fauor with the Pope, King *Henry* ſends an Ambaſſage vnto him of many great Perſonages, as *Roger* Archbiſhop of *Yorke*, the BB. of *London*, *Wincheſter*, *Chicheſter*, *John of Oxenford*, *William* Earle of *Arundell*, &c. whoſe whole emploiment being *prece vel pretio*, by requeſts & gratifications to procure diſgrace vnto *Becket*, their finall ſuit was, *That the Pope would ſend two Cardinals into England, fully to end the matter*; but the Pope denied it, as holding it derogatory to his owne abſoluteneſſe, ſaying (like *Gods Vice-gerent* at leaſt) * *That is my owne glory, which I will not giue to any other; but when he is to be iudged, I will iudge him my ſelfe: For hee knew the King of England was mighty both in ſpeech and meanes, and that Legates might eaſily be corrupted, as being men more thirſty after gold and ſiluer, then after iuſtice and equity:* and the *Pope and Cardinals wiſely reſolued* (ſaith the Monke of *Canterbury*) *that as, if this Archbiſhop were now vpheld in his cauſe, it would be a pattern for others in like caſe to reſiſt Kings; ſo, if hee ſhould ſinke, no Biſhops euer after would dare oppoſe themſelues to their Soueraignes pleaſure, and ſo the State of the Catholike Church would be ſhaken, and the Popes authority be cruſhed.*

The King ſends Embaſſadors to *Rome* againſt *Becket*.

Geruaſius.

Houeden.

Geru. Dor.

** Iſay, chap. 42. verſ. 8. I am the Lord, this is my Name, and my glorie will I not giue to any other, &c.*

Houeden.

Ger. Dor.

(26) The King hauing receiued this foyle, and impatient of repulſe, where his owne ſubiect was a party, thought the indignity offered by the Pope vnſufferable, and to let him vnderſtand how hee tooke it, directs his Writs vnto the Sheriffes in *England*, commanding them *to attach ſuch as did appeale to the Roman Court: the fathers, mothers, brothers, ſiſters, nephewes, and nieces of all ſuch of the Clergy as were with the Archbiſhop; and to put them vnder ſureties, as alſo to ſeiſe the reuenues, goods, and chattels, of the ſaid Clergy-men.* Againe, by other his letters to *Gilbert* B. of *London*, he ſequeſtred the profits & liuings, which within his Dioceſſe did belong to any of the Clergy, who were fled to *Thomas*, that (without the

The incenſed Kings proceedings.

Matth. Paris ad An. 1164.

Kings leaue) they might haue no part therof. Laſtly, to his Iuſtices he ſignified; that they ſhould ſafe-keep whoſoeuer did bring any interdict into *England*, till the Kings pleaſure were further known: he alſo cauſed the Church of *Canterbury*, and all the Archbiſhops goods to be confiſcated, grounding himſelfe (as may probably be ſuppoſed) vpon the iudgement giuen againſt *Becket* at *North-hampton*, notwithſtanding that the ſaid ſentence was expreſly nullified by the Popes * Bull, and not onely by word of mouth, as * *Mathew Paris* ſeemes to miſtake it. Neither was this all, for he baniſhed out of the Realme * all the kindred of the Archbiſhop, man, woman, childe, and ſucking babes; and forbad that he ſhould be any longer publikely mentioned and praied for in the Church as Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

* The Originall Bull it ſelfe, I haue ſeene in the cuſtodie of Mr. *Iohn Barcham* of *Lambeth*.

* *Matth. Paris.* Ann. 1164. *Roger Houed. Pariſienſis. Ger. Dor.*

An. D. 1166. *Roger Houeden. Ep. Thom.*

(27) The Archbiſhop on the contrary part (the contention being now whither the power Eccleſiaſticall or Secular, ſhould worke moſt) did ſolemnely in *France* where hee abode, excommunicate all ſuch as obeyed, defended, or had occaſioned the ſaide lawes, and Auitall Cuſtomes, and ſome of the parties by name, as *Richard de Lucie, Richard of Poictou, Iocelin de Bailull, Alan de Neuile*, & other, who preſently appealed; but the King hauing further notice, that *Becket* * *after his publike Sermon, on a great Feſtiuall day, had ſolemnely threatned the like thunderclap againſt his Roiall Perſon*; either to terrifie his aduerſaries, or to reuenge himſelfe, *if any ſuch ſentence ſhould be againſt him, gathered a mighty Army* vnder pretence of *ſubduing Wales*, where yet he did little. The meane while *Iohn* of *Oxenford* (who not onely followed the Kings cauſe ſtoutly, but alſo * writte a learned Booke in iuſtifying of it againſt *Becket*) preuailed ſo farre at *Rome*, that two *Legates à latere*, ſhould bee ſent into *England*, to reconcile the King and *Thomas*, but when they were gone, the Pope hearing that they were reſolued * *vtterly to confound the Archbiſhop*, ſent letters after them to rebate their abſolute power, *they being men* (ſaith *Geruaſius*) *who too much thirſted after gold and glory*.

* *Ger. Dorob.* ſaith *Comminatorium emiſit.*

* *Geruaſius* ſaith *vt declinaret ſententiam &c.*

* *Bale Cent. 3.*

* *Geruaſius.*

Auram & Auri ſitiebant. Geruaſ.

(28) When theſe two Cardinals came to *Thomas*, hee refuſed to put his cauſe to them, vnleſſe there were firſt a plenary reſtitution made to him and his, of all that had beene taken away: but being then counſelled by them to ſubmit himſelfe to the King, his anſwer was, he would, *ſauing Gods honour, and the Churches liberty; ſauing his owne honour, & his Churches poſſeſſions; and ſauing his owne and his friends right:* being further demanded, whither (to re-ſettle peace in Gods Church, which he ſeemed only to deſire) he would renounce his Biſhoprick, if the King would renounce his cuſtomes: hee anſwered, *The proportion was not alike: for that with the honor of his Church and his Perſon, he could not renounce his Biſhopricke; whereas on the other ſide, the King was bound, aſwell for his Soules health, as for his honour, to renounce thoſe ordinances*, (will you know the reaſon?) *becauſe the Pope and hee had condemned them.* And ſo that deſigne for peace was fruſtrate.

Math. Paris.

Houeden.

Ibid.

(29) The King of *England* tempeſtuouſly ſtorming at theſe affronts, and daily encreaſe of new *ſalues*, wherewith like a guilefull Chirurgion, hee ſtill made the wound more to feſter; menaced the Monkes (which in their Abbey at *Pontenei*, had now for two whole yeeres entertained him) to thruſt all of their order out of *England*, if they durſt releeue his enemy any longer: Whereupon they diſmiſſing him, *Lewis* the French King tooke him to *Sens* with himſelfe, where for foure yeares he remained, and was (if wee many credite King *Henry*) a * *great inſtigator of the French King, and alſo of the Earle of Flanders, againſt the King of England*; * *as was alſo by diuers Euidences moſt certaine*; if the two ſaid Cardinals told not a lie to the Pope: But, that the *Peace was broken, and warres renued betwixt the two Kings, chiefly for* Thomas *his ſake*, Geruaſe the Monke himſelfe doth record it as moſt credible.

Matth. Paris. Rog. Houeden.

* *Salue honore Perſonæ ſuæ, ſaluis poſſeſſionibus, ſaluâ Iuſtitia, &c.*

* *Ger. Dor.* Ann. 1167.

* *Cardinal. litera Fox. p. 284.*

Geruaſius. Maxime propter Thomam, vt credi poteſt.

(30) Howbeit, by mediation at length, the two Kings were againe reconciled, and at their friendly * enteruiew, *Beckets* well-willers aduiſed him to ſubmit himſelfe, in the preſence of both Kings, * *without any more reſeruations*; which hee ſeeming to yeeld to, preſented himſelfe very humbly, and referred the cauſe to the King, not now, *Saluo ordine ſuo*, but yet on a new point, *Saluo honore Dei*; wherewith the King exaſperated, told the *French* King, ſuch was the humor of the man, that *whatſoeuer diſliked him, he would ſay it was againſt Gods honor*, and ſo would be neuer the neerer to conformity; with which, and other ſpeeches, *King Lewis* offended with *Becket*, asked him *whether he thought to be greater or holier then Saint Peter? and the Peeres of both Nations accuſed him of much arrogancy, as being himſelfe the wilfull hinderer of his owne, and the Churches tranquility.*

Geruaſius, A.1169
* *Apud montem mirabilem.*
* *Tacita omni conditione.*
Geruaſ. ibid.
Idem.
Idem.

An.D.1168.

(31) Notwithſtanding, the Pope forgot not his faithfull *Thomas*, and therefore after hee had graced him with a confirmation of all the Priuiledges, and powers, which any of his Predeceſſors in that See did enioy (to the daring and defiance as it were, of the Kings vtmoſt indignation) the King ſent a letter into Germany, declaring that hee would forſake Pope *Alexander*, and ioyne with the Emperour, and *Antipape*. Whereupon, when the Biſhop of *Rome* had commanded *Gilbert* Biſhop of *London*, to admoniſh the King to giue ouer his courſes, and cuſtomes preiudicious to the Church, the ſaid Biſhop obeyed, and in his anſwere ſought to perſwade the Pope to a conniuencie, and forgets not to iuſtifie his Soueraigne, as, *That the King was ready to obey the ſacred heſts of the Church, ſauing to himſelfe his own & his Kingdomes dignity: That as for Appeales, he claimed that honor, by the ancient inſtitution of his Kingdome, that is to ſay, That no Clerke ſhould for a ciuill action depart the ſame, vntill right could not be had in his Courts at home, and then he would hinder no man. That he did not baniſh the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, who might return at his pleaſure, ſo as he would obſerue all thoſe his Grandfathers cuſtomes, which once he had giuen his faith to doe: That the King thinks himſelfe greatly iuſtified, in that he is willing to ſtand to the iudgment of the whole Church of his own kingdom*, &c

Math. Paris.
The Biſhop of London commanded to admoniſh the King.
The King goes about to forſake the Pope, and ioyne with the Antipape.

Roger Houeden. The Biſhop of Londons defence of the King to Pope *Alexand.* 3.

(32) But when mediations, letters, meſſages, or other waies, would not preuaile; the Pope admoniſheth the King, that he meant no longer to reſtraine the Archbiſhop from reuenging his owne, and his Churches injuries with the ſword of cenſure, and thereupon (for a beginning) the Archbiſhop excommunicates *Gilbert* Biſhop of *London*, and proceeded ſo farre with others, that there was *ſcarce found in the Kings owne Chappell and preſence ſuch as might performe the wonted ceremonies.*

The Biſhop of London excommunicated.

An.D.1169.

Geruaſ. Dorob.

(33) The King both touched with his owne wrongs, and tender of their caſe, who for his ſake vnder-went that ſeuerity, animates Biſhop *Gilbert* with moſt louing offers to beare the charges of proſecuting his appeale againſt *Becket*, and deſires the Pope to ſend him Legates which might abſolue his excommunicated Subiects, and ſettle a peace, *or elſe hee ſhould be compelled to prouide otherwiſe for his owne ſecurity and honour.*

Comforted by the King.

Ger. Dor.

(34) Two Cardinals therefore, *Gratian* and *Viuianus*, comming into *France* to end the contention, returne notwithſtanding without poſſibility of doing good; for that *Becket* would not yeeld in any point to thoſe Cuſtomes, at which he had once excepted, but with his ordinary limitations. At laſt yet by the Popes mediation, the two Kings of *England* and of *France* met at *Paris*, whether the Archbiſhop repaired, and yet no peace enſued: for that the King refuſed the kiſſe of peace with him, and *Becket* would either haue a ſound and full peace, or none at all; where, though the King of *England* refuſed to ſatisfie any thing vnder the name of reſtitution, as being againſt his honour (becauſe all reſtitution implyed a wrong) yet in the other maine matter of his *Auitall Cuſtomes*, offering to ſtand to the iudgement, not of his owne onely, but euen of *the Pariſian Diuines, and Church of France*; he came off from that conference with ſome aduantage and fauour, in the opinion of the hearers.

Cardinals attempt to make reconcilement.

Dorobornenſis.

Matth. Paris.

(35) *King Henry* (for all this) ſeeing no iſſue of his long diſquietnes, and vn-regall vſages, vnderſtanding alſo that the *Archbiſhop of Seins in perſon had ſolicited the Pope, to put the Kingdom of England vnder Interdict*, (which is the prohibiting of the publike vſe of Chriſts Religion, & Chriſtian Buriall throughout the whole land) hee being then in *Normandy*, ſends forth his Edict: *That if any man bring from the Pope or Becket, any letters of Interdict, he ſhould preſently ſuffer as a Traitor to the King & the State. That no Clerke whatſoeuer goe forth of the land without a paſſe from his Iuſticiaries, and none returne againe without letters of licence from the King himſelfe. That none receiue any meſſage from the Pope or Becket, nor make any appeale vnto them, nor hold any Plea by their mandates. That if any Prelate or Clerke, or Lay-man ſhall obey any ſentence of interdict, he and all his kindred ſhall be forthwith expulſed the land, & all his goods eſcheated to the Crowne. That all Clerkes who haue rents in England, return home within three Moneths, or elſe all their rents to fall to the King. That certaine Prelates ſpecified, be cited to anſwere in the Kings Courts for interdicting Earle Hughs lands. That Peter-pence be not paid to Rome, but reſerued.* Thus, (as *Geruaſe* the Monke lamentably complaineth) *all from the eldeſt to the youngeſt throughout England, were made to abiure obedience to Pope Alexander and Becket.*

The King offers his cauſe to be iudged by the Diuines and Church of *France.*

Dorobernenſis. A ſtrange deuiſe of Chriſts Vicar to forbid a whole Kingdom to liue like Chriſtians. *Houeden.*

The Kings Edict to match the Popes Interdict.

Ger. Dor.

(36) After all this, it came into King *Henries* mind, to ſweeten theſe his many cares with ſome ſolace, and to crowne his eldeſt ſonne, young *Henry*, King of *England*, now in his owne life time: *A counſell not more temerarious, then vnfortunate*: but of which he did hope to reape this conſolation: that it was done in contempt of *Becket* (whoſe office it was to haue crowned the King,) with ſome aduantage alſo toward the perpetuation of the *Auitall Cuſtomes*, and that alſo without ſcruple of conſcience, his ſonne *receiuing the Crowne without caution, to preſerue the Churches liberty, either by him put in, or by others exacted.* Yea rather, an Oath miniſtred, and by the young King taken, to maintaine thoſe *Auitall Cuſtomes* to the vttermoſt.

The King cauſeth his ſonne to be crowned King.

Ep. Alex. Pap. apud Roger Houeden.

(37) This ſolemnity was performed, at *Henrie* the fathers commandement, by *Roger* Arch-biſhop of *Yorke*, (the anciently riuall See of *Canterbury*) contrarie to the Popes expreſſe Inhibition, the father himſelfe King *Henrie*, being preſent thereat, though without any fortunate preſage in comming, or cauſe of conſolation in the action. For * he, in his inauſpicious paſſage out of *Normandy*, arriuing not without very great peril, at *Portſmouth*, the beſt and neweſt ſhip he had was ſuncke in the ſtormes, and therein, beſides *Henry de Agnellis* and his two ſonnes, *Gilbert de Sullemni*, Mr. *Ralfe de Bealmunt*, the Kings Phyſition and fauourite, with about foure hundred men & women more, were deuoured of the working waues. And at the feaſt, the ioyfull father himſelfe, carrying the firſt diſh, and the Arch-biſhop of *Yorke* ſaying in pleaſance to the young King: *Reioyce my faire ſon, for there is no Prince in the world, hath ſuch a ſeruitor attending at his table as you: The vnnaturall yong man anſwered; why? wonder you at that? my father knowes he doth nothing that misbecomes him, for ſo much as he is royall borne but of one ſide, but our ſelfe are royall borne both by father and mother.*

* *Roger Houeden.*

Polydor. Virg. in H. 2.

(38) Adde heereunto, that this vnluckie Coronations triumphes, were celebrated with bon-fires kindled by the furies in *Normandie*; which *Lewis* the *French* King inuaded with fire and ſword, becauſe his daughter *Margaret* was not crowned aſwell as the young King her husband: but the father ſpeeding into thoſe parts, quencht this flame with a promiſe to re-crowne his ſonne, and then his daughter

Margaret

Margaret ſhould be honoured with like ceremonies. Thus the fathers patience was exerciſed on euerie hand, and worſe things were feared.

Matth. Paris. The laſt meeting for a peace betweene the King and Archbiſhop.

(39) So now yet at laſt, in the ſeauenth yeere of *Beckets* baniſhment, another meeting was had at *Seins*, whither, the two great Kings, and the Arch-biſhop of *Seins*, and Biſhop of *Neuers*, beeing together, the Arch-biſhop of *Canterburie* repaired, and the treat e of Peace was entred into, which at *Ambois*, in another meeting (at procurement of *Rotrod* Arch-biſhop of *Roan*) was finiſhed; and the Arch-biſhop (knowing the King was terrified with the expectation of the foreſaid imminent *Interdiction*) was reſtored to the Kings fauour, and permitted to haue full vſe of his Metropolitane See, and all the profits thereof with the arrerages. Which concluſion, the King ſignifies to his ſonne into *England*, whither the Arch-biſhop returnes, and lands at *Sandwich*: And thus the co.ntrouerſie betweene the King and his Arch-biſhop ſeemed to be ended.

The Archbiſhop publiſheth new cenſures.

(40) But the Arch-biſhop had not beene long in *England*, before hee publiſhed the Popes Letters, by which, *Roger* Arch-biſhop of *Yorke*, and *Hugh* Biſhop of *Dureſme*, were ſuſpended from the vſe of their Epiſcopall function, for crowning the young King, in preiudice of the See of *Canterburie*; and the Biſhops of *London*, *Exceter*, and *Salisburie*, cut off from the Church by cenſure, for aſſiſting the ſaid Arch-biſhop at that Coronation; whom *Becket* would not, but vnder conditions, at the young Kings requeſt, abſolue. Whereupon a great complaint was carried into *Normandy*, to the father-King,* by ſome of the Biſhops: and in the meane time, the Arch-biſhop *Thomas*, putting himſelfe vpon the way to viſite the young King, at *Woodſtock* in *Oxford-ſhire*, was commanded not to approach.

Matth. Paris, Roger Houed.

** Polydor. Virg. l.13.*

Lib. Mon. S. Alb. MS.

(41) At the newes of theſe late cenſures, the father-King was ſo ſore diſpleaſed, that ſome words ſlipping from him, and arguing his great diſcontent, mooued *Hugh Moruill*, *William Traci*, *Hugh Brito*, and *Richard Fitz-vrſe*, knights and courtiers, to poſt into *England*, and there in a furie, (without either warrant, or priuitie of their Soueraigne) to murther the Arch-biſhop (being then about * forty and eight yeers old) in his owne Church of *Canterburie*; which ſacred *Place*, & *Time*, beſides his high *Calling*, might haue pleaded for pitie, had not the men been wholly tranſported with barbarous rage. For howſoeuer wee are far from their fancies, who, for his zeale to the Popes Soueraignety, haue ſo mounted him to the top of Martyrs glory, that not onely the baſeſt part of his *Shrine* was pure gold, and his * old *Shoe* was deuoutly kiſſed by all * paſſengers, but alſo ſhameleſſe and numberleſſe Miracles are blindly aſcribed vnto him, and his * *Bloud* almoſt matched in vertue with our euer-bleſſed Sauiours: yet wee no leſſe condemne their butcherly execution, who (how great ſoeuer his offence was againſt the King and State) had no lawfull authoritie to beare them out, or acquit them, from the guilt of Bloud.

The kings wrath fatall to the Archbiſhop.

Ger. Cambl. l. c. 10. cals them Aulici Canes.

* The printed Legend ſaith, he was 53. yeeres of age.
* In the feſtiuals of Chriſts Natiuity. *Scil. 5. Natalia Dominici, Nubrigenſis. Eraſmus. Guil. Cambd. Stow in H. 8.*
* *Eraſm. in Dial. de peregrinat: Religionis ergo.*
* *Lambert Peramb.* of *Kent*, in *Harbaldowne.*
* *Tu per Thomæ Sanguinem, quem pro te impendit, Facnas Chriſte ſcandere, quo Thomas aſcendit.*

(42) To ſhut vp this long contention (which, as you ſee, would not be extinct but by bloud, nor take end but by his death,) becauſe any cenſure of our owne will be ſaid to ſauor of *Time-ſeruing*, or *State-pleaſing*, we will onely annexe the bare judgement of the fore-cited learned Monke of that time, who thus ſpeaks. *Indeed though moſt mens cuſtome is, in thoſe, whom they loue & praiſe, to extol whatſoeuer they haue done, (an argument of their great affection, but ſlender wiſdom) yet in plain truth, thoſe things, which the venerable Archbiſhop ſo acted, that no profit at all thence proceeded, but the Kings wrath onely was kindled (whereby ſo many miſchiefes afterward aroſe) I do not think to be praiſe-worthy) though they ſprang from a laudable Zeale; as it was in the bleſſed Prince of the Apoſtles, who attaining the top of Apoſtolicall perfection, taught the Gentiles by his exãple to Iudaize; for which the Doctor of the Gentiles* declares that he deſerued to be reprehended, though he did it with a praiſe-worthy & pious intent.* And in another place. *The Archbiſhop was hot in zeale of iuſtice, but whither fully according to knowledge, God knoweth, (for it is not for a man of my mean quality, raſhly to iudge of ſo great a mans actions) but I think, the bleſſed Pope* Gregory *wold haue dealt more mildly, and winkt at thoſe things which might haue bin borne, without any hazard of the Chriſtian faith, &c.* and then concludes: *Therefore, that which the venerable Archbiſhop then did, I neither iudge that it is to be commended, neither preſume I to condemne it, &c. For good men are ſo to be loued, or lauded by vs, that wee neither loue nor land thoſe acts wherein they ſhew themſelues to be fraile men, but onely thoſe things wherein without ſcruple wee ought to imitate them: and therefore they are wiſelie and warilie to be praiſed, that Gods prerogatiue may be reſerued intire to himſelfe.*

** Galat. 2.*

Nubrig l. 2. cap. 25.

(43) Some other learned men there were, who liued neere to that time, whoſe cenſure was far ſharper then that Monks: Such were ſome of thoſe Diuines of *Paris*, mentioned by * *Cæſarius* the Monke, who ſaith, *The queſtion was debated to and fro amongſt the Doctors, in the vniuerſity of* Paris, *whether* Thomas *were damned or ſaued: amongſt whom,* Rogerius *the* Norman *auowed, that hee deſerued death and damnation, for his contumacie againſt his King, the Miniſter of God: but* Petrus Cantor *alleadged, that his miracles were ſignes of his ſaluation, &c.* And indeede if all be true which one man hath written in fiue books, containing his 270. Miracles, we cannot but acknowledge him, both the greateſt Saint, and the merrieſt to, that euer got into heauen; ſo ridiculous are many things recorded of him. As that of *Ailwardus*, who for ſtealing of a great whetſtone (which the Author that writes it, beſt deſerued) being depriued of his *Eies* & * *Virilities*, by ſentence of Law; vpon prayer to S. *Thomas* he had all reſtored againe: Yea, euen a* *Bird, hauing beene taught to ſpeake, flying out of her cage, and ready to be ſeized on by a Spar-Hauke, ſaid onely, S. Thomas helpe me, & her enemie fell preſently dead, and ſhe eſcaped*, and (belike) reported it. Of which great power in this Saint, how can we doubt? ſith we read, that euen in his life time the * *Virgin Mary* her ſelfe was contented to be his Sempſter, and *ſowed his ſhirt with red ſilke?* Many of which kind of follies, (if that word be ſharpe enough) might be heere inſerted, were not our preſent argument more ſerious, and theſe forgeries fit onely for Monkes to endite, children to read, and fooles to beleeue.

An. D. 1220

** Cæſarius Dialog. l. 8. cap. 69. Bale Script. Brit. Cent. 2. Fox p. 289.*

** Monach. Cant. de miraculis B. Thomæ.*

** MS. Pendenda* perhaps for *Pudenda. Malmſ. de Reg. lib. 5.*
* *The printed golden Legend in vit. Thom.*

Ibidem.

(44) The report of the tragicall outrage on the Arch-biſhop, comming to the old King, at *Argenton* in *Normandy*; there was no kinde of ſorrow, into which, (without reſpect to Maieſtie, or State) he fell not; and not without cauſe, as knowing how plentifull an *Hydra* of miſchiefes (vpon the opinion of his priuity with the fact) would riſe, if not preuented. But the murtherers, fearing leſt this their fact would diſpleaſe the King, in whoſe reuenge they did it, fled into the North, and abode one whole yeere in the Kings Caſtle of *Knaresborough* in *Yorkeſhire*; perhaps by fauour of the yong King: none of them dying for the fact, by way of iuſtice, becauſe, the Clergie exempting themſelues from the bonds of ciuill Lawes, the puniſhment of a Prieſt-killer (as by ſome it appeareth) was not then the death of the *Body* by execution of capitall ſentence; but of *Soule* by excommunication, till about the twenty third yeere of this King, it was (at the inſtant ſuit of *Richard* Archbiſhop of *Canterburie*, and of the Biſhops of *Winchester*, *Elie*, and *Norwich*) yeelded, that ſuch perſons ſhould ſuffer loſſe of life.

The Kings ſorrow for the murther, and his difficulties thereupon. *Mat Paris. Ypodig. Neuſtr.*

Guil. Nubrig. l. 2. c. 25. Matth. Paris.

Nic. Trivet. Vamel, and Holinſ. p. 99.

(45) The King therefore, vpon proteſtation to ſubmit himſelfe, to the iudgement of ſuch Cardinals, Legats, as the Pope ſhould ſend to inquire of the fact, kept his Realme from *Interdiction*, though the King of *France*, the Archbiſhop of *Seins*, and *Theobald* Earle of *Blois*, had out-gone his Embaſſadours with their inflaming letters, conteining the deſcription of that Parricide.

Matth. Paris ſaith it was granted to Cardinall *Petro Leoni*, by King *Hen. Matth. Paris. ad A.D. 1176.*

Henry

King *Henry* projects the conqueſt of *Ireland.*

(46) *Henry* therefore, among ſo many perplexities riſing out of the Archbiſhops murther, ſaw no way ſo ready for the calming his owne perturbations, or for the auerting mens thoughts from the conſideration of that ſcandalous Tragedie, as to vndertake ſome great and noble enterpriſe, which now offered it ſelfe very ſeaſonably. For *Ireland*, a verie ſpatious and plentifull Iland, and lying commodiouſly for the vſes of the *Engliſh*, burned in it ſelf with ciuill diuiſions, kindled among the petty Kings and Princes thereof: while *Rotherick* the *Great*, called *O Conor Dun*, Prince of *Connaught*, abuſing his power and the aduantage of the times, to the oppreſſion of his Neighbours, ſought to make himſelfe the vniuerſall King thereof, hauing already inuaded the Title and Stile of KING AND MONARCH OF IRELAND. And this his purpoſe was much aduaunced by the fatall and familiar errour of proceedings in like caſes: for the Iriſh Princes, either through diſtruſt or pride, forbearing to vnite their forces againſt the common enemy, while each prouides for one, they are all, as it were, ouercome.

Giral. Cambr. de expug. Hib.

Annalib. Hiber. apud Camp. pa. 794. An. Dom. 1166.

(47) Moreouer, * *Dermot Mac Murgh* (in that time of the Iriſh *Pentarchie*, or fiue-fold Kingdome) hauing ſecretly ſtolne away the wife of *Rotherick*, (a light woman, and conſenting or plotting rather, and vrging the rape it ſelfe) added to *Rotherickes* ambition, a juſt deſire of reuenge, for ſo notable, impudent, and publique injurie, ſo much the more odious in *Dermots* perſon, for that hee was olde: neyther was this all; for the cauſes of this change were higher.

* *Annalib. Hiber. Ibidem.*

Giral. Cambr. lib. 1. cap. 1. in Hiber. expug.

(48) The onely diſpoſer and tranſlator of Kingdomes is God; & in *Ireland* to moue him to offence (without which no Kingdome is transferred) againſt the people thereof, all ſuch ſinnes abounded, as commonly forgoe the greateſt changes: for not onely the manners of the Nation were extreamely corrupted, but the Chriſtian faith it ſelfe decayed; barbariſme ouer-running the one, and * more then ſuperſtitions the other. But it may ſeeme by ſome *Authors, that King *Henries* particular inducements to that Action, were both an ancient title vnto that Kingdome, deriued from his anceſtors (the Kings of *England*) for many ages before him; and *many vnſufferable wrongs (by their Piracies) vnto the *Engliſh* Nation, *buying and ſelling their Captiues, and vſing Turkiſh tyranny on their bodies:* which made the *Iriſh* Clergy themſelues confeſſe, that they had deſerued no other, *then that their land ſhould be transferred to that Nation whom they had ſo cruelly handled.* Notwithſtanding, King *Henry*, who knew how great and dangerous tumults the Popes had raiſed on ſmall occaſions, thought his way would be much eaſier, if he went onward with the Popes good fauour, which he eaſily obtained (ſo liberall is his holineſſe of that which is none of his) for a fee; viz. *a penny yeerely to be paid to Saint* Peter *of euery houſe in Ireland.* Touching which point, *Roſſius of Warwick* (no Proteſtant, I aſſure you,) ſaith, *That Englands King is not bound to rely on the Popes graunt for Ireland, nor yet to pay that taxe, becauſe hee had claime to that Kingdome by an hereditary right:* and that the Pope had no temporall intereſt therein (as his fauorites pretend) the often-mentioned Monke of *Newborough* can tell vs, who ſaith, that *Nunqnam externæ ſubiacuit ditioni, Ireland was neuer ſubiect to any forraine command.*

* *Poligamie, &c. Polydor. Virg. l. 13.*

* *Girald. Camb. Hib. expug. l. 2. c. 7. Edmund Campians Hiſt. of Ireland l. 2. c. 2. M. S. Roſſius Warwic. M. S.*

* *Campian. l. 2. c. 1. M. S.*

Idem. ibid.

Bulla Hadrian. apud Mat. Paris.

Roſſius Warwic. M. S.

(49) God Almightie therefore did now put it into the heart of *Henrie*, for the reforming of that Kingdome, to make a Conqueſt thereof, hauing in his infinite wiſedome before-hand fitted all circumſtances needfull to concurre, for inducing ſo warie and frugall a Prince to ſuch an enterpriſe, which thus tooke beginning.

Gul. Nubrig. l. 2. c. 26.

(50) *Dermot Mac Murgh*, being in poſſeſſion of his fatall *Helen* (the adulterous wife of *Rotherick*) was purſued ſo eagerly with the reuenging ſword of his enemie (who, howſoeuer wounded in heart with the abuſe of his Bed, reioyced in the color and occaſion miniſtred therby, for him to ſeize vpon the flouriſhing Prouinces of *Leinſter*) as hee was driuen to flie from place to place, and at the length to quitte his kingdome alſo, the ſubjects whereof his tyrannie and vices had vnſetled in their affections toward him. Thus deſperate of helpe at home, his laſt deliberations were to draw in forreine aides, the neceſſity of his caſe requiring it; and for that purpoſe, finally reſolues to repaire to the court of the wiſe and potent *Henrie*, King of *England*, being then in *Aquitain:* neither could *Dermot* but know, that it had heretofore beene in *Henries* deſignes, at ſuch time as hee meant to ſubdue it for *William* of *Anjou*, his yongeſt brother, and alſo, becauſe his preſent Dominions did halfe (as it were) enuiron it. In which hopes he was not deceiued; for *Henry* liſtened therevnto very willingly, as to a thing which hee had indeede * ſome yeeres before projected.

Camb. pag. 730.

Giral. Camb.

Giral. Cambr. in Hiber. Exp. cap. 1.

* *Matth. Paris.*

An. D. 1155.

(51) King *Dermot* therefore was heard in his ſuite. But, becauſe the thing, as at that time, neither ſeemed great enough for ſuch a Prince as *Henrie* to vndertake directly, nor as yet was held ſufficiently diſcouered to his hand; that therefore the Ice might be broken by inferiour meanes, and as wel the conueniences, as inconueniences, ſounded to the depth, (without engaging his roiall perſon, name, or power,) it was by the Kings letters permitted to *Dermot* (the exiled Prince) to draw what * aduenturers, or voluntaries, either the commiſeration of his eſtate, or other reſpects, of pietie, profit, or delight in armes, could allure to the action. Now whether it were, for that he, whoſe Countries lay toward the coaſts of *Wales*, (and within ken vpon a cleare day) by commoditie thereof might entertaine intelligence, as well as trafficke, with the Inhabitants of thoſe parts; or, for that the fame of their Cheualrie did inuite; or, for that his acquaintance at his arriuall grew there firſt; or, for that theſe and many other circumſtances mette in this accident: ſure it is, that *Dermot* raiſed his firſt and principall ſuccours from among the Engliſh Colonies there.

Dermots ſuite for aide liked by *Henry.*

* *Giral. Camb. l. 2. c. 1. Hib. expug.*

Dermots firſt ſuccours.

(52) The Welſh had then in their hands a valiant Gentleman of Norman race, one *Robert* * *Fitz-Stephen*, who by *Gilbert de Clare* was entruſted with the defence of the Towne of *Cardigan*, but through * treachery the Towne being ſurpriſed, *Robert* was alſo deliuered vp to *Reeſe ap Gruffin*, Prince of *South Wales*, who would hearken to no other endentments of his liberty, but onely, that hee ſhould for euer abandon his poſſeſſions in *Wales*. Whereupon (the opportunity of *Dermots* quarrel giuing hopes of new fortunes) immediately hee entred into contract with the *Iriſh* King, promiſing by a certaine day to come to his ſuccour, with as many Voluntaries, as his remaining fortunes, or the hope of the voyage could ſtirre: which hee * did accordingly performe, leauing it very diſputable, whether with more ſucceſſe or courage. But *Dermot* well knowing that the fortunes of this *Gentleman* (to whoſe valour nothing ſeemed impoſſible) were vnable to vndergoe the whole weight of the vnknowne worke, had formerly dealt with that renowned Lord, *Richard* of the houſe of *Clare*, * Earle of *Pembrooke*, ſurnamed *Strong-bow:* the man whom the Fate of *Ireland* did expect.

Robert Fitz-Stephen.

* Authors call him *Stephanides.*

* *Camb. p. 518.*

* *Annales Hiber. apud Camb. & Giral. Cambr.*

Richard Earle of *Pembroke.*

* He is commonly called (of his chiefe ſeat in *Monmouth-ſhire*) Earle of *Chepſtow* or *Strigil.*

(53) *Dermots* perſwaſions to the Earle were of "this kinde: That the enterpriſe, beſides the facul- "tie thereof, was full of pietie, honour, Iuſtice, "and commoditie: That it appeared ſo to King "*Henry* himſelfe, by whoſe leaue hee was free to "gather what forces he could: That he was dri- "uen out by the cruell ambition of Neighbours, and "treacherie of wicked Subjects. That *Leinſter* "was a *Kingdome*, and though but a part, yet cleere- "ly the beſt and richeſt part of *Ireland*. That mul- "titudes offered themſelues to his aid; but his cares "were not onely for a *Generall* to leade them, but "for one to whom he might leaue his Kingdome alſo.

The ſumme of *Dermots* perſwaſions.

"alſo: That the Earle was he, as the onely man, in "whoſe perſon all the reſpects of birth, honour, "bounty, valour, youth, and fortunes did happily "meete. That the Earle (in his conceit) did dwell "but narrowly (conſidering what hee was worthie "of) pent-vp in the ſtraights of an Earledomes ti-"tle, for whom a great Kingdome was not great. "That they who would not allow *Leinſter* for a "Kingdome, did forget, that *England* once was bro-"ken into leſſer ſtates; and if *Dermot* were not a "King, neither then were *Ella*, *Ciſſa*, *Vffa*, *Sigbert*, "*Crida*, and the reſt in the Saxon ſeauen-headed go-"uernement: that the quantity of Dominion made "more or leſſe ſtrong, but not more or leſſe a "King. That he was rightfull King of *Leinſter*, as "Sonne and Heire to *Murgh* King of *Leinſter*: that "if hee muſt forgoe his inheritance, it ſhould be to "ſuch as had done him no wrong, and were wor-"thy of it; to *Richard Strong-bow* and his follow-"ers, and not to *Rothericke* and Rebels. That hee "was not vnking'd, though vnkingdom'd: that *E-*"*ua* his daughter (*Eua* the pearle and ſtarre of *Ire-*"*land*) ſhould indeed be *Eua* to his enemies, to bring "vpon them death, and juſt confuſion: that yet in "defeating the Tyrant *Rotherick* of his hopes by "planting Earle *Richard* and his Forces, hee ſhould "prouide for his Country, not deſtroy it. That if it "did fall out otherwiſe, yet his diſloyall people had "their juſt deſerts, who objecting vices to their So-"ueraigne, did themſelues commit vile Treaſons. "Indeed (quoth he) I was neuer ſuch a King, as that "I was not alſo a Man. But for thoſe matters be-"tweene God and mee, heere is now no place to ac-"count, for though his juſtice hath found me out, "yet his mercy hath left mee more friends at home, "then the number and meaſure of my ſinnes deſerue: "My quarrell is moſt juſt, as againſt moſt wicked re-"bels and vſurpers: Reſtore me then (my Lord) by "your puiſſance to my natiue ſoyle, and my lawfull "rights therein: reſtore with mee Religion and Di-"ſcipline to the ancient ſplendor thereof, which was "not greater in any Realme about vs then in *Ireland*; "reduce the ſtray, enlighten our ignorance, poliſh "our rudeneſſe, and let not ſuch abundant matter of "merite and immortall glory eſcape you. God him-"ſelfe will proſper the enterpriſe; holy Church hath "long ſince approued it: and vpon ſuch Authors "what can miſcarry? And though in thy noble and "Chriſtian courage nothing can weigh ſo much, "(and theſe I ſee worke mightily) yet to ſatisfie all "reſpects, Thou ſhalt haue far larger territories then "heere Thou canſt poſſeſſe, and goodly Lands to di-"ſtribute for reward among thy friends and follow-"ers. My laſt offers now ſhall not ſhew a more de-"ſire to vſe thy forces, then a loue to thy perſon and "vertues. They are not trifles I propoſe, but that "of which God himſelfe doth ſeeme to mee to haue "laid the ground; ſeeing it is his holy will that thou "at this time ſhouldſt be without a Wife. Know "thou then, that I haue that one daughter *Eua*, the "heire of my Crowne, and comfort of my age: let "thine owne eye tell thee how faire and worthie: "this I dare auouch, that thou wilt thinke far broa-"der ſeas wel croſt, for view of ſo honeſt beauty: ſhe "in the firſt bloſſome of her youth, a vertuous Vir-"gine, and by both Parents borne of Princes, ſhall "at thine arriuall, with this right hand, bee made "thine, and with her after my death, my whole "Realme, and other my rights whatſoeuer: which "were they infinitely more; (deſpiſe not ſuch loue, "nor the alliance of one diſtreſſed, but neuertheleſſe "a King,) I would repute them farre too little for "ſuch a ſonne in law: who though thy ſelfe as yet "no King *, art come of Kings, and it is my whole "and laſt ambition, that I may liue to make thee "one. The Earle accepted the conditions, reſo-lute to ſet vp *Dermot* againe, and for that purpoſe bound himſelfe by ſolemne contract, to the full per-formance of his part within a certaine time.

*The Iriſh phraſe to vſe thou and thee.

*This ſeemeth to be ſpoke, becauſe his mother *Iſabel* was Aunt (by the mother) to *Malcolm* King of Scots: *Cambd. Annales Hibern. Anno* 1169. Earle *Richard* agrees.

(53) *Dermot* hauing thus negotiated his affaires and ſet it in ſo good forwardnes, while his friends in *England* prepared themſelues and their Forces, leſt hee ſhould ſeeme to relie vpon forraine aides; and ſo to diminiſh with them the reputation of his owne valour and alliances at home; hee ſayles backe into his Countrey; carrying with him the promiſes of confederates, and there both by his preſence and perſwaſions did the beſt hee could to facilitate the entrance of the *Engliſh*; whoſe honourable enter-tainements, deuotions, ciuility, riches, valours, wiſedome, and victorious greatneſſes he ſpared not to celebrate, as inſtruments aduancing his owne de-ſignes: which rayſed no little expectation, mixt with contrary affections of deſire and feare.

(54) The next yeare, when the ſeaſon grew fit for an Army to take the Field, *Robert Fitz-Stephen* accompanied with *Maurice Fitz-Gerald* his halfe-brother by the ſurer ſide, and * a competent number of Souldiers, repoſing (vnder God) their chiefe hope in their ſwords and courages, ſet ſaile for *Ireland*; and in the beginning of *May* came on ſhore, at a place called by the *Iriſh*, *Bann* (by the *Engliſh* at this day commonly, *Bagg* and *Bunn*) which in our Language ſignifies *Sacred*: a word which (ſo much as names may be preſages of things) did as it were hallow the attempt of the *Engliſh* with a lucky and gracious o-mination, whereof the Inhabitants at this preſent retaine this rime,

At the head of Bagg and Bunn,
Ireland was loſt and wun.

Robert Fitz-Stephen ſaild into Ireland.
**Triginta Militibus.*
Manuſc. Clonmel. in Cuſtod. Patric. White.
An. D. 1170. They were Souldiers of all ſorts 390.
Stowes Annals. ad An. Dom. 1170.

(55) The next day after, *Maurice de Pender-gaſt* alſo, with * other men of Armes, and many Ar-chers in two ſhippes arriued there, beeing parcell of *Fitz-Stephens* Forces and Companions of his For-tunes, who ioyning themſelues together, immediat-ly marcht to the Citie of *Weisford* vnder their Ban-ners, and that in the greateſt brauery they could, (the Knights and Men at Armes, in their * Co ates of Armes & Colours) to draw thereby now at the firſt the greater reputation to themſelues, and with opi-nion ſo gotten, to fill vp the ſmalneſſe of their num-ber: in which manner aſſailing the Citie, the *Iriſh* therein rendred themſelues, and in reward of the ſeruice, being alſo * according to capitulation, and en-couragement of others, who were to proceede in this warre, *Dermot*, to whoſe vſe the *Engliſh Gene-rall* had taken it, * beſtowed the Citie it ſelfe, and the Country about vpon *Robert Fitz-Stephen*, at his pleaſure to be diſpoſed of: and there the firſt Co-lony of our Nation was planted, which hath euer ſince immoueably maintained their abode among innumerable changes in the World, retaining at this day the ancient attire of the *Engliſh*, and the language alſo it ſelfe, though brackiſh with the mixture of vulgar *Iriſh*, which therefore by a diſtinct name is called *Weisford* ſpeech, current onely in that City, & the County about.

**Manuſcr. Clonmel, ibid.*
* The name of *Pendergaſt* yet remaines in Ire-land: taken firſt (as ſeemeth) frō a Towne of that name in Pen-brokeſhire.
* *Pendergaſts* coat Armour, was *Gules, a Sal-toyr Varie*, as my learned friend, M. *Bolton* (whoſe notes haue giuen me much light in this Kings life, and diuers o-thers) himſelfe obſerued in the the Friers Church at Clon-mell.
* *Giral. Cambr. in expug. Hiber.*
* *Camd. p.* 748. The firſt Engliſh Colonie.

(56) But *Robert Fitz-Stephen* thus aduanced, for his more aſſurance, beganne to raiſe a * Towne at *Carricke*, making the place which nature had alrea-dy fortified, much more by Art defenſible. This entrie into *Ireland* being by him now made (vnder the name of *Henry* King of *England*) and the ſucceſſe exceeding hope, *Richard Strongbow* receiuing ad-uertiſement from *Dermot*, and the new Lord of *Weisford*, of all occurrences; thought fit, firſt to diſpatch * ſome ſupplies to *Fitz-Stephen*, which a-bout the beginning of May, vnder the conduct of *Raimuud le groſſe* (a Gentleman of the Earles Fa-mily) were accordingly ſent: and after *Rai-mund* the Earle himſelfe in the ſame yeere ſet forth: His Forces were about * two hundreth men of Armes, and a thouſand other Souldiers, with whom hee came ſafe to Anchor in the Bay of *Waterford*, vpon the Vigil of Saint *Bartholomew*, *Au-guſt 23. Ann. 1171.* Earle *Richard* the Generall, knowing that expedition did carry with it terrour and aduantage, preſently marcheth to *Porthlarge*, (the

Weisford ſpeech.

**Camb. ibid.*

Earle *Richard* prepared for *Ireland*.

* *Annal. Hibern. apud Camb. p.* 795. *Raimund* ſent before with ſupplies.
* *Annal. Hibern. apud camb. p.* ead. *Anno* 1171. *Chron. Regum Mannie apud Cambd. Manuſcr. Clonm. Annalib. Hiber. apud Cam. vbi per-peram pon.* 1169. *pro* 1171. *vt patet ibid. ad An.* 1185.

Earle *Richards* first attempts. *Waterford* taken.

(the *Iriſh* name of *Waterford*) and vpon the very next day tooke the City by force, and ſacrificed the armed Inhabitants, to the reuenge of *Dermot*, ſo the rather to make roome, and ſecurity for themſelues, to the exceeding terrour, and juſt diſmay of all about, as they who found, that, howſoeuer the pretence was to re-ſettle *Dermot*, the purpoſe was to ſeat the *Engliſh* for euer.

He marrieth the Lady *Eua*.

(57) But *Dermot*, Author of this calamity to his Nation, reſolute in his purpoſe in full complement of his Contract, doth openly in ſolemne manner beſtow his promiſed daughter *Eua*, vpon the Conquerour in marriage, with his owne right hand giuing her in the Church: at which time, the famous *Strong-bow* did not celebrate his particular Wedding-day, but the indiſſoluble knot of the *Iriſh* allegiance to the *Engliſh* Soueraignetie, with the ſame Ring which circuled his Wiues Finger, affiancing that Iland to this our Country.

(58) The marriage performed, it was far from the mind of the Earle to ſpend much time in reuels and feaſts, but conſults with his men of warre what was next to be done for the ſetling his Father in law King *Dermot*, and for finiſhing the Conqueſt which was now ſo happily begunne, in two ſeuerall parts of *Ireland* at once. Leauing therefore a ſufficient Garriſon to make good the places already gain'd, and to ſecure the landing of freſh ſupplies, he ſets forward with his ſelected Companies, to whoſe victorious weapons the whole Realme lay open, ſo farre forth, that *Rotherick* himſelfe was very wel contented (notwithſtanding his lately vſurped, and ſwelling title of Monarch of *Ireland*) to hold himſelfe within the bogs and faſteneſſes of his peculiar Realme, the wild, and mountainous *Connaught*; meane while, *Strong-bow* keepes on his way ouer the boſome of *Ireland* to the principall City thereof, *Dublin*, taking in (as he marcheth) all the places about, and ſecuring himſelfe by pledges, of their loyalty, or otherwiſe as he ſaw moſt fit. In which journey, pleaſed with the delight & fertile ſituation of * *Kildare*, he reſolued there to ſettle his abode, and to erect a ſeat to his poſterity.

Earle *Richard* marcheth to *Dublin*.

Camd. p. 752.

Dublin taken.

The conqueſt of *Dublin* being ſpeedily, and moſt happily atchieued; not long after, *Dermot Mac Murgh*, Father in Law to the Earle, (whom the *Iriſh* for his affection to the *Engliſh*, call *Dermot Ningall*, that is, *Dermot* the *Strangers friend*) breathed his laſt at *Fernys*, dying, (*plenus dierum.*)

Dermot King of *Leinſter* dieth.

* *Annal. Hiber. præfat.*

(59) The fame of theſe ſucceſſes wafting ouer the *Iriſh*-Seas, and comming to the King, made him reſolue to paſſe in perſon thither, that he might haue the honor of the Conqueſt: and not approuing ſuch forwardneſſe in the Earle, who (as ſome ſay) went againſt his expreſſe commaundement, (and indeede * *Giraldus*, who liued at that time, calls his leaue no better then an Ironicall leaue) and for that he knew not to what inſolency ſuch faire fortune might in time allure, as alſo for that they ſeemed to handle the *Natiues* too rigorouſly; * thereupon *hee forbids by his Proclamations, any Veſſell to carry any thing out of his Dominions into Ireland, and commands all Engliſh to returne before Eaſter, and leaue off their attempts, or their eſtates in England ſhould be ſeized for the King.* By which Edict theſe affaires were brought into fearefull extremity, which was changed into better condition by the trauell of *Herueius de Monte Mariſco*, on the behalfe of the Earle, and the aduenturers, who finding the King in *Gloceſterſhire* with an Army for *Ireland*, appeaſed his diſpleaſure vpon theſe termes: *That the King ſhould haue the head-City of the Kingdome*, Dublin, *with the adjacent Cantreds, with all the Coaſt-townes and Caſtles, the reſt to remaine to the Conquerours to hold of the King, and of his Heires, and ſo to be vnder his protection, as Subjects ought, and as they were before*; which ſubjection it ſeemed to the King they meant to haue renounced.

* *Will. Paruus. Nic. Triuet. Holinſh p. 83.*
* *Giral. Cambr. cap. 13. lib. 1.*

* *Idem lib. 1. c. 19.*

(60) The Kings goodly Nauy lay in *Milford*-hauen, to which as hee journied, hee thundred againſt the Welſh Nobility, comming to entertaine him, for ſuffering *Strongbow* to depart: At laſt being imbarkt, he had a faire Gale which ſet him ſafe in *Ireland* with all his Forces at *Waterford*, where firſt hee commits to priſon *Robert Fitz-Stephen*, whom the Citizens preſented bound, hauing held him in cuſtody, vnder color of doing good ſeruice, becauſe hee had entred *Ireland* without the Kings particular leaue; yet ſoone after the King releaſed him, but depriued him of *Weisford*, and the Territories. Then takes he the homages of ſuch petty-Kings, and principall perſons of the *Iriſh* as repaired, diſmiſſing them in honourable ſort, meaning to winne them by gentle, and not exaſperating courſes; and marching through *Oſſyrie* to *Dublin*, he takes *ô Rotherick* the King of *Connaughts* homage by *Hugh Lacie*, and *William Fitz-Aldelm:* Laſtly, at *Dublin* he kept his Chriſtmas in Royall ſtate, which to behold, very many of the *Iriſh* Princes came thither.

Giral. Camb.

An. D. 1172.

King *Henries* doings in *Ireland*.

Giral. Camb lib. 1. Hib. exp. Ca. 31. 32. &c.

(61) Mindefull now of his duty to God, the Iland being calme, and ſilent, through the preſence of ſuch a mighty Monarch, the *moſt noble King of England, and Triumphator of Ireland* (as *mine Author ſtileth him) cauſeth a Synode to be holden at *Caſſils* for reformation of the *Iriſh* Church, where amongſt ſundry other conſtitutions, to which the *Iriſh* Clergy did willingly ſubmit, it was decreed, *That all the Church-Lands, and their poſſeſſions ſhould be altogether free from the exaction of ſecular men, and that from thenceforth, all Diuine things ſhould be handled in euery part of Ireland in ſuch ſort, as the Church of "England handleth them.* For, (ſaith the Conſtitu- "tion) it is moſt juſt, and meete, that as *Ireland* hath "by Gods mercy obtained a Lord, and King out of "*England*, ſo alſo that from thence they ſhould re- "ceiue a better forme of life, and manners, then here- "tofore they vſed.

Religion eſtabliſhed by a Synode at Caſhell.

* *Idem. cap. 33. & 34.*

(62) The King continuing his politicke jealouſies, and thinking *Strongbow* to be as yet too great, draws from his dependency *Raimund*, *Milo Cogan*, *William Makarel*, and other of the beſt Captaines, and makes them his owne by bounty. But before hee could fully eſtabliſh that Kingdome (the inſeparable euill fate thereof, which would neuer ſuffer it to enjoy the bleſſed benefit of exact ciuility) other affaires which hee eſteemed more neceſſary, call him away, and therefore hauing left *Hugh Lacie* at *Dublin*, he ſets ſaile for *England* vpon Eaſter *Monday, and landed happily at Saint *Dauids* in *Pembrookeſhire*, from whence with all ſpeede hee poſteth into *Normandie*.

* Eaſter day after noone ſaith *Matth. Paris* and *Ypodigm. Neuſtr.*

(63) In *Normandy* there attended for his arriuall two Cardinalls, ſent as Legates at his owne requeſt, for taking his purgation concerning the death of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, whereof, *vpon oath that he was no way conſenting to that cruell, and ſacrilegious reuenge, and declaring withall his infinite ſorrow for hauing in his anger giuen occaſion by raſh words for others to doe that deede, and giuing further oath to performe enioyned penances*, he was by them abſolued. The condition of his abſolutions were; That he ſhould at his owne charge maintaine two hundreth Souldiers for an whole yeere for defence of the Holy-land. That hee ſhould ſuffer Appeales to be made freely. That he ſhould reuoke all Cuſtomes introduced to the prejudice of the Churches libertie. That hee ſhould reſtore and make vp the poſſeſſions of the Church of *Canterburie*. That hee ſhould freely receiue all ſuch as were in baniſhment for *Beckets* cauſe, &c. Not long after, *Thomas* was canonized by Pope *Alexander*, and ſo not onely the victory clearely giuen him againſt King *Henry*, but a triumph alſo.

Giral. Camb. Hib. exp. lib. 1. cap. 38.

Math. Paris. Sabellicus Ennead 9. lib. 5.

Matth. Weſtm. Nic. Triuet. Holinſh. pag. 83.

(64) Now began the wombe of rebellion, and vnnaturall conſpiracies to diſcloſe the miſchiefes which were ordained to exerciſe this right redoubted King and Warriour, hatched heere at home by the malice (ſome ſay) of *Eleanor* his Queene, at ſuch time as he was abſent in *Ireland*, ſo that as * one writes

* *Mat. Paris.*

writes, *God ſtirred vp the Kings owne bowels againſt himſelfe.* Cauſes of this vnhappie diſſention, there were many: Firſt, a Queene and *Wife*, violently vindicatiue for wrong done vnto her Bed by the King, who was immoderatly addicted to varietie of loues: then Ambition in an euill-natur'd Child; and laſtly, pernicious Actors and inſtruments, who, for their owne ends, nouriſhed this curſed miſchiefe; ſo as if we ſhould out of our ſtories re-capitulate the ſeuerall occaſions taken by the ſonne againſt the father, wee ſhould rather ſhew you the colours, then the cauſes: For none of thoſe cauſes which his Son pretended, ſeemed great enough with men that feare God, to beare out ſuch continuall diuiſions as followed.

(65) The head of this conſpiracy was very great, and juſtly very terrible: for on the ſide of King *Henry* the ſonne, there were the Kings of *France* and *Scotland*, * *Richard* and *Geffrey*, two yonger ſonnes of the King of *England*, whom by their mothers perſwaſions they forſooke, to follow the young King; *Dauid* the *Scotiſh* Kings brother, *Philip* Earle of *Flanders*, (a Peere of *France*, and a potent Prince,) *Matthew* Earle of *Boloigne*, *Theobald* Earle of *Blois*, *Hugh* Earle of *Cheſter*, *Robert* Earle of *Leiceſter*, *Hugh Bygod* Earle of *Norfolke*, *Roger Mowbray*, and other great ones, in great numbers, ſo as nothing ſeemed wanting, but onely a good cauſe, which (ſuch as it was) Queene *Elianor*, like an *Alecto*, kept aliue, ſo much as lay in her, with perpetuall fomentations. And indeed the ſcope of theſe confederats did require no leſſe a combination, it being to depoſe the Father, whom it pleaſed them (for countenance of their vngodly armes) to repute no King, becauſe hee had crowned his ſonne.

(66) Though nothing then could come more greeuous, to the bleeding heart of a moſt louing father, then ſuch a warre; yet not to be vnprouided, hee (like a Souldier) prepares himſelfe, when faire meanes fail'd, and found multitudes readie to liue and die with him; the indignitie of the vnnaturall reuolt, did ſo much inflame all honeſt courages, which acknowledged him their Soueraigne.

(67) The particular accidents of the wars would fill a volume. At one time *Normandie*, *Guyen*, and *Britaine* were inuaded by the confederats in *France*, and at the ſame time *Cumberland* by the *Scots*. But the King of *England* had friends in all thoſe parts, & himſelfe hearing that *Vernuil* was * beſieged by the *French* King in perſon, hee began at laſt to kindle, hauing, like a ſleeping Lion, ſitten ſtill all that while, and for that the place had (vpon parlea) agreed to render if aid came not by a day) hee arriued to their ſuccour within the time, * ſending King *Lewis* word that hee ſhould get him forth of *Normandie* with ſpeede, or he would without faile, come, and ſee how hee did vpon that very day. *Lewis*, meaning nothing leſſe then to put his owne Crowne in danger, while he ſought one for his ſonne in law, (and therefore in all the warre-time would neuer ſet vp his reſt vpon a battell,) but willing otherwiſe to doe to King *Henrie* the father, all the harme hee could, by countenancing the faction, and ſupporting the reuolted male-contents with his beſt meanes, and knowing King *Henry* was a ſower and terrible Prince when he came indeede to fight, immediately raiſed his ſiege, and with as much haſt as hee might, abandoned the place, * leauing his Campe, Tents, and warlike prouiſions behinde, and retired into *France*.

An. D. 1173.

(68) And though King *Henrie*, beginning now indeede to ſhake his dreadfull ſword, had many faire daies of his enemies, mixt with ſome loſſes both of men and other ſtrengths, though not great, nor many, in regard of the ouerthrowes which on his behalfe were giuen: For that in *Britaine* his forces had in battell vanquiſhed * *Hugh* Earle of *Cheſter*, & *Ralph de Foulgiers*, and ſlaine about one thouſand and fiue hundred of their army; & in *England*, *Reignald* Earle of *Cornwall*, and *Richard de Lucie*, had in bloudy battell * ouerthrowne the inſolent Earle of *Leiceſter*, and * entred the towne of *Leiceſter* by force; and that hee had the perſons of the ſaid * *Hugh Lupus* Earle of *Cheſter*, *Ralph de Foulgiers*, and verie many other priſoners of eſpeciall note and Nobility; yet *Lewis* the *French* King mooning a parlea, the father deſirous to vſe the good fortune of warre, to reclaime his rebels, was ſo willing to make peace, that hee might ſeeme to haue out-gone expectation in the qualitie of his offers, but through ſuch wicked perſwaſions as were vſed, preuailed not.

(69) A violent fire-brand in this diuiſion, was *Robert* Earle of *Leiceſter*, being matched with a Ladie no leſſe proud, and ſtomachious then himſelfe; who at this meeting, was not contented to haue affronted King *Henrie* the father, on the behalfe of his young Lord and Maſter the ſonne, but (after many words of reproach) is ſaid to haue laide his daring hand vpon his ſword, with purpoſe to haue ſtrucken the King, had he not been with-holden: (and where ſuch ſpirits had to doe, it is eaſie to gueſſe what kinds of counſell were like to be embraced and purſued;) hauing forſaken the father, not for that the others cauſe was more honeſt, *but for that* (ſaith *Thomas Walſingham*) *the father-King, labouring to enlarge the Regall-power, ſought to ſet his foot vpon the necks of the proud and haughtie.*

(70) But God, who meant to chaſtiſe the King, and not to deliuer him vp into his enemies hands, deſtroyed thoſe hopes that mooued the ſonnes to their vnnaturall attempts; for it was not long after, when newes came into *Normandy*, that his faithfull friends and ſeruants, * *Richard de Lucie*, and *Humphrey de Bohun* high Conſtable of *England*, together with the powers of *Reignald* Earle of *Cornwall* the Kings Vncle, *Robert* Earle of *Gloceſter*, and *William* Earle of *Arundell*, not farre from *Buries*, couragiouſlie encountred with the Earle of *Leiceſter*, and his * *Flemings*, of whom aboue * fiue thouſand were ſlaine, or taken, and among the priſoners was the Earle himſelfe, & * his *Amazonian* Counteſſe, whoſe perſons at his commaundement were not long after brought ouer into *Normandie*.

(71) This * great victorie and other good ſucceſſe, did ſo much aduauntage the King, that *Lewis* beginning to diſtruſt the enterprize, ſought for ſixe moneths truce for himſelfe, and had it granted: but becauſe there were yet in *England*, two principall men, * the Earle of *Norfolke*, and *Roger Mowbray*, which held out; hauing *Leiceſter* for their *Randeuou*, and ſeat of warre, with no ſmall numbers of partakers, notwithſtanding that *Geffrey* (the Elect of *Lincolne*, the Kings baſe ſonne) had taken two of *Mowbraies* Caſtles, and done other good ſeruice for his Lord and Father, the truce ſerued the enemie for no other purpoſe but to breath, and to repaire himſelfe.

(72) The father (of whom *Lewis* ſaid, that, *hee ſeemed not to goe, but to flie*, hee went with ſuch celerity from one place and kingdome to another) in the meane while, recouers *Xaincts* from *Richard* his violent ſonne, weakening that partie by ſo much, and would haue weakened it farre more, but that aduertiſments came poſt, declaring ſuch matter, as made him ſpeed into *Normandie*.

(73) Thither * came vnto him out of *England*, *Richard* (the Elect of *Winchеſter*) ſent with all haſt by the Kings Iuſticiaries, to lay open vnto him, the dangerous eſtate wherein the Realme at that time ſtood. For after that *Philip* Earle of *Flanders* had ſolemnelie ſworne to inuade *England*, in ſupportation of young *Henries* quarrell, ſundrie forces arriuing and ioyning with *Hugh Bygod* Earle of *Norfolke*, had taken & ſpoyled the City of *Norwich*, and done otherwiſe much harme, whereby the young King and his faction had taken great encouragement, as if the die of Warre were turned, and aſwell the young King as the Earle of *Flanders*, were come with forces to the Coaſts, there to tranſport for *England*: * Moreouer, *Robert* Earle *Ferrers* of *Derby* (who was falne

* Ypodig. Neuſtr.
* Rog. Howed.
* Matth. Paris. Ypodig. Neuſtr.
* Th. Walſ. in Ypodig. Neuſtr.
* Rog. Howed.
* Matth. Paris.
* Polyd. Virg.
* Ypodigm. Neuſt.
Houeden.
Matth. Paris. The outragious and diſloyall behauiour of the Earle of *Leiceſter*.
Rog. Howed. Holinſh.
Ypodig. Neuſtr.
The Kings victorie in *England*, he being abſent.
* Polyd. Virg. Henry Hunt. Holinſh. in H. 2.
* Gallos quidam vocat.
* Houeden, and Polyd. Virg. ſaith 10000. were there ſlaine.
* Matth. Paris. *Lewis* King of *France* concludes a truce. Polyd. Virg.
* Matth. Paris.
Ypodig. Neuſtr.
* Matth. Paris. Great new dangers againſt the King.
* Rog. Howed.

from the father) had ſuddenly entred vpon *Nottingham*, burnt the Towne, beaten out the Kings Garriſon, ſlaine the people, and (enricht with ſpoyle) retired to *Leiceſter*, whether about the ſame time, *Anketill Malorie* (Conſtable thereof) had alſo brought about two hundred priſoners, taken at *Northampton*, which he (with ſlaughter of the like number of the Towns-men) had alſo ſuddenly ſurprized and taken: ſo that the Realme ſtood doubtfull, and in extreame perill; to the encreaſe whereof, *William* King of *Scots* (being deepe in the confederacy) inuaded *England*, diuiding his Forces, himſelfe with part waſting *Northumberland*, and *Duncan* (a very cruell Captaine) with the other deſtroying the weſterne Borderers.

King *Henrie* ſailes into *Normandy*.

(74) The Father wonderfully ſtirred heerewith, leaues *Normandy* in as good aſſurance as the time would permit, and ſends before him to the Ships, *Eleanor* his owne Queene, and Queene *Margaret* his ſonnes wife, his ſonne *Iohn*, &c. the Earle of *Leiceſter* and his Counteſſe, with many other priſoners, and a mightie Armie; but the winde changing, and hee compelled to ſtay in harbour at *Barbefleet* in *Normandie*, where he had taken ſhipping, hee is ſaid (GOD touching his heart) to haue vttered theſe wordes with much remorſe, in the preſence of all; If my purpoſe in this voyage be for the "peace of the Clergy and people, and if the King "of Heauen ſhall vouchſafe to quiet and calme theſe "troubles at my arriuall, then for his mercies ſake "wee beſeech him to ſend vs a proſperous winde: "But if he be againſt it, and hath reſolued to viſit the "Kingdome of *England* with the rod of his fury, let "him graunt mee neuer to touch the ſhore of that "Country more. His Prayer thus vttered from the depth of ſoule, was ſeconded with a freſh perie of winde: whereupon ſetting ſayle, hee arriued ſafe the ſame day with all his Nauie at the Port of *Hampton* in *England*.

(75) The next day he tooke his journey towards *Canterbury*, where (as it appeareth) the reſidue of his penance enioyned him at his Abſolution, was to be performed. For, beſides the fore-mentioned conditions, the *Legates enioyned him* (ſaith the *Author of *Beckets* life) *ſome other thing ſecretly, which came not to our knowledge*; yea the * Legates themſelues wrote in their owne letters, that *he then promiſed to doe (voluntarily*, if yee liſt to beleeue it) *ſome things which was not fit for them to lay open in writing*. And well might they be aſhamed thereof; but if it were ſo vnfit to be written, how vnfit was it to be impoſed on ſuch a Soueraigne Prince? what it was, let * *Houeden* report. The King comming towardes the Church, where the late Archbiſhop was buried, clad all in woollen, *went three miles bare-footed, inſomuch, that the verie ground where he went, was bloudie, as was euidently ſeene, much bloud running from his tender feete which were cut with the hard ſtones*. Neither yet was this the worſt; for after all this, *Hee receiued Diſcipline at the hands of the Biſhops, of a great many Prieſts, and of the Monks. Geruaſius* names *Abbots* alſo, whereby appeares, that euery ſeuerall ſort were to haue a hand in that ſeruice. *Matthew Paris* can tell you more plainly what that *Diſcipling* was: *viz.* he *receiued the diſcipline of rods on his bare fleſh, receiuing of euery religious man, (a great multitude of them being there gathered) 3. or 5. jerkes a peece*: whence we may eaſily beleeue, *Baronius* and his *Author ſpake within compaſſe, who acknowledge he receiued 80. laſhes. To ſuch height was the Papall tyranny and pride grown towards thoſe, of whom God had ſaid expreſly, *Touch not mine Annointed*.

(76) Yet ſome Monkes of that age, attribute the happy and great ſucceſſe which enſued, to the reconcilement which King *Henrie* thus made with GOD for the bloud of *Thomas*, becauſe it pleaſed God to deliuer his enemy *William* King of *Scots* into the hands of his ſouldiers about that very time, and did alſo with ſtormes beate backe into *France* his diſobedient ſonne the young King, being now vnder ſaile for *England*, ſcattering the whole Fleete, and almoſt ſinking it with tempeſt.

(77) The Kings other actions till his next returne into *Normandy*, which was not long after, (becauſe *Lewis* King of *France*, and his ſonne in law the young King *Henrie*, the head to which all this putrified humour drew, with the Earle of *Flanders* had laid a ſtrong ſiege to the Citie of *Roan*) * *Thomas Walſingham* comprehends in theſe few wordes; *He tamed his rebels, put his enemies to flight, ſeized on their fortreſſes*. And ſo hauing in a manner miraculouſly quieted the Realme, hee takes with him the King of *Scotland*, the Earles of *Leiceſter* and *Cheſter*, with other his chiefe Priſoners, * (whom hee afterwards firſt impriſoned at *Cane* in *Normandy*, & then at *Faleis*) but leauiug his ſeditious wife behinde him vnder ſtraight cuſtody, hee arriues with his puiſſance in *Normandy*, which being vnderſtood in the Confederates Campe, the ſame * brake vp, and firſt ſetting fire on all the engines of warre, retreated into *France*, in ſuch ſort, that the *Engliſh* ſouldiers laid hold vpon much munition and warlike furniture. *Roger Houeden*, (a very ſure Author) ſaith * that the confederates had onely beſieged *Roan* vpon one ſide, and that *Lewis* hearing that the victorious King *Henrie* was within *Roan*, did firſt ſend away the weake, and worſt of his Armie, and then deceiuing the *Engliſh* with a ſolemne promiſe of returning the next day, to enter into a conference with the King about making a finall agreement, did depart; ſo that *Houeden* aggrauates the diſhonour of the retreat, with the note of faith-breach.

(78) Let the greatneſſe and felicity of this King be now but ſleightly looked vpon, and it will appeare, that no Prince of thoſe times was hitherto ſo much bound to God for manifold fauours as hee. The King and power of *France*, after ſo many attempts with the young King of *England*, and all their forces, flying at his preſence without any ſtroke ſtrucken, the valiant king of *Scotland* priſoner, and the chiefeſt of his Rebels vnder his foote, *England* aſſured, *Scotland* diſmayed, *Ireland* retained, *Wales* miniſtring ſouldiers, *Normandy* in poſſeſſion, and all the coaſting Regions, *Britaine*, *Anjou*, *Poictou*, *Main*, *Tourain*, *Limoſin*, *Gaſcoign*, *Guien*, &c. from thence as farre as the Mountaines which ſeparate *Spaine* from *France*, vnder his dominion; and the bleſſing of Peace, ſhortly after enſuing, vpon ſuch termes as himſelfe could reaſonably wiſh, made him like another *Salomon* to be ſought vnto: his Wiſedome and Magnificence being in ſuch high credite through the Chriſtian World, that the Kings of *Caſtile* and *Nauarre* choſe him ſole Arbiter in their debate, which to both their contentment he moſt wiſely determined; and then * at one time in his Palace at Weſtminſter were ſeene together, the Ambaſſadours of *Manuel* Emperour of *Conſtantinople*, of *Fredericke* Emperour of *Romans*, of * *William* Archbiſhop of *Triers* in *Germany*, (a mighty Prince) of the Duke of *Saxonie*, and of *Philipp* Earle of *Flanders*. Moreouer he had the gouernment of *France* for a time, the Kingdome of *Ieruſalem* offered him, but refuſed, and two of his daughters married to the two Kings * of *Caſtile* and *Sicilie*.

(79) There was firſt therefore a truce taken betwixt the three Kings, *Lewis* and the two *Henries*; wherein *Richard* (who ſtood out) was left to his Fathers proſecution, who ſeeing himſelfe thus deſtitute after many flaſhes of preparation to reſiſt, and great conflicts with himſelfe, put himſelfe moſt humbly into his Fathers mercy, and throwing himſelfe * with teares at his feete, obtained the pardon hee begd, and a full reſtitution to his moſt inward grace and fauour. A moſt chriſtian, fatherly, wiſe, and happy Act; for *Richard* ouercome with this vnexpected and incredible goodneſſe, neuer deſiſted till he had brought the yong King to a finall attonement, armes

the King was taken, 13. Iul. An.D.1174.

*Ypodigm. Neuſtr.

* *Roger Houed.*

* *Matth. Paris. Ypodig. Neuſtri.*

*Rog. Houeden.

The great felicity of King *Henry*.

An.D.1175.

**Matthew Paris*. *Roger Houeden*. *Ypodigm. Neuſtr.*

* *Roger Houeden.*

* *Matth. Paris. Ypodigm. Neuſtr.*

* *Roger Houeden.*

* *Matth. Paris.*

* *Roger Houed.*

*Vita B. Th. l. 4. ca. 5.

* *Epiſt. ad Archi. Rauen. apud Houeden.*

* *Roger Houeden, in H. 2. pa. 308.*

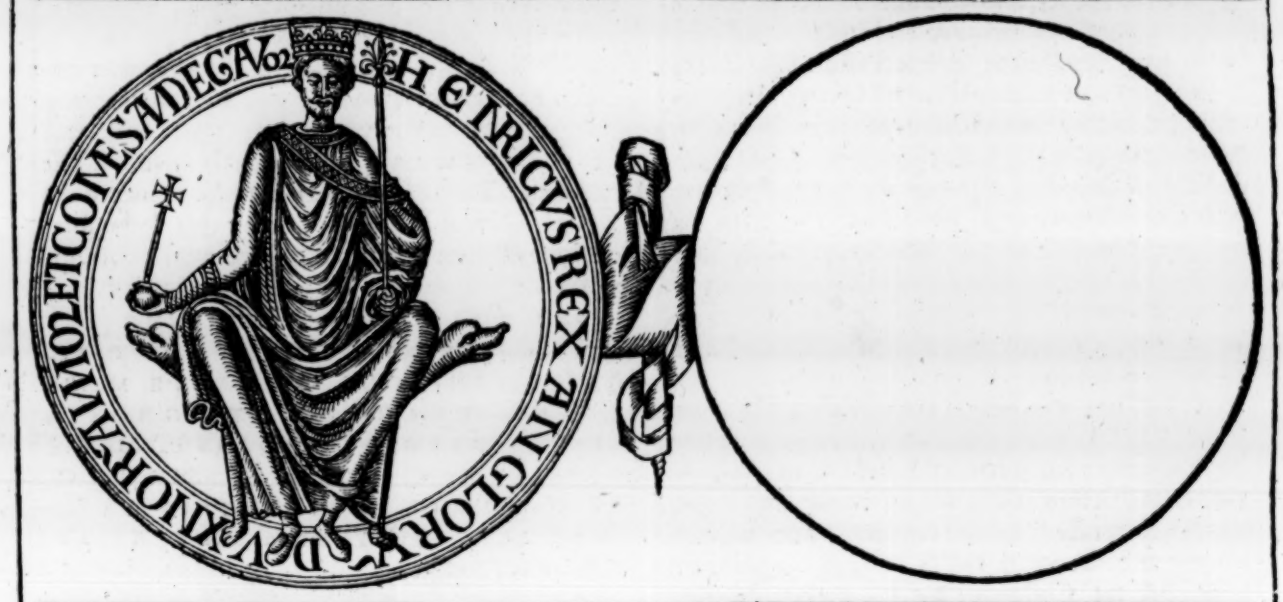
Math. Paris An.D.1174. *Walſingham. Nubrig. Capgraue. Geru. Dorob.* &c.

* *Apud Baron.* An.D.1174.

Matth. Paris. Rog. Houeden. Ypodigm. Neuſtr. Hector Boetius. 13. *li. ca.* 3. ſaith

armes being laid apart vpon all hands. The chiefe points of that wiſhed peace were: 1. That *Henrie* the young King, with *Richard* and *Geffrey*, his Brethren, ſhould returne, freed from all oathes of confederation, to the King their Fathers obedience, as to their Lord and Father. 2. That Priſoners ſhould be ſet at large without ranſome on all hands. 3. That *William* King of *Scots*, the Earle of *Leiceſter* and *Cheſter*, *Ralph de Foulgiers*, & other, who had compounded for their ranſome, before this concluſion, ſhould haue no benefit of this exemption. 4. That King *Henry* the Father ſhould take aſſurance of loialty toward him by hoſtage, or oath of ſuch as were enlarged. 5. That King *Henry* the ſon ſhould ratifie that Grant which his Father the King had made to his ſon *Iohn*, of ſome Caſtles, & yeerly rents in *England*, &c. The Seale it ſelfe, wherewith the yong king made this mentioned Ratification, we haue here annexed.

An.D.1175. The Articles of Peace.



(80) Touching King *William* of *Scotland*, his fore-mentioned compounding, our Hiſtorians all agree not, ſome ſaying more, * ſome leſſe: but *Hector Boetius* (a Scotiſh Hiſtorian of ſome credit with that Nation) writes; 1. That King *William* was to pay 100000. li. Sterling for his ranſome, the one half in preſent coine, the other 50000. li. vpon time. 2. That for aſſurance of that ſumme the Earledomes of *Northumberland*, *Cumberland*, & *Huntington* ſhould reſt in morgage. 3. That K. *William* ſhould moue no warre againſt *England* for the retention of thoſe lands. 4. That, for the more ſecuritie of the premiſſes, the caſtles of *Berwick*, *Edenbrough*, *Roxbrough* and *Striueling* ſhould be deliuered to the *Engliſh*.

* *Houeden. Matth. Paris. Nic. Triuet. Walſingh. &c.*
* *Polyd. Virg. Hiſt. Angl. lib. 13.*
* *Hect. Boe. tranſla. lib. 13. cap. 5.*
The points according to the *Scotiſh* Authors.

(81) In the meane while, King *Henrie* according to Couenants, diſchargeth out of captiuitie nine hundred ſixty and nine men of Armes, taken in thoſe late warres; and King *Henrie* the ſonne diſcharged aboue one hundreth; and hauing accompliſhed whatſoeuer might content or ſecure his Father, they prepared for *England*, where the joyous letters of their comming written by the Father, had begotten great and longing expectations in the ſubjects; which he did, (ſaith *Paris*) *That whom the generall danger of warre had afflicted, the common gladneſſe might re-comfort.* In their trauaile thitherward, the confidence was ſuch vpon this freſh reconcilement, that one Chamber and Table ſerued both, for whom before one Kingdome was not wide enough. They landed at * *Portſmouth* vpon Friday, 20. *Maij*, 1175.

Mat. Paris.

* *Roger Houed.*
An.D.1175.

(82) The face of *England* at this preſent, was like that of a quiet skie and ſea, no blaſt, no billow, no appearing ſigne of diſcontentment; which the better to continue, King *Henrie* the Father accompanied with the King his ſonne, omitted no office of a juſt and prudent Gouernour, viſiting a great part of his Realme in perſon, conſulting, ordering and enacting ſuch Lawes and courſes, as might moſt eſtabliſh the good of Peace. Hence it came, that at *London* both the Kings were preſent in a Synode, in which *Richard* lately choſen Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, did publiſh (*with the Kings aſſent) certain Canons for the better gouernement of the Church of *England*, beginning thus; *At the true fountaine of all happy rule*, that is to ſay, *at the honour of God, and eſtabliſhment of Religion and Diſcipline, &c.* and amongſt the reſt, this one Canon in eſpecial words is enacted, *both by authority of the King & Synod*, (and indeed worthy for euer to be in force) *That euery Patrone taking reward for any preſentation, ſhould for euer looſe the Patronage thereof.* And the ſame King not long after being at *Woodſtocke*, in accompliſhment of ſuch holy purpoſes, by aduiſe of the Clergy prouided men to ſuch Biſhopricks, Abbacies, and principal Cures as were vacant, where King *Henrie* the Father forgat not his true friend *Iohn* of *Oxenford*, whom he preferred to the See of *Norwich*.

Conſtitutions at *London*, the Kings being preſent.
* *Geruaſius. Roger Houeden.*

Houeden in H. 2. fol. 410. Symonie was loſſe of Patronage for euer.

(83) From hence comming to *Yorke*, he ſet thoſe parts in peace; whither *William* King of *Scots** repayring, ſundry matters of importance were handled betweene the two Kings: as likewiſe afterward at *Windſor* (where the King had called a great aſſembly of the Lords Spirituall and Temporall) *Rotherick* King of *Connaught* in *Ireland*) at the ſuite of his Ambaſſadors, the Archbiſhop of *Thuamon* and *Toomund*, & others of that nation, ſubjects to *Rotherick*) was receiued into protection & fauour, and became Tributarie: K. *Henry* being vnwilling* to fiſh with an hooke of Gold, which in warring vpon *Ireland* he ſhould ſeeme to doe. In an other Parliament, not long after, at *Northampton*, he cauſed *England* to be diuided into ſixe circuits, & to each Circuit three Iuſticiars Itinerants deputed; and as well to giue his lawes more free paſſage, as alſo the better to ſecure himſelfe, hee threw to the Earth ſundry * Caſtles which had bin formerly kept againſt him, as *Leiceſter*, *Huntington*, *Walton*, *Groby*, *Stutesbury*, *&c.* and had the reſt both in his *Engliſh* and in his French Dominions committed to his diſpoſition.

The Kings at *Yorke.*

Polydor. Virg. Parliament at *Northampton.*

An.D.1176. The firſt Iuſticiars *Itinerants. Holinſh. in H. 2. Houeden.*

* *Matth. Paris. Roger Wend. Manuſc.*

(84) The young King * about theſe times diſcouered freſh alienations in his minde againſt his Father; who yet diſſembling all, did arme notwithſtanding vpon the defenſiue, and repleniſhed both *England* and *Normandie* with Garriſons, which drew the ſonne the ſooner to come in.

* *Roger Houeden. Polyd. Virg.*

(85) But the old King not vnwilling perhaps (leſt the Brethrens concord might proue no better then a conſpiracie againſt the Father) that his warlike Children ſhould contend, * did nouriſh debate among them: Certaine it is, that to diuert the warre from himſelfe, he appeaſed his ſonne the King with an encreaſe of maintenance for himſelfe, amounting in the whole to an hundreth pounds *Anjouin* by the day, and ten pounds of the ſame money for his wife the Queene: and whereas *Alice* (daughter of *Lewis* then King of *France*, who was maried at three yeares of age to *Richard* (ſecond ſonne of King *Henrie*) when he was but ſeauen, and now demaunded of King *Henrie* the Father, to the intent that *Richard* her husband might enjoy her, the old *King* who was * ſuſpected

* *Tho. Walſingh. in Ypodigm. Neuſtr.*

Polyd. Virg. in *Hen. 2.* calls her *Adela.*

* Roger Houeden.

* ſuſpected to haue deflowred her, for that time ſhifted off the deliuery of her perſon, in ſuch ſort that peace was not hindered thereby.

An.D.1183.
* Roger Wend. Math. Paris. Th. Walſ. in Ypodig. Neuſtr.

(86) But while the yong King by his Fathers *inſtigation ſought by force to conſtraine young *Richard* to doe homage to him for *Aquitaine*, and King *Henrie* the Father for the ſame cauſe commaunded *Geffrey* his third ſon, Duke of *Britaine* (whom ſome for his extraordinary perfidiouſneſſe in this ſeruice toward his Father, and manifold Sacriledge, cals the * *Child of Perdition*) to ayde and aſſiſt his ſaid elder brother; while alſo the jealous Father (*out of the ſtrife of his ſonnes*) ſought his own ſafety, and in nouriſhing it, had by the treachery of the ſaid ſonnes bin twice endangered, and had at both times beene wonderfully preſerued; and while the young King by profound diſſimulations, plotted to bring both his Father and Brother *Richard* into ſubjection; behold the hand of God by taking away the young King at *Martell* not farre from *Linoges*, where his Father lay at ſiege, gaue an end to this odious, foule, and intricate contention.

*Roger Houeden.

King *Henrie* the ſonne dies in the flowre of his youth.
* Rog. Wend. M.S. Mat. Paris Thom. Walſing. Ypodig. Neuſtr.

(87) Thus was his life cut off like a Weauers threed (ſay * Authors) who had by dying cut off the hope of many: But whatſoeuer his life was, which God thus ſhortned at his age of twentie and eight yeeres; certainely his death was not inglorious, but worthy to be ſet out in Tables at large as a patterne to diſobedient Children: for his Father refuſing to viſite him (fearing his owne life,) but ſending his Ring in ſigne of forgiueneſſe; the dying Prince moſt humbly with flouds of teares kiſſing the ſame, made a moſt ſorrowfull confeſſion of his ſinnes, and feeling death approach, would needes be drawne (as an vnworthy ſinner) out of his owne bed, and laid vpon another, ſtrewed with aſhes, where his Soule departed in a moſt penitent manner from his body; which being related to the Father, hee fell vpon the earth, weeping bitterly, & (like * another *Dauid* for his *Abſolon*) mourned very much, *O quam nefandũ eſt!* ſaith "one moſt grauely: *O how hainous a thing it is for "ſons to perſecute the father! for neither the ſword of "the fighter, nor, the hand of an enemy, did auenge "the fathers wrong, but a feuer and a flux with exco-"riation of the bowels.* His body was buried (by his owne deſire) at *Roan*; (which yet was not done without trouble, as if the factions, of which hee was the cauſe in his life, did by a kind of Fate, not forſake him being dead; for the Citizens of *Mauns* hauing interred it, they of *Roan* without menaces, and the fathers expreſſe commandement, could not obtaine it, who thereupon was taken vp againe,) but his wife Queen *Margaret* was ſent backe into *France*, and his ſuruiuing ſonnes were once againe reduced to due obedience, not any enemy daring to appeare.

* Roger Houed.

An.D.1183.

(88) Who would not haue thought, that this ſtirring Prince, ſhould haue had opportunitie to end his daies in peace and glorie? but it was otherwiſe ordained by God, and ancient Writers hold, he was principally ſcourged, for being drawne, by ſeeming reaſons of State, to put off an holy enterprize, the occaſion whereof, was laide as it were at his foote. For *Heraclius* Patriarcke of *Hieruſalem*, drawn with the ſuper-eminent fame of King *Henries* wiſedome, valour, riches, and puiſſance, trauailed from thence into *England*, where, * at *Clerkenwell* by *London*, in an Aſſembly of the States purpoſely called, the King made knowne to them: That Pope *Lucius* had by earneſt Letters, commended the lamentable ſtate of the *Holy-land*, & the Patriarcke *Heraclius* vnto him: That *Heraclius* (there preſent) had ſtirred compaſſion, and teares, at the rehearſall of the tragicall afflictions of the Eaſterne World, and had brought with him (for memorable * ſignes, that the ſuite was by common conſent of the Countrey) the *Keyes* of the places of *Chriſts Natiuitie*, *Paſſion*, and *Reſurrection*; of *Dauids Tower*, and of the holy *Sepulchre*; and the humble offer of the *Kingdome* of *Hieruſalem*, with the *Enſigne* or *Standard* of the *Kingdome*, as * duely

An.D.1184.

* Matt. Paris Roger Wend.

* Rog. Houed. Matth. Paru.

* Roger Houed. fol. 358.

belonging to him, who was right heire thereunto; to wit, the ſonne of *Geffrey* Earle of *Anjou*, whoſe brother *Fulke* was King of *Hieruſalem*.

King *Henry* refuſeth the kingdom of *Ieruſalem*.

(89) Neuertheleſſe, (the King hauing at leſtwiſe formally, adjured the Lords to aduiſe him, that which ſhould be moſt for his Soules health) it was thought fit, to aide the cauſe with money, but not to employ his perſon, nor the perſon of any Childe he had, which was the Patriarcks laſt requeſt; and thereupon (to the vnſpeakable griefe of the ſaid Patriarcke, and of the whole *Chriſtianitie* of the Eaſt) he refuſed the ſaid Kingdome, and abandoned as noble an occaſion of immortall renowne, as euer any King of *England* had beene offered; but gaue leaue * to all ſuch as would, to take vpon them the Croſſe and ſerue. This *Heraclius* is hee who dedicated the *Temple*-Church in *London*, as by this Inſcription ouer the Church-doore in the Stone-worke doth appeare.

* Roger Houed. fol. 358.

ANNO AB INCARNATIONE DOMINI M.C.LXXXV DEDICATA HEC ECCLESIA IN HONOREM BEATE MARIE A DNO ERACLIO DEI GRATIA SANCTE RESVRRECTIONIS ECCLESIE PATRIARCHA, II. IDVS FEBRVARII Qi EAM ANNATIM PETENTIBVS DE INIVNCTA Si. PENITENTIA LX DIES INDVLSIT.

An Inſcription vpon the *Temple* Church.

(90) Thus the ſorrowfull Patriarcke being diſmiſſed (not forgetting as * ſome doe write, to thunder againſt the King for abandoning the cauſe) brought backe nothing but diſcomfort and deſpaire, the *Weſterne* Princes (by the Diuels malicious Arts) beeing wrapt and knotted in mutuall ſuſpitions and quarrells indetermined; whereupon ſhortly after enſued, with the loſſe of *Ieruſalem*, the captiuity of *Guido* King thereof, and of innumerable Chriſtians beſides; whom *Sultan Saladin*, Prince of the *Muſulmans* or *Saracens*, to the griefe and diſgrace of all the Chriſtian world, did vanquiſh.

Heraclius departs
* Rand. Higden. Polydor. Virg. in H. 2.

An.D.1185.
Roger Houed.

(91) But, King *Henries* minde was more fixed on ſetling the State of his already-poſſeſſed kingdomes, and therefore in a great Parliament, held at *Oxford*, (vnto which came *Rheſus* and *Dauid*, kings of *South-Wales* and *North-Wales*, with other their chiefe Nobles, which all did there ſweare fealty to the King) he being deſirous to aduaunce his ſonne *Iohn* (whom he exceedingly loued, and commonly in ſport, hee called *Sans-terræ*) hauing aſſured vpon him certaine Lands and Rents in *England* and *Normandy*, did there very ſolemnely giue him alſo the title and Kingdome of *Ireland*; for, (beſides the foreſaid Bull of Pope *Adrian* the fourth, who for ſigne of inueſtiture had alſo ſent a * Ring of Gold, which were laid vp in the Records at *Wincheſter*) *Giraldus* (who liued in that age) tells vs, (to omitte what hee writes of one *Gurguntius*) that *Guillomar* King of *Ireland*, was tributary to the famous *Arthur*: that *Baion* (whence (ſaith he) the *Iriſh* came) was at that preſent vnder King *Henrie* the ſecond; and that the *Iriſh* Princes had *voluntarily ſubmitted themſelues*, as vnto him who by the * *Law of a Sociall warre*, was become their Soueraigne. But that Author had not ſeene belike, or did not remember (when thus he went about to prooue a legall right in the King) what others write of * *Egfrides* vngodly ſpoyles in *Ireland*, or of * *Edgars* Charter, in which is ſaid to be contained, that he had vnder his rule the chiefe city of *Ireland*, *Dublin*, and the greateſt part of the Kingdome alſo. But King *Henrie* ſtrengthening his other rights with Grants of the Popes, *Adrian*, and *Alexander*, obtayned alſo of *Vrban* the third (for *Lucius* the third, who was *Alexanders* ſucceſſor, would not gratifie the King therein) that it ſhould be lawfull for him, to crowne which of his ſonnes hee would, King of *Ireland*, to whom he ſent a crowne of *Feathers* wouen with Gold, in all their Grants *reſeruing to the Roman*

* Giral. Camb. li. 2 exp. Hib. cap. 5. Houeden.

Ius belli ſocialis, is that right, which accrewes to Princes or States, who aid one another.
* Beda.
* Cam. pag. 730.

Roman See, the Peters pence, and rights; whereupon the King gaue the ſame to his ſonne *Iohn*, whoſe Coronation (ſtung with the like before) his father only did delay, at ſuch time as two Cardinalls offered to celebrate that ſolemnitie.

(92) At *Windſor*, therefore his father giuing him the * Order of Knight-hood (at which time hee was about * twelue yeeres old) ſent him forthwith into *Ireland*, where the Arch-biſhop of *Dublin* and the State, entertained him, but (by reaſon of ſuch parſimony toward his ſouldiers as was vſed) he returned the ſame yeere without doing much, but not without hauing waſted the moſt part of his Armie, in skirmiſhes with the *Iriſh*. His Stile in his ſeale of *Ireland* (though *Houeden* ſaith, his father made him *Regem*, a King) was onely, *Sigillum Iohannis filij regis Angliæ Domini Hiberniæ*, Lord of *Ireland*.

* *Chr. Hib. apud Camb. pag. 795.* * *Houed. fol. 359. pag. 1. & 2.*

(93) King *Henry*, hearing now that his martiall ſonne, Earle *Richard*, had fortified in *Poictou* againſt him, and vanquiſhed *Geffrey* Earle of *Britaine*,* prepares a puiſſant armie, vpon terror whereof, *Richard* came in, rendring vp *Poictou* to his mother *Eleanor*, (whoſe inheritance it was) at his fathers commandement. The ſame yeere wherein the weſt was thus defiled with vnnaturall diuiſions, the Eaſt was likewiſe polluted with the curſed Apoſtaſie of one *Richard de S. Albane* (whom we ſhame to thinke was *Engliſh*) who renouncing the Chriſtian beleefe (vpon the Patriarcks diſcomfortable returne) became a principall Commander vnder the *Sultan* of *Babilon*, *Saladine*, whom the Chriſtians draue, with loſſe and ſlaughter of his army, from *Hieruſalem*. But on the other ſide, reuenge of diſobedience ſtill purſued *Geffrey*, ſonne of King *Henrie*, who was in a * *Turneament* at *Paris* troden to death vnder the horſe feete. A miſerable end, and a fearefull.

* *Houeden. fol. 359. pag. 1.*

An.D.1186. *Idem. pag. 360. Militari conflictu, ſaith Houeden.*

(94) About which times, betweene the *French* and *Engliſh* all things ſtood vnſure, now warre, then peace, and warre againe, by reaſon that *Philip* (who had beene crowned King ſome yeeres before, during the life of *Lewis*) challenging the cuſtodie of *Arthur*, the *Poſthumus* ſonne, and heire of *Geffrey* Earle of *Britaine*, and ſometimes one thing, and ſometime another, could not haue his will: Whiles Earle *Richard* turning to *Philip* againſt his Father, but obtaining a truce for two yeeres, ſuch amity (if there be any amity among mighty Princes) grew between King *Philip* and Earle *Richard*, Heire apparant of *England* and *Normandy*, &c. that one bed and boord ſerued both. The Father perplexed, cals his ſonne home, who pretending many griefes, as the detention of *Alice* his Spouſe, the doubt of diſ-inheriſon, and other things, ſtood out againe; and againe after a while ſubmits to his Father. Then burſts forth *Philip* into Armes; and things ſo ſtanding, the heauy newes of *Ieruſalem* loſt, flew into Chriſtendome. When this City was formerly recouered by *Godfrey* of *Boloigne*, an *Vrban* was Pope, a *Fredericke* was Emperour, an *Heraclius* Patriarch; ſo now when it was loſt, an *Vrban* was Pope, a *Frederick* was Emperour, and an *Heraclius* Patriarch.

An.D.1188

(95) Vpon theſe newes *Henry* and *Philip* meete, and for the honour of God, laying downe diſpleaſure, in preſence of *William* Archbiſhop of *Tyre*, at which time ſome ſay a Croſſe appeared in the aire, take vpon them, as Souldiers of Chriſt, the badge of the Croſſe, and there the better to diſtinguiſh themſelues, it was agreed that the * *French* ſhould weare redde Croſſes, the *Engliſh* White, and the *Flemiſh* Greene. And this determination was ſeconded with warlike preparations, leuies of money, and inſtitution of martiall Diſcipline: all which notwithſtanding nothing went forward.

* *Roger Houed. fol. 365. Matth. Paris.*

(96) At *Richard* began the breach of this honourable confederation, who taking reuenge vpon certaine Rebels of his in *Poictou*, who brooked not his hard hand; one miſchiefe drew another, and at the laſt both the Kings of *England* and *France* became parties to the quarrell, greatly againſt the minde of K. *Henry*, whoſe heart was firmely ſetled (as it ſeems) to reuenge the cauſe of Chriſt vpon *Sultan Saladine*: for that in his * anſwere to the Patriarch of *Antioch*, "imploring aide, hee concludes, That among o-"ther Princes; himſelfe and ſonne, reiecting this "worlds glory, and deſpiſing all pleaſures whatſoe-"uer, and ſetting behinde all things which were of "this World, would in their owne perſon with "their whole Forces by the fauour of the Lord "ſpeedily viſite him. And ſure the ſtate of thoſe parts required it; *Saladine* hauing ſlaine many of the Knights, Templars, and Nobles, and aboue thirty thouſand foot-men, with innumerable other in Cities and Townes by him ſubdued. Among all which grieuous accidents, we cannot (to ſeaſon ſower thereby with ſweet) omit one noble proteſtation made by the chiefe croſſed Lords, *Philip* Earle of *Flanders*, the Earle of *Bloys*, and other, who being required to "take parts, made anſwere; That they would not "contrary to their promiſe to God, put armour on "againſt any Chriſtian, till they had done their de-"uoire againſt *Saladine*.

* *Epiſt. Henr. 2. ad Patriar. Antioch. apud Rog. Houed. pag. 367.*

(97) In the treaties therefore between *Henry* and *Philip*; the demaunds of *Philip* on the behalfe of *Richard* were ſuch, and ſo vnſafe for the King (as that all his ſubiects ſhould ſweare fealty to *Richard* during the Fathers life; but yet reſeruing their allegiance to the Father) that *Richard* apparantly fell off, and became Liegeman for *Normandy*, &c. to *Philip* King of *France*; and at a new Treaty (by mediation of a Cardinall Legate) the demands of *Philip* being more hard then before, as that King *Henry* ſhould not onely ſettle the Kingdome vpon *Richard*, but take *Iohn* alſo with him into *Paleſtine*, or that otherwiſe *Richard* would not goe (being iealous of his brothers grace with his Father:) *Henrie* would conſent to none of thoſe inſolent propoſitions, but diſdaining to ſeeme to be enforced, they betooke themſelues on all ſides to their ſwords.

(98) The effect whereof was, that former good fortunes forſaking King *Henry*, hee ſuſtained many loſſes by the Armies of King *Philip* and *Richard*, and was driuen out of *Mentz* in *Main*; (the city where hee was borne, and which hee loued aboue all other places) by firing of the Suburbs before the enemie came, being caſually conſumed, he was glad to yeeld to ſuch conditions as it pleaſed *Philip* to preſcribe. It is written* that at the meeting of theſe two Kings, the skie being cleare, a thunderbolt ſtroke betweene them, and after a little pauſe comming together again, it thundered more terribly, ſo that *Henry* had falne off his horſe, but that his people ſuſtained him; whereupon he came preſently to an end, though it were to his vnſpeakeable griefe; his Kingly heart being vſed to giue, and not to take conditions.

An.D.1189. An.Reg. 35.

* *Roger Houed.*

(99) Fearefull was the ſpeech which King *Henry*, when hee abandoned *Mentz* by reaſon of the fire, "vttered againſt *Richard*; which was, That ſith he "had taken from him that day the thing that he moſt "loued in this world, he would requite him, for af-"ter that day hee would depriue him of that thing "which in him ſhould beſt pleaſe a Child, to wit, his "*Heart*. But after the peace concluded, (vpon mediation) betweene the ſides, another thing ſtrucke neerer; for finding the name of his ſonne *Iohn* firſt in the Catalogue of the Conſpiratours againſt him in that action, hee bitterly curſed the howre of his birth, laying Gods curſe and his vpon his ſonnes, which hee would neuer recall, for any perſwaſions of the Biſhops and others: but comming to *Chinon*, fell there grieuouſly ſicke, and feeling death approach, hee cauſed himſelfe to bee borne into the Church before the Altar, where after humble confeſſion, and ſorrow for his ſinnes, he departed this life.

King *Henries* death.

Holinſh. pag. 119. in Hen. 2.

(100) It ſhal not (in contempt of humane glory) be forgotten, that this puiſſant Monarch being dead his people preſently left him, and fell to ſpoyle all he had, leauing him naked; of whom * one ſaith truly "and

An.D.1189.

Accidents after his death, whith was, when he had raigned 34. yeres 7. moneths and 4. daies, beeing 63. yeeres of age.

* *Roger Houed.*

" and grauely, *Verè mel muſcæ, &c. Surely, theſe flies*
" *ſought honey, theſe Wolues a Carkaſe, theſe Ants*
" *graine; for they did not follow the Man, but the*
" *ſpoyle and bootie.* Neither muſt it be vnremembred, that the fierce and violent *Richard* (now heire of all) comming to meet his Fathers body, royally adorned for the buriall, according to the Maieſty of his eſtate; the very Corſe (as it were abhorring & accuſing him for his vnnaturall behauiours) guſhed forth bloud; whereat *Richard* pierced with remorſe, melted into flouds of teares in moſt humble and repentant maner, attending vpon the remaines of his vnfortunate Father to the Graue.

He was buried at *Font-Euerard.*

His Wife.

(101) *Eleanor*, the Wife of King *Henry*, was the eldeſt of the two Daughters, and the ſole Heire of *William* Duke of *Aquitane*, the fift of that name, and the ninth in ſucceſſion, ſonne of Duke *William* the fourth, her Mother was Daughter to *Raimund* Earle of *Tholouſe*, and her great Dowrie was motiue firſt to *Lewis* King of *France*, (who had two daughters by her, *Mary* and *Alice*) & after to *Henry* King of *England*, to marry her. There are of the * *French* Hiſtorians who report that King *Henry* had a former wife, and that ſhe bare vnto him Prince *Henry*: but Writers of our owne (and * ſome alſo of the *French*,) acknowledge but onely *Eleanor* for his wife. Certaine it is, that King *Henries* times were much famouſed by two Women of much differing qualities; the one was his renowned Mother *Matildis*, whoſe Epitaph thus compriſed part of her glory.

* *Serres* in *Lewis the yonger.*

* *Paulus Æmylius* in *Lodouic. 7.* who calls her *Leonora.*

Ortu magna, viro maior, ſed maxima prole:
Hic iacet Henrici Filia, Sponſa, Parens.

Here Henries Mother, Daughter, Wife doth reſt:
By Birth, much; more, by Spouſe; by Child, moſt bleſt.

The other was this *Eleanor* his Wife; the firſt cauſe of theſe bloudy Warres, which long after continued as hereditary betwixt *England* and *France*, yea and the bellowes of that vnnaturall diſcord, betwixt her husband & his ſonnes. Shee much out liued her husband (as a bad thing ſtickes longeſt) being ſo' happy as to ſee three of her ſonnes, aduanced to the Crown, and ſo vnhappy as to ſee two of them in their graues: Shee departed this life the yeere of Chriſts incarnation, 1204. the ſixt of her ſonne *Iohns raigne*, and was buried in *Font-Euerard*, by K. *Henry* her husband.

Ralphe Coggſhall.

His Concubine.

(102) *Roſamund*, ſo called for her ſurpaſſing beauty, was the daughter of *Walter Lord Clifford*: whoſe face and feature ſo dazeled King *Henries* eyes, as by gifts he got this Paragon to his bed, and to hide her from his *Iunoes* eye, hee built (as our hiſtorians report) an intricate Labyrinth at *Woodſtocke*, & therein beſtowed this his pearle of eſteeme, vnto whoſe cloſet (for the inexplicate windings) none could approach, but the King himſelfe, or ſuch as he inſtructed. Notwithſtanding his iealous Queene *Eleanor* by a clew of ſilke, fallen from *Roſamunds* lappe, as ſhee ſate to take ayre, and ſuddenly fleeing from the ſight of the ſearcher, the end of the ſilke faſtened to her foot, and the clew ſtill vnwinding, remained behinde: which the Queene followed, till ſhee had found what ſhee ſought, and vpon *Roſamund* ſo vented her ſpleene, as the Lady liued not long after. Her body was buried at *Godſtowe* neere *Oxford*, a little Nunnery in the rich Meadows of *Euenlod*, with this Epitaph in olde ryme vpon her Tombe.

Rand. Higden. lib. 7. cap. 22.

Hic iacet in Tumba Roſa mundi, non Roſa munda;
Non redolet, ſed olet, quæ redolere ſolet.

This Tombe doth heere incloſe the Worlds moſt beauteous Roſe,
Roſe, paſſing ſweet ere while, Now nought but odour vile.

Where in the Quire it remained vnder a faire hearſe of ſilke, with Tapers continually burning before it, which as it ſhould ſeeme, was ſo furniſhed at the charges of King *Iohn*: For he both repayred, and with yeerely reuenues endowed this religious little houſe, *that theſe holy Virgins might releeue with their prayers, the ſoules of his Father King Henry, and of Lady Roſamund there interred.* But *Hugh* the Saint Biſhop of Lincolne, comming to viſit this houſe in whoſe Dioceſſe it was, thought the hearſe of an harlot no fit ſpectacle for a Quire of Virgins to contemplate, and therefore himſelfe cauſed her bones in his ſight to be caſt forth of the Church, as vnworthy for her vnchaſte life to haue Chriſtian buriall. But afterwards thoſe chaſte ſiſters gathered her bones, and put them in a perfumed lether bagge, incloſing them ſo in leade, and layd them againe in the Church vnder a fayre large graue-ſtone; about whoſe edges a fillet of braſſe was in-layd, and thereon written her name and prayſe. A croſſe likewiſe theſe ſiſters erected neere vnto the entrance of their gate, and to the honour of her memory theſe verſes inſcribed.

Camb. Brit. in Oxford-ſhire.

Qui meat hac, oret, Signumque ſalutis adoret,
Vtq; tibi detur requies Roſamunda, precetur.

All you which paſſe this way, This Croſſe adore & pray,
That Roſamunds Soule may, True reſt poſſeſſe for aye.

Which bagge and bones at the ſuppreſſion of that Nunnery, were ſo found, and the Church thereof ſince inforced to giue place vnto other buildings, the graue-ſtone defeated of her faire fillet, and the Croſſe caſt downe and broken; ſo that in neither of them I could finde any remembrance by any inſcription of her name.

His iſſue.

(102) *William*, the eldeſt ſonne and firſt childe of King *Henry*, and Queene *Eleanor* his wife, was born before his father was King, and while hee was but Duke of *Normandie*, in the eighteenth yeere of the raigne of King *Stephen*, 1152. and the fourth yeere after, (his father being then King, and in the ſecond yeere of his raigne) the Nobilitie of *England* ſware vnto him their fealty, as to the heire apparant of the Kingdome, at the Caſtle of *Wallingford* in *Barkſhire*; but hee deceaſed the yeere following, being the third of his fathers raigne, and the fift of his owne age 1156. He was buried in the Monaſtery of *Reading* at the feete of his great Grandfather, King *Henry* the firſt.

(103) *Henry*, the ſecond ſonne of King *Henry*, and Queene *Eleanor*, being borne the laſt of February 1156. was their heire apparant; after the death of his brother *William*; was Duke of *Normandie*, Earle of *Aniou* and *Maigne*; and was crowned King of *England* at *Weſtminſter*, by *Roger* Arch-biſhop of *Yorke*, the fifteenth of *Iulie* 1170. His Wife was *Margaret*, daughter of *Lewis* the *Yonger*, King of *France*, married to him at *Nuburgh* in *Normandie*, the ſecond of *Nouember* 1160. crowned Queene at *Wincheſter*, by *Rotrocke* of *Warwicke* Arch-biſhop of *Roan*, the 21. of *Nouember* 1163. and ſuruiuing him was re-married to *Bela* King of *Hungarie*: He died without iſſue, before his father, at *Marcell* in *Touraine*, the eleuenth of *Iulie*, the twenty ſixe yeere of his fathers raigne 1182. and was buried in the Church of our Lady at *Roan*.

(104) *Richard*, the third ſonne of King *Henrie*, and Queene *Eleanor*, was borne at *Oxenford*, (in the Kings Pallace there, called *Beau-Mount*) in September the fourth yeere of his Fathers raigne 1157. He proued a Prince of great valor, and was therefore ſurnamed in French *Cuer-de-Lion*; in Engliſh *Lions-heart*: hee was created Earle of *Poyctou*, and had the whole Dutchie of *Aquitaine*, for which he did his homage, to King *Lewis* the *Yonger* of *France*, in the eighteenth yeere

Roſſus Warwic. & alij.

yeere of his fathers raigne 1170. yet afterward hee conceiued ſome diſcontentment againſt his father, and maintained warres vpon him, but was reconciled againe into his loue, and ſucceeded him in his Kingdome.

(106) *Geffrey*, the fourth ſonne of King *Henrie*, and of Queene *Eleanor*, was borne the twenty third of September, in the fifth yeere of his fathers raigne 1159. Hee married *Conſtance*, daughter and heire of *Conan* Duke of *Britaine*, and in her right was Duke of *Britaine*, & did his homage to his brother *Henry* for the ſame Dutchie, and receiued the homages of the Barons of the ſame: he died at *Paris*, in the 32. yeere of his fathers raigne 1186. the nineteenth of Auguſt, and is buried in the quire of our Ladies Church there: he had iſſue *Arthur* Duke of *Britaine*, borne after his fathers deceaſe, the heire apparant of *King Richard*, and by ſome ſuppoſed to be made away by *King Iohn*; and alſo *Eleanor* called the *Damſell* of *Britaine*, who died in priſon in the raigne of *King Henrie* the third.

(107) *Philip*, the fifth ſonne of King *Henry*, and Queene *Eleanor*, may be miſtruſted, to be miſtaken by Antiquaries of our time, as miſ-vnderſtanding the ancient writers, who mentioning the birth of *Philip* the Kings ſonne, might by good likelihood, be thought to meane, *Philip* ſonne of *Lewis* the *Yonger* King of *France*, who was borne about this time, and was after King of the ſame Countrey. But M. *Thomas Talbot*, an exact trauailer in genealogies, hath not onely ſet him downe in this place, amongſt the children of this King, but alſo warranteth the ſame, to be done with good authority: howſoeuer, it is apparant, his life was very ſhort.

(108) *Iohn*, the ſixth and yongeſt ſonne of King *Henry*, and Queene *Eleanor*, was borne in the thirteenth yeere of his fathers raigne, in Anno 1166. he was ieſtingly ſurnamed by his father *Sans-terræ*, in Engliſh, *without Land*, becauſe he was borne laſt, as if there had beene nothing left for him: Notwithſtanding ſoone after, he was created Earle of *Mortaigne*, and had moreouer by degrees, the Earledomes of *Cornwall*, and *Gloceſter*, the Counties of *Derby* and *Lancaſter*, the Honors of *Wallinford* and *Nottingham*, the Caſtles of *Tikhill*, *Marlborow*, and *Ludgarſall*, with many other great Seigniories, and (aboue them all) was alſo Lord of *Ireland*, and at the laſt ſucceeded his brother *Richard* in all his Dominions, and was King of *England*.

(109) *Maud*, the eldeſt daughter of King *Henry*, and Queene *Eleanor*, borne in the third yeere of her fathers raigne, married to *Henry*, ſurnamed the *Lion*, Duke of *Saxonie*, had iſſue by him *Henry* Duke of *Saxony*, *Lothar* that died young, *Otho* the fourth *German* Emperor, and *William* borne at *Wincheſter*, progenitor of the Dukes of *Brunſwicke*, who bare for their Armes, the Coat of *England*, with the two Lions, as *King Henry* his Grandfather bare, before the match with Queene *Eleanor*, and *Maud* married to *Geffrey* Earle of *Perch*: She ſuruiued him, and died in the firſt yeere of the reigne of her brother *King Richard*, and was buried by her husband, in the Church of S. *Blaſe* at *Brunſwicke*.

(110) *Eleanor*, the ſecond daughter of *King Henrie*, and Queene *Eleanor*, was borne at *Roan* in *Normandy*, in the eight yeere of her fathers raigne, 1162. She was married to *Alfonſo*, the ninth of that name, ſurnamed the *Good*, King of *Caſtile* in *Spaine*, and had iſſue by him *Sanches*, that dyed in his infancie; *Ferdinando* that died in his youth, *Henry* King of *Caſtile* after his father, *Blanch* Queen of *France*, wife to King *Lewis* the 8. and mother of S. *Lewis*. *Berenger* married to *Alfonſo* King of *Lion*: *Vrraca* Queene of *Portugall*, and *Eleanor* wife of *Iames* King of *Arragon*.

(111) *Ioane*, the third and yongeſt daughter of King *Henry*, and Queene *Eleanor* his wife, was borne at the City of *Angiers* in *France*, in the moneth of *October*, the 13. yeare of her Fathers raigne, which was the yeere of our Lord, 1166. When ſhe was eleuen yeeres of age; ſhee was with great honour conueied to the City of *Palermo*, and there married to *William* the ſecond of that name, King of *Sicil*, Duke of *Apulia*, and Prince of *Capua*, vpon Sunday the 13. day of *Februarie*, 1177. and was crowned Queene the ſame day, at the ſame place. Shee had a ſonne by him named *Boamund*, whom his Father when he was returned from his Chriſtning, created Duke of *Apulia*: but the child died firſt, & the Father after, leauing no iſſue. And ſhe ſuruiuing, married againe, and was the third wife of *Raimund* the fourth of that name, Earle of *Tholouze*: By him ſhe had iſſue *Raimund* the laſt Earle of that houſe, *Bertrand* Lord of *Branquell*, *Montelore*, and *Saluiac*, and a daughter married to *Berald* of *Elbeire*, Prince of *Orenge*.

His Naturall Iſſue.

(112) *William* the Naturall ſonne of King *Henry*, borne of *Roſamund*, was ſurnamed in *French*, *Longeſpee*, in *Engliſh*, *Long-Sword*. He was Earle of *Salisburie*, in right of *Ela* his Wife, Daughter and heire of *William* Earle of that County, ſonne of Earle *Patrick*; by whom hee had iſſue *William* Earle of *Saliſbury*, *Stephen* Earle of *Vlſter*, *Ela* Counteſſe of *Warwicke*, *Idà* Lady *Beucham* of *Bedford*, and *Iſabell* Lady *Veſcie*: his ſonne Earle *William* the ſecond, had Earle *William* the third, Father of *Margaret*, Wife of *Henry Lacie* Earle of *Lincolne*: he died in the Caſtle of old *Salisbury*, and was buried in the Cathedrall Church of the New City, in the ninth yeare of the raigne of King *Henry* the third.

(113) *Geffrey* an other Naturall ſonne of King *Henry*, was borne of the Lady *Roſamund* aforeſaid: This man in his tender youth, was (by his Fathers procurement) made Arch-deacon of *Lincolne*, and after Biſhop of that See, which hee held aboue ſeuen yeeres without conſecration, and then reſigning it, in the yere, 1181. into the hands of *Richard Archbiſhop of Canterbury*, and his Father; hee was made Chancellor of *England*, and afterward by his brother King *Richard*, he was aduanced to the Archbiſhopricke of *Yorke*, (being conſecrated at *Tours* in *France*, An. 1191.) which See he gouerned with good approbation. But in the time of his Brother King *Iohn*, hee vnder-went many difficulties, by oppoſing the Kings purpoſes, who therefore made ſeiſure of his whole ſtate, and An. 1207. he left the Land, and after fiue yeeres baniſhment, died, viz. An. 1213.

Geruaſ. Dorob. An.D.1181.

(114) *Morgan*, another *Naturall* ſonne of King *Henry*, is thought by * ſome (becauſe ſo ſmall mention is made of him) to haue beene of no long life after his birth, and to haue been born of ſome woman in *Wales*, where this Chriſtian name is moſt common vſed, and whether this King vpon many occaſions, ſometime reſorted. But *ſometime others (whoſe ſtudious paines, deſerue much thankes of poſterity) report, that he was gotten on the wife of one *Rodolph Bloeth* (or *Blewet*) a Knight, and liued both to bee *Prouoſt* of *Beuerley*, and to be elected to the Biſhopricke of *Durham*, when comming to *Rome* for a diſpenſation (becauſe his Baſtardie made him otherwiſe vncapable) the Pope willed him to profeſſe himſelfe *Blewets* lawfull ſonne, and not the Kings *Naturall*, promiſing to conſecrate him on that condition: but he, vſing the aduice of one *William Lane* his Clerke, told the Pope, that for no wordly promotion hee would renounce his father, or deny himſelfe to be of Royall bloud: ſo blinde were ſome Prelates of thoſe times, who eſteemed *ſpirituall functions*, to be but *worldly promotions*.

* *Mr. Ferrers.*

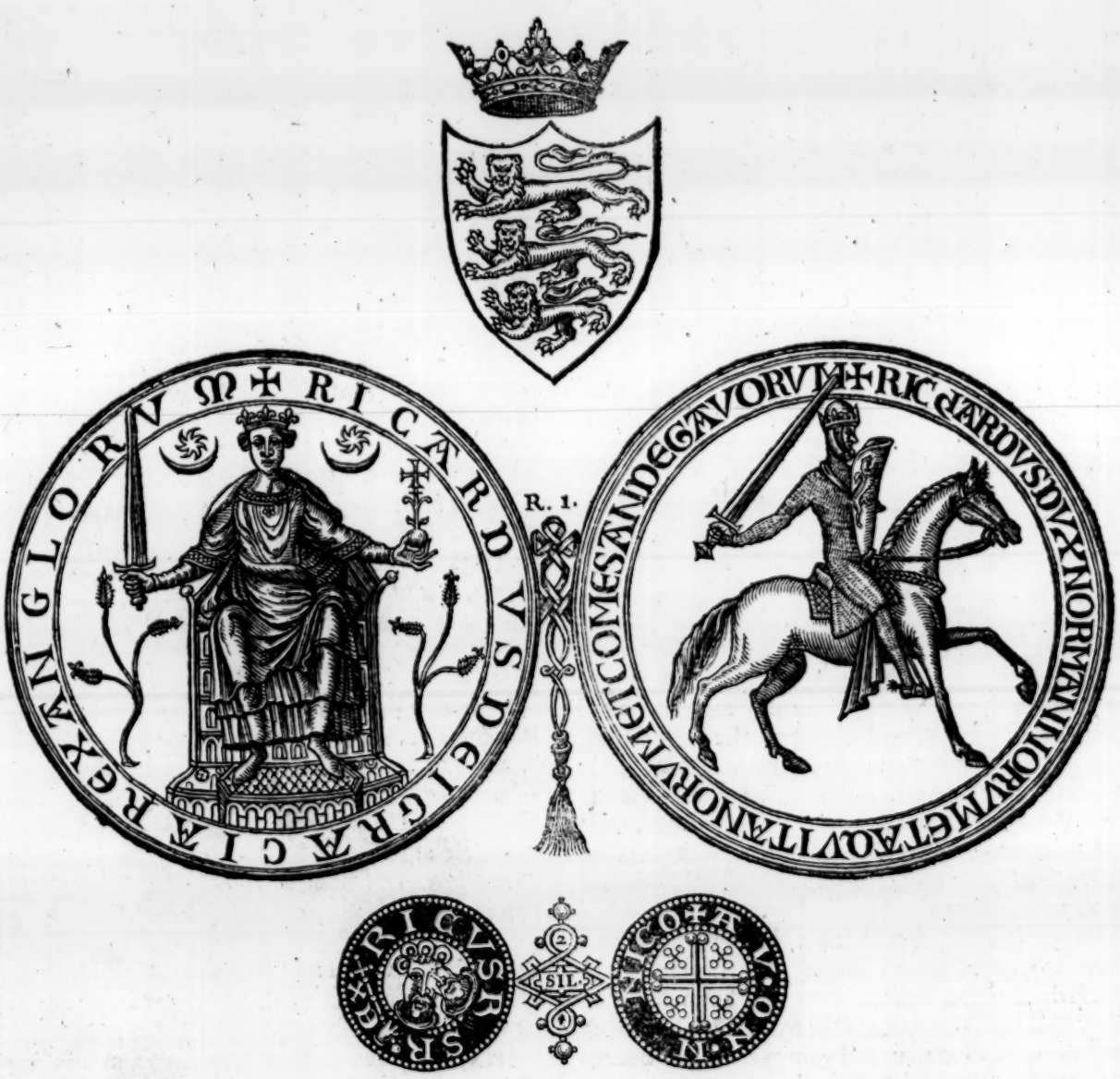
* *Goodwin of the BB. of Durham. John Stow in the life of King Iohn.*

RICHARD

Richard I.

RICHARD THE FIRST, DVKE OF NORMANDY, GVYEN AND AQVITAINE, &c. THE FORTIE FOVRTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISH-MEN, HIS RAIGNE, ACTS, WIVES, AND ISSVE.

Monarch 44.



CHAPTER VII.

An.D.1199.

RICHARD succeeding to his deceaſed Father *Henrie*, brought forth that wonder, which a Writer of that age thus celebrated,

Mira cano; Sol occubuit,
Nox nulla ſecuta eſt.

A wonder ſtrange I write,
the Sun did ſet, yet was no night.

Meaning, that though *Henry* were dead, yet the glory and happineſſe of the Land was not thereby clouded, for that *Richard* was another Sunne, and in ſome reſpects farre the more bright, and farther ſhining of the two; as hauing for honour of Chriſtian Cheualrie, wholy conſecrated his warlike minde and actions to the ſeruice of God, and re-aduancement of the Croſſe of Chriſt, diſhonoured by the Infidels in *Aſia*: in which enterpriſe hee was ſo feruently zealous, that from the time of his Fathers death (in whoſe vowes it had beene) hee meditated ſcarſe any thing elſe, diſpoſing the affaires of his Eſtate (but not * careleſly, as ſome would impoſe) as of things which did but onely vnder-ſerue, and conduce to the maine and principall end of aduancing his Sauiours glory, whereunto he iudged that action did tend.

King *Richard* orders his eſtate.

* *Rand. Higden in Rich. 1.*

(2) Hauing therefore ordered his weightier buſineſſes in *Normandy*, and other his tranſmarine Dominions, & in *England* by his letters, ſet* the Queen his Mother at liberty from that captiuity, wherein her late husband the King had long detained her, (who ſenſible of others woe by her owne, did afterward exerciſe many workes of mercy in that kinde) he cuts ouer hither, aſwell to receiue all the rights of Soueraignety, and to ſettle the ſame; as alſo to leuie meanes for proceeding in his intended holy voyage, together with *Philip* King of *Fance*, and other Chriſtian Potentates.

* *Ger. Dor.*

(3) And though before his Coronation, moſt Writers doe not call him a *King*; yet ſure it is, that he

Kingly power before Coronation.

* *Rog. Houtd. Matt. Paris. &c.*

he and others did immediately, and vnqueſtionably, from the firſt accruement of the intereſt, (which was at his Fathers laſt gaſpe) exerciſe all the offices of the royall power; for ſo he reſtored *Robert* Earle of *Leiceſter* to his whole eſtate: So plaine it is, that our Gouernment allowes not the dangerous convulſions, and empty ſpaces of an *Interregnum*, ſuch as in meere electiue States are common, if not continuall.

Rog. Houed. fol. 374.

(4) But in nothing more could this noble Prince ſhew his iudgement (though he were otherwiſe *Sagacis ingenij*, of a ſharpe and ſearching wit) then in this: That hee baniſhed from his familiarity, and (as my *Author ſaith) hated all thoſe of what profeſſion ſoeuer they were, who had forſaken his Father, and both retained, and enricht thoſe other, who had loyally ſtood for him againſt himſelfe in all aſſaies.

King *Richards* choiſe of friends and ſeruants.

** Geru. Dorob.*

(5) At his Coronation, which was moſt magnificently performed at Weſtminſter, by *Baldwyne* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the points of the Oath which hee made to God, and the Kingdome of *England*, at the Altar vpon the holy Euangeliſts, before the Prelates, Nobles, and whole people * were theſe: 1. That all the daies of his life he would beare peace, honour, and reuerence to God, and holy Church, and the Ordinances thereof: 2. That in the people vnto him committed, hee would exerciſe Right, Iuſtice, and Equitie. 3. That hee would blot forth naughty lawes, and peruerſe cuſtomes, if any were brought vpon his Kingdome; and would enact good lawes, and the ſame in good faith keepe, and without *mal-Engyn*. Which oath being moſt ſolemnely taken, and the ſacred vnction performed; the Archbiſhop ſtanding at the Altar, forbad him, on the behalfe of Almighty God, to aſſume that honour, vnleſſe hee had a full purpoſe to keepe what hee had ſworne: whereto *Richard* aſſenting, and with his owne hands, humbly taking the ponderous Crowne Imperiall from off the Altar, in ſignification, as is probable, that hee held it onely from God, hee deliuers it to the Archbiſhop, who thereupon accompliſhed all the Ceremonies of Coronation.

Chiefe matters at the Coronation of *Richard*.

**Radulp. de Diceto apud Tho. Walſ. in Ypodig. Neuſtr.*
** Roger Houeden. fol. 374.*

(6) Which Act was accidently hanſeld, and auſpicated with the bloud of many *Iewes* (though vtterly againſt the Kings will) who in a tumult (raiſed by the **Ocean*) were furiouſly murthered, which (though it were afterward puniſhed by the Lawes) might ſeem a preſage, that this *Lion-hearted* King (as his by-name *Ceur-de-Lion* did import) ſhould be a ſpeciall deſtroyer of the enemies of our Sauiour.

Iewes ſlain at the Coronation.

** So Martiall cals the multitude.*

(7) After counſell therefore (firſt moouer in all worthy enterpriſes) Money was in his firſt and chiefeſt cares; for raiſing whereof, to furniſh the intended pilgrimage, he ſold, morgaged, eſtated, and (by a thouſand princely skills) as if he ſhould neuer haue come againe, added incredible heapes to thoſe huge ſums, which he had ſcruzed out of *Stephen de Turnham*, his fathers Treaſurer, (amounting to eleuen hundred thouſand pounds ſterling, if ſome ſay true) all hoorded by King *Henry*. What could indeed be ſaid enough for ſuch a voyage? and it was a cogitation worthy ſo glorious a purpoſe, ſo to order his eſtate, as if hee were not to returne at all; becauſe, looking backe doth vn-bend and ſoften reſolutions.

Richard purueis for the *Holy Land*.

(8) As for men and ſoldiers, the Prelates, Friars, and other Preachers, had ſtirred vp innumerable, by their manifold exhortations (the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* hauing * trauailed through *Wales* in perſon for that purpoſe, going afterward with the King to *Paleſtine*, where alſo * he died) in pulpits and priuate conferences, ſounding nothing but the Croſſe and Paſſion of Chriſt, calling the world to reuenge his cauſe vpon the *Pagans*, and ſetting ſoules on fire with vehement geſtures, actions, and perſwaſions. But the kingdome of *England* he ordered thus.

** Gir. Camb.*
** Rog. Houeden. Matth. Paris.*

(9) The onely maine danger of the State in his abſence, was in his brother *Iohn* Earle of *Mortone*, of whoſe ambition hee was ſomewhat iealous, as

His prouiſion for *England*.

* knowing that King *Henrie*, not long before his death, had intended the Crowne to him: to conquer therfore his appetites, with bounty, and munificence; and to take away all murmuration in him, for want of Princely competencies, King *Richard* did as it were ſhare the Realme with him, giuing him ſixe Earledomes, *Cornwall*, *Dorſet*, *Somerſet*, *Nottingham*, *Derby*, and *Lancaſter*, beſides Caſtles, Honors, Manors, Forreſts, and much other Riches, and finallie the Earledome of *Gloſter*, with the Heire of that County to be his Wife, though the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury* forbad the Nuptialls, alledging ſhee was within the degrees of conſanguinitie.

** Geruaſius.*

(10) But leſt, through euill nature or aduiſe, Earle *Iohn* ſhould conuert thoſe ſo great gifts to the ſubuerſion of the beſtower, He entruſted him with no part of the Regall power, as the Key, and ſecret of his proper ſafety: but laid the maine burthen of Gouernment vpon *William Longchamp* Biſhop of *Ely*, * chiefe *Iuſticiar*, and Lord Chancellor of *England*, and Papall Legate, (a perſon out of all ſuſpition for aſpiring to the Crowne) wherby was conferred vpon him, whatſoeuer either King or Pope could grant, for accompliſhment of his authority; ſo that hee might well be ſtiled * *Prince* and *Prieſt* of *England*; as hee was one, the moſt powerfull ſubiect for the time, that perhaps this Realme hath had: for, though the King had (as it were) ioyned with him in *Commiſsion*, one *Hugh* Biſhop of *Durham*, for the parts of *England* beyond *Humber*; yet, as it * hapned in the Conſulſhip of *Cæſar* and *Bibulus*, that nothing was reported of *Bibulus*, but all of *Cæſar*; ſo did *Longchamp* in a ſhort time eaſily make himſelfe ſole and abſolute, his ſway burying in ſilence, the name and endeauours of his Colleague.

**Roger. Houed. Matth. Paris. & alij.*
** Rex & Sacerdos. Math. Paris.*
** Sueto. li. 1. c. 20.*

(11) Thus the ſumme of command, or the Soueraigne power it ſelf, was in the Chancellor as Vice-roy, but for defence and preſeruation of his iuſtice, he * did ſubordinate or aſſociate to thoſe Biſhops, *William* Earle of *Arundell*, *Hugh Bardolfe*, *William Marſhall*, *Geffrey Fitz-Peter*, *William Bruuer*, *Robert de Whitfield*, *Roger Fitz-Remfrey*, wherein he did ſhew his loue and care of the *Engliſh* Nation, as alſo of Iuſtice it ſelfe: for that many of theſe, were of the moſt honourable Peeres of the Land (and not men bred-vp or formerly enured to make Iuſtice, or their owne Tongues venall, for a fee:) honour being the rule of their proceedings, and ſtrength of priuate fortunes, with their Princes fauour, the pillar to ſuſtaine that honour.

** Rog. Houed.*

Iuſtice is beſt where it brings Honour rather then riches.

(12) There remained to prouide for (before hee left *England*) the neighbour-hood of *Scotland* and *Wales*, which might otherwiſe make vſe of his abſence, to his preiudice: But *Rheſe ap Gruffith* (of whom there is extant a ſhort but elegant *Panegyris*) Prince of *South-Wales* (being already in amitie) came as farre as *Oxford* toward him; but becauſe the King (who was there) came not in perſon to meete him (as his father King *Henry* had done) the Prince (notwithſtanding Earle *Iohn* the Kings only brother had conducted him from the Marches with ſpeciall honor) tooke it in ſo high ſcorne and indignation, (for euen the meaneſt, from whom ſeruice or loue is expected, will againe expect regard) that hee forthwith returned into his Countrey, without once ſaluting the King; who by this neglect, loſt *Rheſes* loue, as vpon the like omiſſion, and vnreſpectiueneſſe, *Auguſtine* (the too ſupercilious Monke) did leeſe the affections of the Monkes of *Bangor*, *Rheſes* owne countrie-men, in another part of *Wales*.

Rog. Houed.

(13) As for *William* King of *Scots* (a very worthy Prince) hee iournyed hither to King *Richard* into *England*, and heere concluded a firme friendſhip, which hee kept very religiouſly, euen in the greateſt troubles of King *Richard*, to the glory of himſelfe and his Nation, and as ſome write, ſent his Brother *Dauid* with 5000. *Scots*, to ſerue him in the ſacred warres. The chiefe points of their conuention were. 1. That for ten thouſand Markes Sterling, (then

The agreement betweene the two Kings of *England* and *Scotland*.
Hector Boetius, lib. 13. cap. 7.
Hector Boetius ſaith 10000. L

paid) the Caſtles of *Rockesbrough* and *Berwicke* (cautionarie Caſtles, or gage places, for part of his ranſome) ſhould be reſtored. 2. That hee ſhould haue all ſuch deedes, inſtruments, and charters, made by him to the late King *Henry*, which had by conſtraint or dureſſe beene obtained, and himſelfe to be freed from all encumbrances, claimes, or pretenſions whatſoeuer. 3. That he ſhould haue all ſuch dignities, as his brother *Malcolme* held in *England*, (for which King *William* did there make fealtie) and all ſuch Lands as his Anceſtors did hold of the *Engliſh* Crowne.

Houeden.

The agreement betweene the Kings of *France* and *England.*

(14) The State of *England* being thus in the maine, and other meane points eſtabliſhed, King *Richard* croſt the Seas into *France* to *Philip* King thereof, according to appointment, that from thence, with mindes & forces vnited, they might ſet forward vnder the Enſigne of the Croſſe; which after ſome ſtay (occaſioned by the* death of the *French* Queen) they did, vpon theſe Chriſtian and friendly termes; 1. That each of them preſerue the others honour, and beare faith to him for life, and member, and earthly dignity. 2. That neither of them ſhall faile the other in their affairs; but that the King of *France* ſhall helpe the King of *England* to defend his land, euen as he would defend the City of *Paris*, if it were beſieged; and *Richard* King of *England*, ſhall helpe the King of *France* to defend his land, euen as hee would defend his City *Roan* if it were beſieged. This * being fairely engroſt, and afterward ratified with oath, and ſent, by the Kings themſelues in perſon, the Earles and Barons ſware in ſolemne manner, that they would not treſpaſſe againſt their fealty, nor ſtirre any warre in either of the Kings Dominions, ſo long as they were in that pilgrimage: on the other ſide, the * Archbiſhops and Biſhops did firmely promiſe (*in verbo veritatis*, in the word of truth) that they would accurſe and excommunicate all ſuch as did tranſgreſſe this agreement.

** Ger. Dor.*

** Houeden.*

The agreement ſolemnely ratified on all parts.

** Matth. Paris.*

The Kings of *France* and *England* ſet forward to the *Holy Land.*

(15) Thus (after ſome neceſſary ſtaies) theſe two the greateſt Monarchs of the Weſt, ſet forward ouer land (toward the publike ſeruice of Chriſtianity) with ſuch numbers as themſelues thought beſt; which were ſo great, that hauing aduanced (not without ſome little loſſe of people by the* fall of the Bridge ouer the riuer *Rhene* at *Lions*, which brake by reaſon of the throng,) beyond the ſaid violent ſtreame they parted company; *Philip* paſſing ouer the *Alpes* into *Italy*, and *Richard* to the Sea-ſide at *Marſilia*, there to meet with his Nauie, which being compact of all the chiefe Ships in *England*, *Normandie*, and other his French Dominions, was there appointed to attend.

** Rog. Houeden. Matth. Paris.*

(16) But the voyage being very long, and King *Richard* comming to the Port before his Fleet, after eight daies expectation there, waxing impatient of delay, embarkt himſelfe *in 20. hired Gallies, and ten great hulkes or Buſſes (a kind of ſhipping as it ſeemes peculiar then to the Mediterranean ſeas) and ſet ſaile toward *Meſſana* in *Sicilia*, the *Rendeuow* of both the Kings, and of their Armies: in which paſſage, lying at Anchor (on occaſion,) in the mouth of the riuer *Tyber*, not farre from *Rome*; *Octauianus the Biſhop of Hoſtia repaired vnto him, deſiring him in the Popes name, that he would viſit his Holineſſe; which the King denied to doe, laying to the Popes charge many ſhamefull matters touching the Romiſh Simony & Couetouſneſſe, with many other reproches, alleadging that they tooke 700. Markes for conſecration of the Biſhop of Mains, 1500. Markes for the Legatiue power of William Biſhop of Ely; but of the Archbiſhop of Burdeaux an infinite ſumme of money: whereupon he refuſed to ſee Rome.* Thus (after ſundry accidents and commings on land) hearing that his Nauy was ſafe, hee ſtaid for them by the way, & then came to anchor not long after (to wit, 23. of September) before the City of *Meſſana*, with ſo great a ſhew of power, and ſound of Warlike Inſtruments, and other ſignes of Maieſty, in the ſight of *Philip* and his *French*, and of many other Nations there aſſembled, that it ſtroke horror into the Inhabitants, (ſaith *Houeden*,) and moued no ſmall enuy in the hearts of his confederates.

** Acts & Mon. pag. 314.*

The City of *Meſſana* in *Sicilia* the *Rendeuow* of the Kings.

Roger Wend. Matth. Paris.

Roger Houed.

(17) From this time forward, as it may ſeeme (the Enemy of Concord feeding the maleuolent paſſions of men with perpetuall matter of debate) the King of *France* was neuer truly King *Richards* friend in heart, but vpon the ſame day (whither ſtreightned in prouiſions or otherwiſe) he left the King of *England*; but by contrary winde was driuen back before night, where (after many troubles and quarrels betweene the *Engliſh* and *Sicilians*) the two Kings peaced againe, and ſetled a new and as firme a league as they could, during that martiall pilgrimage.

King *Richards Sicilian* affaires.

(18) *Tancred* was at that time King of *Sicilia*, by vſurpation, after the death of *William*, who had married *Ioan* ſiſter of King *Richard*, whom (at that time vpon diſpleaſure and quarrell being priſoner) *Tancred* ſet at liberty, ſending her in honourable manner to her brother, and did yeeld to ſundry Articles, and alſo preſent paiments of ample ſummes. Feare wrought on both parts; for *Richard* being among ſtrangers, and not very ſure of the *French*, ſeiſed vpon a ſtrength of the *Griffons* (people much redoubted in thoſe parts, till the arriuall *of the *Engliſh*) and in a tumult tooke the City of *Meſſana* it ſelfe, where hee diſplayed his Enſignes, till for the *French Kings* loue he was content to diſ-aduance them, & to entruſt the City to the Knights Templars and Hoſpitalers, vntill *Tancred* had fulfilled all ſuch things as *Richard* did challenge to be due, being many.

Roger Houed. fol. 383.

** Idem ibid.*

Acts & Mon. in R. 2.

(19) Vpon great deliberation therefore, the *Sicilian* King made anſwere, that he had already paid to his ſiſter, late Queen of that Iland, a very great quantity of coine in recompence of her Dowry or Ioyncture, and would ſatisfie all his other demands (concerning the Legacies intended by his Predeceſſor King *William*, to the Father of King *Richard*) as far as he ought, according to the cuſtome of that Kingdome, and thereupon gaue vnto him for the quitclaime of his ſiſters Ioyncture, twenty thouſand ounces of gold: and farther to be acquitted of all other claims & pretences, as alſo in conſideration that *Arthur* Duke of *Britaine*, nephew and next heire of K. *Richard* (if *Richard* died without iſſue) ſhould take to wife the daughter of K. *Tancred*, hee paid him other twenty thouſand ounces of gold, and of his owne accord, and for King *Richards* loue, and for the loue of the *Engliſh* Nation (which, ſaith our * Author, was then in greateſt reputation through the kingdom of *Sicile*) as alſo to be the more aſſured of performance, he gaue him other twenty thouſand ounces of gold, beſides afterward foure great Ships, called *Vrſers*, and fifteene Gallies.

The accord betweene King *Richard* and King *Tancred.*

Arthur King *Richards* next heire.

** Roger Houed. fol. 386.*

Threeſcore thouſand ounces of gold giuen to King *Richard.*

(20) King *Richard* on the other ſide, not to be wanting to any matter, which in honor and equitie might be expected of him, beſides letters Patents, hee put in vpon their Oathes for his ſureties, two Arch-biſhops, and two Biſhops of his owne there preſent, and twenty great Lords, and principall men his ſubiects, whoſe names, becauſe many of their poſterities doe yet ſtand) are heere inſerted out of the ſaid letters Patents, as they are vpon record in *Houeden.*

King *Richards* ſuretues or ſponſors.

Iordanus de Humez his Conſtable, *Wilielmus de Curci*, *Richardus de Camuilla*, *Girardus de Talbot*, *Robertus Sabluil*, *Guido de Croun*, *Guarinus filius Geroldi*, *Bertramus de Verdun*, *W. Chamberlangus de Tankeruile*, *Robertus de Nouo-burgo*, *Hugo Bardolf*, *Wigain de Cheresburg*, *Gilbertus de Waſcuil*, *Hugo le Bruin*, *Iohannes de Piller*, *Amauri de Muntford*, *Andreas de Chauenni*, *Wilielmus de Forz*, *Gaufridus de Rancune*, *Amauri Torell*, and other not named.

(21) Moreouer for finall aſſurance, hee offereth that Pope *Clement* ſhould vndertake for performance of his part in the ſaid agreement; and that the ſaid *Clement* would accordingly vndertake, hee requeſts him by moſt officious letters, giuing him leaue without

The Pope King *Richards* ſurety.

out any reluctation) to put his dominions (vpon any his breach) vnder ſeuereſt cenſures.

(22) This peace and accord being happily thus concluded, King *Tancred* (hauing moſt royally and louingly feaſted the King of *England* for three daies and three nights in a Caſtle of his) diſcouered, vpon the way at *Tauernium* in his returne, a foule and vnprincely conſpiracy of *Philip* (whom one of our writers cals the *vain-glorious King*) againſt the head and ſafety of King *Richard*; which comming to bee ſcanned betweene the two Kings, the *French* charged the *Engliſh* with picking of quarrels; and added, that vnleſſe *Richard* married his ſiſter *Alice*, according as he ought, hauing bin contracted long before together, he would be his enemy while he breathed; whereunto King *Richard* (being preſſed) did replie: That his * ſiſter during the time of her abode in *England*, had a childe by his Father *Henry* King of *England*, which he was ready to proue by many witneſſes there preſent: ſo that King *Richard* had farre more cauſe then a ſuſpition of diſhoneſty (which * ſome write) to refuſe the marriage. This falling out ſo ſhamefully, *Philip* (vpon certaine conditions betweene *Richard* and him) left him at liberty to take a wife where he thought good, but neuer (as it may ſeeme) forgaue him his euill will while they two liued together.

(23) And becauſe acts of Chriſtian remorſe and humility are too rare among the Great ones of this vaine world, it were a crime to pretermit the exemplar humiliation of this famous Generall K. *Richard*, at this time, who (to vſe my * Authors words) *inſpired with diuine grace*, and ſtudying to fit himſelfe for the great attempt he had in hand, was ſtung at the ſoule with ſo iuſt compunction for his ſinnes, that calling before him his Archbiſhops and Biſhops into a Chappell, at the houſe where hee was lodged, without the walls of *Meſſana*; hee bluſhed not to make a penitent confeſſion of his manifold exceſſes, humbly praying God of mercy, and them (as his ſubordinate Miniſters) of Abſolution; and God (ſaith *Houeden*) *reſpected him with the eyes of Mercy, and gaue him a penitent heart, ſo that from thenceforth he proued a man fearing God, eſchuing euill, and doing "good. *O fælicem illum, &c. O happy he, who ſo fals, "that he may riſe more ſtrong: O happy he, who after "penitence, relapſeth not into fault and ruine.*

(24) Whereupon addicting his mind to diuine contemplations, & meditation of the Chriſtian Church, whoſe Champion now he was; he deſired conference of one *Ioachim* (a Ciſtercian Abbot) whoſe great learning and *deep vnderſtanding in the Scriptures*, with an opinion of a *Propheticall inſpiration*, made him ſo famous ouer the world, that King *Richard* ſent for him, being then in *Calabria* neere *Sicilie*, whom at his comming he heard preaching & expounding the *Apocalyſe* of Saint *Iohn*, touching the afflictions of the Church, and of *Antichriſt*, *which* (ſaith he) *was then borne, and in the City of Rome, and ſhall be aduanced in the See Apoſtolike, of whom the Apoſtle ſaid, he ſhould extoll himſelfe aboue all that is called God; and that the ſeuen Crownes were the Kings and Princes of the earth which obeyed him.* Surely, neere about this very time hapned that in *Rome*, which might ſeem to giue great probability to that Abbots opinion, eſpecially, if Emperours and Kings be truly called * Gods, ouer whom *Antichriſt* alſo *ſhould extol himſelfe*: for in the ſame moneth that *Richard* left *Meſſana*, was the Coronation of *Henry* the Emperor, and his Empreſſe *Conſtantia*, in S. *Peters* Church; where Pope *Celeſtine* the very next day after his owne conſecration to the *Papacie, ſate in his Pontificall chaire, holding the Emperiall golden Crowne betwixt his feete, and the Emperour (as likewiſe the Empreſſe) ſtooping low, receiued on his head the Diadem from the Popes feet; and preſently againe the Pope ſtrake the Emperors Crowne with his foot, and daſht * it to the ground; ſignifying that he had power to throw him (vpon his demerits) out of his Empire: but the Cardinals catching vp the crowne put it againe on the Emperours head.*

(25) The ſame day in which *Philip* & his *French* forces ſet ſaile out of the Hauen of *Meſſana*, arriued *Elianor* King *Richards* mother, accompanied with *Berengaria* his new intended Spouſe, daughter to *Sanctius* King of *Nauarre*, whom afterward hee tooke to wife in *Cyprus*; but his Mother after a ſhort ſtay returned by *Rome* into *England*, leauing the young Lady with *Ioan* Queene Dowager of *Sicilie*, both which accompanied the King toward the holy Land, his whole Nauie being * one hundred and fifty great ſhips, and fifty three Gallies, well appointed for the warre, and * many other Sailes and Veſſels: and (not to omit the ſame, becauſe it is recorded as a ſingularity) he had among all theſe, * thirteene Buces or Buſcies, which had each of them three courſe of Sailes to ſaile with: but no Writer (ſo farre as wee yet find) declares what numbers of Souldiers were in the *Engliſh* Armie.

(26) This Nauie royall, betweene the Iſles of *Rhodes* and *Cyprus*, (for the honor and good of King *Richard*) was ſcattered by God with a terrible tempeſt, ſome one or two of which ſuffered wreack vpon the Iſle of *Cyprus*, whom * *Curſac* (or as other call him *Iſakius*, Emperor of the *Griffons*) being a * tyrant did ſpoyle, and contrary to Chriſtian Religion, (which was his profeſſion, though * ſome miſtake) and all honour and humanity, he would not (among other his vnprincely, or rather barbarous behauiours) ſuffer the Kings ſiſter, and Lady *Berengaria*, with other of that tender ſociety, to come into harbour, to their great diſcontentment and perill, a * Ship or two ſinking there: but neither would God, nor King *Richard* forgiue it him.

(27) For the ſaid vnworthy Prince hauing thrice refuſed to make reſtitution of his vnlawfull ſeiſures and priſoners, was entred vpon by the *Engliſh*, driuen from the ſhoares with great diſhonour and ſlaughter; the City *Limeſzun* left for a prey to the victors, and himſelfe beaten againe out of his Campe, and taken, and after an eſcape made by him, his onely daughter and heire yeelding her ſelfe, and her Father laſtly comming againe of his owne accord (as deſpairing to lye hid) vnder cuſtody, and thruſt into fetters of gold and ſiluer, the whole Iland (with all the people, ſtrength, and riches thereof) became ſubiect to the King of *England*, and both Father and Daughter led away into captiuity.

(28) There arriued at *Limeſzun*, to ſalute and honour King *Richard*, within three daies after his firſt victory, *Guido* King of *Ieruſalem*, *Geofrey de* * *Lenizant* his brother, *Raimund* Prince of *Antioch*, Earle *Boemond* his ſonne, &c. offering their ſeruices, and ſwearing to be his againſt all men; with whoſe priuity King *Richard* ſeized the flouriſhing and ſpatious Iſland of *Cyprus*, by antiquity celebrated as the very *ſeate of Venus*; which that it might ſo proue to himſelfe, in the ioyous moneth, he ſolemnly tooke to wife his beloued Lady *Berengaria*.

(29) The perſon of the Emperour (for by that lofty title Writers call him,) was ſent to *Tripolis* in *Syria*, vnder the cuſtody of *Ralph Fitz-Godfrey*, Lord * Chamberlaine to King *Richard*: his daughter was committed to the two Queenes *Berengaria* and *Ioan*: the Iland it ſelf was entruſted to *Richard de Camuile*, and *Robert de Turnham* his Viceroyes, with competent force and prouiſions, and the Ilanders ſuffered to enioy all ſuch lawes and liberties, as they held in th: time of *Manuel* the Emperour of *Conſtantinople*, or (as now they call it) of *Stamboli*.

(30) This fame of *Richard* was much enlarged by his conquering a mighty * Argoſey, called a Dromond, wherein were aboord one thouſand and fiue hundred *Sarazens* (though diſguiſed vnder *French* Flagges) furniſhed, beſides all other prouiſions, with fire-workes, barrells or cages of venemous ſerpents, and the like, for the vſe of the *Sarazens* at *Acon*, (anciently called *Ptolomais*, to the ſiege whereof he was then ſailing,) thirteene hundred

An. D. 1191. The King of France ſets ſaile for the Holy Land.

Houeden. King *Richards* Nauy ſcattered.

King *Richard* ſubdues the Iſle of *Cyprus*. *Rog. Houeden. Mat. Paris Ypodigm. Neuſtr. Ger. Dorob. Acts* and *Mon.* p. 320.

Ger. Dorob.

*Roger Houed. fol. 392.

*Ypodig. Neuſtr.

*Mat. Paris ad A. D. 1191. Ypodig. Neuſtr.

*Roger Houed. fol. 392. *Acts & Mon. pag. 316.

* Iohn Stow in Rich. 1.

*Houeden.

*Ypodig. Neuſtr. *Mat. Paris. *Houeden. Ger. Dor. * Hect. Boet. l. 13. cap. 7.

A Chriſtian example of King Richard.

*Roger Houed. fol. 388.

*Roger Houeden. fol. 392.

Holinſh. pag. 126. col. 2.

*Roger Houed. ibid.

Ro. Houed. in Ric. 1. Paulus Aemilius in Philippo 2.

*Lußgnan.

Houeden. p. 388.

No new opinion that the Pope is Antichriſt.

Pſal. 82. v. 1. & 6.

*Roger Houed. pag. 392. *Acts and Mon.* pag. 319.

Houed. p. 392.

Idem.

*Houedens printed Copy hath eum, as if the Pope had throwne downe the Emperour, but eam is more probable with relation to Coronam.

*Roger Houed. Matth. Paris Ypodig. Neuſtr.

of which Miſcreants, he ſacrificed to *Mars* and *Neptune*, keeping the reſt for ranſome.

(31) *Philip* King of *France*, (in hope perhaps to conquer *Acon* before the *Engliſh* could arriue, and to winne thereby that glory intire) came ſafe before that City in Eaſter weeke; but as yet had not forced the ſame: at which time (that the Reader may obſerue the generall diſpoſition of the weſterne Chriſtians in thoſe daies) there engirded *Acon* (omitting the many great Prelates, Princes, Earles, and Honourable Chiefes) theſe Nations following; the *Genowayes* and *Florentines*, the *Engliſh* vnder *Hubert* Biſhop of *Salisbury*, afterward * Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Flemings*, *Almaines*, *Danes*, *Dutch*, *Friſelanders*, *Piſans*, *Lombardes*, beſides the Knights Templars (collected out of all Nations) and beſide the aides of the *Aſians*: all which lay quartered at the Siege in order, as heere they are placed, at that time in which the King of *France* arriued. But *Richard* King of *England* with his victorious and triumphant Nauie (which when it went out of *Cyprus*, being much belike augmented, did containe 254. tall ſhips, and aboue 60. Galliots) brought terror and diſmay to the beſieged, and comfort to the Chriſtians, vpon the Sunday after *Pentecoſt*, being about the middeſt of Iune.

(32) The ſiege was ſo vehemently plied, that (notwithſtanding ſundry diſſentions betweene *Philip* and *Richard*, the two competitors of glory in this voyage) after ſeuerall breaches and aſſaults, the laſt whereof was made by the *Piſans* and *Engliſh*, vpon the twelfth of Iuly following, many offers of compoſition made by the *Saladine*, being vtterly refuſed, the City of *Acon* was rendred to the Chriſtians vpon theſe conditions. 1 That *Saladine* (Prince of Miſcreants) ſhould by a certaine day reſtore the holy Croſſe. 2 That hee ſhould ſet at liberty fifteene hundreth Chriſtian Captiues. 3. That the City with all the things contained therein, ſhould remaine and bee to the Chriſtians. 4. That the Turkes or Sarazens ſhould haue their liues onely ſaued, if theſe conditions were performed. 5. That they ſhould pay twenty thouſand Bizants, (peeces of gold) toward the charges of the Kings. To take poſſeſſion for the *French*, there was ſent in, *Drogon de Merlou*, and one hundreth men of Armes, and for the *Engliſh*, *Hugo de Gurnay*, with the like number, who equally parted the City, goods, and people, betweene them.

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(34) The King of *France* thus leauing *Acon*, in the Caſtle whereof King *Richard*, his Queene and Siſter were lodged, and the Duke of *Burgundie* remaining behinde with the *French* hoaſt, (to whom King *Philip*, not without ſundry ſecret inſtructions, had with it committed a great part of his treaſure) King *Richard* in the ſame day ſet forward vpon a new enterprize; but it is true which one writes * that by reaſon of the diſſention betweene the Kings, *which of them ſhould ſeem the greater*, little or nothing proſpered; and iuſt cauſe had King *Richard* to complain in * his letters, that *Philip*, to the eternall reproach of himſelfe and Kingdome, had fouly forſaken his purpoſe and vow vnto God.

(35) But when the *Saladine* could not by any meanes obtaine a longer day for performance of the ſaid Articles of compoſition, hee cut off the heads of all his Chriſtian Captiues; in reuenge whereof King *Richard* brought out his Turkiſh Captiues, (being about two thouſand and fiue hundreth) and in the ſight of the *Saladines* hoaſt cauſed their heads to be chopt off; the Duke of *Burgundie* doing the ſame to the like number, neere vnto the walls of *Acon*, ſeauen onely being kept aliue by the Chriſtian Generals, whereof *Karakeys*, *Saladines* * foſter-Father was chiefe. But *Richard* proceeding in his vndertaken action, and in his march to *Ioppa*, being ſet vpon by *Sultan Saladine* (who had put the Duke of *Burgundie* to flight, and ſlaine the valiant *Iaques de Auennis*, who only with a few in the Rereward made reſiſtance) ſo couragiouſly encountred him, that the *Saladine* with the loſſe of three thouſand his choiſeſt Souldiers was glad to turn his back and flie: whiles therefore this Champion is thus imployed in the Holy-land, let vs looke backe a little how the affaires of his Kingdome are managed at home.

(36) *Iohn* the Kings brother, making vſe in *England* of ſuch diſcontentments, as the *incredible inſolencies, and intollerable tyrannies* of the Chancellour (who *carried himſelfe both like a Pope and a King*) had bred among the Nobility and people, to aduance thereby his own deſignes, ſtirred againſt him (though *ſtrengthening himſelfe like a Generall in the field*,) ſo powerfull oppoſition, that in the end, (vpon warrant of a new * Commiſſion ſent from the King his Brother) hee with the reſt of the Peeres ſuddenly thruſt him out of all command, and ſhortly after moſt reprochfully (as it happened, for hee fled, and was taken in a Curtezans attire, il-beſeeming a Popes Legate) out of the Kingdome alſo, vpon occaſion; a of other foule demerites, ſo particularly of a ſacrilegious and barbarous outrage, committed by the Chauncellors command, vpon the perſon of *Geffrey* Elect Archbiſhop of *Yorke* (naturall brother to King *Richard* and the Earle) on pretence that he entred *England* contrary to his oath giuen to his brother King *Richard*, whereas he then came to take poſſeſſion of his See, to which hee was aduanced by the * Kings owne procurement, and by Queene *Eleanors* owne trauell to *Rome* in his behalfe. And albeit this puniſhment & ſhame deſeruedly followed the Chancellours pride and oppreſſion, yet in one maine point of oppoſing the Earles Ambition; (who ſought to aſſure to himſelfe the remainder of the Crowne, which in right of bloud belonged to his Nephew *Arthur*) his ſeruice to the State had beene very commendable, if it had proceeded from loialty of affection, and not from a ſwelling deſire of greatneſſe, which he hoped ſtill to enioy, if *Arthur* (a child) ſhould ſucceed in the kingdome, whereas he knew Earle *Iohns* aduancement could not be without his apparant ruine.

(37) But *Philip* King of *France* in all places labouring by * wrongfull and vnprincely aſperſions to deface the renowne of King *Richard*, though finding ſmall credit to his words (becauſe the man had done nothing himſelfe) deuiſed after his returne how to trouble and endamage his friends dominions, and had effected it, if the Lords of *France* whom hee ſollicited to that wicked worke, vpon pretence

Ioly vltimo. **Ger. Dor.*

** Roy. Houed.*

** Matth. Paris.*

Diſorders in *England.* *Guil. de Nubur. l.4.c.4.* *Roger Houed.* *Matth. Paris.* *Nubrigenſ. l.4.c.18*

** Houed. in Rich.1 p.391. Nubrig. l.4. c.18.*

Velut delicata mulierecula. Nubrigenſ. l. 4. c.17. *Houeden. p.401.*

Nubrigenſ. l.4. c.17. *Houeden, p.399.*

** Houed. in Ric. 1. p.392.*

Guil. de Nubur. l.14.

** Guil. Nubrig. l. 4. c.25.*

Roy. Houed. fol. 395.

King *Richard* vpon certaine conditions permits the King of *France* to depart. **Roy. Houeden. fol. 394. p. 6.*

** Rand. Higden. in Polychr. lib. 7. cap. 27.*

pretence of the compoſition made with King *Richard* at *Meſſana*, had not (to their immortall glory) *refuſed to aſſiſt him therein, till *Richards* returne, as well in regard of their owne oathes, as becauſe the ſentence of excommunication was denounced againſt all ſuch as did attempt to endammage him in his abſence.

*Ro. Houed. f. 408. Nubrigenſ. lib. 4. cap. 25.

(38) King *Richard*, notwithſtanding that the relation of theſe things greatly troubled him, gaue not ouer as yet, but after ſundry other matters of importance performed, did march vp within the ſight of *Ieruſalem*, where he skirmiſhed with the enemy, and ouerthrew the Conuoy or Caruan of the *Saladine*, which came laden from *Babylon*, guarded with tenne thouſand men; whom King *Richard* valiantly encountring with fiue thouſand ſelected Souldiers, put moſt of them to the Sword, and took three thouſand Camels, and foure thouſand Horſes and Mules, beſides thoſe that were ſlaine, and ſo gained the rich ſpoyle of all the Carriages.

Mat. Paris ſaith they were 7000. Camels, and makes no mention of Mules or Horſes.

(39) After this, and many other worthy things done, as the reſcue of *Ioppa*, and repulſe of *Saladine* from thence, &c. the King indefatigable in his braue attempts, deſirous to re-gaine *Ieruſalem*, and the City *Baruck*, was abandoned in that enterpriſe by the Duke of *Burgundie* (who is *ſaid to haue beene apparently corrupted with gifts from *Saladine*, and the regiments of *French* vnder his conduct:) whereupon hee was the rather perſwaded by the *Knights Templars*, and chiefes of the Chriſtian hoaſt, not to refuſe *Saladines* offers for a ſurceaſance from hoſtility, conſidering that hee had a purpoſe to returne with reenforced numbers and meanes; that his preſent powers by diuiſions, by ſickneſſe, by battailes were waſted, and that the dangerous eſtate of his owne Dominions did require his preſence, (the greateſt motiue, for he had ſupplies of money for his Souldiers wages from Pope *Celeſtine*) by reaſon of ſome vndue practiſes at home, and the rancour of King *Philip* his vnreconcileable aduerſary abroad. Whereupon a truce was taken for three yeeres, and *Saladine* re-paide ſuch charges as *Richard* had beene at in fortifying *Askalon*, which was brought to the ſame eſtate, as in which King *Richard* found it.

*Matth. Paris in Rich. 1.

*Sabellic. Enn. 9. l. 5. Polyd. Virg. li. 14.

(40) But the King of *England*, though hee had very farre excelled all the Chriſtian Princes in great exploits at that journey, becauſe *he had neither conquered *Saladine*, nor *Ieruſalem*, did mourne, and parted penſiue. In the Holy-land he left *Henrie* Earle of *Champaine*, (who vpon taking the ſaid *Baruck*, was to haue beene crowned King of *Ieruſalem*, which *Guido* had reſigned) and he left *Guido de Luſignian* (the late King of *Ieruſalem* in *Cyprus*, to whom he had paſſed it, in exchange for the other, to aduance his Kinſ-man the ſaid Earle of *Champain*; which, vpon that Title, the family of *Luſignian* for *many deſcents after did poſſeſſe and enjoy. Thus *Richard* hauing ordered his affaires in the Eaſt parts, ſets ſaile home-ward. The Queenes *Berengaria* his Wife, and *Ioane* his Siſter, with the Captiue Ladie, Daughter of the *Cypriot* Emperour, vnder the conduct of *Stephen de Turnham*, (hearing of the Kings moſt heauie fortune) ſojourned at *Rome* about ſixe moneths, for feare of *Richards* enemies, & afterward came ſafe by *Marſilia* into *Poictou*.

*Gul. Dor.

*Polydor. Virg. lib. 14. Roger Houed. fol. 417.

(41) God, whoſe cauſe was onely pretended in this voyage of the Chriſtians, did not ſeeme to approoue the ſaid truce; for he *ſcattered the *Engliſh* with a terrible tempeſt, and the * opportunitie of Conqueſt was ſo loſt, that hitherto it could neuer be re-gained, and the King of *England* letting it ſlippe, when God had almoſt put the ſame into his hands, did miſerably fall into his enemies hands. Certainely, the name of *Richard* was at that time growne terrible to *Saladine*, who had receiued diuers loſſes, foyles, and ouerthrowes at his hands: Moreouer, the *Saladines* whole eſtate being endangered by ſuch of his owne ſect as reputed him a meere Vſurper, hee could not long withſtand the double impreſſion of the Chriſtian Chiualrie, and of his owne Allies and Country-men; as indeed not long after * he died, leauing his Empire foulely, but juſtly, diſtracted by ciuill confuſions: whereas by this Truce the crafty Turke made the world ſee, that the powers of two ſo potent Monarchs had in a manner effected nothing; and *Richard* could neuer haue time to returne for accompliſhment of his deſignes; for which all Chriſtendome hath at this houre reaſon to be ſorrowfull, and hereof himſelfe *was very ſenſible, ſo that hee would oftentimes cry out, that hee was not alwaies wiſe, alluding to this occaſion loſt.

*Matt. Paris. *Polyd. Virg. lib. 14.

*Matth. Paris. *Ro. Houed. f. 408.

(42) But the noble King, hoping to pierce with ſpeed through *Germanie* in diſguiſe, tooke to him the name of * *Hugo* a Merchant, the haire of his * head and beard growne very long, being the fitter to conceale him; but in his journey ouer-land, was neere to *Vienna* vnhappily diſcouered by the profuſeneſſe of his expenſes; when hee ſaw hee could not eſcape them, * in contempt of his fortunes, he put on royall garments, and refuſed to yeelde but * onely to the Duke himſelfe, who came with joy as to a prey which hee ſore longed for: but the raſcall multitude * cried things worthy of themſelues, calling him (O barbariſme) Traitour, and ſome ſaying, ſtone him; ſome, cut off his head; & others, hang him: and becauſe the inhumanity of this vſage may be ſuited with rymes as rude and ragged, you ſhall in ſuch heare the cauſe of this Arch-dukes malice, growing firſt at *Acon*, where the Author ſpeaking of King *Richard* ſaith;

*Polyd. Virg. li. 14.

*Matth. Paris.

* Ger. Dor.

He gate it ſoone with his great Ordinance,
And on the walles his Banners full high ſet,
The Kings Armes he ſet vp alſo of France,
And King Guyes Armes of Ieruſalem well bet,
The Duke of Oiſtrich, Limpold without let,
Set vp his Armes after aboue them all,
Which King Richard did caſt downe from the wall.

Hardings Chr. cap. 138.

(43) And though it is certaine that this Authour faines not this fact, for that ſome ſuch matter (and told by * ſome with more diſaduantage to *Richards* cauſe) is by others * related, yet the graueſt Authors agree (that next to the common enuy at his vertues) the greateſt pretence was the murther of the Marqueſſe *Conrad*, committed at *Tyre*, by two curſed *Aſſaſines*, a certaine ſect *in the Eaſt, liuing vnder a Senior or Ruler, whom they honour as a Prophet, by whom they are ſent forth to murther ſuch Princes as fauour them not, promiſing themſelues the reward of immortality by obeying him in all things, though with the loſſe of their owne liues*. Of which barbarous fact, *Henry* the Emperor, and *Leopold* the Arch-duke, (whoſe neere kinſ-man *Conrad* was) would ſeeme to beleeue that *Richard* was the Author, though therein they toucht his princely reputation and integrity, * moſt injuriouſly, for that the chiefe of that ſect by their owne publique *Letters *(written with the bloud of the Shel-fiſh, called Murex*, wherewith Scarlet vſed to be died) acknowledging the fact, declared the true cauſe thereof, which was a particular Act of injuſtice in *Conrad* himſelfe: There wanted not ſundry other pretences, as in ſuch caſes is vſuall, as * that *Richard* had entred leagne with *Tancred* King of *Sicilia* the Emperours enemy, and that he had thruſt the *Cypriot* (their kinſman) out of the Empire, and kept his onely daughter Captiue. But this booty, being too great for a Duke, the Emperour got into his cuſtodie, meaning to coine much Gold and Siluer out of his moſt vnjuſt affliction, by ſharpe impriſonment: which could not make him in any act or ſpeech, or geſture of his, ſhew beneath the Majeſtie of a victorious Prince and King of *England*.

Pretences for the detinue of King *Richard*. *Math. Paris ad An. D. 1192. Geru. Dor.* who writes that the Archduke ſet vp his Standard in the chiefe place of the City of *Acon*, to the injurie of King *Richard*. *Guil. de Nubur. lib. 4. cap. 24. & lib. 5. cap. 16.* This deſcription fitteth a like ſect now in the weſt.

Typdig. Neuſtri. p. 455. Edit. An. D. 1603. The Copie of the ſaid Letter, ſee *Nubrig. l. 5. cap. 16.*

Matth. Paris ad An. Dom. 1193.

(44) The diſmall newes thereof flying through the World, preſently diſcloſed who were ſound or vnſure; ſorrow and diſmay was euery where among his owne. * His carefull mother, and other his faſt friends

The face of *England* in her Kings captiuity. *Ger. Dor. Ro. Houed. f. 408.*

of which Miſcreants, he ſacrificed to *Mars* and *Neptune*, keeping the reſt for ranſome.

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(34) The King of *France* thus leauing *Acon*, in the Caſtle whereof King *Richard*, his Queene and Siſter were lodged, and the Duke of *Burgundie* remaining behinde with the *French* hoaſt, (to whom King *Philip*, not without ſundry ſecret inſtructions, had with it committed a great part of his treaſure) King *Richard* in the ſame day ſet forward vpon a new enterprize; but it is true which one writes * that by reaſon of the diſſention betweene the Kings, *which of them ſhould ſeem the greater*, little or nothing proſpered; and iuſt cauſe had King *Richard* to complain in * his letters, that *Philip*, to the eternall reproach of himſelfe and Kingdome, had fouly forſaken his purpoſe and vow vnto God.

(35) But when the *Saladine* could not by any meanes obtaine a longer day for performance of the ſaid Articles of compoſition, hee cut off the heads of all his Chriſtian Captiues; in reuenge whereof King *Richard* brought out his Turkiſh Captiues, (being about two thouſand and fiue hundreth) and in the ſight of the *Saladines* hoaſt cauſed their heads to be chopt off; the Duke of *Burgundie* doing the ſame to the like number, neere vnto the walls of *Acon*, ſeauen onely being kept aliue by the Chriſtian Generals, whereof *Karakeys*, *Saladines* * foſter-Father was chiefe. But *Richard* proceeding in his vndertaken action, and in his march to *Ioppa*, being ſet vpon by *Sultan Saladine* (who had put the Duke of *Burgundie* to flight, and ſlaine the valiant *Iaques de Auennis*, who only with a few in the Rereward made reſiſtance) ſo couragiouſly encountred him, that the *Saladine* with the loſſe of three thouſand his choiſeſt Souldiers was glad to turn his back and flie: whiles therefore this Champion is thus imployed in the Holy-land, let vs looke backe a little how the affaires of his Kingdome are managed at home.

(36) *Iohn* the Kings brother, making vſe in *England* of ſuch diſcontentments, as the *incredible inſolencies, and intollerable tyrannies* of the Chancellour (who *carried himſelfe both like a Pope and a King*) had bred among the Nobility and people, to aduance thereby his own deſignes, ſtirred againſt him (though *ſtrengthening himſelfe like a Generall in the field*,) ſo powerfull oppoſition, that in the end, (vpon warrant of a new * Commiſſion ſent from the King his Brother) hee with the reſt of the Peeres ſuddenly thruſt him out of all command, and ſhortly after moſt reprochfully (as it happened, for hee fled, and was taken in a Curtezans attire, il-beſeeming a Popes Legate) out of the Kingdome alſo, vpon occaſion; as of other foule demerites, ſo particularly of a ſacrilegious and barbarous outrage, committed by the Chauncellors command, vpon the perſon of *Geffrey* Elect Archbiſhop of *Yorke* (naturall brother to King *Richard* and the Earle) on pretence that he entred *England* contrary to his oath giuen to his brother King *Richard*, whereas he then came to take poſſeſſion of his See, to which hee was aduanced by the * Kings owne procurement, and by Queene *Eleanors* owne trauell to *Rome* in his behalfe. And albeit this puniſhment & ſhame deſeruedly followed the Chancellours pride and oppreſſion, yet in one maine point of oppoſing the Earles Ambition; (who ſought to aſſure to himſelfe the remainder of the Crowne, which in right of bloud belonged to his Nephew *Arthur*) his ſeruice to the State had beene very commendable, if it had proceeded from loialty of affection, and not from a ſwelling deſire of greatneſſe, which he hoped ſtill to enioy, if *Arthur* (a child) ſhould ſucceed in the kingdome, whereas he knew Earle *Iohns* aduancement could not be without his apparant ruine.

(37) But *Philip* King of *France* in all places labouring by * wrongfull and vnprincely aſperſions to deface the renowne of King *Richard*, though finding ſmall credit to his words (becauſe the man had done nothing himſelfe) deuiſed after his returne how to trouble and endamage his friends dominions, and had effected it, if the Lords of *France* whom hee ſollicited to that wicked worke, vpon pretence

Geru. Dorob.

Acts and Mon. p. 318.

Roger Houed.

Math. Paris. Ypodigm. Neuſtr.

Rog. Houed. fol. 395.

King Richard vpon certaine conditions permits the King of France to depart.
**Rog. Houeden. fol. 394. p. 6.*

** Rand. Higden. in Polychr. lib. 7. cap. 27.*

Iuly vltimo.
**Ger. Dor.*

** Roger Houed.*

** Matth. Paris.*

Diſorders in *England.*
Guil. de Nubur. l. 4. c. 4.
Roger Houed.
Matth. Paris.
Nubrigenſ. l. 4. c. 18

** Houed. in Rich. 1 p. 391. Nubrig. l. 4. c. 18.*

Velut delicata mulierecula. Nubrigenſ. l. 4. c. 17.
Houeden. p. 401.

Nubrigenſ. l. 4. c. 17.
Houeden. p. 399.

** Houed. in Ric. 1. p. 392.*

Guil. de Nubur. l. 14.

** Guil. Nubrig. l. 4. c. 25.*

pretence of the compoſition made with King *Richard* at *Meſſana*, had not (to their immortall glory) *refuſed to aſſiſt him therein, till *Richards* returne, as well in regard of their owne oathes, as becauſe the ſentence of excommunication was denounced againſt all ſuch as did attempt to endammage him in his abſence.

*Ro. Houed. f. 408. Nubrigenſ. lib. 4. cap. 25.

(38) King *Richard*, notwithſtanding that the relation of theſe things greatly troubled him, gaue not ouer as yet, but after ſundry other matters of importance performed, did march vp within the ſight of *Ieruſalem*, where he skirmiſhed with the enemy, and ouerthrew the Conuoy or Carauan of the *Saladine*, which came laden from *Babylon*, guarded with tenne thouſand men; whom King *Richard* valiantly encountring with fiue thouſand ſelected Souldiers, put moſt of them to the Sword, and took three thouſand Camels, and foure thouſand Horſes and Mules, beſides thoſe that were ſlaine, and ſo gained the rich ſpoyle of all the Carriages.

Mat. Paris ſaith they were 7000. Camels, and makes no mention of Mules or Horſes.

(39) After this, and many other worthy things done, as the reſcue of *Ioppa*, and repulſe of *Saladine* from thence, &c. the King indefatigable in his braue attempts, deſirous to re-gaine *Ieruſalem*, and the City *Baruck*, was abandoned in that enterpriſe by the Duke of *Burgundie* (who is *ſaid to haue beene apparently corrupted with gifts from *Saladine*, and the regiments of *French* vnder his conduct:) whereupon hee was the rather perſwaded by the *Knights Templars*, and chiefes of the Chriſtian hoaſt, not to refuſe *Saladines* offers for a ſurceaſance from hoſtility, conſidering that hee had a purpoſe to returne with re-enforced numbers and meanes; that his preſent powers by diuiſions, by ſickneſſe, by battailes were waſted, and that the dangerous eſtate of his owne Dominions did require his preſence, (the greateſt motiue, for he had ſupplies of money for his Souldiers wages from Pope *Celeſtine*) by reaſon of ſome vndue practiſes at home, and the rancour of King *Philip* his vnreconcileable aduerſary abroad. Whereupon a truce was taken for three yeeres, and *Saladine* re-paide ſuch charges as *Richard* had beene at in fortifying *Askalon*, which was brought to the ſame eſtate, as in which King *Richard* found it.

*Matth. Paris in Rich. I.

Sabellic. Enn. 9. l. 5. Polyd. Virg. li. 14.

(40) But the King of *England*, though hee had very farre excelled all the Chriſtian Princes in great exploits at that journey, becauſe *he had neither conquered *Saladine*, nor *Ieruſalem*, did mourne, and parted penſiue. In the Holy-land he left *Henrie* Earle of *Champaine*, (who vpon taking the ſaid *Baruck*, was to haue beene crowned King of *Ieruſalem*, which *Guido* had reſigned) and he left *Guido de Luſignian* (the late King of *Ieruſalem* in *Cyprus*, to whom he had paſſed it, in exchange for the other, to aduance his Kinſ-man the ſaid Earle of *Champain*; which, vpon that Title, the family of *Luſignian* for *many deſcents after did poſſeſſe and enjoy. Thus *Richard* hauing ordered his affaires in the Eaſt parts, ſets ſaile home-ward. The Queenes *Berengaria* his Wife, and *Ioane* his Siſter, with the Captiue Ladie, Daughter of the *Cypriot* Emperour, vnder the conduct of *Stephen de Turnham*, (hearing of the Kings moſt heauie fortune) ſojourned at *Rome* about ſixe moneths, for feare of *Richards* enemies, & afterward came ſafe by *Marſilia* into *Poictou*.

*Gu. Dor.

*Polydor. Virg. lib. 14. Roger Houed. fol. 417.

(41) God, whoſe cauſe was onely pretended in this voyage of the Chriſtians, did not ſeeme to approoue the ſaid truce; for he *ſcattered the *Engliſh* with a terrible tempeſt, and the * opportunitie of Conqueſt was ſo loſt, that hitherto it could neuer be re-gained, and the King of *England* letting it ſlippe, when God had almoſt put the ſame into his hands, did miſerably fall into his enemies hands. Certainely, the name of *Richard* was at that time growne terrible to *Saladine*, who had receiued diuers loſſes, foyles, and ouerthrowes at his hands: Moreouer, the *Saladines* whole eſtate being endangered by ſuch of his owne ſect as reputed him a meere Vſurper, hee could not long withſtand the double impreſſion of the Chriſtian Chiualrie, and of his owne Allies and Country-men; as indeed not long after * he died, leauing his Empire foulely, but juſtly, diſtracted by ciuill confuſions: whereas by this Truce the crafty Turke made the world ſee, that the powers of two ſo potent Monarchs had in a manner effected nothing; and *Richard* could neuer haue time to returne for accompliſhment of his deſignes; for which all Chriſtendome hath at this houre reaſon to be ſorrowfull, and hereof himſelfe *was very ſenſible, ſo that hee would oftentimes cry out, that hee was not alwaies wiſe, alluding to this occaſion loſt.

*Matt. Paris. *Polyd. Virg. lib. 14.

*Matth. Paris.

*Polyd. Vir. l. 14.

*Rog. Houe. f. 414

*Polyd. Virg. lib. 14.

An. D. 1193.

(42) But the noble King, hoping to pierce with ſpeed through *Germanie* in diſguiſe, tooke to him the name of * *Hugo* a Merchant, the haire of his * head and beard growne very long, being the fitter to conceale him; but in his journey ouer-land, was neere to *Vienna* vnhappily diſcouered by the profuſeneſſe of his expenſes; when hee ſaw hee could not eſcape them, * in contempt of his fortunes, he put on royall garments, and refuſed to yeelde but * onely to the Duke himſelfe, who came with joy as to a prey which hee ſore longed for: but the raſcall multitude * cried things worthy of themſelues, calling him (O barbariſme) Traitour, and ſome ſaying, ſtone him; ſome, cut off his head; & others, hang him: and becauſe the inhumanity of this vſage may be ſuited with rymes as rude and ragged, you ſhall in ſuch heare the cauſe of this Arch-dukes malice, growing firſt at *Acon*, where the Author ſpeaking of King *Richard* ſaith;

*Matth. Paris. *Matth. Paris. * Ger. Dor.

He gate it ſoone with his great Ordinance,
And on the walles his Banners full high ſet,
The Kings Armes he ſet vp alſo of France,
And King Guyes Armes of Ieruſalem well bet,
The Duke of Oiſtrich, Limpold without let,
Set vp his Armes after aboue them all,
Which King Richard did caſt downe from the wall.

Harding. Chr. cap. 138.

(43) And though it is certaine that this Authour faines not this fact, for that ſome ſuch matter (and told by * ſome with more diſaduantage to *Richards* cauſe) is by others * related, yet the graueſt Authors agree (that next to the common enuy at his vertues) the greateſt pretence was the murther of the Marqueſſe *Conrad*, committed at *Tyre*, by two curſed *Aſſaſines*, a certaine ſect *in the Eaſt, liuing vnder a Senior or Ruler, whom they honour as a Prophet, by whom they are ſent forth to murther ſuch Princes as fauour them not, promiſing themſelues the reward of immortality by obeying him in all things, though with the loſſe of their owne liues*. Of which barbarous fact, *Henry* the Emperor, and *Leopold* the Arch-duke, (whoſe neere kinſ-man *Conrad* was) would ſeeme to beleeue that *Richard* was the Author, though therein they toucht his princely reputation and integrity, * moſt injuriouſly, for that the chiefe of that ſect by their owne publique * Letters *(written with the bloud of the Shel-fiſh, called Murex*, wherewith Scarlet vſed to be died) acknowledging the fact, declared the true cauſe thereof, which was a particular Act of injuſtice in *Conrad* himſelfe: There wanted not ſundry other pretences, as in ſuch caſes is vſuall, as * that *Richard* had entred leagne with *Tancred* King of *Sicilia* the Emperours enemy, and that he had thruſt the *Cypriot* (their kinſman) out of the Empire, and kept his onely daughter Captiue. But this booty, being too great for a Duke, the Emperour got into his cuſtodie, meaning to coine much Gold and Siluer out of his moſt vnjuſt affliction, by ſharpe impriſonment: which could not make him in any act or ſpeech, or geſture of his, ſhew beneath the Majeſtie of a victorious Prince and King of *England*.

Pretences for the detinue of King *Richard*. *Matth. Paris ad An. D. 1192. Geru. Dor.* who writes that the Archduke ſet vp his Standard in the chiefe place of the City of *Acon*, to the injurie of King *Richard*. *Guil. de Nubur. lib. 4. cap. 24. & lib. 5. cap. 16.* This deſcription fitteth a like ſect now in the weſt.

Ypodig. Neuſtri. p. 455. Edit. An. D. 1603. The Copie of the ſaid Letter, ſee *Nubrig. l. 5. cap. 16.*

Matth. Paris ad An. Dom. 1193.

(44) The diſmall newes thereof flying through the World, preſently diſcloſed who were ſound or vnſure; ſorrow and diſmay was euery where among his owne. * His carefull mother, and other his faſt friends

The face of *England* in her Kings captiuity. *Ger. Dor. Rog. Houed. f. 408.*

friends, sweare the realme to be true to King *Richard*, watch the coasts, and prouide for the security of the State, with singular vigilancie, assuring the Cities & good Townes with Bulwarkes, Walls, and Munition. On the contrary, Earle *Iohn* being (by the cunning inueigling and suggestions of his brothers professed foes) not onely put out of all hope of his releasement, but also incensed against him for intending the Crowne to his Nephew *Arthur*, entered into an vnbrotherly attempt against his Soueraigne Lord; the summe whereof, take in the words of *Thomas Walsingham*, who saith, that *Iohn* with promises allured many to him through the whole Kingdome, did carefully and speedily fortifie his holds in *England*, and passing the Seas, entred into league with the king of the *French*, that he might vtterly put his Nephew *Arthur*, Duke of *Britaine* from that hope, which the Britaines had conceiued of his promotion. The * *Normans* giuing any way to his disloyall practises, he sweares fealty to *Philip* King of *France* (his brothers most mortall enemie) and also that he would take to wife the Lady *Alice* king *Philips* sister, though polluted by his owne Father, and for that cause rejected by King *Richard*. Out of *Normandy* he posts into *England*, sollicits Peeres and people, and was loyally resisted: but he not quieted so, labours to stirre the *Scot* and *Welsh* to ioyne in an inuasion with him; the *French* and *Flemings* assuring them that his Brother King *Richard* would neuer be set at liberty: but *William* King of *Scots* would neither giue assent, nor countenance, to such vndutifull practises, or rather madnesses.

The attempts of *Iohn*, King *Richards* brother.

Geru. Dorob. Roger Houed. Matth. Paris. Ypodigm. Neustr.

**Roger Houed.*

Ger. Dor.

(45) In this most perillous time, the valour and loyalty of the Citie of *Roan* (the choysest of *Normandy*) did most clearely shew themselues, to the euerlasting commendation thereof: for *Philip* comming before it with a puissant Army, solicited them to reuolt, promising mountaines. In stead of answere * they set open the Gates, telling him that he might enter if he would, for no man hindred him: but the * vaine-glorious King beeing better aduised, (for the inhabitants, yea and the damsels of the City, whose heads were polde like as mens, powred molten pitch, and such like matter vpon the besiegers) retreated from the Walles, and marcht away confounded: and being certainely aduertized that the Emperour and King *Richard* were agreed, he sends ouer to Earle * *Iohn, bidding him looke to himselfe, for the Diuell was now let loose.* Hee thereupon crost ouer the Seas to *Philip*, who * excited him to vsurpe the Kingdome of *England*.

* *Rog. Hou. f.* 412.

* *Gernas. Dorob.*

Martiall women in *Roan.*

**Rog. Houed. f.* 414.

**Lanquet ad A.D.* 1191.

(46) Neuertheless by Queene *Elianors* negotiation (who in person trauelled to the Emperour) the King her sonne was come to be assured of his liberty, vpon these conditions. 1. That hee should pay to the Emperour one hundreth thousand Markes sterling. 2. That hee should pay fifty thousand Markes of like money to the Emperour and Duke. 3. That he should marry his Neece, (sister to *Arthur* Duke of *Britaine*) to Duke *Leopolds* sonne. 4. That the Emperour should secure him, till hee were vnder saile with a fore-winde. 5. That hee should set the *Cypriots* person at liberty, and deliuer his daughter to the Duke of *Austria*, who was her vncle, and should deliuer 67. hostages for assurance of all.

The Articles of King *Richards* liberty.

(47) But to colour this vnreasonable and vnprincely extortion, the Emperour by his Imperiall Charter giues vnto King *Richard*, *Prouince*, and sundry other ample Territories, containing 5. Archbishoprickes, and thirty three Bishoprickes (sometime parcell of the Empire, but both then and a long time before out of possession) & therof crownes him *King*, writing magnificent Letters into *England*, with such like offices.

King *Richard* crowned King of *Prouince*, &c.

(48) Now when King *Richard* (who had wonne to himselfe wonderfull honour and respect, euen of the couetous Emperour, by the proofe of his innocency, and by his most noble and constant carriage) did expect his liberty at an assembly or diet, where the greatest Princes and States of the Empire were in person; to wit, The three Archbishops of *Mentz*, *Colein* & *Saltzburgh*; The three Bishops of *Wormes*, *Spire*, and *Leiges*; The three Dukes of *Swaue* (the Emperours brother) *Austrich*, and *Luuain*; The *Count Palatine of Rhene*, &c. which had vndertaken for the Emperour, whose officers had already receiued the greater part of the ransome: behold euen then the Emperour shewes a willingnesse to breake off, producing the Letters of *Philip* King of *France*, and of *Iohn* Earle of *Morton*, in which they offer an huge summe, &c. too impious and diuelish to speake of: but the Princes who had vndertaken to King *Richard* for good dealing, went to the Emperour, reprouing him for his auarice, who would so dishonourably trauerse and start backe from the agreement: * vpon the fourth of Februarie therefore being Friday, the Archbishops of *Mentz* and *Coleine* restore him, * after fifteene moneths imprisonment, to Queene *Elianor* his mother, free from the Emperour, all that were present weeping thereat for joy.

A new and foule treason of Earle *Iohn* discouered.

**Rog. Houed f.* 418. In Ianuary saith *Nubrig. Dia Purif. B. Mariæ*, saith another.

* *Read. Higden in Polycr. lib. 7. c. 28. Fabian.*

(49) This Archbishop of *Coleine* was he, who entertayning the King in the Dominions of his Archbishopricke; with great joy for his deliuerance did celebrate diuine seruice in this manner; *Now know I truly that the Lord hath sent his Angell and taken me out of the hand of* Herode, *and the expectation of the common people of the Iewes, &c.*

Roger Houed.

(50) And indeed it was *Gods Angell* did it: for after all this, whiles the King stayed for a wind, and other preparations at the Sea-shoare, the Emperour repenting him of his release, sent speedily guarders to apprehend him againe, vowing *hee should neuer be freede from bonds whiles hee liued*; but some secret message (as Princes Courts neuer want Spials) speedily pre-monished him, and so by a very little time he preuented his surprisers, landing happily at *Sandwich*, in Aprill the Sunday after Saint *Georges* day; where in stead of all other triumphes, or particulars of joy for his returne, wee will content our selues with onely one, as signe of the rest. When the King drew neere to *Rochester*, the venerable new Archbishop of *Canterbury Hubert* (who had been with him at *Acon* in the Holy-land,) went joyously forth to meet him; whom when the King saw, he dismounted from his Horse, and hauing bowed his knee, fell vpon the earth, in like sort the Archbishoppe lay right against him; at the last both of them rising from the ground, they ranne into each others armes, comforting themselues with mutuall embraces and weeping with joy.

Nubrig. l. 4. c. 41.

Math. Paris. Ypodig. Neustr.

The joyfull meeting between the King and Archbishop. *Gernas. Dorob.*

(51) The justice of a true history will not suffer vs heere to forget, in what sort the injustice of this vnnoble captiuation of *Richard* king of *England*, was punished by God, and on Gods behalfe. The Duke of *Austrias* Country, and people, being visited with these fiue plagues, Fire, Water, Barrennes, Wormes, and Pestilence: the Fire, casually burning his Towns; the Riuer of *Danubius* drowning ten thousand of his Subjects, in an ouer-flow; the earth waxing dry and sear; the Wormes destroying such fruit and graine as grew; and the stroke of Pestilence killing the principall Nobles and Gentlemen of his Dominions: The Duke for all this continued obstinate, like another *Pharao*, swearing to cut off the heads of K. *Richards* Hostages, vnlesse all Couenants (though extorted by cruell Duresse) were exactly and speedily performed. *Baldwin de Betun* (one of the Hostages) is sent to the King with this bloudy message; but before his returne, vpon S. *Stephens* day in *Christmas*, the Duke * spurring his Horse, in sport, vpon a Castle of Snow among youthes, which were counterfeiting a siege, and an assault, with the slip of his Horse, brake his foot in such sort, as it came to be * cut off, and within a while feeling himselfe perishing vpward, so that his death was certaine, could not be absolued of his Bishoppes from the sentence of *Excommunication*

King *Richards* wrongs reuenged vpon the Duke of Austria. *Matth. Paris. Rog. Houed f. 425. Panui Cestr. Polychr. l. 7. c. 27.*

* *Ger. Dor.*

**Ypodigm. Neustr. John Stow in R. 1. Holinsh. pag. 147. ad A.D. 1195.*

Excommunication which had by the Pope beene denounced, till he and his Lords had ſworne to releaſe all the ſaid matters betweene the King of *England* and him; but his ſonne after his death refuſing the performance, his Fathers body lay ſtinking aboue ground eight daies, for that no Clergy-man durſt burie it, being but conditionally abſolued, till the ſonne did yeeld to the performance; yet (if * ſome may be credited vpon his bare word) the ſonne did voluntarily condiſcend, and not vpon this compulſion.

*Polyd. Virg. l. 14.

King *Richards* injuries reuenged vpon *Henry* the Emperour.

(53) But albeit the Emperour to declare himſelfe wounded with ſome remorſe for his vngodly violence, or to engage others in the impietie, gaue three thouſand Markes of King *Richards* ranſome to make ſiluer Cenſers through all the *Ciſtercian order*, who generally refuſed the gift, as parcell of an accurſed ſpoile (for as for thoſe * ſeauenty thouſand markes, which hee forgaue to King *Richard*, with as bad a purpoſe (being to hinder peace betweene him, and the *French*) as he had taken the other vnjuſtly, they are not to be accounted as reſtitution, but as the wages of ſinne;) reuenge forſooke him not, beeing purſued by his owne Wife (the Heire of the Crowne of *Sicilia*) in reuenge of ſome cruelties done to her Country-men; and after reconcilement with her, falling dangerouſly ſicke, he died at *Meſſana*, excommunicated for King *Richards* cauſe. And albeit he had in his life-time ſent his Chancellour out of *Burgundie*, of purpoſe to offer King *Richard* recompence for the injuries he had ſuſtained, and although *Conſtantia* the Empreſſe had ſent the Archbiſhoppe of *Meſſana*, (while the Emperours body lay aboue ground without buriall) to Pope *Celeſtine* in humble manner, praying Chriſtian buriall, yet * *vnleſſe the mony which he had extorted from the king of England were reſtored*, hee could by no entreaties obtaine it: which accordingly was promiſed.

* *Matt. Paris ad An. Dom. 1196. Roger Houeden. fol. 431.*

* *Rog. Houed. fol. 440.*

(54) Neither were the King of *Englands* afflictions vnprofitable vnto him, for they gaue him occaſion to reforme his life, taking home to him his Queene *Berengaria*, whoſe ſociety for a long time he had neglected, though ſhe were a royall, eloquent, & beauteous Lady, and for his loue had ventured with him through the World.

John Stow in Rich. 1. Ran. Higden. in Polyer. lib. 7. cap. 26.

King *Richards* doings after his returne. *Matth. Paris. Roger Houeden. fol. 392.*

(55) King *Richard* after his joyous returne into *England*, hauing at the Abbey of Saint *Edmunds*, in performance of his vow (as may ſeeme) offered vp the rich Imperiall Standard of *Curſac*, Emperour of *Cyprus*, which hee tooke among the ſpoyles of the *Griffons* Campe: thence hee marched, and tooke in by ſurrender ſuch Caſtles as the ſeruants of his brother *Iohn* (beleeuing that the King was not returned) held againſt him; but *Henrie de Pumeray*, who had fortified *Saint Michaels Mount in Cornwall*, hearing for certaine that King *Richard* was come, died for very feare. And now, forty dayes of ſummons being exſpired, which were allowed to Earle *Iohn*, & *Hugh* Biſhop of *Couentry*, for making their appearance, to anſwere to ſuch hainous matter as was prepared, and they not appearing, *Iohn* was adjudged by the Peeres and States of *England*, to haue forfeited all that hee might forfeit in the Realme, and the Biſhop to be puniſhable by the Eccleſiaſticall cenſures, as he was a Biſhop, and likewiſe as an Officer of the King, by the Laitie. *Richard* afterward beſtirres himſelfe to draw in money more greedily then did become ſo great a Majeſtie, wherein yet (ſaith * one) hee was rather to be pardoned then accuſed, for that he was preſently to leade a mightie Armie againſt the *French*.

Houeden. fol. 418.

Matth. Paris.

(56) But firſt of all, to wipe away both the ſadneſſe and contumely of his late reſtraint, for a better fortunes beginning, hee cauſed himſelfe to be crowned againe at the City of *Wincheſter*; which celebrity was honoured with the preſence of *William* King of *Scotland*, who bare a ſword before * King *Richard*: betweene which two Princes, there * followed great amity and tenderneſſe of loue; then beeing graunted to him, and his ſucceſſours Kings of *Scotland*, a certaine penſion, with ſundry other allowances, and princely attendances, from the firſt day of their friendly entrances at any time into *England*, till their returne.

* *Roger Houeden. fol. 420. Heſt. Boet. l. 13. ca. 8.*

* *Roger Houed. fol. 419.*

(57) The King likewiſe cauſed a new broad Seale to be made, requiring that all Charters graunted vnder his former, ſhould be confirmed vnder this, whereby hee drew a great maſſe of money to his Treaſurie, ſubſcribing ſuch renued Charters thus: *This was the tenor of our Charter vnder our firſt Seale, which becauſe it was loſt, and in the time of our being captiue in Almaigne was in the power of another, we cauſed to be changed, &c.* Some haue obſerued, that as this *Richard* was the firſt of the *Engliſh* Kings who bare Armes on his Seales, as appeareth by the * former: ſo was hee the firſt who carried in his ſhield three Lions paſſant, borne euer after for the Regall Armes of *England*. And whereas we ſee heere the Moone in her full, which in the other was but a *Creſcent*, (which is the Turkiſh-Enſigne,) it may ſeeme to be done *Emblematically*, in that ſence, as wee reade of another Prince, (who going againſt the Turkes) gaue a Creſcent with this word, *Plenior redibo*, I will returne more full. The true draught of this ſecond Seale we haue heere annexed.

Inter Chartas in Cuſtod. D. Rob. Cotton Equitis.

* Wherein are 2. Lions rampant combatant: well fitting that *Cœur-de-Lion.*

(58) A good * Author reports, that after this, the King being at dinner at Weſtminſter, and receiuing aduertiſement of the ſiege laid to *Vernuil*, by his reſtleſſe enemie *Philip* of *France*; ſware that hee would neuer turne his face, till he had gotten thither with his Armie to fight with the *French*; whereupon he cauſed the Wall to be cut through, (the ſigne of which breach appeared * aboue two hundred yeares after) neuer reſting, till with an hundred great Shippes, hee had croſt the Seas from *Portſmouth*

* *Walſingham. Ypodigm. Neuſt.*

* In *Walſingham* daies, who liued vnder *Henry* 5.

Rog. Hou. f. 421. Math. Paris. Ypodigm. Neustr.

Portsmouth into *Normandy*, where the onely rumor of his approach made the *French King* raise his siege, and without stroke or sight of his magnanimous Enemy, (but not without losse and shame) to quite the Field.

King *Richard* forgiues his brother *Iohn*.
* *Nubrigens. l. 5. c. 5*

(59) Neither was his clemency lesse then his courage, whereof needes no greater testimony, then when vpon Earle *Iohns* * dutifull submission, and his mothers intercession, hee so freely forgaue him, as that he calmely said, * *Would that thy fault may so be forgotten of me, as that thy self mayest keepe in memorie what thou hast done:* and * afterward restored his possessions vnto him; the Earle from that time forward becomming his * true Knight, and doing him very noble seruices, (especially against the *French*, who had seduced him) as a louing brother, and faithfull Leege-man, whereby he made amends for his former excesses, and fully recouered the hearty affection of his Lord and brother.

* *Tho. Walsi. in Ypodig. Neustr. fol. 456.*
* *Houed. fol 428.*

* *Nubrig. lib. 5. c. 5. Rand. Higden in Iohn. l. 7. c. 29.*

(60) There were after this sundry skirmishes, takings of Prisoners and Townes, and conferences betweene the *French* and *English*, mooued belike by such as religiously tendered the effusion of Christian bloud, so as no great matter was yet effected; that which was, being rather by * Stratagems and starts, then by battle; but within thirty seauen daies after the *French*-mens flight from *Vernuil*, King *Richard* (in reuenge of that desolation which the *French* King had brought vpon the Citie of *Eureux*, where hee neither spared age, sexe, nor Church) comming to *Vendome*, with purpose to surprize the King of *France*, had the spoyle of the *French* Campe, their King (a thing almost incredible) now the second time flying without battle. Many of the *French* were slaine, and taken, together with much * treasure, the Chappell-royall, the Indentures of such as had left *Richard* to serue King *Philip*, and all the * tents, carriages, and other furnitures for warre: and from hence marching to *Poictou*, and *Engolisme*, he had such successes (howsoeuer the silent partialities of forrain Writers smother them) that * himselfe wrote ouer to his deerest *Hubert* Arch-bishop of *Canter-*

* *Ger. Dor. Ypodig. Neustr.*

*Rog. Houed. f. 421. * Ypodig. Neustr. fol. 456. * Nubrig. li. 5. ca. 2.*

"*bury, That by Gods fauor, who in all things considers*
"*the right, he had taken Tailburg, Marsiliac*, and all
"*the other castles of Geffrey de Rancune, the city of En-*
"*golisme, and all the Castles & Territories of the Earle*
"*therof, and almost three hundreth Knights, or men of*
"*Armes, and about fortie thousand armed Souldiers.*

* *Rog. Hou. fol. 422.*

An. D. 1195. *Ro. Houed. 428.*

(61) Wee will not heere ouer-passe, that which *Houeden* reports, (being an example of Christian repentance in Princes) of a poore Hermits comming to this noble Monarch, and preaching to him the words of eternall life; and bad him be mindefull of the subuersion of *Sodom*, and to abstayne from things vnlawfull, *otherwise* (saith he) *the deserued vengeance of God will come vpon thee*: The Hermit being gone, the King neglected his words: but not long after falling sicke, hee more seriously be-thought himselfe, and afterward waxing sound in Soule, as well as body: his daily exercise was to rise earely, & not to depart from the Church till diuine seruice "were finished: whereupon, (saith *Houeden*) *how*
"*glorious it is for a Prince to begin and end his actions*
"*in him, who is beginning without beginning, & iudg-*
"*eth the ends of the earth?* Moreouer, hee bountifully releeued euery day much poore both in his Court and Townes about: and restored Gold and siluer vessels to such Churches, from which to pay his ransome they had beene taken away.

King *Richards* amendment of life and daily exercise.

(62) After this, passed sundry interchanges betwixt the *French* and *English*, sometimes of warres, with wastes and spoyles, sometimes of truces with interuiewes and Parlies; in one of which, the Lady *Alice*, (cause of much mischiefe) K. *Philips* Sister, was restored (according to the contract of *Messana*) to her brother, who forthwith bestowed her in mariage vpon *Iohn* Earle of *Pontif.* In the meane while the Kings sought to make friends vpon all sides, but King *Richard* by his munificence, and other means, drew from king *Philip* a mighty party of his neerest neighbours: * *Baldwin* Earle of *Flanders*, *Raimund* earle of *Tholouse* (to whom also King *Richard* gaue in * marriage, his sister *Ioan* Queene of *Sicilia*) the * *Champanois*, and others: so that *Philip* was faine to trust wholly vpon himselfe: for whereas he had lately married the sister of the King of *Denmarke*, of purpose to vse the *Danish* shipping against the *English*, that affinitie proued enmity: for the * next day after his wedding, he put her away, pretending (beside * other things) that shee was of too neere a propinquity of bloud; albeit most vntruly, as her brother, *the King of Denmarke proued before the Pope, though he could not be heard, the king of France more preuayling, either by feare or fauour.*

* *Polydor. Virg. lib. 13.*

* *Rog. Houed. pag. 436.*
* *Matth. Paris.*

* *Nubrig l. 4. c. 26. Vide ibidem*, with *Picardus* his notes.
* *Nubrig l. 5. c. 16.*

(63) About this time, *Iohn* the Kings brother & *Markadey* Captaine of the *Brabanters*, called the * *Rowtes*, had made an incursion vp to *Beauois*, where the Bishoppe, beeing also an Earle of the Royall Bloud, and the eleauenth Peere of *France*, valiantly fighting, was * taken in the skirmish, armed at all poynts, and brauely mounted; on whose behalfe the Pope (vpon the Bishops humble suite, * pleading the Clergies immunity) wrote somewhat earnestly to King *Richard*, to set *his very deare sonne*, for so he called the Bishop, at liberty. The King in a kinde of pleasant earnestnesse, caused the Habergeon and Curaces of the Bishop to be presented to the Pope, with this question (alluding to that of * *Iacobs* children to their father, concerning *Iosephs* garment,) * *Vide an tunica filij tui sit an non*; *See whether it be thy sonnes coat or no.* Whereupon the Pope replied, that "*he was neither his sonne, nor the sonne of the Church,*
"*and therefore should be ransomed at the Kings will,*
"*because he was rather iudged to be a seruitor of Mars,*
"*then a Souldier of Christ.* Whom the King of *England* (in * reuenge of many euill offices, especially in the time of his captiuity with the Emperour) handled sharpely. The Bishop at length waxing impatient, writes a passionate letter to the Pope; whose answere in part is heere set downe, for that it "notably defends the King of *England*. If (saith
"the Pope) thou hast had ill successe, it is no mar-
"uaile, for putting off the peaceable Prelate, thou
"didst put on the warlike Souldier, and rashly too-
"kest a shield in stead of a cope, a sword for a Stole,
"a Curace for an Albe, an Helmet for a Mytre, a
"Lance for a Bishops staffe, peruerting the order,
"& course of things: neither meant you (as you al-
"ledge) to repell violence but vertue, nor did you
"fight for your Country, but against it: for of your
"*France* we can now publiquely pronounce; *Woe to*
"*that Land whose King is a* * *Child.* For your King
"was strictly bound by corporall oath to the King
"of *England*, not to damnifie his Territories, &c.
"at least-wise till his returne from the journey of his
"Pilgrimage: Neuertheless, contrary to his faith
"and oath, hee without all shame, seized by force
"the good Townes of the said King, and cruelly
"wasted his Dominions with hostile hand: but
"that King returning at last out of captiuity, man-
"fully encountred your King, not reposing his hope
"in multitude, but in Almightie God, &c. Humili-
"tie therefore against pride, right and equity against
"wrong, measure and modesty against intempe-
"rance and arrogancie, haue certainely hitherto
"fought for the King of *England*, &c. We haue
"notwithstanding directed our supplicatorie Let-
"ters to him on thy behalfe, &c. for in such a case
"we neither can nor ought commaund, &c. Meane
"while beare your bands and sorrowes patiently,
&c.

An. D. 1197. *Ro. Houed. f. 438.*
* Or Rutters who serued on any side for wages, therefore called by *Houed. mercenarijs*, and accursed in the *Lateran Counsell.*
* *Ger. Dor. Guil. Nubrig. li. 5. cap. 30.*

* *Gen. 37. 33.*

Matth. Paris. Holinsh. in Rich. 1.

The Popes answere to the Bishop. *Holinsh.*

* Childe in discretion, not in yeeres, for *Philip* was old enough.

(94) While thus sundry warlike matters passed betweene the *English* and *French*, the King of *England* encreaseth his side with new associates, *Arthur* Duke of *Britaine*, the Duke of *Louain*, the Earles of *Guyen*, *Boloine*, *Perch* and *Blois*, with others: and * *Houeden* recites three seuerall times within a short space, in which the King of *France* was driuen with losse

* *Houed. p. 443.*

losse and dishonour out of the field by King *Richard*, beside the losse of Saint *Omers*, of *Air*, and of other Townes, wonne by *Baldwin* Earle of *Flanders*, and besides the waste of the *French Dominions* by many inuasions. But the greatest of the three victories, was the second, which King *Richard* gained at the battaile betweene *Curceles* and *Gysors*, where the K. of *France* himselfe fell into the Riuer of *Ethe*, the bridge breaking vnder him, with the throng of people which fled for their liues before the *English Lion*: neither was hee easily saued (twenty of his men of Armes being drowned by that ruine) but before he could be drawne out, water had gotten into his belly.

The famous victory of *Gysors*. *Houed. Matth. Paris. Ypodigm. Neustr.*

(65) This was a famous victory; for besides a long Catalogue of great names extant in Authors; there were taken by the Kings Armie, 100. Knights and Seruitours on horse-backe, and foot-men without number, besides thirtie men of Armes, and other inferiour Souldiers not countable, which *Markadey* (Generall of the Rowtes) had for prisoners. There were also taken 200. great horse, whereof seuen-score had barbes, and caparisons armed with yron. King *Richard* in his owne person did most nobly, for with one speare he threw to the earth *Matthew de Mummerancie*, *Alan de Rusci*, and *Fulke de Giseruall*, and "tooke them. So haue we vanquished the King of "*France* at *Gysors*, (saith the King) howbeit we haue "not done the same, but * *God and our right* by vs: "and in this fact we did put our own head and king-"dome in hazard aboue the counsell of all that were "ours. Howsoeuer therefore the *French* or others may slubber ouer such a noble Iourney, wee haue not doubted vpon so good warrant to record the same.

Ger. Dor. M.S. *Rog. Wend.* M.S. King *Richards* warlike handiworke. In his Letter to *Philip* Bishop of *Duresme*. *Ro. Houed f.* 445. * *Dieu & mon Droit*: the Motto of the English King seemes hence to be deriued.

(66) The warre continuing still, many vertuous men laboured to make a finall accord; and the new Pope *Innocentius* the third, hauing proclaimed a new vndertaking of the Holy-warre * sends a Cardinall Deacon to attone the two mighty Kings of *France* and *England*. At length Articles of peace were drawne; but *Richard* (being farre before-hand) was nothing hastie to conclude, and therefore put it off till his returne from *Poicton*, whether hee went to chastice his rebels, though * some say, hee did then conclude the peace.

* *Ro. Houed. f.* 447.

* *Matth. Parit.*

An. D. 1193. * *Ro. Houed. f.* 449. *Matth. Paris.*

(67) At this enteruiew or treatie, *Philip* King of *France*, * (*the sower of strife*, though he sought peace) shewed to King *Richard* a deed, in which Earle *Iohn* newly yeelds himselfe Liege-man to King *Philip*, against his brother. *A wonderfull thing*, (saith *Houeden*) *that Richard should beleeue it* (being perhaps but a Copie of that deuice or tricke, if it were a deuice which they once had joyntly put vpon the same *Iohn*, as in the end of King *Henrie* the second you heard) who thereupon forth-with disseised the Earle his brother euery-where. But the Earle hauing searched and learned the cause of the Kings sudden displeasure, (whose loue hee had before redeemed with many loyal seruices,) *He sends two men of Arms to the French Court, who should on his behalfe, in what sort soeuer, defend his honour and innocency, against any his accusers: but there was no man found in that Court, neither King nor any other, who would vndertake the proofe or maintenance therof; whereupon euer afterward Richard held his brother more deare, and gaue lesse credite to King Philips words.*

Houed. ibid.

(68) But now ensued the fatall accident, which drew the blacke cloud of death ouer this triumphall and bright shining Starre of Cheualrie, the vnworthy occasion of which misaduenture makes it the more lamentable; which notwithstanding, for a document to the Great-ones, against the outrage of Auarice and Cruelty, God suffered thus to fall on him. *Widomare*, Vicount of *Limoges*, hauing found a great * horde of gold and siluer, sent no small portion thereof to King *Richard*, as chiefe Lord, with which being not contented (as pretending that *treasure troue*, was wholly his by vertue of his prerogatiue-royall, or else misliking that the Vicount should make the partition) came with a power to a Castle of the Vicounts called * *Chaluz*, where hee supposed the Riches were; the Garrison of which place offered to yeeld the same, and all therein, if onely their liues and limbes might be saued: but hee would not accept of any conditions, bidding them defend themselues as they could, for he would enter by the sword, and hang them all. It grieues mee to thinke that such a Prince should so forget himselfe: but behold the seuerity of Gods judgement. An Arbalaster, (or Archibalista) standing vpon the wall, & seeing his time, charged his steele bow with a square arrow or quarrell, * making first his prayer to God, *That he would direct that shot, and deliuer the innocency of the besieged from oppression.* Whereupon discharging it, as the King was *taking a view of the Castle, within the danger and distance of such an Engin, and the King (* vpon hearing the bow goe off) stooping with his head, was mortally wounded in the left shoulder; the anguish and perill whereof was extremely augmented by the butcherly and vnskilfull hand of the Surgeon, who hauing drawne out the wood, and not the enuenomed yron, * mangled the arme with cruell incisions before he could preuaile; the paine whereof hastned his end.

* This *Chaluz* the English did call *Castle-Gallard*, saith *Fabian*.

* *Ger. Dor.*

* *Roger Houed. Matth. Paris. Ypodig. Neustr.*

* *Ger Dorob.*

(69) Concerning the name of this tragicall Archer, there is so much variety, as that we could willingly take that vncertainety for a warrant to silence it: being loth to ennoble him with our pen, it being a thing worthily punishable with vtter obliuion, to haue shed, (though defensiuely or but casually) the bloud of such a King. *Matthew Paris* * in calling him *Peter Basily*, seemes to allude to some ominous conceit in *Basily*, (which with the Greekes signifies a *King*;) him *Thomas Walsingham* followes therein, as *Matthew Paris* followed * another: there want not * some who also giue him a third name; but *Houeden* who deliuers this accident, as all the rest of this Kings life, in the most probable and fullest manner, cals him *Bertram de Gurdonn*, applying vnto him certaine * verses of *Lucan*, in commendation of his vnapalled constancy, when he came before King *Richard*: where thou maist perhaps (for satisfaction of thy mind, with beholding some reuenge) desire to know what became of the Actor. After that the Castle by continuall assaults was taken; and (by the Kings command) none left aliue but he (as being reserued * perhaps to some more shamefull death) the king (vpon a christian magnanimity) forgaue him the fact, which the party (without shew of dismay) did neither deny nor excuse, but alledged the necessity of his case, and the justice of Gods worke in it, for that the King had slaine his Father and two Brothers with his owne hand: being hereupon set at liberty, and one hundred shillings sterling giuen him by the King: *Markadey* (Captaine of the Mercenary Rowtes) after the King was dead, tooke him, flead him quicke, & then by hanging ended his life.

Matth. Paris.

* *Ypodig. Neustr.*

* *Rog. Wendouer. Ger. Dor.*

* *Constitit ante pedes Regis, vultuq; minaci, &c.*

Rog. Houed. f. 449.

Idem fol. 450.

(70) King *Richard* feeling the approch of certaine death, disposed his worldly estate, thus: to his brother *Iohn* he gaue the Kingdome of *England*, and his other Dominions, with three parts of his Treasure, commaunding such as were present to sweare him fealty: to his Nephew *Otho* King of *Almaine*, hee bequeathed (as it * seemes) all his goods & chattels, money excepted, and the fourth part of his said treasure hee gaue to his seruants, and the poore. And hauing thus discharged his last cares toward the World concerning his transitory state, hee prepared himselfe for the presence of God, strengthening his soule * with heartie contrition, confession, and participation of the holy Sacrament: commaunding further, that when he was dead, * his bowels should be buried at *Charrou*, among the rebellious *Poictouins*, as those who had only deserued his worst parts: but his Heart to be enterred at *Roan*, as the City, which for her constant loialty had merited the same; and his Corps in the Church of the Nunnerie at

King *Richards* Will. *Houed. fol.* 449.

* *Omnia Baubella sua*, saith *Houed.*

Rog. Wendouer. Matth. Paris.

* *Rog. Houed.*

Font-Euerard in *Gascoigne*, at the feete of his Father King *Henry*, to whom he had beene sometime disobedient: and God affording him gracious leasure till he had thus disposed of all; the venemous vapour ascended to his heart, and draue the spirit forth, *with whom* (say * Authors) *the glory and honour of Militarie skill exspired.*

* *Matth. Paris.*

(70) There hath been an opinion, or fancy, that this King was called *Cordelion*, becausе hee encountred a *Lyon*, in prison, at the Emperours Court: but (saith * one very truely) these are fables, imagined by *English* tale-tellers, to aduance their King *Richard*, as the *Britaines*, by the like, aduanced their King *Arthur*. The like deuice, (though more loftie and Mathematicall) may theirs seeme, who conjecture, hee was called so of the famous * Starre, called *Cor Leonis*. But how the conceit of killing of a *Lyon* should come vp, as it is not worth the while to enquire, so certainely, *Hugo de Neuile*, (one of King *Richards* speciall familiars) is recorded to haue slaine a Lyon in the holy-Land, driuing first an arrow into his breast; and then running him through with his sword: whence perhaps that atchieuement is transferred from the man to the master; and the Storie applied to the by-name of King *Richard*, whereof the true reason is that which * *Thomas Walsingham* mentioneth, saying; That for the *magnanimity of his heart (grositudinem præstans*, saith an * other, meaning, as it seemes, that his materiall heart it selfe was bigge and massiue, which * another also saith was *inexpugnable)* this King was both by the *English* and *Normans* stiled *Ceur de Lion.*

* *Fabian.*

*And yet a Starre he gaue in his deuise, as is seene in both his Seales.

*Ypodig. Neustr.

* *Ger. Dorob.*

* *Matth. Paris*, in *Rich.* 1. and his Epitaph. *Neustria tui, regis Cor inexpugnabile Regis.*

His Wiues.

Alice the daughter of *Lewis* the seuenth, King of *France*, by Queen *Alice* daughter of Earle *Theobald* of *Champaigne*, is by * some reputed the first wife of King *Richard*, though indeede she were * onely contracted to him (being both children) and committed to his Father, but when hee demanded her, his father refused to deliuer her, or she to come to him, or both: Wherefore being King, conceiuing displeasure against King *Philip* her brother, and more then suspecting her continency with his owne father (by whom he alledged she had a child) he refused to take her: yet * gaue a hundreth thousand pounds to *Philip, pro quieta clamantia, to be quite freed from her.* She became the wife of *William* Earle of *Ponthieu*, & had issue Queene *Ioan* of *Castile*, the mother of Queene *Eleanor*, wife to King *Edward* the first.

* Mr. *Ferrers.*
* *Æmilius.*

Houeden.

* *Mat. Paris p.* 113

Berengaria the second wife of King *Richard*, was the daughter of *Sanches* the fourth of that name, King of *Nauarre*, sonne of King *Garcie* the fourth: her mother was *Beatrice*, daughter of *Alphonso*, the seauenth King of *Castile*, called the Emperour of *Spaine*. She was conueied by *Eleanor* the Kings mother vnto the King in *Sicily*, and married to him in *Cyprus*, whence she accompanied him to the Holy-land. The king (vpon what cause we find not) neglected her company for a while, but vpon more setled thoughts, he resumed her againe to his loue and society, but had no issue by her.

His naturall Issue.

Philip, the naturall son of King *Richard*, seemeth to haue been begotten, while he was Earle of *Poictou*, of a Gentlewoman *Poictouin*, and to haue had of his fathers gift a towne in *Poictou* named *Sumac*, to haue taken also his sur-name and title of the same towne; and to haue beene the Progenitour of a Family of Gentlemen of the same sur-name & title, in the same Country.

Mr. *Ferrers.*

Isabel, (by * some who mention not *Philip* at all) is reputed the Naturall Daughter of King *Richard*, (whose mother the Author nameth not) and that she was married to *Leoline* Prince of *Wales.*

*Mr. *Miles.*

Three other Daughters, (Bastards no doubt) he is said to haue, of whose names and matches wee will report as we finde recorded. Whiles hee was in *France*, imployed in his warres against King *Philip*, *Fulco* a *French* Priest, came vnto him, telling him he had three very bad *Daughters*, which he wished him to bestow away from him in marriage, or else Gods wrath would attend him: when the king denied he had any daughter, yes (quoth the Priest) thou cherisest three daughters, *Pride*, *Couetousesse*, & *Lechery*. The King apprehensiue of his meaning, called his "Lords there attending, and saide: My Lords, this "Hypocrite hath found that I haue three daughters: "which I maintain, viz. *Pride*, *Couetousnesse*, & *Lechery*, which hee would haue me bestow forth in ma- "riage; and therefore (if any such I haue) I haue found "out most fit Husbands for them all. My *Pride* I be- "queath to the haughtie *Templars* and *Hospitallers*, "who are as proud as *Lucifer* himselfe: My *Couetousnesse* I giue to the white Monks of the *Cisteaux* "Order, for they couet the Diuell and all: But for "my *Lechery* I can bestow it no where better then on "the Priests and Prelates of our times, for therein "haue they their most felicity. Doubtlesse these mariages proued so fruitfull, that their issue hath now ouer-flowed all Kingdomes of the earth.

King *Richards* three Metaphoricall *Daughters.*

IOHN.

IOHN, DVKE OF NORMANDIE, GVYEN, AND AQVITAINE, &c. THE FIRST STILED *LORD* OF IRELAND, THE FORTIE-FIFTH MONARCH OF ENGLAND, HIS RAIGNE, ACTS, AND ISSVE.

Monarch 45

CHAPTER VIII.

An.D.1199.

Greateſt happineſs not in greateſt dignities.

THE luſtre of Diadems, and Soueraignty, ſo dazeleth the eyes, and bewitcheth the harts of ambitious beholders, that whiles they fondly deem the greateſt content to be in higheſt Titles, running after a *ſeeming happineſſe*, they often caſt themſelues head-long, and whole Kingdomes, into a *reall* and irrepairable *ruine*; as the calamities, which after the death of the noble *Ceur-de-Lyon*, lighted on the Pretenders to his Crowne, and on this miſerably diſtracted State, will yeeld vs too rufull a Preſident. To the full acting of which *Tragedie*, (for ſuch it was, and ſo we muſt now preſent it in this our *Theatre*,) concurred as principall *Actors*, the *two* (though theſe *Patients* rather, as the iſſue prooued,) vnfortunate *Corriuals* for the Crowne, *Iohn* Earle of *Mortone*, Brother to the late King, and his Nephew *Arthur* the [a] *Poſthumous* ſonne of *Geoffry* duke of *Britaine*, the Earles eldeſt Brother: their *two Female* (and therefore more emulous and reſtleſſe) *Solicitors*, Queene *Eleanor* and Lady *Conſtance*, each ambitious of their owne, in their Sonnes aduauncements: their *two* reuengefull *Abettors*, *Otho* the Emperour for *Iohn*, and *Philip* King of *France* for *Arthur*: thereupon, the *two* vnjuſt *Intruders* on the Crowne; *Lewis* the *French* Kings Sonne, and *Innocentius* the *Pope*, the one by *vnprincely forces*, the other by *vnprieſtly fraud*: and laſtly, their *two* ſorts of treacherous *Inſtruments*, of the *Laitie* for the one, and *Clergie* for the other; all which, like ſo many Tragicke fire-breathing *Furies*, ſet this State in ſo horrible combuſtion, as that the [b] ſmoake is not as yet, ſo many ages after, quite allayed.

The principall Actors in K. *Iohns* tragicall raigne.

(2) Earle *Iohn*, (the very Centre in which thoſe

[a] Borne after his Fathers death, who died at *Paris* 1186. *Cal.* Aug. *Typod. Neuſtriæ. Giraldus, Hib. expug. cap.* 22.

Philip the 2.d of *France*. *Innocentius* the 3.

[b] In *Baronius, Bellarmine, Becanus, Greſſer, Sbioppius*, and other Papall pretenders to the Engliſh Crowne.

Earle *Iohns* preparatiues to the Kingdome.

calamities met,) had from his infancy beene fedde with high and royall hopes, as [c]*being his Fathers only darling*, from whom hee had the [d] poſſeſſion of the *Iriſh*, and [e] intendment alſo of the *Engliſh* Kingdome: and in his brothers time, ([f] whoſe return from the holy-warres all men deſpaired) had by gracious deportment towards the Subjects, obtayned an oath of Fealty to himſelfe, in [g] remainder, *in caſe his brother ſhould die childleſſe*: hauing now therefore the way to thoſe his deſignes made ſmoother by the [h] laſt Will of King *Richard*, and [i] allegiance of his Nobles then attending; (for *theſe courſes may facilitate, but not make a juſt claime*;) we may not thinke, that either hee was cold now, for the accompliſhment of that, which ſo hotly hee had before purſued, or ſo nice, as to neglect a Kingdome, vpon ſcrupulous points of *Titles* & *Right*. [k] *Propinquity of Bloud* pleaded for *Iohn*, as [l] *Lineall deſcent* for *Arthur*, the Kings Brother being neerer then his Brothers ſonne; but *Iohn*, who knew that *the weaker vſe to argue their Titles, whiles the ſtronger hold the poſſeſſion*, reſolued to try the ſtrength of his claime by no other Law then of Armes; and therefore, being at the time of King *Richards* death in thoſe forraine parts, he makes it his firſt care to faſten to himſelfe, by preſent [m] *largeſſe, and large promiſes* of future fauours, (*the vſuall Rhetoricke of Competitours*) all the *Stipendarie Souldiers, and other Seruitours of his deceaſed Brother*. To win himſelfe the like aſſurance of loue at home, and [n] *to ſettle* (if it might be) *an vniuerſall quiet*, he [o] *forthwith deſpeeded into England*, (there, to concurre with Queene *Eleanor*, his experienced Mother) three of the choiſeſt men of the *State*, *Hubert* Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *William Marſhall* a potent Peere, and *Geoffry Fitz-Peter* the great Iuſticiar, by whoſe ſeuerall intereſts, the *three States*, of *Clergy*, *Chiualry*, and *Commonalty*, might beſt be either allured to him by fauours, or awed by feare; himſelfe, the whiles [p] *poſting to Chinon*, where King *Richards* great Treaſure was kept; as knowing *that he ſhould hardly get or keepe a Crowne by Forces or Friends, if he wanted Coyne* and Crownes, to win and hold ſuch needfull Ayders.

(3) The Treaſurer, though [q] *himſelfe with his Store, Caſtles, and Fidelity*, thus aſſured to the Earle, had yet a powerfull* *Nephew*, the *Caſtellan of Angiers*, *wholy* [r] *deuoted to Duke Arthur*, to whoſe vſe he yeelded vp that Citie and Caſtle, with whom alſo [ſ] *ſided the Nobility of Anjou, Maine, and Turaine*, ſurrendring thoſe large Territories, as to [t] *their liege Lord*, ioyntly auowing it to be the [v] *Law & cuſtome of thoſe Signiories, that the heritage which was to accrew to the elder Brother, if hee had ſuruiued, ſhould deſcend vnto his Sonne*. But *Conſtance*, *Arthurs* mother, no leſſe [x] *deſirous to be Regent to a King* (for her ſonne was but [y] twelue yeeres yong) then Queene *Eleanor* [z] *diſdainefull* to goe below a Dutcheſſe, did not dare to build her high hopes on ſo low grounds, for that ſuch ſubordinate Princes as fauoured her cauſe, *might eaſily be corrupted by faire meanes, or cruſhed by foule*: and therefore vpon newes of King *Iohns* ſucceſſes in *England* (for with general applauſe and [a] *homages* hee was now proclaimed *King*,) diſtracted with violent and *Woman-like Paſſions*, *Ambition* of her ſons *Right*, *Rage* for his *Wrong*, *Feare* of his *Safety*, and (not the leaſt) *Emulation* that Queene *Eleanor* (whoſe *Prudence* & *Grace* with the *Engliſh*, had [b] ſwayed exceedingly) ſhould effect more in a wrong, then her ſelfe in a juſt cauſe; [c] ſhee flies to *Turaine* to the *French King Philip*, (*to ſeeke a Wolfe to whom ſhee might commit her Lambe*,) to whoſe *Protection* ſhee wholly ſurrenders his *Perſon*, his *Cauſe*, his *Countries*. *Philip** pretending, (as *Princes* vſe) a tender care of his *Neighbour Princes* ſtate, but [d] meaning indeede out of ſo wiſhed a prize, to *raiſe aduantage* to his owne, forthwith ([e] *without regard of Truth, or Truce ſworne to King Richard*) re-enforceth all *Arthurs* Cities and Caſtles with his *French* Garriſons; ſome of which had ſcarſe put their foote into *Maunz*, but [f] King *Iohn* was at their heeles, to prouide them their laſt lodging, ſacking that Citie, and *demoliſhing it to the ground*, for a terrour to all others, which after *fealty once ſworne* vnto him, (*as* [g] *they had done*) ſhould dare to reuolt.

(4) Queene *Eleanor*, who hauing ſetled *England* in Peace, was now come ouer to forward her ſonne in the Warres, and was [h] preſent at the ſurpriſing of *Maunz*, is [i] cenſured to haue too much ſharpened his edge againſt her Nephew *Arthur* and his friends, out of her implacable diſdaine, and Enuie towards *Conſtance* her *Daughter in Law*, and appears no leſſe; for the King paſſing thence into *Anjou*, left there his [k] *Captaines and Forces with his mother*, who made *Angiers* participate the fortunes of *Maunz*, the Citie ruined, the Citizens captiuated; whiles himſelfe comming to *Roan*, [l] was there by the hands of *Walter* the Archbiſhop, in the Cathedrall Church with great pompe, on *Saint Markes Feſtiual*, girt with the [m] *Ducall Sword of Normandy*, and crowned [n] *with a Coronet of Golden Roſes*, (taking his Oath for faithfull adminiſtration in that Dukedome) which was the pledge or earneſt of his vnqueſtionable admittance to the *Engliſh Diademe*, which euery day now expected him. Neither yet may wee thinke, albeit King *Iohns* [o] mature and experienced age, his home-bred, and well knowne education, his re-annexing of *Irelands kingdom* to *Englands*, made his perſon more gracious then *Arthurs*, that yet his *Agents* all this while in *England* found no rubbs in their way, before [p] *all the Earles, Barons, Burgeſſes, & Free-holders* could be induced to diſclaime *Arthurs* apparant Right, and to ſweare *fealty to King Iohn againſt all men liuing*: yea, many of the* *Engliſh Peeres* (who through their laſt Kings abſence, and others conniuences, had habituated in them a conceit of vncontrouled Greatnes, which they miſcalled *Liberties* and *Rights*, vnder vayle whereof, they after drew, not onely vndue reſtraints vpon the *Regaltie*, but alſo infinite calamities and maſſacres *on the people, whoſe good they pretended*,) thought it fitteſt now (like *cunning Statiſts*) *to worke on the aduantage of the time, and the neceſſities of their Prince*, whoſe preſent condition fitted him for any obtruſions: and therefore in the *great Aſſembly* at *Northampton*, yeelded onely to ſweare a * *Conditionall Fealty*, to keepe [q] *Faith and Peace to King Iohn, if hee would reſtore to euerie of them their Rights*: which was the *firſt ſeede* of diſloyalties, which after grew to ſo great a height. Thus howſoeuer, all *domeſticke* difficulties ouerblowne, and Queene *Eleanor* * left in *Aquitaine* to prouide againſt *Forraigne*, King *Iohn* arriued at * *Shoreham*, and the next day comes to *London*, preparing for his Coronation to be at *Weſtminſter*; the morrow following, being Aſcention day.

(5) Strange it was to conſider, (if ought be ſtrange in *State-plots*) how men, otherwiſe very prudent, tranſported once with Worldly and ſeeming-politique reſpects, can ſo wilfully cloud their Reaſon, as to attempt thoſe things, which leaue both a preſent ſtaine on their *Soules*, and a laſting diſ-reputation both of their *Integrity* and *Wiſedome*, wherein ſo much they glory. For what elſe did *Hubert* Archbiſhoppe of *Canterburie*, the man ſo * famouſed as [r] the *Pillar of the Common-wealthes ſtability*, & [ſ] *incomparable for deepe-reaching Wiſe-dome*, when in that ſacred and celebrious Aſſembly of [t] *all the States*, addreſſing for the royall Inauguration, he added to thoſe *Lay-Peeres Conditionals*, his *Clergy-Sophiſmes*, and [v] ſecond *Seede-plot of Treaſons*; perſwading them by a cunning, but diſloyall ſpeech (which yet [x] ſome by transforming, haue more deformed) that the *Engliſh Crowne* was meerely *Arbitrary* and *Electiue* at the peoples deuotion? That [y] *they all in diſcretion were to know, how that no man hath Right or any other fore-Title to ſucceede another in a Kingdome, vnleſſe firſt (with inuocation for Grace and Guidance of Gods Holy-Spirit) hee be by the Body*

c *Quem teneriſſimè diligebat. Guil. Nubrig.*
d *Gerald. Hib. expug. l. 2. cap. 31.*
e *Ger. Dor. M. S.*
f *Guil. Nubrig.*
g *Rog. Houed. in Rich. 1.*

h *Triuet. M. S. Roger Houed. Tpodig. Neuſtr.* and all, except wilfull *Polydor.*
i *Roger Houed. & alij.*

The Titles of both competitours.
k *Iure propinquitatis, & Teſtamento Succeſſor. Walſing. Tpod. Anno 1199. Triuet.*
l *Iure communi. Paul. Aemil. in Philip. 2.*
Earle *Iohns* helpes for the kingdom.
m *Rog. de Wendouer. M. S.*

n *Rog. Houed. in Iob.*
o *Math. Pariſienſ. Hiſt. Maior.*

Earle *Iohns* Agents.

q *Wendouer. M. S. in Iob.*

Duke *Arthurs* Adherents.
q *Houeden in Iob.*
* *Thomas de Furnes.*
r *Paris Hiſt. Maior.*
ſ *Idem.*
The beginnings of hatred betwixt Earle *Iohn* and the Prouincials.
t *Roger Houeden in Iob.*
v *Iudicium & conſuetudo, ibid. Mat. Weſtminſt.* ſaith *Iudicium, Ius & conſuetudo.*
x *Polyd. Virg. l. 15.*
y *Walſing. Ypodig.* Borne *An. 1187. die Paſchæ*, his father dying before in Auguſt.
z *Sola inuidia, &c. Polyd. ibid.*
a *Houeden. Iohn* proclaimed King in *England.*

b *Polyd. Virg. l. 15.*
c *Ro. de Wen. M. S. Conſtance* committeth *Arthur* to *Philip* King of *France.*
* *Magnificis verbis, &c. Polydor. Virg. l. 15.*
d *Ioh. de Serres in Phil. Auguſt.*
e *Nic. Triuet. M. S.* The beginning of hatred betwixt K. *Iohn* and King *Philip.*

f *Matth. Paris.* King *Iohn* taketh and ruineth *Maunz.*

g *Roger Houed.* Queene *Eleanor* comes to her ſonnes aide.
h *Wendouer, M. S. Matth. Paris.*
i *Hollinſh. Polydor.*

k *Marchadium cum ruta ſua. Roger Houed.* Queene *Eleanor* taketh and ruineth *Angiers.*
l *Mat. Paris.*

m *Gladio Ducatus. Nic. Triuet. M. S.*
n *Houeden.* King *Iohn* crowned Duke of *Normandy.*

o *An. ætat. 32. Walſing. Ypodig.* The fitteſt age, as 2. *Sam. cap. 5. v. 4. Dauid* was 30. yeere olde when he began to raigne.
p *Rog. Houed.* King *Iohns* hinderances how removed.
* *Ric.* Earle of *Clare.*
Randulph Earle of *Chester.*
William Earle of *Tukesbury.*
Wairam Earle of *Warwicke.*
Wil. de Mowbray. &c.
Pretence of liberties, the plague of the State.
* *Sub hac conuentione. Houed.*
q *Rog. Houed.* The firſt ſeede of the enſuing troubles.

* *Virg. l. hiſt. li. 15.*
* *In Suſſex, 8. Cal. Iun. Houed. Iohn* crowned King of *England.*

True honeſty is only true Policy.

* *Math. Paris.*
r *Singularis Columna ſtabilitatis. ibid.*
ſ *Vir profundi pectoris, Incomparabilis ſapientiæ. ibid.*
t *Omnium qui Coronationi intereſſe debuerant, Wendouer, M. S.*
v The ſecond roote of enſuing treaſons.
x *Polydor* forgeth a ſleight ſpeech of his owne braine, and *Hollinſh.* as idly followes him. Archbiſhop *Huberts* Sophiſticall Oration verbatim.
y *Math. Paris, Hiſt. Maior.*

Body of the Kingdome thereunto choſen, and be indeed ſome choiſe man, and picked out for eminency of his vertues; by the Preſident of Saul, *the firſt Annointed King, whom God made Ruler ouer his owne people, though neither the Sonne of a King, nor yet of any Regall deſcent. So after him likewiſe* Dauid, *the Sonne of* [z] Iſhai; *the one for being valourous, and a Perſonage fitting Royall dignity, the other for being Holy and Humble-minded. To* [a] *ſhew that ſo he, whoſoeuer in a Kingdome excelleth all in Valour and Vertue, ought to ſurmount all in Rule and Authority: yet ſo, as that, if any of the Of-ſpring of a deceaſed King ſurpaſſeth others, it is fit ioyntly to conſent in election of ſuch a one. Thus he ſpake* (as he profeſſed) *in fauour of* Iohn, *who then was preſent, whoſe moſt illuſtrious Brother King* Richard, *dying without any Heire from him deſcending, Him they had all (firſt imploring the* [b] *Holy Ghoſts aſſiſtance) as being a Prouident, Valiant, and* [c] *vndoubtedly-Noble-Prince, vnanimiouſly Elected, as well in regard of his Merits, as of his Royall Bloud.* So vniuſt a ſpeech from ſo great a Perſon, (eſpecially, blanching his diſloyall *Aſſertion* with *Sacred Writ*, and his lewde deuiſed plot, with the *Holy Ghoſts aſsiſtance*,) could not but moue much Offence and Wonder to many, euen to *Iohn* himſelfe, who doubtleſſe meant to ſtand to [d] *his right of proximity by bloud:* [e] *but they durſt not then and there, moue Queſtions therof*, as afterward [f] ſome did, to whom he gaue a reaſon of it, as ſtrange as the ſpeech it ſelfe; ſaying, [g] *that he was aſſured by ſome diuining fore-ſight, that King* Iohn *would worke the ruine of the Kingdome, and that therefore, to* [h] *bridle him from ſo doing, he had affirmed his Admiſsion was to be by Choyſe, and not Hereditary Succeſsion:* Implying, that as by Election he got the Crowne, ſo by Ejection on demerite he might as iuſtly looſe it. But for that preſent, the Ceremonies all pompouſly accompliſhed, (where [i] *three Oathes* were miniſtred to him; *To loue Holy Church, and preſerue it from all oppreſſors; To gouerne the State in Iuſtice, and aboliſh bad lawes; Not to aſſume this Royall honour but with full purpoſe to performe that he had ſworne:*) the firſt act and bounty of his Kingly Power, was to reward thoſe whoſe hands had lifted him to it, making *William Marſhall* and *Fitz-Peter*, Earles of *Pembroke* and *Eſſex*, and the Archbiſhop, Lord high Chancellour; who ſeeming [l] *to glory in that addition of Honour*, was told by the Lord *Bardolf*, that the height of Archiepiſcopall dignity was ſuch, as it was euer reputed a great aduancement for a Chancellor to be made Archbiſhop, but none for an Archbiſhop to be made a Chancellour. And yet in truth, this Office of *Conſcience*, ſuited farre better with the *Miter*, then that of [*] *Lord chiefe Iuſtice of all England*, which he (*though* [*] *no great Lawyer*) enioyed, in the Raigne of the late King.

(6) The Kings enemies, [m] who kept their heads in, whiles he was there in Armes, found opportunities to impeach him, while he was here ſetling his *Peace*: the [n] *French* King in *Normandy* ſurpriſeth the City *Eureux*, and recouers the County of *Main*, the *Britaines* re-gaine the City *Angiers* with other ſtrong holds: the newes whereof cauſed King *Iohn* with all ſpeed [o] to paſſe the Seas, to giue ſtoppage to that current; where on his arriuall, his Army of [p] Friends and and *Voluntaries* was ſo encreaſed, that King *Philip* was ſoone content to take [q] *truce for fiftie daies*; on expiration whereof, an Enteruiew was agreed on to eſtabliſh a laſting *Peace*. But *Philip* [r] long time noted of doubling, (*ill beſeeming any, but chiefely a Prince*) the [s] very day before the two Kings ſhould meete, giuing Duke *Arthur* the [t] *Belt of Knighthood*, and taking of him Homage for the *Signiories* of *Aniou, Poyctou, Turaine, Maine, Britanny*, and *Normandy*, hee made him faithfull vow, to yeeld him powerfull helpes, for acquiring thoſe poſſeſſions. Neither was King *Iohn* behinde him in that kind of preuention, when *Philip* Earle of *Flanders*, the *French Philips* profeſſed Enemie, [v] comming to *Roan*, and diſſwading *King Iohn* from truſting any *French* friendſhip, did there ſweare vnto him, both faithfull Helpe and Homage. Yet the two Kings keeping touch for the day, though not for the purpoſe of amitie (and yet making faire ſhew of that too) held *Parley* betwix *Butauant* and [y] *Guletun* [z] two dayes by *Commiſsioners* inter-current, the third by preſence and priuatie *that not one of their Nobles or Attendants* (who on each ſide *lay far aloofe for the ſpace of an houre*) vnderſtood any paſſages betwixt them. Thus much yet came to notice by after-relation, that [a] *King Philip* then required for Himſelfe the large Country of [b] *Veulgueſsine*, pretending that *Geoffry* Earle of *Aniou* granted it to *Lewis le Groſſe, for aiding his Sonne King* Henry *the ſecond againſt King Stephen*: and for *Arthur*, all *Poictou, Aniou, Maine* and *Turaine*: both which immoderate demands with others, *King Iohn* (conceiuing with [l] *Salomon, Why doth hee not alſo aske for Adoniah the Kingdome?*) [m] *neither would nor ought to grant* vnto him; whereby their amities intended, ended in more hoſtile defiances. But *Philips* capitulating then for *Arthur*, was onely perfunctory and complementall, as his owne words, (and afterward his actions) bewrayed: when being queſtioned by his Fauorites of his implacable [n] *hatred againſt King* Iohn, *who had neuer harmed him*, profeſſed it was onely, *for that he had* (not, defeated *Arthur*, but) *poſſeſſed himſelfe of* Normandy, *and the other Demaines, without asking him leaue, or offering him Homage.*

(7) The *flames* thus on all ſides *breaking forth the ſtronger, by how much the more they had been for a time kept in*, ([o] many Earles and Barons of *France* (who formerly *adhered to King Richard*) became Homagers to King *Iohn*, they ſwearing, neuer without his aſſent to reuert to *Philip*, and hee, neuer to make Peace with *Philip*, but they therein to be concluded. In the heate of which ſidings (if not before) a [p] chiefe adherent of the foreſaid Earle of *Flanders* (now col-leagued with *King Iohn*) being the Biſhop Elect of *Cambray*, fell into the hands of the *French*, at which time alſo [q] *Philip* Biſhop of *Beauois*, (a great *French* Peere) was held in priſon by *King Iohn*; and neither of them willing to forgoe their mitred Champions, [r] *Petrus de Capua*, the Legat, interdicted *France* for the one, and *Normandy* for the other, till they, as perſons ſacred and inuiolable, ſhould be diſmiſſed: yet King *Iohn* (whoſe Perſon and Title the Pope and Papals as yet much tendred) had the fauour to wring out of his prize, [s] *ſixe thouſand Markes for his releaſe*, and an *Oath, neuer whiles hee breathed to beare Armes againſt any Chriſtian.* [t] This Legat in K. *Richards* time, had made agreement with King *Philip* for a fiue yeeres Truce, which expiring with *Richards* laſt breath, hee ſtill laboured to eſtabliſh it betwixt the now-Kings: but King *Philips* great heart would not ſo come downe, which was likely to haue coſt him deere. For purſuing whither his *Fury* (*a bad guide*) did lead him, after his ſiege of *Lauardin*, (*v Whence vpon* King Iohns *approach with his Army he fled to Maunz, and thence againe fled*, King Iohn *comming thither*;) ſeized the Caſtle of *Balun* (which belonged to *Arthur*) and to preuent his enemy (as is likely) [x] *he leuelled it to the very ground*; which fact Duke *Arthurs* [y] *Generall, William de Rupibus* wrathfully expoſtulating with King *Philip*, as hauing done therein *contrary to Couenants with his Lord Arthur*, hee as ſcornefully anſwered, that hee would *not for his Lord Arthurs pleaſure, forbeare his owne, in doing as himſelfe liſted, with ſuch Forts as hee tooke.* The Generall ſeeing *Arthur* was but the outward maske, vnder which *Philip* reuelled for his hidden ends, [z] ſeriouſly perſwaded his Lord to reconcilement with his vncle King *Iohn*, and rather *to hazard his hopes on the clemency of a Generous Foe, then on the guiles of a falſe-hearted Friend*: and ſo making his peace with King *Iohn*, hee preſently yeelded vp to him both *Maunz*, &(with Lady *Conſtance*) the young Duke alſo, the important matter of

z Printed Copies read *Semei* falſly for *Iſhai*, 1 *Sam.* c. 16.

a The examples doe not ſhew it: for they were of Gods particular commandement, which was not now.

b He aſcribes that to the *Holy Spirit*, which after he confeſſeth to proceed from his owne deuiſe.

c For, his Father, & two Brethren, Kings, his Mother, Queene, firſt of *France*, after of *England*. *Arthur* nothing ſo.

d *Iohn de Serres, in Phil. Auguſt.*

e *Mat. Paris. Non auſi ambigere.*

f *Idem, ibidem.*

g *Rog. Houed. Matth. Paris. Hubert* forecaſts to bridle the King.

h *Giraldus Camb.* ſaith he was *Principis frenum.* See *vit. Archiep. Cant. in Hubert.*

i *Rog. Wendouer. Triplici Sacramento inuolutus Rex.*

King *Iohn* firſt doth reward his three Agents.

l *Rog. Houeden, Vt dum gloriaretur in poteſtate illa.*

Archiepiſcopall dignity.

* *Tho. Sprot, M.S. p. 46. totius Angliæ Cuſtos & Iuſtitiarius.*

* *Ib. Vir erat juris ignarus.*

m *Polydore, Francus rem diſſimulauit.*

n *Polyd. Virg.*

o From *Shoreham* to *Deepe*, (13. *Cal. Iuly.*) *Nich. Triuet.*

p *Rog. Houed.*

q *In Craſtinum Aſſumptionis, Houed. ibid.* A Truce with the *French.*

r With *Henry* the ſecond, and *Richard*, *vide ſupra.* Double-dealing moſt vnſeemely in a Prince.

s *Craſtino Aſſum. Matth. Paris.*

t *Militari Cingulo, ibid.*

v *Feria 6. ante Aſſumptionem, Houeden.*

x *Rog. Wendouer, M.S.*

A Leagüe betwixt *England* and *Flanders.*

y *Houeden*, which *Wendouer* and *Paris* call *Wailues.* An Interuiew of the Kings of *England* and *France.*

z *Wendouer.*

a *Roger Houed.*

b *Vegeſinum. Wendouer. Wogeſin. Houed. Vello-Caſinum. Polydor. Vello-Caſinum. Paul. Aemil.* King Philips vnreaſonable demaunds.

l 1. *Reg.* 2. 22.

m *Noluit, nec debuit, Paris.*

The Parley ends in diſcord.

n *Roger Houeden.*

o *Houeden.*

p *Matth. Paris.*

q Of whom, ſee in *Richard* the 1.

r *Matth. Parit.*

s *Paris, Houeden*, ſaith but 2000.

t *Nic. Triuet. M.S. Ro. Houed.*

King Iohn purſues *Philip* from place to place.

v *Rog. Houed. fol.* 452.

x *Roger Houeden.*

y *Princeps Exercitus Arthuri, Houed.* 18.

King Philips wrongs to *Arthur.*

z *Matth. Paris. Roger Houed.*

Arthur reconciled to King *Iohn.*

of ſo great contentions. But heauens were not ſo propitious to theſe Reconciliats, as ſo to hold them long: ſome *Philippines* buzzing ſuch needleſſe [a] terrors of Impriſonment into the Noble Childes eares, that the next night, *Feare* giuing wings to his flight, as Loue did to his Mothers, (for leauing her Huſband [b] *Ranulph* Earle of *Cheſter*, ſhe was amorous of, and married *Guido* a gallant Gentleman, who then fled with her,) they eſcaped into *Angiers*. *Arthur* neither ſure of *K. Philip*, nor ſure to *K. Iohn*, had now caſt himſelfe betwixt two *Milſtones*; but (howſoeuer) *Philip* ment the *grieſt* in the end ſhould be his.

(8) The breach betwixt theſe two great Kings, was the more irreconcileable, by reaſon of the hatred betwixt King *Philip* and the Emperour [c] *Otho*, King *Iohns* Nephew, whoſe aduancement to the Empire (himſelfe perhaps [d] ayming to it) *Philip* ſtill endeauoured to impeach, [e] *not regarding that the Pope* (whoſe power Kings then regarded only, while it made for their purpoſe) *had thundred his Anathema againſt all his Oppoſers*: & *Otho in* [f] *gratitude to King Richard, who* [g] *procured him the Diadem Imperiall*, and in tender regard of his vncles honour, ſent him aduiſe, [h] *not to haſten any finall attonement* with the *French* King, for that himſelfe *would bring him his vtmoſt Imperiall aßiſtance*. Notwithſtanding, by the *Cardinall-Legates* aſſiduous interceding, a Truce was concluded till the [i] Feaſt of *Saint Hillary*: at which time, the Kings comming to a Treaty betwixt *Guletun* and *Butauant* Caſtles, [k] it was agreed, that *Lewis* the Heyre of *France* ſhould marry *King Iohns* Neece, *Blanch*, Daughter of *Alphonſus* King of *Caſtile*; that King *Iohn* ſhould giue for Dowry the City and County of *Eureux*, with ſundry Forts in *Normandy*, and thirty thouſand Markes in ſiluer; vowing alſo not to aide his Nephew *Otho* with men or meanes to attain the Empire: & further, [l] *promiſing to leaue (if he died without Iſſue) vnto Lewis, all the Territories he held in France*; all which Articles were [m] formerly engroſſed, but finally concluded betwixt *Butauant* and *Guletun* (the* one, *K. Iohns*, the other *K. Philips* Caſtle) the [n] *Octaues of Saint Iohn Baptiſt*, when, theſe Counties were actually ſurrendred to *Philip*; the Lady *Blanch* [o] eſpouſed to *Lewis* his ſon; Duke *Arthur* (*Philips* once vowed, but now vnualued charge,) yeelded ouer, and made [p] *Seruant* and [q] *Homager* to K. *Iohn* for his own Dukedom, whom yet his vncle was content to leaue with King *Philip*, who had now ſo left him, and erſt had vpheld him, onely as the baite of his owne aduantage. If Princes can be thus vnprincely degenerous, what truſt can men repoſe in baſer vaſſals? King *Iohn* hereupon proued much more ſtedfaſt to *Philip*, then either *Philip* was to him, or himſelfe to *Otho* the Emperour, who ſending his two Brethren *Henry* Duke of *Saxony*, and *William* (ſurnamed of [r] *Winton*) to demand the Counties of [s] *Yorke* and *Poictou*, with the Treaſure and Iewels which [t] King *Richard* bequeathed him: King *Iohn* denied to yeeld thereunto, [u] *only in regard of his Oath which he had paſſed to Philip, to yeeld no kinde of aid to the Emperour*. And further to teſtifie, (yea further then he ought) his faithfull meaning to preſerue intire this amity with *Philip*, [x] by his aduiſe he diuorced [y] *Hawiſia* his wife, as *too* [z] *neere of Bloud*, by ſentence of the Archbiſhop and Biſhops of *Burdeaux*, *Poictoirs*, and *Xanton*, and by the Archbiſhops hands eſpouſed *Iſabell*, [a] Heiretrice of *Ailmar* Earle of *Angoliſme*, a faire yong Lady, but [b] deſtined to another bed.

(9) This *Finall Concord* (ſo [c] called, but not prouing ſo) with *Philip*, who now acknowledged *Iohn* the [d] *rightfull Heire of King Richards Crowne*, gaue him more leaſure, to receiue peacebly all [e] *Submitties*, and bring in forceably all [f] *out-ſtanders* of thoſe his tranſmarine Dominions, and after to looke home to the affaires of his Kingdome, from which hee had beene (and wee there following him,) too long abſent. Yet in the heate of thoſe forraine imploiments, hee on occaſions had his recourſes hither to ſettle his State-affaires; and [g] Crowne-Reuenewes; to enact wholeſome [h] lawes for forraine and domeſticke Commerce; to Collect an [i] Ayde for his Neeces great Dowry, and Martiall vſes; which later (being three ſhillings on euery [k] Carrucata,) though his firſt and onely Subſidie ſince his comming to the Crowne, cauſed much heart-burning; eſpecially by meanes of his 1 owne brother *Geoffry* Archbiſhoppe of *Yorke* (touching whom the King was [m] fore-warned, that *he would bring a Sword, and not Peace into England*) who bearing himſelfe too bold on his bloud and place, [n] *forbad the Collectours of that Aide in his precincts* (though it were [o] granted to the King generally for all *England*) and alſo being *required by the King* to attend him into *France*, to conclude the Peace, and his Neeces Eſpouſall, hee very vndutifully denyed his ſeruice. The King [p] iuſtly moued with thoſe his diſloialties, cauſed all his Temporalities to bee ſeized on by his Sheriffe; whom therefore *Geoffry* (adding freſh fuel to the fire) *did ſolemnly excommunicate*, cauſed the Kings Officers to beare blowes, and *interdicted the whole Prouince of Yorke*. So partiall and vnhiſtoricall is the report of [q] one; (a Stranger by birth, but more ſtrange for bold vntruths) who faines the onely incentiue of ſuch indignation in the King, was that Prelates reprehenſion of his Rapines on the people. For (to giue a further taſte of that Authors [r] *vehement fond malice*, iuſtly ſo taxed) what ancient Iudicious Writers call an [s] *Aide* neceſſarie for Warres, that he enſtileth Rapines and Spoyles; where they make *Iohn* his Brothers Heyre by Will, hee makes *Arthur*; they ſay he was a [t] valiant man, he ſaith he was a Coward; where they make him [u] *purſuing*, and *Philip flying*, hee chargeth him to haue *made onely plaints, when he ſhould haue drawne ſwords*; where they charge the Peeres for [x] *drawing backe from his Warres*, hee makes them the onely *Haſteings*, and *Iohn* the *Hinderer*; briefly, if a [y] *fire-ſhooting Meteor* appeare aboue, it portends Heauens fury on *Iohn*; if the [z] *watry Element* ouer-flow, it bodes *Iohns* fury on his Land. But ſurely that part thereof, which fell on *Geoffry*, it was (you ſee) not vndeſerued: notwithſtanding, vpon the Kings* returne into *England*, and *Geoffreys* to his more loyal carriage and ſubmiſſion, *his Peace was made*, at the very time, and for the more celebrity, of Queen *Iſabels* * Coronation, with whom the King himſelfe was *againe crowned at Weſtminſter* by Archbiſhop *Hubert*.

(10) The Pompe of that ſolemnitie ended, the King reſolued of ending a long depending controuerſie with King *William* of *Scotland*, who formerly (before *Iohn* was proclaimed King) had challenged, as [a] his *patrimonial right*, the Counties of *Northumberland*, & *Cumberland*, and afterward ſeeing he got but words and delaies, was ready, (*King Iohn* being then in *France*) with an hotter and more forceable argument, to winne, what he could not craue: but being in dark [b] *deuotion all night at Saint Margarets Hearſe*, the ſtill true [c] *Engliſh*-hearted Queene *perſwaded him by a Dreame*, for certainely it was no other) not to infeſt *England*, her natiue ſoile; who therupon ſent backe his Army. But now hee commeth with a more friendly traine, vpon *King Iohns* ſending to him, in Honourable [d] Embaſſage, the Earles of *Huntingdon* & *Hereford*, *King Williams* Brother and Nephew, his three Sonnes in Law, *Lacy*, *Veſcy* and *Ros*, with others, to deſire him to giue him meeting at *Lincolne*, where accordingly they both [f] meet with kingly curteſies; and the next day, *King Iohn* to auſpicate his Temporall affaires with Spirituall deuotions,) and yet to ſhew what hee thought of ſome ſuperſtitious follies of thoſe times) went [g] *vndantedly into the Cathedrall Church, being much diſſwaded by many*, (for Monkiſh impoſtures perſwaded many it was very ominous for a *King* to enter that, and certaine [h] other places) and there offered *a golden Chalice on S. Iohns Altar, which* [i] *no King before him durſt doe*. Where his Deuotions performed the

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a *Rog. Houed.*

Arthur flyeth from *King Iohn.*

b *Paul. Aemil.* ſaith *Guydo*, was her ſecond Huſband: but it appeares otherwiſe by *Houeden* and others.

King *Philip* and the Emperors hatred, encreaſeth the malice betwixt King *Iohn* and *Philip.*

c *Otho* the fourth ſonne of *Henry* Duke of *Saxony*, and *Maud* daughter of *K. H. 2.*

d *Rog. Houed. fol. 457.*

e *Matth. Paris.*

f *Matth. Paris.*

g *Mat. Weſtmin. An. 1198.*

h *Roger Houed. fol. 452.*

The Emperour offers his aide to *K. Iohn.*

i *Idem ibid.*

An. 1200.

The Kings interuiew againe.

k *Roger de Wendouer*, M.S. *Paris. Houeden.*

Articles of Attonement.

l *Nich. Triue M.S.*

m *Vide Chartam apud. Houed. p. 463*

* *Houeden. f. 459.*

n *Pariſ. 11. Cal. Iul.*

o *Walſing. Ypod. H. 1200.*

p *Homo Iohannis. Houed.*

q *Ypodig. Neuſtr. Loco cit.*

King Philip yeelds vp *Arthur to King Iohn*, againſt his vow.

The Emperours two Brothren ſent to King *Iohn.*

r *Houed. fol 456.*

s *Eboraci*, ſaith *Houed.* perchance for *Ebroica*, *Eureux.*

t *Nich. Triuet, in Rich. 1. M.S.*

u *Rog. Houed.* *King Iohns* care of his oath to K. *Philip.*

x *Wendouer. Houed f. 457.*

y So called by *Wendouer, Paris. Mat. Weſtminſt. Houed, &c.* but our Heralds (*Glouer, Milles, Ferrers, &c.*) call her *Iſabel.*

z Grandchild to *Rob.* baſe-brother of King *Iohn.*

a *Ioh. de Serres.*

b *Ypodigma.*

c *Apud. Houed.*

d *Ibid. f. 463.*

e *Idem f. 457.*

f *Ibid. f. 458.*

g *Ib. Conſuet. Scaccarij. 463.*

h *Idem f. 439.*

i *Houed.*

k See the deſcription of *Huntingtonſhire.*

l Sonne of *H. 2.* by *Roſamond.*

m *Houed. f. 453.*

n *Wendouer. M.S.*

o *Wendo.*

p *Cauſa multiplex erat. Pariſ.*

q *Polyd. Virg. l. 15.*

r *Graſton. f. 3.*

s *Wend. Houed.*

t *Strenuus Animoſus. Houed. Cambrenſ.*

u *Houed.*

x *Suis detrectantibus Militiam. Triuet. M.S.*

y *Polyd. l. 15.*

z *Ibid.*

* 8 *Id. Octob. Pariſ.*

* *Dominica ante feſtum Dionyſ.*

* *Paris. Houeden.*

The Interuiew of the Kings of *England* and *Scotland.*

a *Houeden.*

b At *Dunferlin. Houeden.*

c Shee was Grandchild to King *Edmund Ironſide*, and wife to King *Malcolme 3. of Scots.*

d *Houeden.*

e So *Houeden*, *Walſing. Weſtm.* but *Hector* and *Polydor*, by error, ſay at *London.*

f 11. *Cal. Decemb. Houed.*

g *Idem.*

h As Saint *Friſwides* Church in *Oxford.*

i King *Stephen* before dared to enter the Citie. *Pariſ. in Steph.*

the two *Kings* (in preſence of * three Archbiſhops, thirteene Biſhops, the *King* of *South-Wales*, with a multitude of *Engliſh*, *Scottiſh*, *French*, and *Iriſh*, Princes and Peeres,) aſcending the toppe of that conſpicuous and high * hill, on the North ſide of the Citie, did there in a glorious ſolemnity, ſweare amitie and faithfull loue, k *vpon the Croſier of Archbiſhop Hubert.*

(11) That Spectacle ſo Royall to the beholders, was ſeconded with another, no leſſe Honorable to K. *Iohn*, (for *Humility in ſuch great ones is more glorious then their glory,*) when the King hauing lately left *Hugh* Biſhop of *Lincolne* (called the Saint, for the opinion of vnfained integrity, though l blemiſhed with ſome obſtinacies, and ſurcharged with Legends of m fained Miracles) at *London* very ſicke, (where himſelfe with gracious care n went to viſite him, and both confirmed *his Teſtament, and promiſed the like for other Biſhops after,*) now hearing he was * dead, and his Corpes then bringing into the gates of *Lincolne*, hee, with all that princely Traine, went forth to meet it; the o three *Kings* (though the *Scottiſh* was to *depart that very day*) with their Royall Allyes, carrying the Hearſe on thoſe ſhoulders, accuſtomed to vphold the weight of whole Kingdomes: from whom the Great Peeres receiued the ſame, and *bare it to the Church Porch*, whence the three Archbiſhops and Biſhops conuaied it to the Quier, & the next day (it there lying the meane time p *open faced, mitred, and in all Pontificall Ornaments, with Gloues on his hands, and a Ring on his finger*) interred it with all ſolemnities anſwerable. Yet heere the King reſted not to giue proofe, in ſo great a height, of his lowly minde, and then benigne (how euer afterward auerted) to the Clergy; when twelue Abbots of the *Ciſteaux Habit* (whoſe q *whole Order* had diſpleaſed him, by refuſing to giue *Aid* towards his great payment of thirty thouſand pounds) r came now to *Lincolne*, and all proſtrate at his feete, craued his gracious fauour, for that his Forreſters had driuen out (for ſo the King had giuen command) of his *Paſtures and Forreſts all their Cattle, wherewith themſelues and Chriſts poore were ſuſtained.* The King touched with remorſe on ſo venerable a troope of *Suppliants*, (though ſo great offenders) commanded them to riſe, who were no ſooner vp, but the King s *inſpired with diuine Grace, fell flat on the ground before them, deſiring pardon*, adding, that hee not onely *admitted them to his loue*, and *their* * *beaſts to his Paſtures*, (a ſpeciall fauour which Kings had granted that Order,) *but would alſo build an Abbey for men of their ſort, (if they would deſigne ſome choice ſeat) wherein himſelfe meant to be enſhrined.* Neither did hee promiſe then, more then he performed, nor were thoſe wylie *Humiliates* regardleſſe of chooſing a delicate plot for the purpoſe, where hee built a goodly Abbey of their Order, deſeruedly for the pleaſance of the place, named t *Beaulieu*, and of u rich *Reuenue*, and exceſſiue *Priuiledge*; continuing long *of great renowne, as a Caſtle of refuge inuiolable*; our Auncestors thinking it moſt hainous ſacriledge, thence to draw any, though wilfull *Murderers* or *Traitors*: wherein the Founders of ſuch vnſanctified x *Sanctuaries* & *Temples of Mercy* (ſo they called them) *throughout this Kingdome, ſeemed rather to take Romulus for their Preſident, then Moſes, who granting fauor to caſuall Man-ſlaughters, yet* y *commanded wilfull Murderers to be drawne from the Altar to the ſlaughter.* But this *Ciſteaux* diſ-*Order* was not alone, either in thoſe ſhamefull indignities, or gainefull attonements. The z *Benedictines*, in *Antiquitie* aboue them, in *Priuiledges* equall, ſcorned to be in courage behinde them for affronting their Soueraigne: who claiming the patronage of a * *Benefice* which the *King his Father* formerly beſtowed, * they impugned his royall title, lockt the Church doores againſt his *Preſentee*, (being the Kings neere friend) ſcorned his moſt princely louing letters of requeſt, reiected his often and earneſt meſſages; fenced the Church with armed men againſt the Kings Officers, aſſayled the Kings Sheriffe and his forces, and put them to flight by ſword, moued the Pope to *excommunicate all their oppugners (which touched the King neere)* yea; cauſed him to be accuſed to the Pope *for a Tyrant:* yet on their ſubmiſſion, hee forgaue them their offence; gaue them that patronage, with ſundry other great gifts and immunities, and ſo *became their chiefe Patrone and Protector.*

(12) By what degrees, men not onely of ſuch *reputed-religious habit*, but alſo of the *Secular-Clergy*, fell afterward more and more from ſuch fauours of the King, and hee from theirs, a man that will not purpoſely winke, may eaſily behold, both ſorts ſtanding ſo ſtiffe on their perſons, and their poſſeſſions Exemption from Regall commaund, that whiles the a Pope could haue all for any ſuperfluous imployment, the King could get nothing, though his Kingdome were in hazard, as you heard by the diſloyall obſtinacies both of the Archbiſhop of *Yorke*, who denied the King his perſonall attendance, and thoſe *Ciſteaux Monkes*, whoſe Coffers were thus lockt againſt him. The like pretended Exemptions of their *Clergie Prelacies* (as well as of their Perſons and Purſes) wrought alſo like offences, both with former Kings, and now with King *Iohn*, who on the death of Biſhop *Hugh*, reſoluing to conferre by gift, (as his b Auncestors did, and c himſelfe elſe-where lately had) that See, on ſome whom eyther merite or affection had endeared to him, (the rather, becauſe d men of thoſe places, in thoſe daies were vſually their Soueraignes boſome-Counſellours) e hee was with peremptory affronts withſtood by the Canons there, who very bolde on the Popes vp-bearing, reckt very ſlenderly their Princes diſpleaſing. It is not vnlikely that Archbiſhop *Hubert* (leſt *Canterbury* might be thought inferiour to *Yorke* in daring boldneſſe,) as being Papall Legate, in ſecret bolſtring them had a hand, though cloſely carried in a gloue: for that the man, who lately f gloried, the King was wholly his, now finding hee had not the ſway hee expected, and thought hee deſerued (by obligement of his firſt Agency about the Crowne,) not onely ſtudied to make vp that by his Legatine Glory which hee wanted by his Princes countenance, but further, (as g one who thinkes hee extolles his vertue, paints forth his diſloyalty,) *hee repented now, more then any thing in all his life, that hee had ſo aduanced King Iohn to the Crowne.* Certes, about this time hee ſhewed ſlender reſpect to his Soueraigne, (for *as God is in his, ſo are Kings diſhonoured in their Miniſters diſgraces*) when being prohibited by *Fitz-Peter*, the Kings great Iuſtitiar and Miniſter (in the Kings abſence) of Regall commaund, h *from holding a Generall Councell of his Prouince*, (neuer vſed to be held, but by Soueraigne permittance) his pleaſure ſcorn'd to take any counter-maund, but from him eſpeciallie, who, in i calling his inferiour, by * joynt deſerts towards the King, but his Equall, was now, in neereneſſe and faſtneſſe to the King, become farre his Superiour. But what ſpeake I of confronting a ſubordinate power? did hee ſpare to out-beard his Soueraigne himſelfe? It ſeemes no. For hauing notice, the Feaſt of the *Natiuity* now approaching, that the King intended, with his Queene, at *Guilford* to keepe that feaſtiuity with great magnificence; hee whoſe Pallace ordinarily, for *ſplendour, multitude of Attendants, and ſumptuous intertainments did ſtriue with the kings* (as one of his own k *Succeſſors* auows) thought this a fitting time, to ſhew, both his great ſtate, and little regard of his Princes diſcountenance, by l *paraleling to the Kings*, his owne ſumptuous preparations, m *with rich attires, and coſtly gifts for his Attendants at Canterbury*. The king (*as kings brooke not to be brawed by Subjects, nor is it wiſedome for*

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* Cant. Dublin. Reguſe.

* Now called Bore-hill.

k Trinet. M.S. Walſing.

l See Polydor l. 15.

m In Wendouer. Pariſ. & Legend. of S. Hugh.

n Paris hiſt. mai.

* Negligent Polydor ſaith he died An. 1207. Reg. Iohn 6.

The funeralls of Hugh Biſhop of Lincolne.

o Rog. Houeden.

The manner of Biſhops funeralls in thoſe dayes.

p Mat. Paris more Pontificum, p. 197.

King Iohns great humility.

q See Hollinſh. in K. Iohn.

The Ciſtercians deny aid to King Iohn.

r Houed. f. 462.

K. Iohns facility to pardon offenders.

s Rog. Houeden. ibid.

*The great welth of that Order conſiſted in Cattle and Wooll.

t The Beauteous place an Abbey in Hampſhire by New Forreſt.

u valued (at the diſſolution vnder H. 8.) at 428.l.6.s 8.d.q. yeerely.

x Cambden in Hampſhire.

y Exod. 21. v. 14.

z S. Auſtins by Canterb.

* Feuerſham.

* Tho: Sprot. M.S.

The first breaches betwixt the King and his Clergy.

a Apud Mat. Paris, paſſim.

The Clergy ſtand on a three-fold exemption.

1 Of their Perſons.

2 Of their poſſeſſions.

3 Of their Prelacies.

b See in K. Henry the first.

c Succeſſit Iohanni de Oxenforda, in Epatu Norwic. Ioh. de Gray. Dono Iohannis regis. Hou. f. 458. Epatum Hereford. Rex dedit Aegydio ibid.

d Mat. Paris in Guil. 2.

e Roger Houeden.

Offence taken by the King againſt Archbiſhop Hubert of Cant.

f Rog. Houed.

Huberts hollow heart to K. Iohn.

g Polyd. Virg. l. 15.

Hubert reſiſteth the Kings chiefe officer.

h Houeden.

i Archiepiſcopus in Regno à Rege ſecunda perſona. Math. Paris.

* As fellow agents for the Kings aduancement.

Hubert outbraues the King himſelf.

An. D. 1201.

k Mat. Parker in Antiq. Ecc. Ang. in vit: Hubert.

l Matth. Weſtm. Quas cum Rege à pari contendens.

m Wendouer. M.S.

n *Matth. Paris.*

for diſfauourites to doe it,) moued n *with great indignation*, thought the man had too much riches, & too little *Diſcretion* (*which ſeldome lodgeth in the braine, where Pride dwels in the Heart,*) and therefore to abate ſomewhat of the one, and learne him more of the other, hauing firſt beene in the • *North parts* to gather money for his better vſes, hee meant not to lauiſh it in keeping his Eaſter, which he choſe rather to do at the coſt of *Hubert the* p *Rich*; and not to ſpare him, who ſpared not himſelfe, hee there increaſt that great expence with a greater, of His, and his Queenes ſolemne q crowning againe on Eaſter day, in the Cathedrall Church; where, in lieu of his expence, *Hubert* had the formall honour *to ſet on their Crownes*, but yet not the grace to ſit neere the Kings Heart.

o *Stowe* erreth in ſaying hee then went into *Ireland.*

p *Mat. Parker Antiq. Ecc. Ang. Godwin. in vit. Hubert.*

q *Roger. Wend. M. S.*

The firſt breaches betwixt the King and the Lay Peeres.

(13) Such being the firſt ouertures of heart-burnings betwixt the King and his Clergy, which after by additament of daily fuelling, braſt forth into a more fearefull flame; the Lay-Peeres were ſo farre from labouring to quench it, that they made it the fiercer: for theſe Bellowes of Rebellion, which before their Homages did condition for their Rights & Liberties, were not all this while ſparing of their breath, to inflame other Nobles with the like heat of fury. Hell it ſelfe (*whence all Rebellions ſpring, and thither fall againe*) could not wiſh a fitter occaſion to broach and actuate ſuch a miſchiefe. For the r *Poyctouins* with King *Philips* conniuence, (taking aduantage of *King Iohns* abſence, and Springs approach) were vp in Armes, diſlodged his Garriſons, beleagured his Caſtles; tidings whereof recalled King *Iohns* thoughts from his Domeſticke Pompes, to his Tranſmarine Affaires; for the preſent, he gaue commaund to his * *Seneſchall of Normandie*, to attempt on them ſome Counter-ſeruices, to withdraw the *Seigers*, (whom alſo King *Philip*, ſ hearing *King Iohn was in perſon comming ouer with an Army, forthwith recalled,*) and publiſhed his generall t ſummons, that his Earles, Barons, and all that held by Knights-ſeruice, ſhould be ready at *Portſmouth* with Horſe and Armes, on Whitſonday then inſtant, to croſſe the ſeas with him. The tumultuous Earles, knowing that the King then needed their preſent helpes, and therefore might bee forced to any Capitulations, in a conuenticle held at *Leyceſter*, by a u ioynt-conſpiring, ſent an audacious meſſage to the King, that they *would not* attend him, vnleſſe hee would *firſt reſtore their rights*; with which diſloyall refuſall, the *King* iuſtly incenſed; * *by ſome mens too præcipitate aduice*, (conſidering the hazardous time, which needed a ſalue rather then a coraſiue) ſeized into his hands ſome of their Caſtles, to preuent their further attempts, of ſome hee tooke their children for pledges, and others, whoſe Purſes were likely to doe him truer ſeruice then their owners, *he* x *releaſed vpon payments*. At which prefixed time, hee diſpatched before him *William* Earle of *Pembrooke*, and Lord *Roger Lacie* with y two Regiments to ioyne with *Normandies* Seneſhall. What a * graue Author iudged of thoſe bold Barons heere, and other turbulent Great-ones then abroad, may be gathered by this; that as ſoone as mention fell in of thoſe refractary Lords, hee ſtreight fell off, to ſhew how in that very yeere, Pope *Innocent then raigning in Rome, Saffadine the Turke in Ieruſalem*, * *Alexander the* z *Fatricide in Conſtantinople*, (for ſo he yoketh theſe three together, with ſome others following them;) the great Doctors preached, that *then was the time* (a *propheſied by Saint Iohn*) *when after a thouſand yeeres reſtraint, the Diuell was let looſe*, to ſeduce the Nations like a b Serpent, and trouble the world like a c Dragon: which how true it proued in this our Nation and little-World (in whoſe Tragedy the Diuell alſo, amongſt the d firſt named Actors, comes now to play his part,) the Diabolicall enſuing practiſes, both of fraud and fury, will heereafter demonſtrate.

r *Roger Houed.*

* *Warin. de Clapium. Houed.*

ſ *Houed. f. 465.*

t *Apud Teukſbu-rie, die Aſcenſionis. Paris.*

Liberties the cauſe of contention.

u *Houeden.*

* *Malo vſus conſilio. Houed.*

x *Wendouer M.S.*

y *Houed.*

* *Roger Houed.*

*By *Houed.* ſo named, but *Alexius* by *Nic. Triuet.*

z *Nic. Triuet. M.S.* ſheweth hee depriued his brother *Cuſach* of Empire and eyes, not of life.

a *Apoc: 20: v. 7.*

b *v. 2. and 8.*

c *Ibidem.*

d *Supra* § 1.

(14) The King, though thus diſfurniſhed of his principall home-helpes, yet e entruſting the cuſtodie of the land, eſpecially thoſe Southerne parts, with f *Hubert de Burgo* Lord Chamberlaine, and receiuing to g full reconcilement (for more ſecurity of the Northerne,) *Geffrey* Archbiſhop of *Yorke*, whoſe h Churches large Priuiledges then he ratified; without delay at *Porteſmouth* hee put forth to Sea, with *Iſabel* his Queene, though in ſundry Bottomes, and with differing ſucceſſe, a i ſudden guſt diſ-parting the Fleet, whereby the King was driuen backe on the *Iſle of Wight, but the Queen* k *with much adoe*, arriued ſafe in *Normandy*, whom ſoon after the King followed thither. Vpon whoſe arriuall, the *French* King l *perceiuing the power of his aduerſary*, preſently condiſcended to another perſonall (but very m priuate) Parley; wherein each gaue and receiued ſuch reciprocall ſatisfaction in their deſires, that thereupon not onely the former bonds of Amity ſeemed to continue ſtrong, but were alſo more ſtrengthened with a new knot of n Aſſociation, wherein ſundry great Lords of eyther ſide were by indentment of Writing, made ſureties to the counter-part, with condition, that whither of the two Kings did firſt violate the Couenants; all his cautionary Lords ſhould be releaſed of their alleagiance to him, and become Leege-men and Aſſiſtants to the Prince offended. And that the world might take more notice of their combined loues, they o both agreed to contribute to the *Holie-Warres*, (which now began to bee on foot) the fortieth part of the whole Reuenewes of their Crownes; ſending their p letters abroad into their Dominions, to encourage all their Nobles and people, by their examples to doe the like. With which intercourſes, & other complements, three daies being ſpent betwixt them, King *Philip*, the deeper to skrue himſelfe into King *Iohns* good opinion, (*the* * *ſureſt way to ouer reach another in any commerce*) by intreaty obtained his company, firſt to S. *Deniſes Pallace*, q where hee entred with a pompous Proceſſion of the Clergy, and lodged with royall entertainment by the King, and the next day, to *Paris*, where hee was receiued with r *very rich Preſents* of the City, and great applauſe of all ſorts, to ſee ſo noble arguments of affection betwixt two ſo great Princes, lately ſo mortall enemies: where the *French King* betaking himſelfe to a more priuate manſion, left his owne pallace to accommodate and honour *Englands* King. After ſome dayes there beſtowed in princely delights and entertainements, King *Iohn* conducted forth of the City by *King Philip*, & parting with mutuall atteſtations of loue neuer to bee parted, tooke his iourney towards *Normandy*, in full hope to enioy thence forward the contentment of quiet to himſelfe, and peace to his Dominions: but thoſe windy hopes ſoone changed with his change of the aire.

e *Houed. f. 465.*

f *Parker in vit. Arch. Cant.* erreth in ſaying it was *Hubert* the Archbiſhop, whoſe name was *Hubert Walteri.*

g *Houed. f. 465.*

h *Ibid.*

i *Hollinſ.*

k *Math. Weſtmin. Walſing.* and yet *Houed.* ſaith, *proſperis ventis nauiga.*

l *Paris hiſt. minor M.S.*

m *Nemine conſcio. Houed.*

n *Wendouer M.S*

o *Houed. f. 471.*

p *Epiſt. Galfredi Apud Houed. f. 471*

* *Tuta frequenſq; via eſt, per Anici fallere nomen.*

q *Hollinſ.*

r *Ypodig. Neuſt. Holinſ.*

(15) For whiles at *Chinon* hee was royally entertaining Queene *Berengaria* his s ſiſter (whom t hee there alſo bounteouſly ſatisfied, in performing the Ioyncture promiſed her by *King Richard*, giuing her the City and Signiory of *Baion*, two Caſtles, and their Demaines in *Anion*, with a thouſand Markes yeerely for tearme of life,) and at u *Argenton* in *Normandy*, where he kept his Chriſtmas, was ſolacing himſelfe with his faire Queene *Iſabel*; the Earle of *March*, *Hugh*, ſurnamed *Le-Brun*, a x Peere of great power and alliance, to whom *Iſabel* was firſt promiſed (though for her y vnripe yeeres hee neuer bedded her) enflamed with loue of her, who was now thought worthy to bee a Queene, z drew on other *Poictouine* Nobles, to thinke that hee was vnworthy to be a King, who wrongfully had taken her a from him, and would, if not preuented, doe the like in time with them. So, b once againe young *Arthur*, whoſe former hopes were all cold, is re-kindled by theſe fire-brands, and ſet vp by their malice, to ſupplant his vncle, but by Heauens Decree, to ouerthrow himſelfe; howſoeuer the c *Britaines*, then faſcinated with his ominous Name, dreamed that the

A new conſpiracy.

s *K. Richards* wife

t *Rog. Houed.*

u *Mat. Weſt.*

An. D. 1202.

x *Pauil. Æmyl. in Philip. 2.*

y *Nondum annos nubiles attigerat. Houeden.*

z *Aemil. lo. citat.*

a *Houed.* ſaith her father gaue her to K. *John. f. 457*

b *Ypodig. Neuſt.*

c *Mills* his Catalogue of honor in *Richmonds* Earles.

The *French* king breakes amity with K. *Iohn*.
k *Wendouer, M.S.*

the ancient *Great Arthur* was risen again in him, and that the Translation of the *English Kingdome* was now by him to be effected. Neither was the [k] *French King*, for all his late painted pretensions of loue, deafe to their suggestions, who laboured to incense his hatred against *Iohn*; whereto hee had these further inducements; that King *Iohn* might quickely waxe too potent a Neighbour in that Continent, if his quiet and power were not timely rebated; that now the meanes to worke it, were more then before, the [l] *English Peeres* being alienated in affection from him, for denying their claimed Liberties; but chiefely that the [m] profite (such base ends can some propose of so Noble a Band) which hee hoped for by his amity (being the [n] *enioying of those Signiories in the Continent, if he dyed sans Issue*) was now in a manner cut off, Queene *Isabel* beginning to giue apparant hopes of some faire fruite from so faire a stemme. Thus whiles Earle *Hugh* out of his loue, Duke *Arthur* out of Ambition, King *Philip* out of Auarice, (ah that the Noblest person should haue the basest end,) but all out of Hatred, were contriuing King *Iohns* ruine; hee was fartheſt from suspition, when neerest his danger, and yet they, who thus were forwardest to vndermine his Greatnesse, were themselues formost to be crusht with the weight thereof.

l *Rog. Wendouer.*
m *Nic. Triu. M.S.*
n *Walsing. Ypod.*

Another interuiew of the two Kings.
o *Matth. Paris. hist. min. M.S.* saith in Lent.
p *Mortali armatus odio. Wen. M.S.*
q *Nich. Triu. M.S. Mat. Paris.* saith it was neere *Gu'etun Castle.*

(16) But these slie Serpents shrowed in secret their inuenomed heads, till the warmth of the [o] Spring (a time suiting for Martiall mischiefes) called them forth; when King *Philip* (hauing newly cast his skinne, and as most able, so was [p] most willing to breake the way) desired another enteruiew with King *Iohn*: who comming thither (the [q] place was twixt *Vernon* and *Liste Dandale*) with expectation of some fruits of those louely courtesies which their last meeting seemed to haue engrafted; he there found that this last Winter had nipt all those faire blossoms. For *Philip* [r] *forgetfull of all former Compacts*, and [s] pretending some imaginary wrongs, in *outragious manner* [t] required him without delay to re-deliuer into *Arthurs* hands, all his *Transmarine dominions, Normandy, Turaine, Aniou, Poictou*; or otherwise as Lord *Paramount* of those Countries, which *Iohn* held by *Homage*, he peremptorily [v] cited him personally to appeare in * *Easter Terme* at *Paris*, there to [x] answere what should be laide to his charge, and to abide the *Arrest* of his *Court of Iustice*. The colour on which he thus did cite him, was (say [y] some) King *Iohns* sharpe repressing of some rebellious attempts of *Hugh le Brun* the former yeer, whereof the Earle complained to King *Philip*, as to the *chiefe Lord*. King *Iohn* much amazed to see, not onely *hony* so soone distempred into *gall*, but the *French* King also turned into an *Apparatour*, [z] disdained both his *Citation* and *Commands*, as very vnnoble for *Englands King* to accept, or the *French* to offer; neither indeed did *Philip* thus put the matter to *daying*, as intending any such legitimate proceeding, but onely to make his aduersary secure of any other assaults, then by *Petty-foggers*. For whether it be true or no, [a] that King *Iohn* for his *non-appearance*, was by sentence of the *French Peeres* adiudged to loose all his *Territories* in the *Continent*: certaine it is, that * no sooner was the *Conference* with indignation broken off, but *Philip* (hee had before prepared to effect what hee had proiected) with *Power* and *Fury* assailes *Butauant* Castle, whose Turrets (high reared by * King *Richard*) hee [b] leuelled with the *Foundations*, and thence suddenly like a flash of lightening, beganne to inuolue the [c] neighbouring parts with *ransacking* and *ruines*, till giuing an assault, (which had held him eight dayes) to the Castle of *Radapont*, King *Iohn* comming to the rescue, forced him *with shame* to speed away. To repaire which dishonour, and to impaire the *English* forces by distraction of imployments, returning to *Paris*, hee there [e] appoints for *Arthur* (to * whom he had now affianced his yonger daughter) both certaine selected Nobles

r *Hist. min. Paris. M.S.*
s *Triuet. M.S.*
t *Mat. West. Wendouer M.S. Paris hist. min. M.S.*
v *Walsing. Ypod.*
* *In quindena Paschæ, ibid.*
x *Nic. Triue. M.S.*
y *Ralph. Cogshall. John Stow.*
z *Hist. maior. Matth. Paris.*
a *Ralph Cogshall. John Stow.*
* *Die sequenti*, say *Mat. West. & Rog. Wend. M.S.*
* *Stowes Annales.*
b *Hist. minor. Mat. Paris. M.S.*
c *Mat. Westm. King Iohn* forceth *King Philip* to raise his siege.
d *Confusus recessit. Wendouer, M.S.*
e *Paris. min. hist. M.S.*
* *Stowes Annales.*

to be protectors to secure & guard his person, and also Bands of Souldiers to attend his command, amongst which were 200. the [f] *choise Knights of France*; all which in [g] *very pompous Troupes* followed him, (with *Philips* [h] directions, and also *supply of* [i] *great sommes of money* (into *Poictou*, to reduce those parts to his *Allegiance*; which was no hard matter to effect; the greater part of *Commanders* there) being fore-wrought) expecting nothing more, and the better part suspecting nothing lesse, then these perfidious assaults.

f *Mat. VVestm.*
g *Matth. Paris hist. maior.*
h *Paul. Aemil. in Philippo 2.*
i *Tho. VValsing.*

(17) Queene *Eleanor* Regent of those Prouinces, attended with a [k] *very slender guard*, yet strong enough for dayes of *quiet*, (which both her [l] Age did now desire, and her [m] *Homage* done to *Philip*, and *Philips* faire shewes to her did promise;) hauing no speedier notice of those incursions, then the vnpleasing effects thereof, (for on *Arthurs* good successes, [n] K. *Philip* proclaimed him Lord of those *Dominions*) betooke her selfe into *Mirabeau*, one of the most tenable Townes in [o] *Poictou*, sending to King *Iohn*, (whose forces were then in [p] *Normandy* and [q] *Maine*, repressing or preuenting *Philips* attempts) for present aids. Which yet could not so speedily come, but *Arthur* (who knew that vpon seisure of such a prize as *Eleanor*, hee might draw her sonne to any conditions) had preuented them, besieged her, and [r] possessed himselfe of her towne, though not of her person, as [s] some by mis-vnderstanding haue mis-related. For she [t] retiring into the Castle, made it good against her Grand-childs incessant battery; about which, whiles he, with his [x] *continuall supplies* of *Poitouine* and [y] *Aniouine princes*, was [z] *indefatigably* busied, King *Iohns* Army neere at hand (for his expedition both by day and night to his mothers rescue, is recorded as [a] *admirable*) brought the newes of their owne approach; which caused [b] the *great Army* of the *Leagers* so industrious before to impeach others, no lesse sollicitours now to defend themselues. Both *Armies* [c] *martially ranged*, and *Arthurs* Battalions not onely [d] *vndaunted ly*, but also very [e] *pompously* comming on to the shocke, the fight proued [f] most fierce and terrible, each side resoluing, by reason of both the Competitors presence in the field, that the *End* and vpshot of all their designes, depended on that dayes successe: which in the end by the fortunate [g] prowesse of King *Iohn* and his *English*, fell disastrously on *Arthur*, his *French*, and other Assistants, who after a [h] great slaughter made amongst them, [i] turning their backes to him, from whom they had before turned their Faithes, tooke their flight [k] towards the *Towne* to shelter their liues within those walles, which so late the *Seate* of their triumphes, became now the cage of their captiuation, and the *Toombe* of all *Arthurs* ambitious hopes, though himself so vnhappy as to suruiue them: for [l] together with the tumultuary flyers, the victorious King and his Army entred, renued a [m] most bloudy fight, repossessed the *Towne*, freed his *Mother*, enthralled his *Enemies*, and recouered all the *Prouinces* which had reuolted.

k *Math. Paris. hist. min.*
l *Magno natu mulier, Aemil.*
m *Idem.*
n *Paulus Aemil.*
o *Polydor* saith *Andegauensis agri munitissimum.*
p *Mat. VVest.*
q *King Johns* letter, see *Holinsh.*
Queene *Eleanor* besieged in *Mirabeau.*
r *John Serres. Paulus Aemil.*
s *Aemil. Polyd.*
t *VVestminst. Paris.*
v *VVend. M.S.*
x *Paris. ma.*
y *Mat. Westm.*
z *Paris. min. M.S.*
a *VVend. M.S. King Iohns* letter in *Holin.*
b *Mat. VVest.*
c *VVend. M.S.*
d *Paris hist. min. M.S.*
e *VVendouer.*
f *Mat. West.*
g *Paris hist. ma.*
h *Polydor.*
i *Triuet. M.S.*
k *Matth. West.*
l *Wendouer. M.S.*
m *Mat. VVest.*

(18) This victory was so glorious to King *Iohn* and so dreadfull to his enemies, (for King *Philips* two chiefe confederates, [n] *Arthur* and *Hugh Brun*, *Raymund*, father to *Guido* the husband of *Constantia*, [p] all the Peeres of *Poictou* and *Aniou*, [q] aboue 200. *French* Knights and others of command, besides the vulgar multitudes were taken prisoners) that both then King *Philip* though very hote in the *siege* of *Argues* in *Normandy*, presently cooled, and [r] confounded with newes thereof, brake vppe his fortnights siege, and returned home; and since, the *French* fawning fauourites, and King *Iohns* maligners haue sought to extenuate the matter, auerring against [s] all truth of record, that it was exploited [t] *before the French were come to Arthurs aide*, and [v] when *all his Souldiers were both vnarmed and vnordered* But, as others highly extolling King *Iohns* valour herein, [x] interprete those fore-doomes of

n *Paris.*
o *Litera K. Iohn*
p *Rog. VVend.*
q *Litera Regis.*
r *Mat. VVest.*
s *VVend. Paris. Triuet. VValsingham. West.*
t So *Aemilius.*
v So *Polydor.*
x *Triuet. Walsing.*

Merlin to haue beene ment of him, y *that he ſhould be crowned with the head of a Lyon, ſhould cut out the tongues of Buls, and lay yron chaines on the backes of roaring Beaſts* (and indeed hee z chained them *hand and foote*, and ſo conuayed them away in *Carts, a kind of riding till then vnuſuall with them*,) ſo King *Iohn* himſelfe, a duely acknowledging *the greatneſſe of Gods goodneſſe therein*, ſent his Letters to all his *Barons* whereſoeuer (thereby to encourage the loyall, and hold in awe the tumultuous) inciting them *to render all praiſe vnto God for ſo admirable a worke, and ſo gracious aſſiſtance*: and ſoone after b he diſperſed his Nobleſt Captiues into ſundry Caſtles in *Normandy* and *England*; *Arthurs* ſiſter *Eleanor*, called the *Damoſell of Britaine*, being c committed to *Briſtow Caſtle*, where ſhe d long liued with e *very honourable vſage*. And though the Kings diſpleaſure was iuſtly incenſed againſt her brother *Arthur*, for ſo frequent wauering in his faith, yet meaning to trie all meanes of winning him who had thus loſt himſelfe, f hee ſent for him (being then at *Falaiſe* in the cuſtodie of g *Hubert* L. Chamberlaine) and *entreated him very gently, promiſing him all honourable reſpects, if (as yet) he would reſolue to forſake the French Kings amity, and frame both his minde for hearty loue, and his actions for peaceable obſeruance towards him, his Vncle and Liege-Lord.* Which exceeding clemency, the ill-aduiſed yong Gentleman (for what wiſedome is it to ſhew *pride* where wee need mercy, and to giue threats beyond poſſibility of performance?) h requited onely with *arrogant and vndutifull language, furiouſly* vpbraiding the King with violent and fraudulent detention of the *Engliſh* Crowne, which menacingly *hee there required of him, and all other King* Richards *Countries, as his lawfull inheritance*, affirming with an Oath, *that vnleſſe he did forthwith reſtore them, he ſhould not long liue in peace*. With which incorrigible pertinacy the king prouoked, as ſeeing no place left to better hopes, i committed him to ſtricter cuſtody k vnder *Robert de Veypont*, in the Caſtle of *Roan*.

(19) The *Britaines* fury and conſpiracies, which King *Iohn* hoped to abate by this their Princes durance, l were thereby much more augmented; like *Serpents*, moſt ſtrugling with their traines, when they feele their head in preſſure. Which moued the King, who was now returned into *England*, (and in triumph of his late victory, m wore his Crowne againe at *Canterbury*, at the coſt of his former hoſte) to take aduiſe of his *Councell* touching his troubled affaires, whoſe ſentence was (if wee will credite the o reporter) that *Arthur* ſhould looſe his eyes. But the eſcaping of ſuch tortures, is by p ſome aſcribed to the commiſeration of Lord *Hubert*; by q others, to the mediation of Queene *Eleanor*, who interceded with her Sonne, for her Grand-child, as long as ſhe liued, which was not long; Deathes vnpartiall hand (and r griefe of heart, ſome ſay) laying that great and prudent *Queene*, (the wife of * two mighty Kings, and mother of * three) where *Princes* and *Peſants* are all equals. Her Nephew much behind her in age, ſoon ouer-tooke her (if not t out-went her) in deſtiny; whoſe death diuulged on King *Iohns* returne from *England*, u gaue his maligners freſh coloured occaſion, both to moleſt his *quiet*, and to diſtaine his *eſtimation*, as if he had not onely beene the *Cauſer*, but alſo the *executor* of it *with his owne hands*.

(20) As the *Tongues* of *Paraſites* are no true *ſcales* to weigh the worth and vertues of *Great men*; ſo neither ought we to iudge of their (or any mans) blemiſhes, by the deforming *pencils* of *Enuy* or *Rancor*; *with one of which, no eminency, either of* place *or of* vertue, *was euer vnattended*. And that this bloody aſperſion on the King, came from no other *fountaine* but malignity; ſuch as then liued, and might therefore beſt know the truth, and were alſo (as *Monkes* generally were) his moſt bitter Taxers, and therefore farre from ſaluing his infamy with partiall falſehood, can beſt witneſſe. *It was* (ſaith v one) by *certaine perſons auowed, that Arthur attempting to eſcape ſecretly out of hold, was by caſualty drowned in the Riuer Seyne* (on which the Caſtle of *Roan* is ſeated;) *and yet the Frenchmen, the Kings mortall enemies (and therefore plenary credit not to bee giuen them) giue it out, that he was murthered by the kings command, yea, and by his owne hands: thus by the malice of ſlanderers, Englands King became not a little defamed.* With whom other the approuedſt Authors accord (though differing in the * manner of his death) that this imputation ſprang only from the x *French emulation*; as ſince it hath beene kept on foot, onely by y *French*, or *Italianate* ſpirits, z one of which hath not bluſhed to charge King *Iohn* with *murthering of his owne Brother King Richard*, and a another with killing *Arthurs* ſiſter, who yet outliued him 24. yeeres; ſo ſhameleſly will the *Penne* blurre the truth of *Actions*, where its once dipped in gall againſt the *perſon*. But ſharper ſhowers then of *Tongues (which being vndeſerued, are to be vnregarded)* were ſequels of *Arthurs* death: it ſeeming to giue new life to King *Iohns* troubles, and King *Philips* hatred, which yet once againe muſt goe masked vnder the roabe of Iuſtice. For *Philip* cites *Iohn*, as Duke of *Normandy*, to appeare at a ſet day, to be tried vpon point of c *Treaſon* by his Peeres; *Conſtance Arthurs* mother (well brookiug her name for her *immutable* hatred to King *Iohn*) is made the d *plaintiffe*, requiring iuſtice of *Philip*, as both their Soueraigne; King *Iohn* not appearing, is condemned e *of a traiterous outrage, for that careleſſe of his Oath made to the French, he though an Vncle, had murthered his elder brothers ſon, being an Homager to the French, and that within the French Territories; without any legall courſe, nor by cognizance of thoſe to whom it appertained; whereupon he is adiudged to be held an enemy to the French State, to forfeit all his Signiories which by Homage he held of the French, and thoſe to reuert to the Crowne of France, and a re-entry to be made by force of Armes, if any deny poſſeſſion.* Thus now the ſecond time, by a ſolemne, but moſt vniuſt ſentence, (as the * *Pope* himſelfe did ſtrongly and truly plead againſt *Philips* vnprincely and vniuſt proceedings,) the King & Peeres of *France* diſherited & condemned K. *Iohn*, though *abſent, vnheard, neither confeſſing, nor conuicted of the Action*; albeit at that time f *he ſent them his royall promiſe to come, (if they would giue him publike faith and ſafe conduct* for his comming and * returning) and anſwere at *Paris touching the death of* Arthur, *though he was his Liegeman, had ſworne him fealty, had violated the ſame, had raiſed a rebellion, and was taken in battle.* Vpon which grounds, if King *Iohn* had cauſed the pretended execution on ſo capitall a Complotter both againſt his Life and Crowne; and one, who had cauſed ſo much bloud-ſhed of his people, and more would if he had eſcaped; *in which caſes* Princes *are and ought to be very iealous*; what vnderſtanding *Statiſt* can iuſtly condemne him, or iuſtifie the *French* iniuſtice? Eſpecially it being queſtionable, and euen then h much debated, *Whether the Peeres of France were competent Iudges on a King annoynted, and ſo their ſuperiour, the King of England and Duke of Normandy being but one perſon, & maior dignitas abſorbet minorem, the greater dignity was to ſwallow vp the leſſe.* But when the *will* of a *Ruler*, is a *rule*, or *ruled-caſe* to his Iudges, no other could be expected then by theſe Peeres was performed: eſpecially themſelues being ſharers in the booty of his Lands.

(21) Neither did they here ſtay; but (as in moſt *States*, the *Actes* and *Decrees aduantageous to the Princes, are carefully purſued, though others ſeldome or coldly executed*) that heady *ſentence* was i ſeconded with as haſty *force*, on *Philips* part, and on *Iohns* (if ſome Authors ſay true) as much neglected. It is no rare thing to ſee Princes (becauſe on their ſafety depends the State of their Kingdomes) often *ſuſpitious of dangers where there is no cauſe*; but it is

y *Merlini Vaticinia.*

z *Wendouer.*

a *Literæ Regis apud Holinſ.*

b *Paris hiſt. M.S.*

c *Ypodig. Neuſtr.*
d Shee liued till 1241. *Paris in H. 3*
e *Walſing. Anno* 1203.

f *Holinſh.*
g *Paris.*

h *Mat. Weſt.*

i *Matth. Paris.*
k *Stowes Annales.*

l *Rad. Cogſhall.*

m *Wendouer. M.S.*

o *Rad. Cogſhal.*
p *Holinſh.*
q *Paul. Aemyl.*

r *Iohn de Serres.*
* *Lewis* of *France* & *Hen.* of *Eng.*
* *Hen. Rich. Iohn* 3. ſonnes of *H. 2.*
t By *Paris* it ſeemeth ſhee outliued him.
t *Pariſ. min. hiſt. M.S.*

King *Iohn* ſlandered about *Arthurs* death.

v *Pariſ. hiſt. min. M.S.*

* Some ſaying he died of griefe, ſome of wilfull abſtinence from food.
x *Triuet. Walſing.*
y *Serres. Aemylius. Polydor.*
z *Sabellicus. Ennead. 9. l. 5.*
a *Iohn Harding. Chron. c. 142.* erring alſo in his Siſters name, ſaying:
Thus ſlew hee both *Arthur* and *Iſabel*,
To ioy the Crowne of England, as men tell.
b *Paris ad An.* 1241.
c *Mat. Weſtmin.*
d *Iohn de Serres.*

e *Paul. Aemil. in Philippo 2.*
The Peeres ſentence vpon King *Iohn.*

* *Mat. Paris p. 379.*

f *Ex Cambdeni Brit. in Richmundiæ Comit.*
* *M. Paris* ſaith, *Philip* granted for comming, but not for returning.

g *Ingenia Regum prona ad ſummidinem. Saluſt.*

h *Cambd. loco citato.*

M. Paris.

An. 1203.

i *Iohn de Serres.*

is vnexcuſable in them, *vnder a ſhew of reſolution to be ſecure*, where they ſee their *Perſon* or *State* may be neere vnto hazard. An intelligent man would thinke, that whiles ſo vaſte indignities were in *hatching* (yea and now on *wing*) by ſo inſatiate enemies, King *Iohn* had been whetting his reuenge, leuying his forces, ſtrengthening his confines, combining his friends and Allies, ſo to regret their *pride* and *malice*, who thus proceeded to vnſtate him of that [k] *goodlieſt portion of France*, [l] part whereof for aboue three hundred yeeres had beene the inheritance of his Anceſtors. But whether it were the * *bewitching dalliances* of his *faire Iſabel*, with whom he was in armes, when he ſhould haue bin in *Armes*, as [m] ſome Authors taxe him; or his deceiued expectation of Aides from his *Barons*, [n] as himſelfe alleaged; or promiſed redreſſe by the *Pope*, as the [o] ſequele ſhewed: too true it ſeemeth, that beginning his *Chriſtmas* at *Cane* in *Normandy* with feſtiuall pleaſures not vnfitting the ſeaſon, hee continued them ſo vnſeaſonably and vnreaſonably too, that hee gaue both to the [p] *French* leaſure to execute their Peeres ſentence, and [q] to the *Brittons* and *Poyctouins*, an edge to proſecute their old rebellions, now newly quickned with the loſſe of their *yong maſter*: whereby his ſtrongeſt Townes and Caſtles daily fell away, either by *force* of Aſſailants, or *treachery* in defendants, or on *diſpaire* of needfull aides.

(22) *Treachery* as it was formoſt (for it gaue beginning and meanes to the reſt) ſo did it moſt in vndermining King *Iohns* poſſeſſions, which ſtirred him to take ſharpe reuenge [r] *by hanging vp* all his Hoſtages of *Poyctou* for their Countrimens treaſons. But ſuch a death (though of all other moſt diſgracefull) is *not ſo hatefull to a Spirit truely enobled, as is the ſtaine of diſhonour*, eſpecially for *Treachery* or *Cowardize*: from either of which I wiſh I could with truth acquite [s] thoſe two great Barons (whoſe names wee will here forget) to whom *King Iohn* entruſted the defence of the [t] *famous Caſtle* called *Vall-de Ruill*; who no ſooner ſaw King *Philip* [v] *engirding it with his great hoaſt, and mounting his Engines of battery* againſt it, but eſtſoones, *before one ſtone of the wals was ſhaken, or any one of their men had loſt the leaſt haire of their heads*, they diſhonourably ſurrendred the *Fort* (a matter of very great conſequence) to K. *Philips* pleaſure: who though abundantly pleaſed with the *deed*, yet ſo [x] contumeliouſly (but moſt iuſtly, and prince-like, recompenced the *Doers*, *for* Traitors *alwayes become odious, though the Treaſon be commodious*,) that, for ſo baſe a part, *hee commanded them to be fettered in chaines, and baſely intreated in cloſe priſon, till they had deerely redeemed their liberty*, though they could hardly their reputation. Another noble Baron, * Captaine of *Caſtile Galliard* (which being built on a very high Rock ouer *Seyne*, [y] King *Richard* had made impregnable) by his vndaunted proweſſe, and [z] great ſlaughter made vpon *Philips* hoaſt, lying [a] *6. moneths in ſiege* about him, was farre from any ſuſpition of *daſtardy*; but yet [b] eſcaped not the blemiſh *both of ingratitude* and *infidelity*, in that at length hee not onely yeelded vp that *Caſtle* to the enemies, but alſo [c] *ſecretly by night brought them into the Caſtle of Montfort*, which hee betrayed vnto them, *not weighing his faith to his Leige Lord, who had beſtowed on him that Caſtle, with all the honour and demaines therto belonging*. Otherwiſe for his firſt ſurrender, his caſe had beene more excuſable, the famine (an vnreſiſtable enemy) in the Caſtle being ſo great, that, as the [d] *French* Recorders themſelues confeſſe, when the Women and others of the vnſeruiceable ſort were put forth for ſparing of *prouant*, and being betwixt the *Caſtle* & the *Enemies*, found pitty and releeſe of neither, *in the ſight of them all a Woman great with child was deliuered, and her infant preſently eaten vp*. Amongſt thoſe, and other of King *Iohns* reuolting Barons, like ſo many *falling Starres*, if we ſhould pretermit that *fixed* and bright *Starre* of vnmoueable *fidelity* & *reſolution*, the Lord * *Robert de Lacy*, wee ſhould be guilty of high offence againſt *true honour*, who hauing receiued of his Prince the cuſtody of the goodly Caſtle *Rocke-Andely* ([e] which was builded alſo by King *Richard*) [f] did brauely beare off the ſiege and power of King *Philip* and his hoaſt almoſt a *whole yeere*; in which ſpace, though by their continuall *batteries* and *vnderminings* [g] a great part of the walles were flatted, yet they could neuer make entry vpon him, but were repulſed with ſlaughter, till his prouiſion of his *victuals* being now *ſpent to the laſt howre*, he called his Souldiers together, encouraging them, *after ſo long proofe of their Manhood, not to faint now in the laſt Act; but to conſider, that though it were better for thē to die by famine, then to liue with reproch of falſe or faint-heartedneſſe, yet it is more noble for ſouldiers to die fighting, then famiſhing, and together with their owne liues, to ſacrifice to their Countries honor the blood of their ſlaughtred enemies*. Wherupon fiercely * ſallying forth with his *Reſolutes*, after a bloody ſhambles made in the middeſt of his *beleaguers*, he was by *multitude ouer-borne* and taken, but [h] *in regard of his exemplary faith and proweſſe, in maintaining his charge, by King* Philips *expreſſe command*, (a ſecond princely and prudent fact, to diſcipline his Subiects by thus entreating his foes,) he was honourably vſed, and * without reſtraint of a *priſoner*.

(23) But as the fact of this *Peere* was peereleſſe, ſo was this [i] *Clemency* in that *King*, but rare and vnaccuſtomed towards ſuch *Chieftaines* as ſtifly out ſtood his aſſaults; [i] ſome of whom formerly hee had cauſed to bee diſpiteouſly dragged at horſe-heeles, for the terrour of others. Of which indignities, and other irkeſome *extremities*, (*the inſeparable companions of warre*) indured by his people, when King *Iohn* had notice by Meſſengers ſent vnto him for *reliefe* and *aides*, no maruell is it, if [k] *his griefe were aboue beleefe* or meaſure, finding himſelfe vtterly deſtitute of meanes to relieue their *wants*, or his owne *loſſes*; albeit for the time hee bare it out with a manly ſhew, ſaying, [l] *that theſe were but the French pilferings, of which he meant in due time to exact an account with intereſt*. For what elſe could hee doe? The *Normans* (to omit thoſe others in open Rebellion) [m] *either wholly fallen away from him, or but diſſemblingly adhering to him*; his [n] *Barons* from home, failing him *at his need*; his [o] *Nobles* there about him, being *vnder pretext of a ſpeedy comming again*, returned into *England*: by which meanes the King [p] *was left very diſpeopled, hauing onely a ſmall traine*, which could in ſo great a need do him but very ſmall ſeruice: but that theſe important and vnportable matters [q] *did no whit moue him*, nor could retriue him [r] *from the boſome* of his too-deare *Enchantreſſe*, (which occaſioned ſome to thinke him infatuated with * ſorcery) is a thing paſt capability of beleefe.

(24) The King thus diſfurniſhed of all helpes, *Innocentius*, the ſtirring Biſhop of *Rome*, made fayre ſhew to ſalue theſe *temporall* wounds with a *ſpirituall* playſter; which doubtleſſe made *King Iohn* more ſecure then ſtood with his good: for, as in ſo great diſtreſſes, there was no *forraine Prince* fitter for the King to combine with, then *Otho* the Emperour, his owne Nephew, and *Philips* profeſſed enemy: ſo the Pope on the one ſide beginning to bee iealous of *Othoes* greatneſſe, miſtruſted the concurrence of two ſuch great *friends*, and therefore vndertooke to vmpeere the debates betwixt thoſe two great *Enemies*: and King *Iohn* on the other ſide, willing to make vſe of the *Popes* fauour, durſt not yet comply with any, whom his *Sanctitude* any whit diſfauoured. His *Legates* for this buſineſſe, were the *Abbots* [t] of *Caſmer* and *Troiſfons*: his motiue, that [v] theſe diſſentions of *Chriſtendome* weakned the wars againſt *Turky*: his *colour*, [x] that this contention being a matter of *faith-breach* (as of *Leagues, Oath* and *Couenants*) *the cognizance thereof did properly appertaine* to his ſacred iudicature; whereof he made ſo little doubt, as that

k Paulus Aemyl. in Phil. 2.
l Ioh. de Serres ſaith ab An. 885.
* Male ſuus infatuatus. Wendouer.
m Paris hiſt. min.
n Apud Wendo.
o Ypodig. Neuſtr.
p De Serres.
q Paulus Aemyl.
r Th. Walſing.
s Sær. de Quincy. Rob. Fitz walter.
t Paris hiſt. ma.
v Roger. Wend. M. S.
x Matth. Paris.
* Hugh Gurney. Polyd. l. 15.
y Ypodig. Neuſtri.
z Pol. Virgil.
a Walſing. Aemil.
b Wendouer M. S.
c Mat. Paris. ma. hiſt.
d Paul. Aemyl.
* Conſtable of Cheſter.
e Rog. Wen. M. S.
f Paris ad An. 1204.
g Wend M. S.
h De Wend. M. S.
* Pridie Non. Matt. Paris.
* Sub libera cuſtodia, Paris.
i Pariſi. hiſt ma.
k Polydor. Virg.
l Virg. l. 15.
m Matth. Paris. ma. hiſt.
n Pariſ. min. hiſt. M. S in ipſo articulo deſeruiſſent.
o Wendouer, M. S.
p Pariſ. hiſt. ma.
q Matth. Weſtm.
r Wend. Weſt.
* Sortilegijs vel maleficijs. ibid.
The Pope interpoſeth betwixt the two Kings.
The Popes Nunces.
t De Caſ. Mary, & Trium fontium. Ypodig.
v Polydor.
x Paul. Æmyl.

y *Aemilius in Phil. Auguſt.* 2. *Eo, Decretal. l.* 2. *Tit.* 14. *de iureiur c.* 29. * *Blondus Decad.* 2. *l.* 6. a *Triuet. M.S.*

they y *very letter then ſent to the French Peeres, is to this day regiſtred for* z *a pontificall decree:* and this audacious *Law* then by *Innocentius* firſt brought to the world for current, **That whenſoeuer one Prince is delinquent againſt another, the correction thereof appertaines to the Pope.* Their *Commiſſion* was, [a] to call the Biſhops and Princes of both Kingdomes, for ſetling a Peace; to inhibite all hoſtility; to reſerue the further triall of the *Right* to the Pope, as [b] *Soueraigne Iudge*; [c] to enjoyne that all Religious places by the warres deſtroyed, or impoueriſhed, ſhould be reſtored to their due State; [d] if eyther of the *Kings* ſhould be refractary, his whole Kingdome preſently to be put vnder *Interdict*. *Philip*, albeit the Pope was then offended with him vpon other termes, (for that hee [e] impoſed towards his warres a taxe of certaine *Tenthes* vpon his *Clergie*, (againſt the Popes will) alleadging *it was neceſſary that out of their priuate abundance, they ſhould beare a charge in the common preſeruation,*) yet knowing the Pope had neede of his friendſhip about ſetling the *Empire*, hee meant ſo long to ſide with the Popes *authority*, as the Pope would ſtand with his *commodity*, and repining to haue ſo faire a prey taken out of his talents, made bold [f] to deſpiſe both the *commands* & the *curſes:* yet this he did in ſmoother faſhion then hee had done once before, when he *rigorouſly puniſhed all the* g *Biſhops and Prelates, whom, for conſenting to ſuch a Papall cenſure, he turned out of their Sees and dignities*; for now, hee [h] appealed from the ſentence for a faſhions ſake, [i] but yet violently proceeded with his warres, and [k] did ſwim with the full current of his *victories*. The waues whereof ſo faſt ſurrounded King *Iohn*, that * fearing alſo further treaſon of his owne men, he thought good, till ſome better daies would ſhine vpon him, (eſpecially *winter ſeaſon* enforcing ſurceaſſe of warres) to abandon the place of his injurious foes, to expoſtulate in *England* with his perfidious friends.

(25) For that was the firſt worke hee did, after his arriuall, ([l] which was at *Portſmouth* on Saint *Nicholas* day in *December*) when [m] laying to the charge of his *Earles* and *Barons*, that *in his warres they ſuffered him to be deſtitute of requiſite aids, and* [n] *had left him in the middeſt of his enemies, by which their defaults, hee was thus deſpoyled of his Caſtles and Countries*; thereupon, by [o] aduiſe of *Hubert* Lord Archbiſhop, and Lord *Fitz-Peter Chiefe Iuſtitiar*, (who knew theſe were no [p] *forged cauillations*) he put them and other delinquents to their Fines, (for his warres made him deſire their money more then their liues) wherein theſe two great Counſellors were [q] ouerſeers for the receipts, the one for the *Clergy*, the other for the *Laity*, of both whom they receiued no leſſe ſums of *curſes*, then of *Coyne*. The like repining among the people, (who judge of the goodneſſe of a *King* onely by ſparing their purſes) enſued on the grant of a large *Subſidie* (two Marks and half of euery *Knights Fee*) in a Parliament * preſently after held at *Oxford*, where the King & Peeres conuening about redreſſe of thoſe remedileſſe miſchiefes, the iſſue ([r] as ſeemeth) was, that Ambaſſages ſhould bee addreſſed into *France*, two Prelates, *Canterbury* and *Norwich*, with two Earles *Marſhall* and *Leiceſter*, to treate from the Body of the Kingdome, touching thoſe Prouinces, which being incorporated with *Englands Soueraignety*, could not without apparant injuſtice be abſtracted from a Nations common intereſt, vpon coloured pretences againſt any particular. *Philip*, hauing [s] vpon King *Iohns* departure thence vſed his whole Forces and wits, to weary, or to win diuers other Cities and Forts; which had till then ſtood faithfull (for which purpoſe hee alſo imployed ſundry [t] inſtruments, themſelues firſt corrupted, that they might corrupt others to defection, with *great rewards and greater promiſes*,) hee meant not now to re-commence Queſtions of Right, hauing already neere decided that poynt by the poynt of his ſword: yet becauſe hee was to deale with a mightie Nation, hee would not abrupty refuſe to capitulate, and yet againe by propoſall of [v] conditions exceeding eyther Reaſon or Poſſibility, hee dammed vp all paſſages to peaceable agreement: [x] his demaunds were, to haue eyther *Arthur*, whom hee knew to be dead, re-deliuered into his hands aliue, or elſe, his Siſter *Eleanor* in marriage, with all thoſe Countries in that Continent: but thoſe Stateſmen eaſily perceiued that *Philips* heart, aimed farther then his tongue, and that with *Eleanor* he hoped to purchaſe a higher dowry, euen the *Engliſh* Diadem, whoſe claime glided downe from her brother to her; which perchance was the ſecret ground of his [y] Oth, that he would neuer linne to purſue that quarrell, till hee had depriued King *Iohn* of his Kingdome.

(26) This Ambaſſage was not onely thus iſſueleſſe, but produced alſo effects tending to further irritation: for this ſeemeth to be the time when [a] *Philip* ſent a brauing Champion, to juſtifie by *Duel* before the States here in *England*, what his Maſter had done in *France* againſt their King in open war; and [b] though it was not deemed expedient to jeopard a Title of ſuch weight on the Armes and Fortune of one man; yet it was reſolued the Challenger ſhould not paſſe vnanſwered, whereto none was held fitter then *Iohn Curcy* Earle of *Vlſter*, (for [c] *rebellion and denying his homage to the King*, condemned to perpetual impriſonment in the Towre,) a man of Giant-like limme and ſtrength, and of ſome diſpoſitions not deſpicable, if they had not beene ſauaged with a too careleſſe rudeneſſe: which appeared not onely in his [d] wilde ſpeeches, touching the Kings miſ-uſage of his nephew *Arthur* (which [e] ſome by errour alledge as cauſe of his indurant durance,) but euen now, when the king demaunding him, whether hee would combate in his quarrell? [f] *No*, (quoth he) *not in thy quarrell, nor for thy ſake, but for the Kingdomes right I will fight to the death*. Againſt which day, whiles he repaired with large diet his impayred lims and ſinewes, the *French-man* hearing of his exceſſiue feeding, and ſtrength anſwerable thereto, thereby fearing he had beene ſome *Monſter* of *Nature*, rather then a man, hee ſecretly ſneaked away [g] into *Spaine*, aſhamed to ſhew his face in *France* againe. *Curcy* finding the King gracious, was hereupon releaſed, and [h] is ſaid (if this bee not to digreſſe) to haue croſſed the ſeas for *Ireland* fifteene times, and euermore beaten backe to the ſhore; [i] acknowledged himſelfe heerein juſtly puniſhed of God, neuer againe to ſee his owne ſeate, for diſplacing God out of his, when he conuerted the Church of Prebendaries in *Doan*, conſecrated to the *bleſſed Trinity*, into an Abbey of Monkes, to the honor and name of Saint *Patrick*, [k] whoſe Image was erected in a ſtately ſeat, wherein before the *Trinity* was deportracted, which was thence rejected into a priuate Chappell. The [l] *Iriſh* relate, that the two Kings being afterward together (belike when they made the next truce in *France*) King *Philip* hearing *Curcy* to bee in the *Engliſh* Campe, intreated to ſee ſome experience of his ſo much feared and reported ſtrength: where a Helmet of excellent proofe full farced with Mayle, being ſet vpon a great wodden-blocke, the Earle lifting his truſty Skeyne, firſt louring round about him with a dreadfull aſpect, cleft ſo deepe quite through the ſteely reſiſtance, into the knotty wood, that none there could draw it out but himſelfe, who did it with eaſe, and being aſked by the Kings, why he frowned ſo irefully before the ſtroke; he told them, that he then intended if he had failed of his blow, to haue kil'ed them all, both Kings and others the lookers on.

(27) But what *Philip* could not in *England* by one Champion, he accompliſhed in *Normandy* by many; where hauing a [m] *mighty power attending him from city to city*, yet he thought faire wordes would be for himſelfe both cheaper and ſafer, and with the *Prouincials* more forceable then force it ſelfe; eſpecially, where

An. 1204.

l *Pariſ. hiſt. ma.* m *Mat. Weſt.* n *Wendo. M.S. Pariſ min. hiſt. M.S.* o *Pariſ. hiſt. ma.* p *Apud Mat. Weſtm. Occaſiones cauillatorias.* q *Wend. M.S.*

* *In Craſtino circumciſionis. Paris.* r *Rand. Cogſhal.* s *Matth. Paris.* t *Polydor. l.* 15.

v *Stow. Hollinſh.* King *Philips* demaunds. x *Ran. Cogſhal. Stowes Annales.* y *Hollinſh.*

a *Annales Hiberniæ, apud Camb. in Brit.* b *Campians hiſt. of Ireland. l.* 2. *c.* 3. c *Annales Hiber.* d *Ibidem.* e *Campion hiſt. of Ireland. Iohn Stows Anna.* f *Annales Hib.* g *Campion lo. citat.* h *Annales Hib.* i *Campion ibid.* k *Annales Hib.* l *Ibidem.*

The great ſtrength of *Curcy.*

m *Pariſ. hiſt. ma.*

where such troupes of armed Orators were at hand, and where golden preparatiues had made way with the chiefest. *Philip* tolde them, [n] their late Lord had "quite forsaken them, and that therefore himselfe, "as their supreame Liege came to prouide that his "owne Countries might be indemnified, desiring "them louingly to admit and embrace him as their "Lord, sith now they had no other to protect "them from skathe; but menacing withall, that "if they forced him to vse force, they should die "no other death then hanging, or to bee flead a-"liue: with which fawnings and feares, though many well munified places were fetched off *without any resistance*, [o] *their Captaines violating their faith to curry-fauour with the French*; yet *Roan*, the [p] place euer honoured for *fidelity* to the *English* Crowne (and [q] therefore worthily selected by King *Richard* to be the *Shrine* of his *Leonine Heart*,) was better fortified both in *affection* and *munition*, then to waue vpon parties. Which neglect incensed *Philip* to turne his *Oratory* into *Battery*, (it being the chiefest Citie, and therefore of greatest consequence for consummating his victories,) which he continued in a most fierce & [r] *horrid manner of siege*, the space of two monethes; but finding it to be *with small aduauntage*, hee fell againe to [*] golden Eloquence, attracting some in speciall with present pay, and all in generall with [s] *promises of future inioying all their wonted laws, and liberties, without impairement of any their commodities whatsoeuer*: aduising them [t] not to reject *those profered conditions, which ere long they would gladly get, when they should not be granted*. The *Roanists*, seeing their dangers, feeling their wants, fearing their ruines, yet desired respite till King *Iohn* might know their State: who finding himselfe at home as ill-be sted as theirs abroad, his *Barons* [v] *refusing to follow the warres*, returned them answere, hee could not presently releeue them. Whereupon the [x] *Great men, who could sway the multitude with cheaper reasons, then Philips* open hand had swayed with them, perswaded them to weigh, that *in truth they were all originally French-men, though now called Normans, of that noblest and richest part of all France, and the French King being Supreame Lord thereof, there was no cause at all of continuing this new hostility, but very many of renuing that antique amitie*.

(28) The [y] *Head*, yea and *Heart* of all *Normandy* thus fainting; who can expect that those few inferiour members, yet vntainted, should so continue long? neither did they. So as eft soones all that Dukedome, one of the goodliest gemmes in the *Englishe Diademe*, & disbranched from *France* [z] since the yeare *eight hundred eighty fiue*, was againe rent away, inglorioussly for them who lost it, injustly by them who got it, but perfidiously by such as should, and might haue kept it. For whatsoeuer *necessitie* then, or *malice* since hath laid on the King; this *Eulogie*, and memoriall thereof, written by [a] vnpartiall pennes, will stand indelible on his Subjects, *A Rege Angliæ, Normannia fraudibus suorum alienata, Englands King lost Normandie by treacheric of his owne people*. And no lesse treacherously dealt *Philip* with them, when he had caught them with the trap of his glosing proffers (as such Princes more vsually then princely, square *their promises to others liking, their performances to their owne*) causing without delay their cities goodly wals [b] *to be vtterly demolished, and giuing strict charge that they should neuer be built vp againe*. The other neighbouring Countries, *Main, Turaine, Poictou*, who were all fore-runners in the Rebellion, would not be now behinde in the finall reuolt; *Angiers* in this more happy, that she fell away by others falshood, not her owne, when standing on her guard, [c] *William de Rupibus* clad his choyse Souldiers vpon their Armour, in the habite and other furniture of marker men, who so getting accesse into the City-gates, made easie entrance for a greater hoast; which soone after became absolute Lords of all *Anjou*.

(29) Wofull experience had now taught *King Iohn* a Lesson fit to be learned of all Princes, whom the fawning World enstileth most *Mighty*, that this their *might* is not onely lyable to the checke and dispose of that Highest all-ruling power, who vnthrones them at his will; but euen depends of the wauing humours, and wils of those * inferiour Vassels, of whom they thinke themselues vn-resistable Commaunders. But King *Iohn* was not vnsensible eyther of his forraine dishonours, (though as [d] often as hee endeauoured to redeeme it, by leuying any Army, suteable to so great a designe; so often was hee crossed by his owne Nobles) or of those his Domesticke affronts; which notwithstanding, by *counsell* and *assistance* of his better affected, & truer hearted friends and subjects, at length [e] hee gathered a *Royall Hoast and a mightie Naue*, (therein 1400. Mariners [f] some say) with full resolue to reuenge his wrongs, and repaire his losses. Which great enterprize, managed with vnmoueable determination, (for now with full sayles, and fuller heartes at *Portsmouth* they were ready to embarke) brought to the Kings further knowledge, and to the worlds; who had beene all this while the secret vnderminers of his fortunes, and hinderers of his imployments. For *Hubert* [g] *the Archbishop, and Papal Legate, with many others*, (amongst whom, [h] some find *William Marshall* Earle of *Pembroke* numbred) thither comes vnto the King, and *flatly* [i] *forbids him to proceede in the voyage*. Some [k] Writers haue laboured to conject the true cause and reasons of this audacious *Prohibition*; but if wee consider on the one side the *Popes* vse of *Philips* Forces, to counter-ballance if neede were *Othoes* greatnesse; on the other, the interest which both the *Pope* * and *Philip* had in *Huberts affection*: we may without *Huberts* [l] *diuining Spirit* pry into the mystery of his secret workings, as an *Archbishop*, and now open commaund as a *Legate*, to hinder *King Iohn*, for feare of hindring *King Philip*.

(30) But whatsoeuer was the reason, *Hubert* was the Instrument that so resolute projects, so [m] inestimable charges, so necessary an action fell sodainely to the ground, whereby, besides the selfe-mischiefe which therewith fell on the King, many fresh grudgings accrewed vnto him, for suffering himselfe to be thus violently repulsed from so behouefull a purpose. The *Archbishop* and *Marshall*, as principals, were rewarded with the [n] *curses* of the dismissed multitudes, as the just fee for their vnjust counsell; and the King himselfe was so little pleased with so vnexpected a countermaund, that albeit at the present, either awed with the authority of the Papall Legate, or with the weight of his coloured motiues, or with hazard which hee might leaue behinde him) hee durst not withstand it; yet [o] the very next day, checking himselfe for ouer-prizing the commaund of any man, aboue the value of his kingly honour and state, hee [p] resolued to recollect his disparkeled troupes, and to * put forth to Sea. To which end, taking order for his *Nobles* to follow, they gaue him leaue [q] *with a small company* to waffe vp and downe two daies, in expectance of their attendance, till seeing them more obsequious to *Huberts* commaund then his, ([r] the Archbishop also sending his Inhibition after them on the Sea) hee was forced to come againe to land. How a King of any royall sparkle, could brooke such Sea and Land Tempests, without disgorging his Kingdome of the causers thereof, I cannot conceiue; and yet so vneuenly doth some mens judgement poyse, whose affection guides the *Beame*, that this defeating of the Kings weightiest affaires, is censured as [s] too light to deserue the punishment which insued, when *the King put many of the Earles, Barons, Knights, yea and Clergy-men, to a grieuous pecuniary redemption for thus refusing to follow him for recouery of his Inheritance*.

(31) The Archbishop, though their Ring-leader, might

An. D. 1205.

* *In voluntate obsequentium potestas principum. Triuet. M.S.*

d *Nic. Triuet. M.S.*

e *Circa Pentecost. Paris.*

f *Hollinsh.*

g *Wend. M. S. Paris hist. min. M.S.*

h *Cogshall.*

i *Wendouer. Paris.*

k *Cogshal. Hollin.*

* *Hub. de nimia familiaritate Philippi suspectus habebatur. Paris.*

l *Supra §.*

m *Cogshal. Stow.*

n *Hollinsh.*

o *Ibidem.*

p *Rog. de Wend.*

* *Idibus July, Pars.*

q *Matth. Paris. ma. hist.*

r *Matth. Paris hist. min. M.S.*

s *Apud Mat. Paris*

a *Walsing. Ypod.*

d *An. 1203. Triuet. M. S.*

b *Triuet. M. S. Walsing.*

c *Ypodig. Neustr.*

p *Wendouer, M.S.*

o *Walsingham. Ypodigm. Neustr.*

p *Polydor. lib. 15.*

q *Supra in King Richards raigne.*

r *Pol. Virgil. l. 15.*

* *Donis & promissis, ad defectionem, Ibid.*

s *Paul. Aemil.*

t *Polydor.*

v *Rog. Wend. Suis detractantibus militiam.*

x *Paul. Aemil. in Phil. Augst.*

Rouen lost, *circa ann. Sanct. fest. Matth. Westm.*

y *Caput totius Normanniæ Rothomagum, Polydor.*

Normandy fallen from *English* allegiance.

z *Iohn. de Serues.* So that *Aemyl.* much erreth in saying *Rollo* had it but 270. yeeres before.

might well haue beene exempted from this iudgement, by his paſſage to a higher, dying (if [t] ſome erre not) the very ſame weeke, eyther of [v] *griefe*, or of a [x] *feuer*, which killed him in foure daies: but the [y] king forthwith in perſon at *Canterbury* ſeized vpon all his wealth and poſſeſſions, ſhewing himſelfe [z] *right ioyfull*, that now he was rid of him, whom *men ſuſpected of too familiar practiſing with the French King*, and ſaying, [a] *he was neuer a* King *till now*, by reaſon of *Huberts too preſumptuous daring to croſſe his royall reſolutions as late he did*. But this ioy and hope of happier daies, was ſoone choaked and buried in the ſame Tombe with *Hubert*; out of whoſe Aſhes ſprang vp a roote yeelding more, and more bitter fruites, then King *Iohn* had as yet taſted, by how much more lamentable are the wounds which are in the bowels and heart of a *State*, then thoſe which only light on the skirts or more remote members. The firſt ſeedes of which faſt-growing miſchiefes, were to the eye, (as are *the beginnings of all Kingdomes ruine*) *very ſmall and contemptible*, and the *Sowers* of little better regard, being but *Cloiſtered monkes*, who craftily factious to aduance a priuate friend, (which once mounted into *Huberts* Chaire, might be-friend them againe,) they gaue a deadly blow, both to *themſelues*, their *Soueraigne*, and the *State* in generall. The [*] *yonger heads* amongſt them (whoſe *vnexperience makes them in acts of Societies more forward and daring*) hauing ſecret notice of *Huberts* death, [c] meant by a ſlight (whereunto they doubted not to finde the Popes furtherance) to defeate their Soueraignes intereſt in that Election, (and perchance in all other, euer after) of a Primate for the See of *Canterburie*, the moſt important place of his Kingdome. [*] *Reginold*, the Sub-prior of their Couent, One (as you ſhall heare) fitter for their projects, then for that place, was the man they choſe, and that at [d] *midnight*, when ſinging *Te Deum*, they lifted him firſt vpon the *High Altar*, and after into the *Metropolitan-Chaire*. They ought to haue firſt obtained the Kings aſſent, and leaue to elect, and therefore to preuent both [e] his interpoſing and diſpleaſure, till it were too late for him to redreſſe the wrong; the ſame night they cauſed their *Elect to enter* [*] *caution by oath*, neuer to carry himſelfe as *Archbiſhop*, nor to make it knowne to any man liuing, till he had further *eſpeciall warrant from them, vpon proofe of the ſucceſſe it might finde at Rome*, whither forthwith they ſent him for his diſpatch.

(31) *Reginald* taking *Flaunders* in his way, was both ſo [f] *proud*, [g] *periurious*, and [h] *impudent*, (the vertues of their moſt choyſeman) that he could neuer conceale the purpoſe of his journey, and boaſt of his dignity from any mans *Eares*, nor from their *Eyes* the Conuentuall letters ratifying the ſame. Whereof when the Couent had notice, *vehemently incenſed againſt him who had thus diuulged their ſecret*, and prouidently caſting how to euade the Kings offence, [i] out of hand they deſpeeded certaine of their *Crue*, to craue both [k] pardon of their fact, and *licence* for choyſe of ſome worthier *Primate*. There was then in high grace and imployment about the King, *Iohn Gray* Biſhop of *Norwich*, a [l] man of great *wiſdome*, *learning*, and *Integrity*, (qualities truely befitting that high place) whom the King (very ſenſible ſtill of the contrary qualities, & turbulent affronts which he endured in *Hubert*,) much deſired to aduance, commending him, as one [m] *moſt deare vnto him, and of his ſecreteſt Counſels* (of [n] which, ſome ſay, hee was *Preſident*) *moſt behouefull for the Common-wealth, for Himſelfe, and them*: which meſſage from the King faithfully deliuered, [o] all of them *glad thus to redeeme the fauour* which they had hazarded, with *vnanimous conſent* elected him; and ſending for him from *Yorke* (where he was in the Kings affaires) the [p] King himſelfe graced his entrance into *Canterbury* with his preſence *in great pompe*; and the next day, the *King with a multitude of People aſſembling in the Metropolitane Church, the* Prior *did there publiſh his Election ſolemnly, and in due forme performed; where the Monkes carrying him with* Te Deum *to the high Altar, did forthwith enthronize him in the Chaire of his Primacie; The King there in preſence of them all, giuing him actuall poſſeſſion of his Temporalities.* This louing correſpondence betwixt the King and his *Clergy*, gaue great hope of more bliſſeful fortunes hence-forward vnto them both; but the Infernall Author of debate, and his *chiefe Agent*, tooke a hint heereby to intrude a Tyranny both vpon Clergie, King and all.

(32) Little thought falſe *Reyner* what was doing at *Canterbury*, whiles hee was trotting to *Rome*; whither when hee came, and ſhewed his *letters of Ratification* to his Holineſſe and his Cardinalls, [q] hee receiued *this ſhort anſwere, that it was a buſineſſe which asked mature deliberation and better informations*; the Pope ſoone finding, that the *Sub-prior* was too ſleight an inſtrument for him to worke with, and for King *Iohn* to be wrought with, and therefore bethought him of ſome fitter hammer for ſo hard an Anuile. But ſundry ſtops were in the way, which wiſely and by degrees were to be remoued. The firſt was, (which *Reginold* in likehood had imparted to haſten his owne diſpatch) that the *Biſhops* of the *Prouince* claimed a ioynt intereſt with the Monkes, in choyſe of their *Primate*: a poynt which could no way ſuite with the Popes aduantage, becauſe Biſhops were generally much obliged to their Soueraignes, and ſo likely ſtil to Elect a *Royaliſt*, whereas Cloyſtermen, profeſſing ignorance of worldly affaires, and obedience to one Superiour, might more facilly be ſwayed to bend as the Pope would bow them, in preferring his creatures. Which was the Motiue (we may ſuppoſe) of the Popes [*] Letters, ſoone after ſent to the Suffragane Biſhops, exhorting them by [r] ſacred example, and precept of *filiall obedience*, to deſiſt *from vexing, like vndutifull ſonnes, their Mother-Church with ſuch vndue claimes*. The *Biſhops* notwithſtanding, who knew themſelues in ſacred writ to be ſtyled *Fathers*, would not thus acknowledge the Monkes for their *Mothers*, till *Innocentius* to his light *Reaſons* added the weight of his *Keyes*, and by his power ſwept both that and other rubs out of his intended way. For the King keeping his Chriſtmas at *Oxford*, (attended as it ſeemeth by his Biſhoppes) meaning not to pretermit any faire meanes to worke the Popes inclination towards the new *Elect*, he ſent for [t] twelue of the Monkes, whom with ſome other of his owne Clerkes, (which carried his *letters* to the Pope) hee put in truſt for tranſ-acting this buſineſſe at *Rome*; allotting them *very bountifull expences out of his Exchequer* for their whole iourney. They to leaue with the King, (who knew well the traines of *Rome*, and the ouer-reaching fetches of *Innocentius*,) a pledge of their duety, and aſſurance of his hopes, [v] entred with him [x] *a couenant by oath*, that no man, nor meanes ſhould remoue them from him, whom the King & themſelues had already appointed: The Biſhops ſent [y] the ſame time their *Procurators* alſo, to plead their right of *Co-election*; ſo as, foure obſtacles ſtood at once in the Popes way, (the *two elections* of the Monks, and the *two claims* of the *King* and *Prelates*, hee for his *Royall aſſent*, they for their *ioynt conſent*, in the choyſe) which all muſt be daſht and voyded before the Pope can haue his full forth.

But becauſe theſe will aske long time for contriuing, (which moued his Holineſſe to adiourne the hearing to the very [z] end of the yeare, wee will ſee the while how the King and State of *England* is imployed.

(33) The dorre, which deceaſed *Hubert*, did put vpon K. *Iohn* & his late deſigne, gaue both K. *Philip* aduauntage, to take ſurer footing in his new poſſeſſions, and King *Iohn* greater ſtomacke and edge to recouer his olde. The laſt taske (almoſt) of the one, and hold of the other, was *Chinon* a place of great ſtrength, but in nothing more, then in the euer-truſty valour of her Captain, *Roger Lacy*; who (if [a] ſome miſtake

[t] *Vit. Arch. Cant.*
[v] *Wendou. M. S.*
[x] *Weſtmin.*
[y] *Matth. Paris. min. hiſt. M. S.*
[z] *Idem.*
[a] *Matth. Paris. min. hiſt. M. S.*
[b] *Idem.*
[c] *Mat. Weſtminſt.*
[d] *Wend. M. S. Paris Weſt. &c.*
[e] *Paris hiſt. ma.*
[f] *Vit. Arch Cant.*
[g] *Wendou. M. S.*
[h] *Weſtmin.*
[i] Mr. *Fox* miſtaketh, ſaying, it was the next day after *Reginold* went, alſo *Polydor. Holinſh.* and *Mils*, ſaying, it was not till they heard from *Rome*.
[k] *In vit. Arch. Cant.*
[l] *Godwins Catal.*
[m] *Pariſ. hiſt. ma.*
[n] *Grafton. Hollin.*
[o] *Wend. M. S.*
[p] *Matt. Weſtmin.*
[q] *Wendouer. M. S.*
[r] *Paris hiſt. ma.*
[s] *Mat. Weſtminſt. Wendouer, M. S. Pariſ. hiſt. min. M. S.*
[t] *Mat. Paris, hiſt. ma. ad an. 1207.*
[v] *Ibidem.*
[x] *Præſtito iuramento ibid.*
[y] *Mat. Weſtminſt.*
[z] 12. *Calen. Ian. Wendouer. Paris.*
[a] *Polydor.*

[*] Archbiſhop *Hubert* dyeth at his Manor of *Tenham. Paru.*
[*] Monkes of *Canterbury* the ſeed-men of Englands troubles.
[*] *Adoleſcentiores. Paris min. M. S. Wendouer, M. S.*
[*] *Triuet M. S.* cals him *Reynerus.*
[*] *Præſtita cautione iuratoria. Weſtminſt.*
[*] Archbiſhop *Huberts* end, the beginning of greater troubles to King *Iohn*.
[*] Dated 6. *Idus Decemb.*
[*] An. D. 1206.

mistake him not in steed of [b]*Hubert de Burgo*) being redeemed from the *French*, resolued heere to giue *Philip* another taste of his prowesse, and *King Iohn* of his fidelitie; had not others faithlesse feare defeated his braue resolution. For the besieged hauing [c] no rest night or day, from a long and incessant batterie, their *Commaunders* inuinceable constancy against yeelding, which enheartned the better sort, dismayed the baser, as more prizing their ease, then their *faith* or *fame*; some of which by night slipping ouer the walles, so instructed the enemy of all secret aduauntages to possesse the towne, that by a sodaine assault, both it and *Lacy* (more worth then it,) was againe surprized. Heere seemed to haue beene the *Garland* of *Philips* conquest; had not newes beene thither brought vnto him of some new risings in *Britaine*, where *Guido*, the husband of *Constantia*, *Arthurs* Mother, (sensible belike of the false-grounded wrongs offered to *King Iohn*, vnder pretence of *Arthur*,) [d] returned gladly both into *Amity* & a strong *league* with the *English*: and with him also *Sauary Malleon*, and *Almerick Lusignian*, [e] two Peeres of heroicke valour and great commaund, whom *King Iohn* of his * prisoners, had made by prudent and louely vsage his trusty *friends*. The *French King* turning to see his vnjust intrusions thus prejudiced, (especially by *Arthurs* owne *father in law*) was hastning from *Chinon* into *Britaine*, to worke reuenge on them, whose exemplar equitie should haue beene his mirrour of amendment; *Englands King* on the other side, was no [f] lesse heartned with this new *confederation*, [g] leuying once again a puissant Army, which he * landed at *Rochel*, being the onely noted place, which in all these turmoiles and mutabilities of Fortunes, kept her selfe entire from entrance either of enemy, or of disloyall thought.

(34) The King hauing his Army much augmented [h] with great concourses of his best-affected *Prouincials*, marching confidently forward, subdued a *great portion of that Country*; till comming to *Mount-Auban*, a [i] Castle of much renowne, (as being reputed [k] *inexpugnable*, and now the *Rende-uou of his most potent enemies, and all their flower of Chiualrie*, he gaue a terrible assault thereto, for 15. dayes together; where at last his [l] *Englishmens valour was so aduenturous in scaling the walls, and both giuing and taking blowes vnportable*, that in those few dayes he entred Conquerour into that very place, [m] *which Charles the Great, could not get with his seauen yeares siege*. The [n] multitude of *Nobles* therein taken was so great, that he sent into *England* a bed-roll of their names, for a *memoriall* of so great a victory. Which auspicious beginnings, he seconded with no lesse expedition, prouidence, and prowesse, in the siege of *Angiers*, where on his first approach, hee [o] gaue present instructions to his maine Army, suddenly to enuiron the whole Citie, and by assault to seeke entrance at the walles on euery side, whiles himselfe and his selected band, with fire and Engines would assaile the *Gates*; where with great celerity, and no lesse hazard then hardnesse, breaking through, hee became *Lord* of his owne. But whatsoeuer were the Citizens demerites, pittious it was, that their offences, and the Conquerours wrath, lay so heauy on those stately walles, as [p] to throw them flat to the ground; which hasty doome, (it being the [q] *cradle of his birth, and city of his chiefe delight*,) he as hastily (and very deerely too) repented, when with excessiue expences hee encircled it againe with a beautie farre beyond the former. These faire successes, humbling all the Country before him, cleared his passage into *Picardy*, whither king *Philip* was now conuerting all his power, to oppose himselfe against the violence of this Torrent: which [r] now more facilly hee might stoppe, hauing in his way, *by laying secret* **ambushments*, laid hands vpon Duke *Guydo*, *Sauary*, and *Almericke*, *King Iohns* principal hopes, as they were busily aduauncing his present affaires: by which surprize, though the *English forces* missing their *Prouincial* aids, were greatly impaired, yet their * great hearts were not much amated, as the *French-men* [s] found, when both the *Armies* neere approaching ouer night, the next morning alacriously they addressed to the fight, and *with great spirits* on each side expected the Signall. Notwithstanding, the day likely to proue dreadfull with expence of bloud, vpon earnest interceeding of [t] forraine Prelates, and religious persons, who vndertooke equally to compose all things; both Kings condescended to a two-yeares * Truce, *King Iohn* chiefly out of affection to his Captiue friends, whose liberty was formost in the conditions.

(35) Hauing thus setled those Countries in farre better termes then last hee found them, hee embarked for *England*; where hee laid not aside a carefull (though distastfull) prouidence, for still bettering those his successes: for which ends, whiles from his Subjects (both *Lay* and *Clergy*) he [v] gathered *money*, the *Sinewes of war*, he lost their affections, *the ioynts of Peace*; whereof *Geffry* Archbishop of *Yorke* (his *Naturall* and vnnaturall brother) was a principall incentiue; who [x] solemnly cursing all the Kings Receiuers within his Prouince, fled secretly out of the land. Which peruicacie, *a bitter enemie of K. *Iohn*, yet bitterly taxeth, saying, [y] *the English Bishops were farre from that dutifull obseruance towards their Soueraigne, which the French Bishops performed to theirs, at whose commaund they maintained Souldiers in his warres against King* Iohn, *acknowledging they were so bound to doe, as often as the King pursued the warres in person; though now also they did it, where he was not in person*. And indeed how hollow-hearted to the *State*, those money-murmurers were, their * owne friend bewrayeth, shewing, how *with curses they wished, and prayed to GOD, that these exactions might neuer haue any good successe*, though they knew it was purposely for preseruing a maine part of the Kingdome. A disloyalty the more vnvnsufferable by the King, knowing that but a [z] very little before, the Popes Legate, *Io.* **Florentinus*, nick-named **Ferentinus*, for *bearing away so much money*,) had [a] gathered of the Clergy *a huge masse of money, which in full chests hee conuayed to Rome*. Yet all these domestick grudges abated not the Kings due care, nor yet his good hopes, which were soone-after much augmented by the encouragements of *Othoes Imperiall* presence, [b] who in person arriuing here in *England*, to project for his owne and his Vncles warres, was with great joyes met by the King, and conducted through *London* by night, where *all the City was seene in her glory, and all the streetes adorned with richest hangings, beautified all along with the lustre of pendant Crownes, and burning Lampes*: who after some dayes of royall entertainements hence departed, not vnfurnished with helpes to defray his warres.

(36) Whiles King *Iohn* is thus busied about his open Hostilities, Pope *Innocentius* is plotting his secret Stratagems against him at Rome: where, like vnto that * other old *Roman*, who being chosen *vmpere* touching some march-lands betwixt two neighbour-Nations, vnpartiall to either, [c] adjudged it from them both to the *Romane State*; so hee now, being *Arbiter* betwixt the *King*, *Bishops*, and *Monkes*, concerning their choyse, hee meanes to defeat them all, and * adjudge the right of disposing thereof to his *Romish See*. Therfore, at the * fore-limited day of hearing, his first care was, that the [d] Bishops lippes *for euer* should be sealed vp, (notwithstanding their [e] *allegations of Law, Reason, Decrees, and Practise*,) from intermedling in choyse of their *owne Primate*. Will you heare the maine reason? *becauſe himselfe, and some other Popes would haue it so*. Which *definitiue sentence*, being [f] sent to the Prelates into *England*, it was thought a point of prudence also, *to* [g] *prepare the* King, *and worke him pliable before-hand, to entertaine that which was to follow*: which must be done by amiable

b *Holinsh.*

c *P. Virgil.*

King Iohn strengthneth himselfe with new Leaguers,
d *Paul. Aemil.*

e *Paul. Aemil.*
* They were taken when *Arthur* was.

f *Polydor.*
g *Math. Paris.*
* *7. Id. Iuly.*

King *Iohns* successes.
h *Paris. hist. ma.*

i *Wend. M. S.*
k *Westminst.*
Mount-Auban taken.

l *Paris.*

m *Mat. Westmin.*

n *Wend. M. S.*

o *Les Annales de Franc. Polyd.*

p *Paul. Aemil. Polydor.*
q *Idem.*

r *P. Aemil.*

* *Insidijs excepti.*

* *Praelius animo Anglus*, saith *Aemil.*
s *Polydor. Virg.*

t *Mat. Paris.*

* *In festo om. sanct. Westmin.*

K. *Iohn* returnes to *England.*

An. D. 1207.

v *Wend. M. S.*

x *Matth. Paris. hist. min. M. S.*

* *Paul. Aemil.*
y *In Philippo Augusto.*

* *Mat. Westminst.*

z *Paris.*
* *Io. de Florentia. Trinet M. S.*
* *Paris, à ferendo, Hollinsh.*
a *Mat. Westminst. Mat. Paris. M. S.*

b *Idem.*

The Emperours entertainement.

The Popes beginning of wrongs towards King *Iohn.*
* *L. Labeo inter Nolan. & Neapolit. arbiter.*
c *Cicer. offic. l. 1.*

* *Hoc decipere est non judicare, ibid.*
* *12. Cal. Iun.*
d *Paris.*

e *Wendouer, M. S.*

f Dated 12. Cal. Ian. *Paris.*
g *Mat. Paris.*

amiable lines, and gemmes, *wherewith he knew the King was much delighted.* His *Preſent*, being 4. gold *Rings*, with foure *precious ſtones*, an *Emrauld*, *Saphire*, *Rubie*, and *Topaze*, he ſo vainely and childiſhly (though * ignorance enſtile it eloquence) celebrateth in his * *Epiſtle*, for their *number*, *forme*, and *colour*, that no man will queſtion whether it were dictated with an Apoſtolicke Spirit. The Rings *Roundneſſe* muſt remember the King of *Eternitie*; the *Quadrat number* of *Conſtancy*, and of the foure *Cardinall vertues*, *Iuſtice*, *Fortitude*, *Prudence*, *Temperance*; the *Golds price*, of *Wiſedome*; the *Emraulds greeneneſſe*, of *Faith*; the *Saphires brightneſſe*, of *Hope*; *the Rubies redneſſe*, of *Charity*; the *Topazes clearneſſe*, of *operatiue Sanctity*, &c. Which, though toyes, were yet accepted as pledges of loue for a while, till at laſt, the King finding by the ſequell, they were but baites to beguile him, eſteemed the Popes *Gold as droſſe, his Iewels as* * *Iewiſh fraudes, and his loue as moſt rancored hatred.* For ſhortly after came to his notice, the moſt indignious injury, which the Pope meant to obtrude vpon him and his Kingdome, hauing not onely hunted both *Reynard* and *Gray* out of their holdes, but alſo impoſed vpon him, for the chiefe place and managing of his State, one whom he reputed a chiefe and dangerous Enemy to himſelfe and it: which thus was fetcht about.

The Popes preſent and letter to King *Iohn*.
* *Iohn Stow in Annal.*
* *Epiſt. Innocent. apud Pariſ.*

* *Gemmas gemitus, ibid.*

(37) The Monkes freed from the Biſhops impugning, were hote now in the ſtrife amongſt themſelues; the g one ſide againſt *Reyners* election vrged, it wanted *Royall aſſent*, the *greater* and *ſounder* part of Electors, due *ſolemnities*, due * *time:* the other, againſt *Norwich*, that *no ſecond election could be validous, vnleſſe the former were firſt annulled.* Both their Reaſons pleaſed well the Pope; who, (as pre-poſſeſſed Iudges often vſe) made ſhew of h *great diligence* in pondering the *Pleadings*, whereas himſelfe long before had reſolued on his *Sentence*; which was, that by *Apoſtolicall definitiue doome, neyther of the Elects ſhould euer be capable of that See.* So great rubbes hath the Pope with ſo little breath blowne out of his way. The man whoſe aduauncement all this while hee had aymed at, was now commended to them, who muſt be there preſently choſen for their *Primate*, *Stephen de Langton*, a Cardinall, *Engliſh* by birth, i *French* by *education* and *affection*, one of ſo k tranſcendent power in the *Romaine Court*, *that the Pope was thought not for loue, but for enuy*, (as being himſelfe eclypſed by his neereneſſe) to haue wiſhed his ſeruice in ſome remoter dignity. But the Monkes ill-apaide with what was done already, and very tremulous to enter matter of new intrications, alledged againſt all further courſes, that l *no Canonicall Election could be there made, they hauing conſent neither of King nor Couent*; at which word the Pope ſnapping them vp, bad them *know, that* * *he had there plenitude of power ouer the Church of Canterbury*; and beſides, *that no conſent of Princes vſed to be expected in Elections celebrated where the Pope was:* he therefore charged them *vnder paine of his high curſe*, (a terrible bug-bear in thoſe daies) there preſently to chooſe him for their *Primate*, *whom himſelfe thought good to nominate vnto them.* Thus trembling vnder the cracke of his *Thunder-bolt*, they (all m excepting one *Helias de Brantfield* (whoſe conſtancy ſhall here perpetuate his memory,) *durſt not for feare but elect him, though very vnwillingly, and with murmurations:* whoſe * *Conſecration* followed by the Popes owne hands at *Viturbium*, and his earneſt *recommendation* by the Popes n *flattering* Letters, to the Kings fauourable acceptance. And this was the vnbleſſed beginning of thoſe new miſeries which brought the King to his ending, and his *Kingdome* to vn-reportable calamities; all which, little did his *Holineſſe* or his *Charity* reckon of, ſo his deſperate *Policie* might take effect. Yet not vnduely fell thoſe judgements on many Princes of thoſe times, who neglecting the domeſticke execution of *Supreme juſtice*, ſuffered their Subjects, at ſo high a rate both of *expence* and *trauels*, to buy ſuch *arbitrary* and *dangerous* formes of a forraine, and falſly-named *Iuſtice*.

g *Paris.*
*Being by night.
h *Wend.* M.S.
i *Apud Mat. Par. hiſt. ma.*
k *Matth. Paris. min. hiſt.* M.S.
l *Mat. Weſt. Paris.*
* *Nos, Wendouer* M.S. *Weſtminſter* ſaith *vos* as of the Monkes.
m *Idem.*
* 10. *Cal. Iul. Paris* 25. *Mat. Weſtmin.*
n *Roger Wend.* M.S.

(38) Two very preſumptuous *Lawes* hath o one obſerued to haue beene firſt hatched by this lawleſſe *Pope*, the one occaſioned by King *Iohns* and *Philips* former ſtrife, that *Princes delinquent muſt be lyable to correction from the Pope*; the other, vpon the choyce of the *Emperour*, that *where in elections voyces are equall, or concord wanting, the Pope may gratifie whom hee pleaſe:* vnto which wee now may adde a third no leſſe arduous and inſolent, that *the Pope may ſtrike vp Elections, both where, and of whom, and with, and without what conſent him liſteth.* Which lewd obtruſion, that it galled the King to the quicke, we need not maruaile, if we ballance in one *ſcale*, the Popes meere *will* and pleaſure; in the other, the *diſhonour* to the King, (thus to be triced out of that, which ſo vehemently, and with his owne preſence he tooke care to ſee effected;) the prejudice to his *Crowne*, to be defeated of *Soueraigne aſſent*; the hazard to the *State*, to haue his * *Enemy* (a *Phillippine*, and *French* fauourite) the * *chiefe man* ouer his *Engliſh*: beſides wrongs more particular; as both the *diſgrace* to his beſt-deſeruing *Counſellor*, and the *diſloyalty* of the Monkes, firſt, to chooſe without his *licence*, then to mocke him with a ſecond *choyce*, next, to beguile him with *oaths*, after, to trauaile vpon his exceſſiue charge, and laſtly to doe, and vndoe all, with their *perjurie*. With all which ſo farre the Kings patience ſurfetted, that he began on them to diſ-gorge his wrath, who with him began theſe affronts; proſcribing firſt all thoſe Monkes as p Traytors, and afterward writing his "q Letters to the Pope, with relation of thoſe great "wrongs to Himſelfe, and exceptions to *Langton*; "vowing immutably to ſtand for his owne *Elect*, and "to die in defence of the *Liberties of his Crowne*; "putting the Pope in minde, that *Rome* reapt more "gaine from *England*, then from all the Tranſ-alpine "Regions; threatning alſo, if he were now croſſed in "this, he would ſtoppe all from croſſing the Seas to "*Rome*, nor would any longer emendicate their for-"raine Iuſtice, ſith his owne *Kingdomes*, ſo aboun-"ded with Biſhops and learned men of moſt accom-"pliſhed perfection in all profeſſions.

o *Blondus Dec. 2. l. 6.* Pope *Innocentius* his three ſtrange Lawes.
The wrongs offered vnto King *Iohn*.
* *Publicum inimicum; Regi Franc. familiariſſ. Mat. Paris. hiſt. min.* M. S.
* *In regno ſecundum, ibid.*
p *Mat. Weſtmin.*
q *Apud Wendouer, & Paris.*

(39) If, when this Kings Father vttered ſome ſuch threats to *Gratian* the Popes vaſſall, hee then replyed, r *Sir doe not threaten vs, for we feare no menaces, becauſe we are of ſuch a Court as vſeth to be imperious ouer Emperors & Kings*, (which as a remarkable *Apothegme*, ſ *Baronius* ſets forth in greater Letters;) wee may then gueſſe, how this great Lord of that *Court* did himſelfe brooke ſuch tart ſalutations. Nay, the effects bewray it: when in his ſublimed t *Reply*, hee ſnebs the King *for comminatory* "*obraydings, and contumacious male-partneſſe*; and "threatens him, that if he do not, by *referring him-*"*ſelfe wholly to his good pleaſure*, ſeeke to *deſerue his* "*Grace*, hee ſhould plunge into thoſe difficulties, "whence hee ſhould hardly euer get forth; intima-"ting, that himſelfe (being *vnworthy Vice-gerent* to "him, vnto whom euery knee in *Heauen*, *Earth*, and "*Hell* muſt bow,) muſt in the end needes haue the "vpper-hand; and that to reſiſt him is to oppugne "*God himſelfe* and his *Church*, for which glorious "*Becket* ſpilt his bloud. Theſe were indeede bloudy words; to affright the King with expectance of more ſuch blowes, and bloudy ſtripes from *Rome*, as had lighted on his *Father*. And he threatned no no more then hee acted; for thereupon, hee v ſent his doubled *Apoſtolicall* commaund, the one generall to all the Prelates, for ſubmitting and adhering reſolutely to *Langton*, the other, to ſome * particular *Biſhops*, for x conuenting the King, and *Interdicting* his whole Kingdome, if him they found ſtill *contumaciouſly rebelling*. Neither was hee more inſolent in the commaund, then they in the execution, whereby (on y a day, il-ſuiting ſo v *unchriſtian* an Action) this flouriſhing Church, (though the King had ſworne their *baniſhment* and *confiſcation* if they did it) was depriued

r *Pariſ. in H. 2.*
ſ *Baron. An. 1169.*
t *Litere Innocentij apud Paris.*
An. D. 1208.
v *Wend. M.S.*
* *BB. Lond. Ely, Wigorn.*
x *Paris hiſt. ma.*
y The Munday in Paſſion weeke, *Paris.* On Eaſter-day, ſaith *Polyd.*

depriued of the very face of *Christianitie* for many ensuing yeeres; as if, not *Innocentius* Christs *Vicar*, but *Iulian* his professed Enemy, had *mured vp the doores* of the Christians *Temples* for despight of their *God*.

Chron. Angl. M.S.

(40) But this High-Priest had forgotten what another * taught him, and [z] hee himselfe sometimes thought, about interdicting *France* for their Kings offence; *that better it was one should suffer then a whole Nation perish:* whereas now, for the Kings only crossing the *Popes good pleasure*, *God* is censured to loose his worshippe, and all the *People* to hazard their soules, [a] liuing almost like *Infidels*, without *Gods seruice and blessed Sacrament*, yea and dying * *like dogges tumbled into euery ditch*. But what? did such wofull effects fasten onely on the Laity? The Clergy bare their part too; whom the flames of the Kings justly incensed wrath did so scorch, that his Dominions were too hote for their abode: for, their [b] *persons* hee proscribed and sent packing to the Pope, their reuenewes hee confiscated, their *Bishoprickes, Abbeyes, and Priories, he deputed to Laymens custody: their women* (for such as had not wiues, had Lemmans) *were dearely ransomed:* and euery where they suffered wrongs without ordinary protection of *Iustice*. Whereof, though our * vulgar perfunctory Writers produce no other reason, but the onely ouer-flowing of the Kings gall, as if first stirred by some few delinquent Bishoppes, through furious reuenge it ouer-whelmed the whole Clergie; yet indeede these were but the due chastisements of their generally-disloyall hearts. As (to instance) when the King sent his [c] mandate to S. *Albans*, that *not regarding the Popes command in the Inderdict, they should continue the celebration of Gods seruice*; the *Abbot* calling his Monkes into the *Chapter-house*, perswaded them to obey God rather then Man, (meaning the Pope rather then the King) and to *beare resolutely the kings anger*, * *whom God in due time would bring to an end*. What maruaile then, if the Clergy carried so generally with this streame of a forraine vsurped power, against *Gods* seruice, & their *Soueraignes* godly desire, and due authority, were likewise generally inuolued in that reward of their disloyalty. And yet, euen in the *Clergy*, many of eminency detested these cruell and irreligious courses of the *Pope*; [d] *Philip* the Bishop of *Dureme*, and his Successour, with the Bishops of *Norwich* and *Winchester*, heartned the King to contemne the *Papall curse*; the [e] *Cistertian Abbots (neglecting the Interdict)* continued their diuine celebrations, till the *Pope* suspended them for their contempt; *Alexander* * Abbot of the *Benedictines*, a Diuine of * exquisite learning, [f] published in his Sermons, that their *present calamities were no reproach to their Soueraignes proceedings, but due rewards of the Subjects hainous trespasses, because Kings ought to gouerne, yea and strongly bridle all disobedient Subjects whomsoeuer; but as for Popes they ought not to intermeddle in the ciuill affaires, and regiment of any Princes ouer their vassals, seeing* Peter *himselfe receyued no power, but onely in matters appertayning to the Church*. And though the * Pope were reuenged on him for his plaine truth, and some Monkish humours haue asperséd other such men with bitter reproaches, yet what may be thought both of these the Popes courses, and of such his opposers, a late Iesuite, no partiall man to Princes) sheweth, saying, [g] that *many, and godly wise men at that time did wish, that Pope* Innocentius *had not stood so hard with King* Iohn *in such a poynt as this was, for contenting him with a person gratefull vnto him in that See*. And no maruaile they so wished, seeing that was the graund cause of such infinite confusions, factions, and wrongs, hurrying so indignely the Prince, Peeres, Clergy, & Commons; the very contemplation whereof to all *godly wise* men must needes be gastly and rufull: yet wel-fare those Anathematizing Bishops, the Instruments of all these euils, who patiently endured vnder the name of exile, [h] to *liue the while abroad in all variety of delights*.

a *Vide apud Wend. & Paris.*
* *More Canum. Matth. Paris.*
b *Mat. Paris.*
* *Hollinsh. Stow, &c.*
c *Ex libro S. Alban in vita Iob. Abbat. M. S.*
* *Dabit Deus huic quoque finem:* a cunning speech indifferently touching the Kings end, or his anger.
d *Matth. Paris. Godwins Catalog. of BB. Lib. S. Alban. in vit. Abb. Iob. M.S.*
e *Mat. Westmin.*
* *Th. Sprot, M. S. Balæus Theologie Doct. eximius. Sprot.*
* *Literarum plenitudine imbutus, Mat. Westminst.*
f *Wend. M. S. Vir facundiss. tam seculari quam eccles. iastica sapientia eruditissimus, & Regis connutritus. Sprot.*
* He was depriued of his dignity and liuings, being then *Abbot* of St. *Austens* in *Canterbury*.
g *Parsons* against *Cooke, part. 2. c. 9.*
h *Paris. Omnimodis viuentes in delicijs.*

(41) Such perplexities in the *People* could not but breed as great hatred and hazards to the *King*; who therefore to preuent the issue of such discontents, (which *though causelesse, yet kindling in the multitude proue often vnquenchable*,) hee [i] required of his Nobles new *Oathes* of allegiance, *pledges* of such as hee most suspected, and *homage* of all *Freeholders*, [k] euen of twelue yeers old, *whom he dismissed with a kisse of peace*. Misdoubting also the Popes further intent *to absolue his subjects from their due allegiance*, he gathered about him (by * example of his Father *Henry* on the like ground) a mightie Armie for all occurrents. The terrour whereof hee first displayed in the *North*, offended (saith [l] one) with * *William* King of *Scotland*, for marrying his daughter to the Earle of *Bulloigne*; for receiuing (saith [m] another) *fugitiues*, and enemies of his State: for throwing downe (saith a [n] third) a castle built by King *Iohn* against *Barwicke*: but whatsoeuer were the breach, the cloze was amiable, each accompanying other to *Yorke*, where King *Williams* [o] two daughters were promised to King *Iohns* two sonnes, and [p] deliuered as pledges of vnited loue, with a [q] gift of nine thousand markes. The dread of this his power so glyded out of the North into the West, that vpon his returne, the [r] Princes of *Wales*, & others *rich & poore* came to him at *Woodstocke (the like thing neuer heard of before)* to doe him homage. But all these linkes of allegiance were soone crackt by another thunder-clap (from *Rome*) of *Anathema* on the king by *Name*, with strict injunction for all men to abandon his presence: [s] which *sentence* being sent to be diuulged by the Bishoppes and Prelates in *England, all of them for feare or fauour of the King*, were content to neglect the *Popes* commaund, and let the *Apostolike processe escape without execution*. The fame yet thereof was in all mens mouthes, but came first (as seemeth) to the Kings *Eares*, [t] by a seruant of his owne Exchequer, *Geffry* Arch-Deacon of *Norwich*, who secretly perswading his *fellow-officers, that they were bound in conscience to relinquish the Kings seruice*, gaue them example himselfe by leauing his dutie and charge; for which hot-braine tricke, hee was put in a * *Coole of leade*, the weight whereof, (as a punishment of his leuitie) soone hastned his end in prison: but the greater and wiser sort, both of [v] Nobles and others, continued their due attendance on their Soueraignes *Court* and *person, without* * *regard of the censure*.

i *Matth. Paris. Westminst.*
k *Paris. hist. ma.*
* *Supra in Hen. 2.*
l *Triuet, M. S.*
* Not *Alexander* as *Polyd.* mistaketh.
m *Paris. hist. ma.*
n *Hector. Boet. l. 13.*
o *Boet. Ibid.*
p *Wend. M. S.*
q *Paris. hist. min. M. S.* but *Wendouer, M. S.* saith xi. (not ix.) millia.
r *Matth. Paris.*
s The *King* excommunicated by name.
t *Paris. hist. ma.*
* *Capâ Plumbeâ. Paris.*
v *Westminst.* An. D. 1210.
* *Non obstante Sententia, ibidem.*

(42) Those Romish furies thus infesting all at home, gaue also courage & opportunity to il-affected members further off; some of which in *Ireland* hauing surfeited long of the kings indulgence or absence, [x] *beganne now to play the Kings themselues*. The noble spirit of this Prince in his tender yeeres [y] made choyse (on bended knees to his Father, in presence of *Heraclius Patriarke of Hierusalem*) rather in *deuotion* to conduct an Army against the Turkes, then in *Ambition* to take possession of that goodly Kingdome. But being now possessed thereof, and intending (by a kinde of compensation for his losses in *France*) to annexe and assure that Kingdome to the *English* Crowne, hee resolues with a powerfull Army to quell the disturbers, and reforme the disorders, of his first, and long vn-visited charge. Whose approach such fame and dread did fore-runne, that [z] more then twentie *Petty Kings* of that Nation hastened to *Dublin*, there to honour his * arriuall with their submissiue attendance, *Homage* and *Oath* of Allegiance; others, either vpon confidence of their good holds, or diffidence for their ill deserts, flying his presence, and some of them, the Country. The * two *Lacies* (whose onely praise was, that they were the sonnes of a nobly-deseruing Father) hauing beene, through *ambition of Soueraignety*, the fountaine of daungerous garboyles, ([a] tyrannizing ouer the *Commons*, and making away such of the

The *King* setleth the State of *Ireland*.
x *Gyrald. in Præm. ad Reg. Iob.*
y *Idem. Hibern. expug. l. 2. c. 16.*
z *Paris. hist. ma.*
* *8. Idus Iulij. Paris.*
* *Walter & Hugh*, the sonnes of *Hugh. Campions hist. of Ireland.*
* *Annales Hib. Campions hist. of Ireland.*

Nobles, as ſtood either in their light, or in the Kings fauour) fled into *France*, where they liued in * an Abbey as poore *Gardinars*, vntill the Abbot deſcrying by their deportment ſome ſtate aboue their habite, *vpon penitent humility* reconciled them to the King. The Lord *William de Breuſe*, (a* Baron lately of great commaund and wealth in the Marches of *Wales*,) ſhewed not the like penitence, nor found the like grace; who, vpon * refuſall to deliuer his ſonne as a pledge of his fidelitie, ſped into *Ireland* to flie the Kings wrath, and now, to auoyde his purſuit, fled alſo into *France*, then the common *Sanctuary* of all trayterous fugitiues; but * ſharpe reuenge ouertooke both his *Sonne* and his *Lady*, (taken in a ſtrong Caſtle of *Meth*) whoſe virulent and rayling * tongue had more exaſperated the fury of the King (whom ſhe immodeſtly reuiled as a *Tyrant* and *Murtherer*,) then could be pacified by her ſtrange preſent,* (foure hundred Kine, and one Bull, all milke-white, except onely the eares, which were red,) ſent vnto the Queene.

* S. Taurin.

* Hiſt. Cambria.

* Wend. M.S.

* Famiſhed (ſome ſay) in Windſor Caſtle.

* Paris.

* Old Chron. of Flanders. Hollin.

(43) But b *Catalus*, the vnquiet King of *Connaught*, truſting to his owne Forces, King *Iohn* ſubdued by ſtrong purſuit: c and after all carried him *captiued in triumph*, impriſoned the *Engliſh Fugitiues*, tooke pledges both of *Engliſh* and *Iriſh* Inhabitants, puniſhed by death malefactors, turbulent perſons by ranſomes, eſtabliſhed all their *Lawes*, *Coynes*, and *Officers*, to the *Engliſh* forme, and deputed (which was worth all) a wiſe, ſtout, and vpright * Gouernour ouer them, the Biſhoppe of *Norwich*, *Langtons* Competitor: thus ſetling on that barbarous Iland ſo noble and ordered a face of gouernement, as was the ſtay thereof in thoſe tumultuous times, and a patterne euen to more peacefull ages to imitate. By which both glorious and * ſpeedie conqueſt and *reformation*, hee better merited that Style of *Irelands Lord*, then when it was confirmed to him by a Crowne of * Peacockes feathers from the Pope, at what time (long before) hee injoyed it by his Fathers gift, as his *Broad-Seale* (heere not vnfit to be annexed) will ſhew.

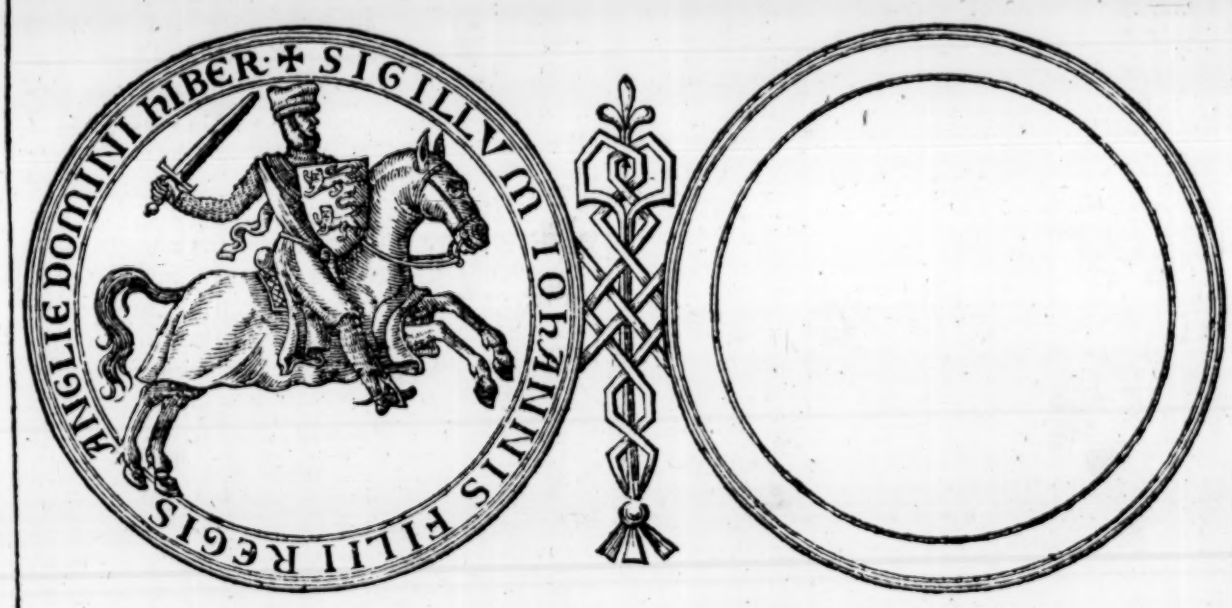
b Ypodig. Neuſtr.

c Walſingh. Pariſ. Annales Hibern. Campion. Hiſt. of Ireland.

* Iuſticiarium, Paris.

* Rediit 3. Cal. Septemb.

* Walſingham. Ypodig. So the Pope ſent Tyrone a Phenix feather, Cambden. in Hiber.



This Seale is at a Charter granted to *Dublin*, before *Iohn* was King.

An.D.1211. King *Iohn* ſubdueth *Wales*.

(44) The *Bankes* of King *Iohns* eſtate, were not vnlike to thoſe in *Grounds* ill-neighboured with an encroaching *Sea*, where before one breach is well made vp, another no leſſe dangerous is laide open: which endles turmoiles kept his *body* ſtill in Action, his *Minde* in paſſions, and his *Proweſſe* in vre. The vaſte expenſes of his *Iriſh* expedition were no ſooner repayred, (by a * great taxe charged on all the *Conuentuall houſes*) but *Lewylin* Prince of *North-Wales*, with his great ſpoyles on the *Engliſh* Marches, made new matter of charge and exploit for the King; d hauing, to preuent due reuenge, cauſed his *Wallians* to conuey all their cattell and better ſubſtance to the ſcarce-acceſſible refuges of *Snowdowne Hill*. Theſe difficulties much more whetted and excited the Kings reſolution; neither had the vertuall power of the Popes fulmination as yet ſo blaſted his good fortunes, but that hence alſo hee e returned in great *triumph*, as *Conqueror of all Wales*, where, with wonderful celerity and valour, *he f ſubdued all their Princes & Cheefes, whom he receiued vpon Oath, homage, and hoſtages*, with an abſolute g *graunt of all their Inland vnto the King for euer*. Notwithſtanding, perceiuing that h very many ſlipt away for dread (at leaſt for colour) of the Popes curſe, from thoſe his *martiall* and other *ciuill* ſeruices, (though i hee puniſhed by fine all ſuch Reuolters,) whereby his perſon could neuer bee free from daunger, nor his State from trouble; hee reſolues (ſeeing the Pope vnflexible, and vnſenſible of ſo many Chriſtians calamitie,) at length to relent from his vowed ſtiffeneſſe againſt the Popes Elect, in hope ſo to ſettle his owne and his Subjects tranquility, though with vnſufferable indignity to himſelfe. In his k returne from *Wales*, two Nunces from the Pope, *Randulph* a *Subdeacon*, and *Durand* a Knight-*Templar*, meete him at *Northampton* to make the attonement · l whereto he was ſo propenſe, that hee accorded to aſſure vnder his Seale, that *Archbiſhop Langton*, *with the Biſhops, Monkes, and others, ſhould be reſtored both to his fauour, and to their poſſeſſions*; that, *holy Church ſhould haue all the Franchiſes, as in* Edward *the Confeſſors time*: that *hee would neuer take any thing of holy Church againſt the owners will*: but, becauſe hee m *would not* alſo make *full ſatisfaction* for all confiſcations, and other emoluments receiued of the Clergy, (nay, *he could not*, hauing expended all his treaſure in his continuall warres,) the *Clergy* and their *Factors*, (the Legates) more prizing their priuate gaine, then the weale publike of their Natiue Countrie, contemned the ſweete proffer of peace; and expoſed all to the bane of a reuengefull contention. For hereupon they did not onely n denounce the *curſe vpon the King by Name*, (which the Prelates before durſt not doe) *and vpon all other who conuerſed with him*; but, as if he had moſt o *contumaciouſly contemned quietneſſe*, by their relations they incenſed the Pope, (too procliue of himſelfe to ſet forth his owne greatneſſe,) to put on him a farre more indignous wrong and contumely then *Interdiction*, *by* p *abſoluing all Kings and People, poore and rich, hauing dependance on him, from all Fealty and Subjection to him*.

(45) This being the third ſtep, whereby both the *Pope* aſcended to the height of his vſurped *power*, and mercileſſe *reuenge*, and the *Subjects* * daily deſcended from their loyall obſeruance, made King *Iohn* more circumſpect to ſtrengthen himſelfe, both with

a Engliſh Cron. M.S. compared with *Paris* his min. hiſt. M.S.

b Kog. Wend. M.S.

The Kings offers rejected.

c Ibidem.

d Hiſt. of Cambria.

e Ibidem.

f Pariſ. hiſt. mi. M.S.

g Hiſt. of Cambd.

h Pol. Virgil.

i Pariſ. hiſt. ma.

n Engliſh Chro. M.S.

o Pariſ. hiſt. ma.

The Pope abſolues the Kings people from Allegiance.

p Paris min. M.S.

An.D.1212.

k Rog. de Wend. M.S.

* Paris hiſt. min. M.S.

with an Army no leſſe faithfull then powerfull, and alſo with the loue of his Neighbour-Princes. King *William* of *Scotland*, [q] at this time infeſted with a dangerous rebellion, (ſtirred vp within his kingdome by one *Gothred*, [r] laying claime, vnder colour of ſome antiquated title, to his *Crowne*) being himſelfe infirme with age, ſent his ſonne *Prince Alexander* into *England*, to craue aſſiſtance of King *Iohn*, who (by his owne princely loue and readineſſe to demerite theirs,) reſoluing with his Army in perſon to chaſtice the diſturbers of his truſty Confederate, before his ſetting forth, did [ſ] on the table in a *ſolemne feaſt*, (which hee kept in the *Hoſpitall of Clerken-well*) *adorne Prince* Alexander *with the Belt and Order of Knight-hood*; and [t] afterward with his Hoaſt vanquiſhing the *Rebels*, aduaunced their *Chiefe-leader* farre higher then his owne *Ambition* expected, and left that Kingdome in a ſetled peace. But whiles he is thus kindly carefull in ſuppreſſion of anothers rebels, his owne at home are as vnkindly vigilant to vndermine his State; the *Popes Abſolution*, like magicke-ſpelles, hauing let looſe many tumultuating *Spirits*, which wil not eaſily be laid againe. For the * *Chiefes* among the *Wallians*, whom neither breach of their *Oathes*, nor loſſe of their noble hoſtages, (* which ſoone after periſhed for their parents ſinnes) could deterre, ſuddenly fell off from the King, and fell on his Subjects with [v] much *ſlaughter of men*, *burning of Townes, and ſurprizall of Caſtles*: whereof, whiles the King meaning to take ſharpe reuenge, was on his way at *Nottingham* with an vn-reſiſtable Armie, letters of great ſpeede and ſecrecie were deliuered to him, (as hee ſat at meate) from his faithfull and gratefull friend the *Scotiſh* King, and inſtantly others from his Daughter *Ioan*, *Prince Lewylins*, Lady, both giuing him intelligence of imminent Treaſons *plotted by ſundry *of his Peeres, who meant eyther to murther him, or betray him to the butchery of his foes*. Which dreadfull notices from ſo true-harted Informers, could not yet affright his manly heart, till comming to *Cheſter*, he there vnderſtood by ſundry other Intelligencers, that his *Nobles* held themſelues quite diſcharged from his Allegiance; and knowing that they wanting fidelity, he himſelfe could not but want ſecurity, hee diſmiſſed his Hoaſt, tooke hoſtages of his Barons, purſued the detected Conſpirators, and * the *three principall* of them flying the Land, he proſecuted their perſons, demoliſhed their Caſtles, and confiſcated their poſſeſſions. But many of as vile and virulent affections they left behinde them, as that * trayterous Act of thoſe Nobles bewrayed, who ſent to *Philip* of *France their ſealed Charter*, *promiſing to ſettle on his head the Crowne of England, if hee would come to receiue it*. And that the mindes of the *vulgar* ſhould not be vn-poſſeſſed with like expectation of *Iohns* vn-crowning, the propheſies of an * *Heremiticall wizard* (fore-telling, that on the day of the *Aſcention*, King *Iohn* ſhould be no *King*) were buzzed into their eares. Whether by *Gods* inſpiring, or the *Diuels*, theſe were reuealed, * ſome doe doubt; but hee that conſiders the quotidian impoſtures of theſe times, and the ſecret machinations of the *Pope*, the *French* King, and the *Engliſh Barons*, all for diuers ends, complotting againſt King *Iohn*, will eaſily perceiue both what vſe there was of ſuborning ſuch a Prophet, to deterre the popular meynie, from ſticking to the King, and to begule their credulity, as if the thing were to be done, by Gods fore-appointment, and ordinance, and alſo * that his puniſhment *by death*, as a trayterous Impoſtor, was no other then he deſerued.

(46) Neither is the Popes reuenge thus appeaſed, ſome higher greeces yet remaine, on which his *Greatneſſe*, and greatneſſe of his holy rage muſt diſplay it ſelfe: the vnder-props whereof, (a thing almoſt incredible) were not onely *Engliſh-men*, but *Engliſh* Biſhops alſo. For *Stephen Langton* with the BB. of *London* and *Ely*, (thirſting after reuenge, though with the deſtruction of their Country, and bloud-ſhed of innumerable their Compatriots) going to *Rome* with complaints on the King, [y] made *humble ſupplications to the Lord Pope, that he would vouchſafe in a touch of pious compaſſion, to ſupport the Engliſh Church, being at the point of ruine*. At whoſe earneſt ſollicitation, the tender-hearted Pope (grieuouſly lamenting the deſolation of the Kingdome of *England*,) decreed by ſolemne ſentence: *That King* Iohn *ſhould be depoſed from his Kingdome, and that the* Pope *ſhould prouide ſome other, who ſhould be deemed worthier to ſucceede*. To effectuate the former clauſe, *Innocentius* eagerly purſued the latter, ſending ſpeedy Letters to (whom but King *Iohns* moſt mortall enemy?) *Philip* King of *France*; [z] requiring him *to vndertake the labour of the dethroning King Iohn*, with no leſſe reward then *pardon for all his ſinnes, and enjoying of the Engliſh Crowne to him, and his heires for euer*. A goodly large patent both for a *Spirituall* and *Temporall* Kingdome, which, (more like *Mars* his Prieſt, then Chriſts Vicar) he meanes to ſeale, with a deluge of Chriſtians bloud. For not thus yet ſatiated, he tranſ-mits his *Letters* generall; [a] *To all Potentates, Souldiers, men of warre of all Nations, to ſigne themſelues with the Croſſe*, and to follow their Captaine, *Philip*, for the dejection of King *Iohn*, aſſuring all, that their aſſiſtance (whether in *Perſon* or *Contribution*) *ſhall be no leſſe meritorious, then if they viſited our Sauiours Sepulchre*. That this Pope vnder colour of ſuch *Cruſadoes*, did formerly *cloake his owne Auarice*, his [b] owne Monkes auerre; but here he cloakes therewith both his *Pride*, and a farre more ſauage vice, the thirſt, not of mens *Gold*, but of their *Bloud*. In which ſeruice with King *Philip*, he vſed the ſame *Engliſh Prelates* for his *Negotiators*, which were before his *Solicitors* thereunto; with whom alſo he ſent his Factour *Randulph*; [c] *giuing him in priuate, ſecret inſtructions how to manage euery particular of the whole deſigne, to the moſt behoofe of the holy See*.

(47) The *French King* likewiſe receiuing * from the Archbiſhop and his Aſſociates, (in a [d] Councel) the *Apoſtolike ſentence*; was very apprehenſiue of that imployment, whereto not ſo much the Papall commaund, as his [e] *owne ancient malignity*, and the *Engliſh* Barons trayterous requeſts, had prepared him; both which he was now [f] *willing to maske with the ſpecious pretext of juſtice and deuotion*. Vnder which colours he had * ſpeedily marſhalled an immenſe army at *Roan*, and drew a mighty Nauy richly furniſhed to the mouth of *Seyn*, * *all his Dukes, Earles, Barons, Knights, and Souldiers being ſummoned* to the exploit *vnder paine of high Treaſon, and diſherizing*, who therefore both in feare and hope of ſpoyle, came flocking without number.

(48) A preparation of ſo great importance, that all Chriſtendome tooke notice of, could not long be hidden from King *Iohn*; whoſe care, by reaſon of his now doubled oppoſition (forraine & domeſticke) could be no leſſe for his *owne* and his *kingdomes* ſafety, then was his *Enemies* for impugning both. Wherfore his Summons being * ſent to all his officers both for *Sea* and Land, for ſpeedy furniſhing both of a *Nauy*, and an *Army*, equiualent to encounter ſo powerfull an Inuaſion, ſuch [g] innumerable multitudes ſwarmed to *Douer*, and other harbours for landing, that the Chiefe-leaders for want of prouiſion, diſmiſſing the reſt, [h] encamped at *Barham-Downes, onely with 60000. choyſe, valiant, and wel-appointed men, who, if they had carried all one mind, & true affection towards their king, & ſafegard of their Country, there breathed not any Prince vnder heauen, whoſe aſſault England had not beene able to repell*. And being no worſe appointed for a *Sea-fight*, his intent was to grapple firſt with the *French fleet*, * *making no doubt of ſinking them all: ſo ſecure and confident was hee in expectation of all Inuaders*. In which braue addreſſe, whiles both ſhores of the Sea are thus be-laide with both thoſe Kings puiſſant armies, the one waiting for the

[q] *Hector Boet. l. 13.*
[r] *Lib. de Bermwell.*
[ſ] *Pariſ. hiſt. ma.*
[t] *Lib. de Bermwel.*
Gothred hanged by King *Iohn.*
Fruites of the Popes curſe.
* *Math. Paris.*
*28. Welſh hoſtages hanged at *Nottingham*, *Paris.*
[v] *Wend. M. S.*
* *Mat. Paris.*
* *Idem.*
* *Fitz-walter, Veſci, Ridel. apud Pariſ. & Triuet. M. S.*
* *Apud Mat. Paris. Wendouer & alios.*
* *Peter of Pomfrait. Wend. M. S.*
* *Polyd. Virg. de magicis artibus.*
* *Wendouer. Paris.*
[y] *Paris, Triuet. Weſtmin. Polydor.*
Sentence of depoſition of King *Iohn.*
[z] *Roger de Wend. M. S.*
The Pope beſtowes *Iohns* Crowne on *Philip.*
[a] *Pariſ. hiſt. ma. Wendouer. M. S.*
[b] *Wend. M. S. Mat. Paris ad an.* 1202.
[c] *Matth. Paris.*
The *French* King prepares for *England.*
* *Menſe Jan. Pariſ.*
[d] *Roger de Wend. M. S.*
[e] *Matth. Paris.*
[f] *Triuet. M. S.*
* *Oſtauis Paſchæ.*
* *Wendouer. M. S.*
King *Iohns* preparation for reſiſtance.
* *3. Martij. Paris.*
[g] *Wendouer. M. S.*
[h] *Pariſ. hiſt. ma.*
* *Wend. Paris.*

the Enemy, the other for faire winds, and more forces, behold *Pandulphus* (the Popes Pragmaticke) hauing firſt deſired ſafe conduct of King *Iohn*, arriues at *Douer*, to put in execution thoſe [i] *ſecret Inſtructions which his Lord*, (who made his aduauntage of the *Foxe-ſkin*, as well as of *the Lyons*) [*] *had expreſly preſcribed*. He there vnfolds to the King, the *innumera-* "*ble multitude* both of King *Philips ſhips*, and of his "ſouldiers *Horſe* and *Foote*, (all in readineſſe to paſſe, "and yet more expected to follow) to bereaue him of "his *kingdome* by Apoſtolicall authority, and to en-"joy it himſelfe with his heires for euer. That with "him were alſo comming all the *Engliſh* Exiles, both "Clergy and Lay, *they*, by his forces to re-poſſeſſe "their eſtates, (maugre the King) and *he* from them "to receiue Allegiance, as from his ſworne Subjects. "That hee had the fealty of almoſt all the *Engliſh* "*Peeres* obliged to him by their owne *Charters*; "which made him diſtruſtleſſe of attaining eaſily his "wiſhed ſucceſſe: which calamities (the more vnſuf-"ferable, becauſe impoſed by his inſulting enemy, and "his owne ſubjects) he might yet euade and retaine "his Crowne, which by ſentence he had already loſt, "if penitently he would ſubmit himſelfe to the Chur-"ches judgement. Doubtleſſe the ſtraites whereinto the King ſaw himſelfe plunged, were very dreadfull; ſo many deadly enemies abroad to aſſault him, ſo few truſty friends at hom to guard him: which droue him into this ſad cogitation, [k] *that theſe his perfidious Peeres would now with their followers abandon him in the field, or betray him ouer to the Sword of his Enemies*. Yet not vnlikely other motiues alſo might forcibly perſwade him to relent: the remembrance of the Emperour *Otho*, whom this very Pope (not without foule blot of [l] *Injuſtice* and [m] *Leuity*) had both eagerly aduanced, & furiouſly diſ-empyred; the boundleſſe furies of the *Cruſado* promulged againſt him, wherewith this Pope [n] vſed to ouer-flow, as with a mercileſſe *Ocean*, all ſuch Princes as withſtood his will, which once broken-in would neuer end, but with the end and ruine of all. Thus thinking it better to yeelde to the time, with aſſurance both [o] of his *Crowne*, and of the [p] *Popes fauour*, then deſperately to hazard *Life*, *Crowne* and all, to his mortall foes; hee redeemes his ſafety on ſuch conditions, as *Neceſsity, and the Pope* (*both which haue no law*) liſted to impoſe; and ſo preſently ſwore to ſubmit *in all things* [*] *to the judgement of the Church*. By vertue of which farre-ſtretching Oath, *Pandulphus* afterwards exacteth his ſubſcription to a [*] *Forme of Peace preſcribed by the Pope*, wherein King *Iohn*, though [q] *with an vnwilling, yea a bleeding hart, and weeping eies, yet will he, nill he*, muſt acknowledge [r] *that touching all things for which he was excommunicated, he had abſolutely ſworne* [*] *to ſtand to whatſoeuer the Pope ſhould commaund*. Secondly, *that the Archbiſhop, Biſhops and Monkes, with all the reſt of that liſt, ſhould (with ſatisfaction alſo for all dammages) be reſtored both to their poſſeſſions and the Kings fauour, ſo that they alſo would ſweare not to attempt any thing againſt the Kings Perſon and Crowne*. Wherein we ſee that King *Iohn* in ſwearing to *obey the judgement of the Church*, was concluded to haue ſworne performance of *whatſoeuer the Pope commanded*; and how great matters the Pope can command, King *Iohn*, with much more [*] *bleeding amaritude of ſpirit*, ſhall quickly ſee and feele. For two daies after, (being the period of the Hermits propheſie) the King at the houſe of the *Knights Templars*, in *Douer*, [t] *by the Popes commaund* in his [u] *pre-ordination at Rome, taking off his Crowne from his head, ſurrendred it into the Popes hands by his Atturney Pandulphus*, (at whoſe feete he [v] alſo laide his Scepter, Robe, Sword, and Ring, the Royall Enſignes;) ſubſcribed alſo to another [x] *Charter*, whereby hee *reſigned his Kingdomes to the Pope*, profeſſing he did it [*] *neither for feare, nor force, but of his owne free will, and in the Common Councell of his Barons, as hauing no other way to make ſatisfaction to God and the Church for his offence, and that thence-forward he would hold his Crowne as Feodary to the Pope, paying a penſion annuall of 1000. markes for both the Kingdomes of England* and *Ireland*: whereupon doing *homage* and ſwearing *fealty* to the Pope, he did withall deliuer ſome money, (as the earneſt of his ſubjection) vnto *Pandulph*, [y] who throwing it to the ground, did thereon *trample with his feete*, to manifeſt his Maſters greatneſſe. That theſe things were done in preſence of ſome Peeres, who gaue no conſent thereto, appeares by *Henry* Archbiſhop of *Dublin*, (the very principall man in that Aſſembly) who [z] both *inwardly grieued thereat, and openly diſclaymed* and gaine-ſayed it.

(49) The Pope formerly pretended hee ſought [a] *nothing more then* Iohns *repentance*, and [b] *grieued at nothing ſo much as Englands deſolation*: but theſe his circumuentions bewray he ſought ſomewhat elſe, which bred both *repentance* and *deſolation* to King *Iohn* and his Succeſſors long after. Which fact cannot be liuelier paralelled, then by another dolefull accident of the former yeare, [c] when a dreadfull fire in *Southwarke*, conſuming the Church and buildings neere *London-Bridge*, ſuddenly (whiles numberleſſe people flockt on the Bridge, either to bring ſuccour or ſeeke ſafetie) the fire by a winde ſeized alſo on the hither-end of the Bridge; wherewith [*] multitudes thus encompaſſed on both ſides, miſerably periſhed; where at length ſome bringing their *Barges* to ſaue the reſt, their crowde was ſo great, that the veſſels ſinking, more periſhed in the *Water*, then by *Fire*. King *Iohn*, like thoſe, was in the middeſt of two ineuitable flames, on this ſide, his faithleſſe Nobles, on that, his mercileſſe foes; when the Pope thus proffering him S[t]. *Peters Boat*, for a ſafegard from both, drencht him into as great miſery, certainly greater Ignominy then both the other. Wherein yet the Pope doth not want his ſhare and ſhame; amongſt his owne fauourites, ſome accurſing that his *preſcribed Charter*, as [d] *lamentable and deteſtable*; [e] ſome, denying it was of the Popes procuring, but that King *Iohn* had long before made a *vow of deuotion*, that if God ſetled him in thoſe Kingdomes hee would dedicate them both, and make them tributary to the See Apoſtolicke. But ſome other, (great *pillars* of the *Papacy*) ſtepping further, [f] auow it to be vtterly *vntrue, that King* Iohn *did make his Realmes thus tributary to the Pope*; or [g] *that euer ſuch penſions were paide to Rome*; or [h] if hee ſo did, or any other *Engliſh* King ſhould ſo doe, ſuch an Act *to be of no validitie at all*; or if it were of any force, [i] *it ought onely to lie on King* Iohn, *who ſo offended, and not on any his Succeſſors*. Doubtleſſe, if the *Papal Sword* had power to cut off King *Iohns* regality for any offence, his Crowne was to haue deſcended to the next Heire, (whether *Henry* his ſonne, or *Eleanor Arthurs* ſiſter, then aliue) who, as they were not guilty of the fault, ſo neither conſenting to the reſignement. Some therefore haue imagined, that [k] *ſuch Inſtruments might happily then be motioned and drawne, and yet dye vnratified, though the copies ſtand recorded*; but whatſoeuer were then done, that the Pope himſelfe (not onely thoſe his friends) were thereof aſhamed will hereafter appeare.

(50) Whiles *Pandulphus* is thus chaffering about the Crowne for his Maſter the *Pope*, *Philip* is fitting his head to weare it, and was now ſetting forth his Nauy to winne it, for himſelfe; which made the Legate (hauing after [l] fiue dayes ſeyſin re-deliuered the *Crowne*, but [m] not yet releaſed the *Cenſures*, till conditions were performed) to haſten into *France*, carrying with him eight thouſand pound, as part of reſtitution to the exiled Biſhops; where, comming to King *Philip*, he aduiſed him to diſmiſſe his *hoaſt*, and enterprize againſt King *Iohn*, as being now an *obedient and reconciled Son to the Church*. But *Philip* who was of the Popes minde, not caring for *Iohns* repentance, but for his *Kingdome*, which now hee left before he had gotten it, [n] *fretting exceedingly* to ſee himſelfe not onely ſet vp for a ſtale, and made to the

World

Ibidem.

i *Mat. Paris.*

* *Papa formam euidenter expreſſit. Paris.*

Pandulphus perſwaſion to King Iohn.

k *Rog. de Wend. M.S. Mat. Paris.*

l *Pariſ. hiſt. ma.*
m *Mat. Weſtminſt.*
n *As Serres* ſheweth in *Ludou.* 8. touching the *Albegois*, and *Paris* touching *Otho*, &c.

o *Wend. M.S.*
p *Mat. Weſtmin.*

* *Iudicio Eccleſiæ patiarum. Paris.*
* Dated at *Douer*, 13. *Maij*, an. reg. 14. *Paris. Wendo.*
q *Mat. Paris. hiſt. min. M.S.*
r See *Wendouer. Paris. Weſtminſt. Triuet. Walſingh.*
* *Stare mandatis Domini Papæ.*

* *Vſque ad ſpiritûs intimi cruentam amaritudinem. Paris hiſt. min. M.S.*
* *In vigilia Aſcenſionis, Maij* 15. *Pariſ.*
s *Perinde, ac Innocentius mandauit, Polydor.*
t *Iuxta quod ſuarat Roma ſententiatum. Wend. M.S.*
v *Ioh. de Serres. in Phil. Auguſto.*
x See *Wendou.* & *Paris.*
* The Pope commaunds the king to auerre vntruthes.

y *Pariſ hiſt. ma.*

z *Mat. Paris.*

a *Nihil ſibi jucundius. Polydor.*
b *Graui mœrore confectus. Paris.*

c *Ex Record. S. Mariæ de South. Pariſ. hiſt. min. M.S.*

* *Will. Packington* writeth that 3000 were found dead and halfe burnt, beſides thoſe who were quite conſumed.

The Romaniſts cenſures touching the Popes thus dealing.
d *Lugubrem, deteſtabilem. Matth. Weſtm. Paris, & alij.*
e *Sabellicus Aenead. 9. l. 5.*
f Sir *Thomas More* in the ſupplication of ſoules.
g *Campions hiſt. of Ireland. l. 2. c. 3.* Sir *T. Moore.*
h *Roſſus Warwic. M.S.* Sir *Tho. Moore. Edm. Campion.*
i *Polyd. Virg. l. 15.*

k *Edmund Campion hiſt. of Ireland, l. 2. c. 3.*

l *P. Aemilius in Phil. 2.*
m *Pariſ. hiſt. min. M.S.*

n *Matth. Weſt.*

World an obiect of scoffe, by the Nunces guilefull colluſions, but alſo by the ° *Popes own inticements*, plunged into ſo exceſſiue a dammage, (hauing ſpent, beſide his great trauaile in this preparation, 60000. *Crownes, wherewith he purchaſed nought but ſcoffes*; reſolued and *profeſſed, that ſith the Pope himſelfe, had ſo farre thruſt him on, his Legates ſuggeſtions* (P *no nor his threats of excommunication,*) *ſhould not draw him backe* from his intendment. In which reſolution q calling his Peeres and Nobles into a conſultation at *Sueſſouns*, all the reſt approuing the courſe, *Ferdinand* Earle of *Flaunders* (*part of whoſe Country Philip by force detained*) told him tartly, that r as the attempt was both *vniuſt* & *impoſsible*, ſo s *it was fitter, euery mans right ſhould at home be reſtored, and iuſtice imbraced, before they attempted to teach duties of piety to others abroad*. And, that he t *ought rather to thinke of making reſtitution to King Iohn of thoſe tranſmarine Countries, which he with-held vniuſtly, then of inuading his Realme, whereto he had no right at all*. With which vnexpected reclamation, v the chiefe Peeres began to wauer, & *Philip* enraged, *bidding him defiance, forbad him his Court*. The like rough vſage (not long before) found x *Reginald the moſt valorous* Earle of *Bulloigne* (though his *daughter was married to Philips younger ſon*,) whom the *French* King perceiuing to wiſh well to King *Iohn*, y *droue him vniuſtly out of his Earledome*; but King *Iohn*, receiuing him with honourable compenſation of z faire reuenewes in *England*, held both with him and Earle *Ferdinand*, a ſure (though ſecret) confederacy. So that now *Philips* rage, and feare to hazard his owne Crowne, if ſeeking anothers, hee ſhould leaue ſo neere an Enemy at his backe, diuerts the courſe of his *Ambition* into the ſtreame of his *Reuenge*, and reſoluing firſt to ſubdue the Earle, (after which ſucceſſe hee might more ſafely paſſe into *England*,) he commands his mighty prepared *Nauy* to ſet forth from the mouth of *Seyne* towards *Flaunders*, where himſelfe with his forces (meaning to ſubdue the countrey in their way) would meet them by land. Whereof King *Iohn* hauing ſpeedy intelligence from the Earle (who, knowing his meanes too ſlender to beare off the Kings ſo long prepared power, deſired his preſent aide) without delay diſpatched his * Fleet, to purſue them who intended to purſue him; vnder the conduct of a *three braue Generals*, his brother *William* Earle of *Sarisbury*, *William* Duke of *Holland*, and *Reginald* Earle of *Bulloigne*; b who with happy gales ſurprizing the *French Nauy* at the port of *Damme*, (whiles moſt of the *French Souldiers* were on land, diſpoiling the Earles Country,) ſeized on them all; c *three hundred of which Ships*, laden with prouiſion, Armes, and other coſtly fraught (*for whatſoeuer the King & all his Nobles held deareſt was therein*,) they ſent for *England* (whither at firſt they were bound) and *aboue one hundreth* other they burnt, or ſunke, for *France*.

(51) This Nauall victorie produced effects in the two Kings ſo oppoſite as were their affections; the d one *with anguiſh of his irreparable loſſe and ignominy*, haſting back into *France*, to preuent further danger; and e the other (ioyfull of his owne ſucceſſe and his confederates) diſmiſſing his power, as ſecure of any *French* attempts in haſte. Wherefore now, with full purpoſe to finde him worke at home, who ſo buſily ſought it abroad, hee forthwith ſent (with large rewards to his *Flaunders Army*) f inſtructions alſo to the Earles, how to infeſt *Philip* on that ſide of *France*, whiles himſelf entring *Poictou*, would do the like on the contrary ſide, & *Otho the Emperor on a third part*. A dangerous plot and league, if the iſſue had beene anſwerable to the deſignes. For proſecution whereof, g King *Iohn* attending at *Portſmouth* with a noble Army, in hope now that all true *Engliſh*, would gladly embrace ſo faire an opportunity, to recouer their hereditary Prouinces from the falſe *French*; his *Barons* reſtleſſe themſelues in procuring his vnreſt, and enuying that his forraine vexations being thus paſſed, hee ſhould want domeſticke, flatly oppoſe themſelues both to his commaund and their Countries good, h denying him (*vntil he were aſſoyled of his excommunication,*) their attendance in ſo behouefull a ſeruice. Thoſe men in the heate of his former troubles with the Pope, thinking ſuch troubled waters moſt aduantageous for their fiſhing, i re-commenced their contention with the King for their long-deſired *Liberties*, wherin becauſe they found him ſtill as immooueable as themſelues were immoderate, it ſeemeth, though the cloake of their now refuſall were *Religion*, yet their ſpurre was *Reuenge*, hauing withall an eye to the good of the King of *France*, whom ſo well they had before loued, as to wiſh him *King of England*. But *King Iohn*, being no leſſe earneſt to further the preſent generall cauſe, then they their particular ends, delayed not their deſires; and k deſpeeding his Charters and ſafe-conducts to the Archbiſhop and his fellow-Exiles, hee as ſpeedily * arriued: l *at whoſe preſence the earth* is ſaid *to haue trembled*; but (doubtleſſe) King *Iohn* did; who hearing of his comming towards him (then at *Wincheſter*) went to meet him and thoſe other Biſhops; at whoſe ſight m *he fell down at their feet, with flouds of teares intreating them to commiſerate His, and his Kingdomes, miſeries*. Vpon which n *great humility in a King* (*mouing them likewiſe to bedew their eyes*,) they lifted him from the ground, and leading him by each Arme to the doore of the *Cathedrall Church* (where, at rehearſall of the 50. Pſalme, all his Nobles and others wept for ioy,) after in the *Chapter-houſe* they did abſolue him; but with ſuch guilefull Appendices of Oathes impoſed on him, that this aſſoilement was not ſo much the *Epilogue* of his olde, as the *Prologue* of his new Tragicall vexations.

(52) For the *Prelates*, whoſe beſt abettors the diſloyall Barons had formerly beene, meaning now to bee the like to them, amongſt other *Oathes* then taken of the king (to ° defend *holy Church* & *Churchmen*; to make due *reſtitutions* to the Clergy; to beare *fealty* to the *See of Rome*,) cunningly alſo inſerted this, P *to eſtabliſh the good Lawes of his Predeceſſors, & to aboliſh all bad, proceeding with all his Subiects according to the iuſt iudgements of his Courts*: out of which generalities, what good ſtuffe the *Prelates* and *Barons* can picke, ſequels will ſhew. Now all exceptions ſeeming to bee taken away, which might hinder the Kings deſigne for *Fraunce*, hee once againe at *Portſmouth* haſtens to embarke his hoaſt; where, at the point of paſſage new impediments are pretended, q that the *people hauing ſpent their money with long attendance, could not be fitted for the ſeruice; except the King would doe it out of his Treaſure*; which moued the King in anger, with a ſmall traine of his owne attendants, to ſet forth to Sea, and his *Barons* (*Philips* true friends) *to depart home, leauing the king* (*who at Gerſey expected their comming*) *deſtitute of their ſeruice*. With theſe ſo often trecherous deluſions, what maruaile, or blame, if a King, and in ſo important an Action, thus defeated, were enflamed to take due reuenge? On which purpoſe the King thus r *enforced to returne*, reſoluing to chaſtiſe thoſe *rebellious ſpirits* (the cauſes thereof) *and to reclaime them to due obedience by force of Armes*, the Archbiſhop (reſolute to be as tough a *Bridle* to the *Regall power*, as euer *Hubert* his predeceſſor was;) came vnto him, to diuert him with Argument, that it *was a breach of his Oath, for him to take Armes againſt any man whatſoeuer, without the iudgement of his Court*. But the s next day, ſeeing hee could not thus preuaile with reaſons (the King forbidding him *to intermeddle in matters of lay-judgements*, & t *ſwearing that he would not forbeare for one* * *Clerkes pleaſure to tame his owne vaſſals*) he followed the King (who was on his way earneſtly following his intendment) deterring him with threates, and vowing, v *if out of hand he did not deſiſt* from his purpoſe, hee would *excommunicate all*, (except the King himſelfe) *who durſt take*

° *Mat. Paris. min. hiſt. M.S. & ma. hiſt.*

P *Ioh. de Serres. in Phil. Auguſt. Tpodig. Neuſtri.*

q *Paul. Aemil. in Philippo 2.*

r *Serres.*

s *Aemil.*

t *Pariſ. hiſt. min. M.S.*

v *Serres.*

* *Aemilius* and *Serres* ſuppoſe *Ferdinand* and *Reginald* fell off at one time, but our *Engliſh* Writers, *Paris Triuet*, &c. ſhew the contrary.

x *Paul. Aemil. Mat. Paris.*

y *Rog. Wend. M.S.*

z *Paris. Trecentis librati terra.*

a *Paris hiſt. min. M.S.*

q *Aemilius. Mat. Paris. Triuet. M.S*

c *Pariſ. hiſt. min. M.S.*

King *Philips* great Nauy defeated by the *Engliſh*.

* Of 500. ſhips, *Mat. Paris. M.S.*

King *Johns* reſolution to turne the warres vpon *France*.

d *Triuet. M.S. Wend. M. S.*

e *Paris. hiſt. min. M.S.*

f *Mat. Paris, hiſt. maior. Serres.*

g *Wend. M. S. Pariſ. hiſt. maior.*

Forraine troubles ended, domeſtick begin by the Barons.

h *Wendouer. M.S. Paris.*

i *Nich. Triuet, Ann. 1212. M.S.*

k *Wendouer. Paris.*

* *Apud Douerum, 17. Cal. Aug. Wend. M. S.*

l *Libr. S. Alban. in vit. Iob. Abb.* Archbiſhop *Langton* arriueth in *England*.

m *Paris. Wend.*

n *Idem.*

The King abſolued from the ſentence of Excommunication.

The Archbiſhop ſides with the Barons againſt the King.

° *Mat. Pariſ. hiſt. ma.*

P *Wend. M.S.* A guilefull oath impoſed on the King.

The King againe deluded by freſh ſhifts.

q *Mat. Paris, hiſt. ma.*

The Barons leaue the King.

The King returneth for want of his Subiects aide.

r *Paris.*

s *Rog. de Wend. M. S.*

t *Pariſ. hiſt. min. M. S.*

* *Propter vnum Clericaſtrum. ibid.*

v *Pariſ. hiſt. ma.*

take

take Armes against any whomsoeuer, till the Interdict were quite released. So quickly did this Prelate on his comming into *England*, shew himselfe not onely a faithfull *Philippine*, (as the King fore-saw,) and a faithlesse *Baronist* (as these his darings proue) but euen another Pope, to threaten and persecute the King, sith *Innocentius* had left to doe it.

The Archbishops conspiring against the King.

(53) But these threates of *sacred Censure*, though they dash the whole course of Regall gouernment, may seeme the more excusable, hee hauing some colour (though but a colour) thereof by reason of his *vocation* and *place*: the courses which soone after he pursued, will not admit the like plea or pardon with the King. This *English Pope*, hauing in a [x] *promiscuous Synode of Clergy men and Barons*, granted by Indulgence, that in this time of Interdict, both *Conuentuals and Seculars*, might in their Churches celebrate diuine seruice, *so it were with a very low voyce*; singled out the *Barons into a*[y] *very priuate conference* (more cordiall perhaps to them then seruing of God,) relating with much ostentation, what an *Oath* at his assoiling the King, he [*] *compelled him to take, for restoring good lawes, and antiquating bad; to which end, a Charter of King Henry the first being lately found* (which there he shewed and caused to be read) *by it, they might, if themselues would, reduce to the pristine estate, those Liberties which long they had lost.* Both *Charter* and *Counsell* being receiued with [*] *great applause and ioy*, a [z] *Confederacy was stricken betwixt them*, they all *swearing to him to striue for those liberties to the spending of their liues, & he promising them his most faithfull and vttermost assistance.* Amongst so many false to the State, probable it is, that some were false among themselues, by whom these *secrecies* might come to the kings eares; who finding himselfe by both Clergy and Lay-Peeres combining against him, vnable to reuenge his forraine, or represse such domesticke indignities, knew no surer way to ouer-top them all, then by that high Hand, by which himselfe was first subiected to them all. How this must be fetcht about, because it concernes his Holinesse, a *learned Monke* shall relate in his owne Language. [a] *The King knew and had learned by manifold experience, that as the Pope, both for Ambition, and Pride, went beyond all other mortall men: So likewise, he was in his greedy desire of riches so vnsatiable, that with money, either paid or promised, he might be wrought like waxe, and made plyable to all wicked actions.* Thus hauing the true length of the Popes foot, hee fits him accordingly with rich presents, and golden promises, crauing (by such mouing Rhetoricke) not his aide onely, but his *Curse* also against the Archbishop and Barons, who so vncessantly distressed him. But *Innocentius* (forward of himselfe without any Motiues, to put in vre those his Papall vertues, and the execution of his late vsurped power,) vpon the first gladsome newes of *Englands Vassallage* to his See, had presently dispatched for *England* an Agent of greater port then *Randulph* a *Subdeacon, Nicholas* Bishop of *Tusculum*, with no meaner credence and instructions for preseruing what the Pope had guilefully gotten, then *Randulph* had to purchase what hee ambitiously gaped for: by whose [b] arriuall the King seemed to bee possessed of those his desires, before his golden letters arriued at *Rome* to craue them.

The Popes Legate commeth into *England*.

(54) For this *Legate* was infected with the like itches ([c] *Ambition* and *Auarice*) as his Master, and therefore King *Iohn* knew how to demerite his fastnesse and loue, by suppling him with like [d] oyntments; whereby the Archbishop and Barons soone perceiued, that the *Legate* was [e] wholly *Regall*, and the King *Papall*; which iealousie made both their Actions more distastfull. The Ouert and professed end of his comming, being to release the *Interdict*, hee first tampered a little to accord the King and Prelates vpon couenants of *Restitution*; towards which, though the king offered ten thousand markes, yet the Prelates ([f] repining at the Legates [*] *partiality* to the King in approuing that offer,) [g] chose rather to suffer the whole land to grone vnder that vnchristian, and truely-styled *Curse*, [*] then to defalcate any iot of their couetous demaunds. Vnder which colour, the Popes Agent, (a fit *helue* for such a *hatchet*,) brake his mind to the King of a more secret & principall cause of his *Legacie*, which was [h] for the contriuing of a more validous and vnexceptionable conueyance of his Kingdomes to the yoake of *Romish* Soueraignety; pretending doubtlesse, (as *Randulph* had done) that [i] *he could neuer be safe or quiet, but vnder the powerful protection of the Popes wings.* What iust exceptions the World might take to the former Graunt, his *Holinesse* was not ignorant; it being an Act in the King, both of manifest [*] *Periury* against his oath at his Coronation, and also of [*] *Constraint*, [*] *Circumuention*, and [*] *Feare*; he being driuen thereto by the Pope himselfe, who had set vp both the *French* power, and his owne Barons against him; an Act of one [*] actually *excommunicate*, as also were the [*] *Witnesses* conuersing with him in that action, whereto, as neither the [*] next *Heyres*, nor the [*] *Clergie*, nor [*] *Body* of the Kingdome, gaue any consent, so an [*] *open disclaime* thereof was made by the very [k] *Principall man* there present, in the name (as is likely) of all the rest: and that all was ingrossed with so many *grosse* [*] *vntruths*, as if done *most voluntarily*; without *any feare* or *force*; in a general *Assembly of the Barons*, onely by a *diuine inspiration*, & because *the King had nothing fit to pacifie God for his sins, but the giuing away of his Kingdomes*: Well might the Pope blush at these shamelesse abusions; and therefore if now the *King*, standing on calmer termes, can be wrought to ratifie his *former Graunt*, though the dealing bee more fraudulent, yet the Act will seeme more colourable, because sauouring of lesse constraint, and more *free deuotion*. But if we looke with an vnpartiall Eye, wee shall see both the plight of King *Iohn*, and the action of *Innocentius*, still like it selfe: the *Interdiction* still burthening his land; his *Barons* more molestious to him then forraine foes; his *Prelates* greedily grating on him to empouerish his meanes; his Archbishop stopping all proceedings against *forraine* or *home-bred* enemies; and if hee had thwarted the Popes commaund herein, hee fore-saw farre greater stormes at hand, then hee had hitherto escaped. Thus in desire to settle his *Kingdomes* quiet for his owne time, and in hope, perchance, that his *Successors* would (as since by diuine blessing they haue) vindicate it againe from such an enforced slauery, hee condescended to renue his [*] *Charter of Subiection*, knowing belike that his expresse [*] *reseruation to himselfe & his Heires, of all due administration of Iustice, all Liberties and Regalties*, (as being excepted out of the Graunt,) was forcible of it selfe to make it vnforcible. For how hath hee his wonted *power of Iustice*, who was *supreme*, and is made *subordinate*? how his wonted *liberties*, who was *absolute*, and is made *Homager* and *Pensioner*? how his fore-used *Regalties*, whom another may name and command as his *vassall*? Yet this *Charter*, adorned with a *Golden Bull*, (fit for the *Roman* [*] *Phalaris*, whereas the former was but sealed with *wax*) was at a meeting in Saint *Pauls Cathedrall Church* ([l] pretended for other businesses about the *Interdict*) presented for more authenticke solemnity at the High-Altar, where, in the *King* and *Legates* presence, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, himselfe also both a Cardinall & a Legate (in this, acting the office of a stout *Patriote*, & noble *Prelate*, as the *Archbishop* of *Dublein* had done at the first *Graunt*,) stept forth, and in the [*] name of the whole *Clergy* and *Kingdome*, [m] *boldly and earnestly* presented [n] *at the same Altar in solemne manner, his Appeales against that Charter, so execrable to the whole world*, as likewise *formerly* [o] *he had vsed all possible endeuor to diuert the kings heart from that subiection to the Pope and Court of Rome.* That the *Peeres* of the *land* accorded with the Archbishop in the *Appeale*, (and

The Kings plot to ouer-master both Prelates and Barons.

The vertues of Pope *Innocentius*.

The new Charter to the Pope.

The new Legate sticks close to King *Iohn*.

King *Iohns* present condition.

g *Nic. Triuet. M.S.*

* *Clero interdictũ relaxari nolente, vsque satisfactum esset ad plenum. ib.*

h *Wend. M.S.*

i *Westminst. Triuet. M.S.*

Exceptions to the first graunt.
1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10.

k Archbishop of *Dublein*.

11. Grosse vntruthes prescribed by the Pope in that graunt.

The Pope renounceth his first Charter, & seeks a new.

* Dated 3. Octob.
* *Saluis nobis & heredibus.*
See the Charter. *Matth. Paris. Westmin.* &c.

* *Phalaris* tortured men in a brazen Bull.

l *Paris hist. maior.* The Archbishop of *Canterbury* appeales against the Kings subiection.
* As appeareth in *Mat. Paris. ad An.* 1231. *Iuri & appellationibus Steph. Cant.* and in *Rossius VVarwic.*

a *Mat. Paris.*

b *Circa festum S. Michaelis. Rog. Wend. M.S.*

c *Paris hist. min. M.S.*

d *Donatiua preciosa, ibid.*

e *Summo opere regi placere, &c. ibidem.*

f *Matth. Paris. M.S.*
* *Plus aquo parti regiæ, &c. ibid.*

m *Paris. hist. min. M.S.* saith also *Procaciter, ad Ann.* 1214.

n *Paris hist. ma. in Henrico* 3. *ad Ann.* 1231. *Rossius Warwicanus.*

o *Paris hist. min. M.S.*

(and more then in *Appeales*) both the *Kings* owne p *letters* to the Pope saying, *they openly professed, that they forcibly made head against him, because hee had so enslaued his land*, and their owne bitter *exclamations* against it, so frequently in q Authors reiterated, doe demonstrate: and yet both the *Archbishop* and other *Barons*, are so cunningly named in the Popes r *Transcript*, as if they had not onely beene present and *witnesses* at the doing, but also *approuers* of the deed. What comfort then had *Innocentius* of renouncing his *olde Charter*, and thus shuffling for a *new*? Surely but little, it seemeth; especially when he saw both his owne *Creatures* in *England* thus oppugne it, and *Christian Princes* abroad; yea King *Iohns* * mortall *enemies*, who not onely denied, that *England* (notwithstanding this Transaction) s *was any patrimony of S. Peter*, and condemned the Pope for *holding an errour so pernicious to all Kingdomes*; but also vowed *to die before they would yeeld, that any king can of his owne will, make his Kingdome Tributary, and his Nobles slaues to others*. By which vniuersall detestation of this the Popes vsurping, it is not improbable (though for the present hee flourished the *Transcript* thereof, which he sent into *England*, with the t Preface of *Christ and Melchisedech, being Kings and Priests, and that therefore in one person of Christs Vicar, as the Soule and the Body, so both Kingdome and Priesthood did now concurre*,) that yet ere long hee was no lesse ashamed of this *latter*, then of his *former Charter*. Whereto well suteth his testimony, who writes, that a v *Parliament was held at London the yeare 1214. Where the Archbishop sate as President with all the Clergy and Laity: wherein by commandement of the Pope, the Charter, Fealty, and homage by which the King was* obliged to the Pope, *was absolutely released on the 7. day of Iuly*: which if bee true, no maruaile if the *Court of Rome* cannot produce, though often challenged thereto, this *Charter*, whereof so much they vaunt. Notwithstanding some vnquiet Spirits, aspiring long after to the *Papacy*, though pretending (perhaps) the x *Originall Charter was consumed at Lyons* (where the y Pope causing, some say, *his owne Conclaue to be set on fire, to haue a pretence to extort a contribution from the Prelates there in councell, the fire went farther then* * *he meant it should*) they made some flourish to z renew their claime of *homage* and *pension*, till in a Generall Parliament, the Prelates, Lords, and Commons, *seuerally* and *ioyntly* a *enacted*, that *for so much as neither King Iohn, nor any other King, could bring his Realme and people to such thraldome, but by common assent of Parliament, (the which was neuer done,) and that in so doing he did against his Oath at his Coronation; besides many other causes of iust exception; if therefore the Pope thence forward should attempt any thing therein, the King with all his Subiects should with all their Forces and powers resist the same, and rather hazard all their liues and liuelyhood, then endure that vsurpation*. If Pope *Pascall* (in the b time of King *Iohns* grandfather) hauing *with much solemnity* made some graunts to the Emperour *Henry*, and confirmed them with an c *Anathema*, with the d *oaths* of thirteene Cardinals, and with e religious receiuing of the *blessed Sacrament*; yet, because such graunts were thought preiudiciall to his *See*, f solemnly disclaimed his owne Act, and such his doing was approued by a *Clergy Councell*, as pretended to be done g by *feare*: how much more iustly might *King Iohns Successors* and his *State*, by such approbation of their grand Councell, free themselues of those seruitudes wherewith by anothers *vniust, forced, vnwarrantable* Act, they were supposed to be enfettered?

(55) Though the Archbishop were so vnkinde against the Pope (the Aduancer of his Fortunes,) as to giue by his appeale so fatall a blow to his desired Crowne, yet the Pope was not so ingrate as to die in his debt; as quickely hee found in h another Appeale which hee made to the Pope against his *Legate*, for that he, relying on i *Apostolicall indulgence*, not onely disposed of all Spirituall dignities to k *such as best liked the King*, but also to his owne l *Italians, and Kinsmen, though absent, vnknowne, vnsufficient, vnworthy, yea, and some* m *vnborne*. Which *Legatine* * *Tyranny* vnsufferable in a Christian State, though *Simon Langton* (the Archbishops brother and Proctor) vrged earnestly before the Pope, yet the Legates Agent *Randulphus*, so displayed both the Archbishops feruentnes *in vsing such* * *eager perswasions and appellation against the Kings subiection*, and the Prelates * auarice, *in their vnreasonable exactions for restitution from the King*; being the most *benigne, modest, and humble Prince that his eyes euer beheld*; that his Holines not onely conceiued n *exceeding hatred* against the Archbishop and his cause, but sent also his Authenticke Letters for repealing the *Interdict*, vpon restitution onely of 13000. Markes * more to the *Prelates* (the King before had voluntarily offered them 100000) and that but by equall portions of o fiue yeeres payment. But the King, who knew the Popes pleasure before these Letters came to impart it, hauing found that his *French* affaires had sustained vnreparable impeachments by his hitherto enforced delayes, p entrusting his Kingdome to the *Legate* and *Earle Marshals* custody, was with his Forces passed into *Poictu*, (whiles in his absence, the relaxation of the *Interdict*, after q more then sixe yeeres continuance, was by the Legate in a Parliament solemnly promulged) where his Successes were so fortunate, that r *it being powerfully subdued*, great hope was conceiued the other Prouinces would follow. Whence breaking with s like victories into *Britaine*, being there at the point to giue t battle to *Lewis* the *Dolphine*, his euerfaithlesse *Poictouins* sodainely v forsooke him, and made him forsake his purpose. But a greater impayrement of those his hopes, was the x defeature of his Confederate *Otho* the Emperour, at the renowned *Battle of* * *Bouines*, where King y *Philip*, stricken from his horse by the hand of *Reginald* Earle of *Bulloigne*, had there with his *life* ended the *quarrell*, if a faithfull Souldier had not couered him with his own Body, and brauely sacrificed his *life*, to saue his *Soueraignes*; who thereupon recouered both his footing, and the *victory*. The heauy newes whereof, concurring with his Barons outrages at home, droue King *Iohn* on z deare conditions, to capitulate on a *fiue yeeres Truce*, and returne to bridle them at home, whose attempts hee euer found most dangerous, when he was most busied abroad. For vnder a * *pretext* of *Deuotion* (the vsuall maske for Treachery) the Barons assembling at Saint *Edmunds*, a *did euery man on the high Altar seuerally sweare, to renounce their sworne fealty to the King, & pursue him by Armes, till they had enforced his consent to the Charter of liberties formerly by the Archbishop recommended to them*. Which when b afterward they came in person to challenge of the King, as a part of his *Oath* taken at his Absolution; he c *seeing both their forces and affections addressed for violence*, was enforced with *gentle language* & *promised satisfactions*, to desire, till after *Easter, mature deliberation on so important a matter*; in which breathing time, both in *pollicie*, he tooke new oath of loyalty throughout all the land, & d in *deuotion*, vndertooke the *Vow* and *Signe* of the *holy Warres*, choosing belike to dye against faithlesse *Turks*, rather then to liue amongst such vnfaithfull Subiects. But neither *Oaths*, nor *holy vowes* e (*then esteemed the supreame priuiledge of protection*) could be sufficient *Bucklers* to protect against such desperate attempters; who at the prefixed weeke of Easter, preparing themselues not for a *Conference*, as with their Prince, but for a *Battle*, as against some hostile power, trouped together at *Stanford*, with f an *Army inestimable for number, whose* * *very principall Abetter and conspirer was Stephen the Archbishop*, the more pernicious person, because (to hide his false entendements) most assiduous in attendance about the King. And g him the King selecting to send to the Barons

p Dated at Douer, 5. Septemb. Citat. in respons. ad Apolog. Bellar. ca. 3.
q In Wendouer. Mat. Westmin. &c. alij.
r In Original. in custod. R. Cotton Baronetti.
s King Philip and the Peeres of France.
t Paris. hist. min. M. S.
t Ex originali Transcript. Dat. Octob. 3. 1214.
v Author. Eulogij. M. S.
x Matth. Paris hist. maior. An. 1245.
y Idem, ibid.
* Could the Pope rule Purgatory fire, and not this?
z See Parliament Rolles, temp. Ed. 1. & Ed. 3.
a An. 40. Ed. 3. Parliament Rolles. No. 8. The like answere to this was made, An. 3. Ed. 1. Rot. Claus. m. 9. in Schedula. See Cambden in Hibernia, p. 732.
b Houeden in Henrie. 1.
c Florent. Wigorn. ad An. 1111.
d Houeden ib.
e Idem, ib.
f Paris in H. 1. Houed.
g Boetius Floren.
An. 1214. The Popes displeasure against Stephen Langton.
h Matth. Paris. hist. ma.
i See Innocentius his letters in Paris.
k Regijs nutibus, Paris. hist. ma. M.S.
l Idem.
m Ibidem.
* Legati Tyrannis. ibid.
* Contra factam subiectionem procaciter appellasse. Paris M.S.
* Rigidos & auaros, Mat. Paris. hist. ma.
n Paris, hist. min. M.S.
* The King had paid 27. thousand before, and was to make it vp 40000.
o Nic. Triuet.
p Wend. M.S.
q Annos 6, menses 3. dies 14.
r Lit. Regis Ioh. apud Wend.
s Matt. Paris.
t Reg. Wen. M.S.
v Paris min. M.S.
x Paul. Æmil.
* Ad Pontem de Bouines. 6. Cal. Augusti, Paris. M.S.
y Paris hist. ma. See in Aemylius this battle at large.
z Datis 8000. marcar. Paris. M.S. The Barons new disloyalties.
* Orationis gratia. Wendouer. M.S.
a Mat. Paris. hist. ma.
An. 1215.
b Wendouer M.S.
c Mat. Paris.
d Idem.
e Literæ Innocentij apud Wend. & Paris.
f Paris. Wend. M.S.
* Coniurati principalem consentaneum habuerunt Stephanum, ibid.
g Idem.

Barons Army (who were come on as far as *Brackley*, not farre from the King, residing now in *Oxford*) to know the contents of their desires; hee brought a [h] *Scedule of their claimed liberties*, with a message of their resolutions, *if presently hee sealed not a Charter thereof vnto them, they would compell him thereto by forcible entrance on all his possessions*. Whereat his great heart [*] *highly disdaining*, hee demanded, *why they also demanded not his Kingdome? those their exactions being grounded on no colour of reason*, and swearing neuer *to enslaue himselfe to them by such a concession*, he dismissed his *Archbishop* to return them his peremptory answere.

The Barons in open rebellion.

(56) Neither were the *Barons* lesse resolute in performance of their *vow* and *message*, appointing for *Head* vnto that huge and heady rout, *Robert Fitzwalter*, whom they enstyled [i] *The Marshall of Gods Armie and holy Church*: who first assailing *Northhampton* Castle, after fifteene dayes fruitlesse fury, departed to *Bedford*, whose [*] Castelan being a Confederate, gaue them easie entrance; but the *Londoners* (displeased with the King for burthening them with taxes) not onely admitted them, but [l] *inuited* them by request, to enter their *Citie* by night: where hauing that Key (as it were) *of the Land*, in their dispose, they by their [m] *threatfull letters*, not onely drew most of the Nobles from the King, but also had almost lockt him out of his Regall Seat. To preuent which outrage, by gentle messages intreating of the Barons a *place* and *day* of meeting, who thereto designed [*] *Runingmead* ([n] since called *Counsell-mead, for such consultations of State,*) they thither came [o] *with armed multitudes out of all the Kingdome beyond all number*, that the King, [p] *seeing his power far inferiour vnto theirs*, was constrained to [*] grant them their vttermost desires, not onely for *Liberties*, (specified in [*] *Magna Charta, and Charta foreſtæ*) but also for a kind of sway in the *Gouernment*, by *twenty fiue selected Peeres*, to whose commaunds all the other Barons also were *bound by oath* to bee obsequious. Thus one of the greatest *Soueraignes* of *Christendome*, was now become the [q] *twenty sixt petty King in his owne Dominions*; as appeared that very night, when all the rest following the pompous streame of the new *vp-start Kings*, left their *Soueraigne* [*] onely with seauen Gentlemen to attend him. What maruaile if high disdain hereof pierced his swelling heart, and filled his minde with reuoluing thoughts, how to vnwind himselfe out of those seruile fetters? And so hee did: [r] sending his letters ouer night vnto certaine his trustiest *Castellans*, strongly to fortifie and victuall their *Castles*; and the [s] *next morning before breake of day*, very secretly retyring into the *Isle of Wight*: (whence seeking redresse both by the [t] *spirituall and temporall sword*) hee sent *Messengers*, both to the *Pope*, and other his *forraine friends*, to craue the *Censures* of the one, and succours of the other, against such outragious *Rebels*. In both which, his *Agents* were so sedulous, and his *Friends* so compassionate, that at [v] *Rome by definitiue sentence, the Barons Charters were speedily cancelled*, the *King* and *Barons* [z] *accursed, if either of them obserued the composition*, (which *Excommunication* was soone after vpon their continued rebellion put in execution, for that [y] *the Pope, Fortunes wheele being turned, did mortally persecute them whom himselfe had first whetted and incensed against the King*,) [z] and from *Flaunders, Gascoyne, Brabant*, and other parts, such competent aids came in, as encouraged the *King* (after [a] *three moneths* secrecy and retyring,) to shew himselfe in the face of his enemies. His suddaine comming, with so vnexpected attendance, to the siege of *Rochester Castle*, so amated both the [*] *Captaine* thereof, and all the *Barons* ([b] *who had sworne to assist him against any siege*,) that the one not daring to approach to his rescue, the other was enforced to yeeld vp his charge; and all his company had receiued, [*] what they deserued, had not *Sauary de Malleon* entreated for their liues. The *Gales* of King *Iohns* fortunes seemed from this time, to blow from some happier Angle; and [c] diuiding his great hoast into two parts, with the one, conducted by himselfe *Northward*, he [*] *euery where from the Southerne to the Scotish Sea*, victoriously subdued his *Rebels*, as likewise did the Earle of *Salisbury* with the other forrainers *Southward*. In which most deplored state of this land, all things were in confusion, and all men set on mischiefe, [d] *Fathers against their Sons, Brother against Brother, Kinsmen and Allies, against their neerest friends*, by *assayling, surprising, pursuing, burning, spoyling, disherizing, tormenting, murthering*; all the Kingdome, by the combustion of so vniuersall a Rebellion, becomming like a generall *shambles*, or place of Infernall torture. And yet, as witnesseth one who then liued, [e] *the Fathers and aged men* (likely to be the wiser, and better affected,) *stood on the Kings part, but the younger on the contrary*; *though some againe forsooke the King for loue of their kindred, and other like respects*.

The Popes Censures contemned.

(57) Which certaine miseries, and vncertaine sydings in *ciuill warres*, are not so strange, as is the sauage madnesse of disloyall dispositions, who to attaine a shadow of *seeming Liberties*, immerge themselues and their abetters into bottomlesse seruitudes and distresses. Yet more strange it is, that those *Barons*, and their adhering impugners of the King, whose pretext formerly was, that they durst not obey the King because of the *Papall Curse*, being now themselues by vertue of the same [f] *commanded to obey and assist him*, could without any scruple *contemne both it, and him*, [g] pretending it concerned them not, *because particularly they were not named*. Yea, the Archbishop himselfe, who with his rufflings had made the *World* beleeue, that the *Popes censure*, (yea and his [h] owne too,) were of vertue to depriue the King of all Soueraigne command ouer his Subiects, now being [i] *by name*, and vnder *that fearefull penalty*, required *by the Pope to denounce the same, against those perturbers of the Kings peace*; he esteeming thereof, but as a *visard* to affright children, told the Popes messengers, [k] *he would not doe it for any cause whatsoeuer, till himselfe had in person conferred with the Pope*; for which enormious contempt, the Bishop of *Winton* and *Pandulph*, [l] *solemnly denouncing the curse themselues against the Barons, did likewise suspend him from all Episcopall authority*. *Stephen* thus comming to *Rome* (for *Innocentius* had then called a *Generall* [m] *Councell*, and therein [n] *excommunicated all either French or English who impugned King Iohn*) was in that great assembly ([o] of 61. Archbishops, 412. Bishops, 800. Abbots and Priors,) accused and conuict of [p] *treason against the King, and contempt against the Pope and Churches censures*; for which the Pope [q] *fully resoluing to depose him from his See and Dignity, by the Cardinals earnest intercession for him (as being their Brother-Cardinall)* was intreated to deale somewhat milder; but yet there by [*] *publike sentence confirmed his suspension*, commanding by his [r] letters *all his Suffragane Bishops to with-draw their obedience from him*. And for a farther reuenge, whereas *Simon Langton* (his Brother,) by his procurement had been elected to the See of *Yorke*, (a strange example to [s] *haue a whole Kingdome ruled by two Brethren* of so turbulent humors) the Pope not onely did [t] cassate *his Election*, and made him *incapable* of any *Episcopall Dignity*, but also placed in that *See*, *Walter Gray* [v] (a trusty friend to the King, and a professed enemy to the *Langtons*) whose [x] *Pall* cost him no lesse then a thousand pound. By the like couetous grating at the breaking vp of the *Counsell*, the Pope [y] *extorted of euery Prelate there, an infinite masse of Money* [z] *before he would giue them leaue to depart home*; amongst whom *William* Abbot of S[t]. *Albans* was one, [a] who "*comming to take his leaue of the Pope without any* "*present*; *what?* (saith he) *Art thou the Abbot of* "*Saint Albans, to which place so often fauours haue* "*beene done by our* See; *and doth it become thee, to* "*goe hence without respect to me who am Pope? where-*"*upon he offering fifty Marks, was checkt and enforced before*

By the Barons.

By the Archbishop.

[h] *Rog. de Wend. M.S.*

[*] *Cum maxima indignatione. Ibidem.*

[i] *Roger Wend M.S.*

[*] *Will. de Bello-Campo.*
[k] *Mat. Westm.*

[l] *Missis nunciis. Paris.*

[m] *Wendouer. M.S.*

[*] Betwixt *Windsor & Staines.*
[n] *Glouers* Catalogue of honour. *p.* 954. but *Mat. West.* saith *quod interpretatur, Pratum consilij.*
[o] *Rog. de Wend. M.S.*
[p] *Paris hist. ma.*
[*] 15. *die Iunij. Paris.*
[*] See these Charters at large in *VVend.* & *Paris.*
[q] *Paris.*

[*] *Vix 7. Equitibus. VVendouer.* M.S.

[r] *Paris. hist. ma.*

[s] *Rog. de VVend. M.S.*

[t] *Paris. hist. ma.*

[v] *Paris. hist. min.* M.S.
[x] *Bulla Innocent. dat. 9. Cal. Sept. apud Mat. Paris.*
[y] *Paris. hist. min. M.S.*

[z] *Mat. VVest. Truet. M.S. VVend.* M.S.
[a] *Math. Paris.*

[*] *VVil. de Albineto.*
[b] *Rog. de VVend.*

[*] *Suspendio, &c. Matth. Paris.* M.S.

[c] *Mat. West.*
[*] *A mare Australi vsque ad mare Scoticum. Paris.*

[d] *Lib. S. Alban. in vita VVil. Abbat.*

[e] *Rog. Houed.* M.S. cited by *Fox in Martyr.*

[f] *VVendou.* M.S.

[g] *Matth. Paris. hist. maior.*

[h] *Vide supra.*

[i] *Bulla Innocentij, apud Paris.*

[k] *Paris hist. ma.*

[l] *Idem.*

[m] *Concilium Lateranens. mense Nouemb. VVend.*
[n] *Westmins.*
[o] *Idem.*
[p] *Paris hist. ma.*

[q] *Paris hist. min.* M. S.
The Archbishop suspended.
[*] *Laterani pridie. Non. Nouem. Paris*

[r] *Innocentij lit. apud VVend.*

[s] *VVestmin.*
[t] *Rog. de VVend.*

[v] *VVestminst. Goodwins* Catalogue.
[x] *VVend. M.S.*
[y] *Paris. hist. ma.*
[z] *Eiusd. min. hist. M.S.*
[a] *Lib. S. Albani in vita VVil. Abb. M.S.*

"*before he went out of the Popes Chamber, (which he re-*
"*pented hee euer entred) to pay an hundred Markes:*
"*which yet hee brooked the better, becauſe the Pope ſo*
"*handled all other Prelates; the faſhion being, for euery*
"*man to lay downe his money ready told before the Popes*
"*feet,* and ſo to take a[b] *deare bought Benediction & be*
"*gone: but if any wanted preſent caſh, the Popes Mer-*
"*chants, that is his Vſurers, were at hand, but on very*
"*hard conditions to ſupply them.*

[b] *Mat. Pa'is. hiſt. min. M.S.*

The Barons excommunicated by name.

(58) But how euer the *Clergy* fared, King *Iohn* had cauſe of contentment in the Popes proceedings in that *Councell*; eſpecially for that now his diſloyall Barons were [c] *all excommunicated by Name, and all their lands, together with the City of London, Interdicted:* which, though it gaue a deadly blow to the Barons faction, and made their caſe plainly deſperate, yet they ſtanding on their guard ſtill in *London,* [*] *held thoſe cenſures in ſo high contempt, that they decreed, neither themſelues or Citizens ſhould obſerue them, nor the* "*Prelates denounce them,* alleadging, [d] that *they were* "*on falſe ſuggeſtions procured; but chiefly, for that it ap-*
"*pertained not to the Pope to deale in ſecular affaires,*
"*ſith Peter receiued of our Sauiour only a power of mat-*
"*ters Eccleſiaſticke; And what ſhould the Romane inſa-*
"*tiable auarice extend it ſelfe hither to vs? What had*
"*Prelates to intermeddle with Warres? Such are Con-*
"*ſtantines Succeſſors not Peters, whom as they repreſent*
"*not in good Actions, ſo neither doe they in authoritie.*
"*Fie on ſuch* * *raſcall ribaulds, who knowing little of*
"*Armes or ingenious courſes, being but baſe Vſurers and*
"*Simoniacks, will now by their Excommunications domi-*
"*nere ouer the whole world: Oh how vnlike are they to*
"*Peter, who now vſurpe Peters place?* The Barons (the cauſers themſelues, of what they ſo deteſted) had leaſure thus to reaſon, for now they had neere loſt all; and therefore [e] *curſing both the Pope,* (who curſed them, and endeauoured [f] *to draw all into the bottomleſſe gulfe of the Romane auarice,*) and the King [g], *betwixt whom like two milſtones, they were now grounded to peeces; being hopeleſſe* (by reaſon of their diſloyalties) *to finde any fauour of their Prince, if they ſhould ſubmit themſelues vnto him,* [h] *in theſe ſtraits,* they reſolue on a proiect, (ſutable indeed to their former deſignes, but otherwiſe ſo execrable, as well may iuſtifie King *Iohns* exorbitances,) for betraying the Crowne of *England* vnto *Lewis* the *Dolphin* of *France.* In which vngodly meſſage ſending the* *Marſhall of Gods Army,* and ſome others, with their letters of allegiance, firmed with [i] all the *Barons Seales,* to implore King [k] *Philips* fauour for ſending his Son; and his Sonnes, for the acceptance of the Crowne; they receiue ([l] vpon deliuery of fifty *Engliſh* hoſtages) a* preſent ſupply of *French* Gallants, with ſpeedy expectance of their new *French-Engliſh King.*

[c] *Innocent. lit. Lateran, 10. Cal. Ian. Wendou. M. S.*

[*] *Adeò contemnendo deſpexit. Mat. Paris.*

[d] *Roger Wend. M.S. Mat. Paris. ma. hiſt.*

The Barons raile on the Pope.

[*] *Mercidi ribaulddi. Pariſ.*

[e] *Pariſ.*

[f] *Wendouer. M.S.*

[g] *Pariſ. hiſt. min. M.S.*

[h] *Paul. Æmil. in Philippo Aug.*

The Barons betray the Kingdome to the Dolphin of France.

[*] *Rob. Fitzwalter.*

[i] *Wendouer. Pariſ.*

[k] *Paul. Æmil.*

[l] *Mat. Weſtmin. Paris ſaith but 24.*

[*] *Cal. Martij. Pariſ.*

(59) *Lewis* not ſo voyde of *Ambition,* as to looſe a *Crowne* for want of fetching, was not long behinde them; though the Pope vpon notice of the deſigne) had purpoſely ſent his Legate, Cardinall *Wallo, with* [m] *Apoſtolicall commands to Philip, to ſtay his Sonne from entring on Saint Peters patrimony;* [n] who declared the *Great curſe in the Councell* on all men combining with thoſe perſons excommunicate, againſt King *Iohn.* Vpon which ſpeech, *Philip* replyed, that *England was no* * *patrimony of Saint Peter, no King hauing power of himſelfe to alienate his Kingdome, King Iohn eſpecially, who* [o] *being neuer lawfull King, had no power to diſpoſe thereof,* and that it was an *Erour, & a pernicious example in the Pope, & an* * *itching luſt after a new kinde of domination:* his Peeres ſware, [p] *by Chriſts death, they would ſpend their liues rather then ſuffer that a King ſhould of himſelfe, or with a few flatterers, paſſe ouer his Crowne, and enthrall his Nobles, eſpecially to the Pope, who ſhould follow Saint Peters ſteps to winne ſoules, and not to meddle with warres and murthers of mens bodies:* and *Lewis* himſelfe [q] hee beſeecht his Father, not to hinder him from that, which he had not giuen him, and for which hee was now reſolued to ſpend his bloud, and [r] *would chooſe rather to be excommunica-*

[m] *Walſing. Ypod. Neuſt. Matth. Weſtminſt.*

[n] *Triuet. M.S.*

[*] *Nec fuit, eſt, nec erit, Pariſ.*

[o] *Mat. Weſtm. Paris. Wendou. & alij.*

[*] *Alleclus noua dominationis libidine. Mat. Weſt.*

[p] *Mat. Pariſ. hiſt. min. M. S.*

[q] *Mat. Weſtmin.*

[r] *Triuet. M. S. Pariſ. hiſt. ma.*

ted by the Pope, then to falſifie his promiſe to the Engliſh Barons. With which * ſlender reſpect and ſcorne to his Holineſſe, the Legate, [t] ſeeing ſuch ſterne looks, and *fearing alſo they would preſently haue done him ſome miſchiefe, got thence in haſt;* and *Lewis* as ſpeedily ſet forth for *England,* with his Fleete of ſix hundred Ships, and foureſcore * Boats, (*Euſtachius* an [t] *Apoſtatate Monke,* thereof being chiefe,) wherewith * arriuing firſt in the Iſle of * *Thanet,* and afterward at [v] *Sandwich,* thither came the *Barons* and ioyned with him; whereupon thinking it wiſedome, firſt to arme himſelfe againſt ſpirituall weapons, (the *Excommunication* denounced againſt him by *the Popes owne mouth*) hee preſently * writes his ſmooth Letters to the *learned* and *conſtant Abbot Alexander*; laying before him his Title to the Crowne, which *Iohn* had forfeited: Firſt, by *treaſon* in king *Richards* time. Secondly, becauſe his attaining the Crowne, was but *Electiue.* Thirdly, becauſe he loſt all his eſtate, by the ſentence of the *French Peeres,* for *Arthurs* death. Fourthly, for violating his oath in enthralling the Kingdome to the Pope, in wronging the Clergy, in oppreſſing the Laity; that therefore the right deuolued to *Lewis.* Firſt, by *inheritance* of his wife, the Neece of king *Iohn.* Secondly, by *Election* of the Nobles. The faithfull *Abbot* could well diſcerne clouds from Caſtles, and colours from truth, and (as a Monke doth rightly commend him for it,) *as another inuincible Alexander Macedo,* hee thunders the *Churches great Curſe,* againſt *Lewis* and his mighty Army, and ſtucke cloſe to his Soueraigne to his laſt gaſpe, notwithſtanding either *feares* or *fawnings,* which *Lewis* vſed to winne him to his ſide. King *Iohn* (whoſe great Nauy, [x] wherewith he meant to encounter him, was driuen downe Southward by a ſodaine tempeſt,) lying then at *Douer,* [y] with an Army *conſiſting moſt of ſtipendary Forrainers, better affected (as afterwards appeared) to Lewis a forrain Prince, then vnto him,* he deemed it a poynt as of neceſſity, ſo of greater wiſedome, to diuert towards *Wincheſter,* and [z] *for a time to forbeare battle, rather then commit his whole fortunes to the hazard of their ſodaine defection. Lewis* hereby had free ſcope to take in all thoſe parts (*Douer* Caſtle onely excepted, which King *Iohn* committed to the moſt valiant *Hubert de Burgo,*) till he came to *London,* where * entring *with ſolemne Proceßion,* & * *incredible applauſe* of all, he took in *Pauls Church* (*whither he went to pray*) oaths of the Citizens, and after at *Weſtminſter,* of the *Barons,* himſelfe [a] ſwearing *to reſtore all men their right, and to recouer to the Crowne, whatſoeuer had been loſt by King Iohn.* There hee [b] choſe for his Lord *Chancellour, Simon Langton* (ſo lately diſgraced by the Pope,) by [c] *whoſe preaching, the Citizens of London and Barons, though being all excommunicated, did celebrate diuine ſeruice, and drew on Lewis to doe the like*; all which, (*Lewis* and his *Chancellour* eſpecially, and *by name,*) *Gualo* the *Legate* (being now with King *Iohn*) did ſolemnly [d] accurſe, and cauſed to be ſo denounced throughout the whole land; making great aduantage thereof, by [e] *conuerting the profits of all their Church-liuings to his own, and his Chaplens vſes.* But both *French* and *Engliſh* had now experimentally learned, that the Popes *Curſe* was no ſuch deadly and dreadfull *Hagge,* as in former times they deemed it; nor could it ſo faſcinate the *Lewyſians,* & their ſucceſſes, but that all theſe parts were ſoone humbled before him; though ſome where not without reſiſtance, as at *Odiam* Caſtle, [f] wherein 13. *Engliſh* men alone, not onely braued *Lewis* and his whole *Army* fifteene dayes, but alſo ſallying forth vpon them, *euery one tooke an enemy,* and ſo carried them to the Caſtle, and after with great admiration of the *French,* and honourable conditions ſurrendred the Caſtle. *Douer,* with * few other Caſtles onely now ſtood out; where [g] whiles *Lewis* imployes incredible *coſt* and *toyle* in a furious but bootleſſe ſiege, ([h] whither *Alexander* King of *Scots* in amity repaired to him, but ſoone returned,) and his

[t] *Sprata monitione. Walſing. Weſt.*

[t] *Matt. Pariſmin. M.S.*

[*] *Coggas, Pariſ.*

[t] *Triuet. M.S.*

[*] *12. Cal. Iun. Mat. Weſtmin.*

[*] *At Stoaner. ibid.*

[v] *Triuet.*

[*] *Vide literas Ludouici in The. Sprot. M.S.*

[x] *Stow.*

[y] *Mat. Weſt.*

[z] *Pariſ. hiſt. min. M.S.*

[*] *5. feria in hebd. Penteceſt. Nic. Triuet. M. S.*

[*] *Igenti tripudio. Paris M. S.*

[a] *Triuet. M. S. Paris.*

[b] *Wend. M. S.*

[c] *Matth. Pariſ. hiſt. ma.*

[d] *Wendouer. M S. Paris.*

[e] *Mat. Weſtminſt. Paris.*

[*] *Wallingford, Windſor, Briſtol, &c.*

[f] *Mat. Pariſ. hiſt. ma.*

[g] *Mat. Weſtminſt. Paris hiſt. ma.*

[h] *Pariſ. hiſt. min. M.S.*

Confederates doe the like at *Windſor* Caſtle; King *Iohn* and his *mighty hoaſt*, breaking forth with a ſuddaine violence, like a furious tempeſt, ouer-runneth the Countrey all about, [i] to the ruining of the Barons Caſtles, and poſſeſſions euery where. Thus ſetting forth from *Linne* in *Norfolke*, (where, for their faithfull ſeruices he [k] beſtowed large *Franchiſes*, and his *owne Sword*, and a *Guilt Bole*, for teſtification of his affection,) with a full [l] *reſolution to addreſſe his mighty Army for to giue Lewis battle*, as he was paſſing the *Waſhes* with his *Army* and rich *carriages* toward *Lincolnſhire*, in thoſe ſands (by reaſon of the often-changeable channell, euer dangerous,) all his [m] *Carriages, treaſure*, and *prouiſion*, (himſelfe and his Army hardly eſcaping) were irrecouerably loſt.

(60) Many likewiſe were the grieuances into which the *Barons*, the meane while were plunged; to ſee their *Natiue Country* by their owne wilfulneſſe thus horribly maſſacred, their owne Caſtles and poſſeſſions ruined and rifled by the King, & which bred in them moſt anxietie, [n] their faithfull *ſeruices* (in this their faithleſſe adherence) not ſo reſpected by *Lewis*, as he, and their owne fore-running hopes had promiſed them, whiles hee conferred onely on his *French*, all ſuch *Territories* and *Caſtles*, as the hand of Victory had lent vnto him. But their diſtreſſes were yet farre greater, then thoſe their iealouſies could comprehend, [o] till a *Noble Frenchman (Vicount de Melun)* a man of great eſteeme with *Lewis*, hauing his ſoule in his *ſickneſſe* deadly wounded with the ſins of his *health*, deſired priuate conference on his death-bed in *London*, with thoſe *Engliſh Barons*, to whom *Lewis* had committed the cuſtody of that City. To them he imparted, what *lamentable deſolations and vnſuſpected ruines hung ouer their heads, for that* Lewis *with ſixteene other his chiefe Earles and Barons, whereof himſelfe was one*, (auerring it *on the Saluation of his now departing ſoule,*) *had taken an Oath, if euer Englands Crowne were ſetled on his head, to condemne vnto perpetuall exile all ſuch as now adhered to him againſt King* Iohn, *as Traitors to their Soueraigne, and all their kindred in the land vtterly to extirpate.* So counſelling them *timely to preuent their miſeries*, and to locke vp his words *vnder the Seale of Secreſie*, preſently his penitent Soule being thus in peace with men, went to reſt with God. What ſtrange amazements ſo rufull a relation might worke in the hearers, we may imagine, but onely men in like perplexed eſtate can fully and ſenſibly conceiue. The operatiue power whereof was ſuch, that though many of the Barons then doubted, [p] *whether, if they returned to their Soueraignes due allegiance, he (whoſe hatred againſt them with ſo many indignities they had prouoked) would accept them vpon their repentance*, [q] yet preſently fortie of them addreſſed their Letters of ſubmiſſiue ſuite vnto the King, in hope that true [r] *kingly bloud is euer ready to yeeld mercy, to ſuch as are ready to yeeld themſelues proſtrate.*

(61) But theſe Sollicitors for mercy came too late, either to receiue, or yeeld any contentment, by their ſubmiſſion to the King, himſelfe (now at *Newarke*) lying at the *mercy* of a higher Soueraigne, and by the ſtroke of death neere to ſome reſt, which in his life he had ſeldome attained: vexations being commonly the attendants of *Crownes*, but *quiet* and *content* the Priuiledges of more priuate States. On deaths approach, with penitent [ſ] *confeſſion of his ſinnes, and great deuotion, he receiued the bleſſed Euchariſt*, hauing the Abbot of * *Croxton* for his Phyſitian both bodily and ghoſtly: and not onely *forgaue gladly all his mortall perſecutors* (holding that a matter *though very difficult* to fleſh and bloud, yet *ſalutary to the Soule*) but alſo *ſent command to Henry* his ſonne to doe the ſame: to whom he cauſed all preſent, to [t] *ſweare fealty*, as *to the Heire of his Crowne*, and ſent *his* letters *to all his Officers abroad*, exhorting them to aſſiſt him. And [v] *thus he commended his ſoule to God, and his Body to be buried in Worceſter Church*, where the Biſhop ſolemnly interred it, by the kings appointment, neere the Body of *Wolſtan*, a ſainted Biſhop, renowned for conſtant fidelity to his Prince againſt the rebellious Nobles of * his time: with which kind of men, King *Iohns* gouernment had beene miſerably encumbred.

(62) This, being the *Cataſtrophe* of his *Tragicall* Raigne, might alſo haue beene the cloſe of his *Story*, had not the ſuddenty of his death exacted ſome ſearch into the cauſe of his ſickneſſe. Such *Authors* as touch the matter but in generall, content themſelues with ſaying, hee dyed of a [a] *griefe*, or a [b] *feauer*, or a [c] *flux*, or a [d] *ſurfet*; but thoſe who haue entred into the particulars, inſiſt on ſuch a *ſurfet*, as whereof both *griefe, feauer*, and *flux* were moſt probable effects and *Symptomes*. For comming (ſay [e] they) from the *Waſhes*, to *Swinſhed Abbey*, (being of the *Ciſteaux Order*, which of olde hee had much incenſed) he added new matter of offence, as hee ſate at meat, when, in ſpeech [f] *of his enemies too large prouiſion*, he ſware, if he liued but halfe a yeare longer, he would make one halfe-peny loafe as deare as *twelue: which to preuent, a Monke of that holy habit, whither in loue to *Lewis*, or hate to the *King*, or pitty on the *Land*, preſenting him with an enuenomed Cup, (whereof the King commanded him to be his *Taſter*) became the Diabolicall Inſtrument of his owne and his *Soueraignes* deſtruction. This relation deliuered by *Monkes*, and men of *Monkiſh* humour, as a thing ſo vndeniable, that they auow (at what time they wrote this) [g] *fiue Monkes in that Abbey did ſing for this their Brothers ſoule ſpecially, and ſo ſhould whiles the Abbey ſtood*, which, if it had beene forged, euery Child might eaſily haue refuted; & the rehearſall of all circumſtances thereof, (of the Kings ſpeeches, of the *Monkes* conference with his *Abbot*, of his preparing the drink with the *Toade* in the garden, of his dying in the *Firmary*) might deſerue credit with the greateſt Patrones of *Monkery*; yet [h] one of them (as if by acquiting *Simon* of *Swinſhed*, all * other of ſuch Orders were cleared from aſſaſinating of *Princes*) ſtriueth eagerly, to aſperſe ſome late * Relaters hereof, with the blots both of *malice* and *forgery*. Wherein is the *malice?* in adding to the narration, *Pictures alſo of the fact, ſo to moue hatred to Monkes and their Religion*; whereas of truth, either *Monkes*, or men of that Religion, were the very firſt, who not onely ſo depictured, but alſo liuely and richly depainted it in their [i] *goodlieſt Manuſcripts*. Wherein then the Forgery? in adding to *Caxton*, that [k] *his Abbot gaue him abſolution for the ſame before hand, there being no ſuch matter at all, nor any mention thereof in the Story?* No! let the very Story ſpeake, [l] *The Monke went to the Abbot, and was ſhriuen of him, and told the Abbot all the King had ſaid; and prayd his Abbot to aſſoile him, for he would giue the king ſuch a drinke that all* England *ſhould be glad thereof, and ioyfull: tho yode the Monke into the Garden, &c.* Yea farther, [n] one Monke alleadgeth, an inducement for the *Abbots* aſſent thereto, for that the King had ſent for the *Abbots* Siſter (a faire *Prioreſſe*) with purpoſe to haue defloured her. Yea, but the *Story* it ſelfe is charged with [o] *nouelty, the firſt authour thereof being but An. 1483. and all other former Writers making no mention of it.* This if true, were ſomewhat, & doubtleſſe, it is as true as the former: for how could he be the *firſt Author*, ſith the Latine *Hiſtory* entitled * *Eulogium*, (whoſe Author dyed about *1366.*) hath all particulars more exactly ſet downe, then that *Engliſh* hath, and expreſly, that the *Monke conferred with his Abbot, of his whole purpoſe, and ſhriued himſelfe, how hee would ſuffer this voluntary martyrdome, as* Caiphas *ſaid of* Chriſt, *better one periſh then a Nation. At which conſtancy of the Martyr, the Abbot wept for ioy, and praiſed God: So the Monke being abſolued by the Abbot, was vndaunted, and tooke the Cup, &c.* And not only [p] *Ranulph* the Monke of *Cheſter*, [q] *Iohn* of *Tynmouth*, and [r] *Thomas Otterbourne* the *Franciſcan Fryer*, recorded it as * *a fame generally receiued*, but ſundry other, auncient Stories; as *Iohn*

i *Rog. de Wend. M.S.*

k *Cambden. Brit. in Norfolk.*

l *Nic. Triu. M.S. Walſing. Tpod.*

m *Matth. Paris.*

n *Wend. M.S.*

o *Mat. Pariſ. hiſt. ma.*

Vicount *Melun* bewrayeth the *Frenchmens* treacherous intents.

The Barons determine to returne to the King.

p *Rog. Wend. M.S.*

q *Paris hiſt. maior.*

r *Paris hiſt. min. M. S.*

The King ſickneth and dyeth.

ſ *Paris min. M.S.*

* To which Abbey he gaue a Legacy, *Decem Libratas terræ. Paris.*

t *Idem.*

v *Ibidem.* He died on S. *Lukes* night, 14. *Cal. Nou.*

Godwins Catalog. of BB.

* In the Raigne of *William Rufus.*

The manner and cauſe of King *Iohns* ſickneſſe.

a *Ioh. de Wallingf.*
b *Polydor.*
c *Tho. Otterbourne.*
d *Mat. Weſtmin.*

e Chronicle of S. *Albans. M.S.* Sundry Engliſh Chronicles. M.S. *Caxtons* Chron.
f Engliſh Chron. M.S. & *Euleg. M.S.*
* As deere as 12. ob. *Leceſtrenſis.* as 12. d. *Otterborn.* as 20. d. *Polychron.* as 20. s. *Caxton.* 1. pound of bread 1. s. of ſiluer. *Eulogium M.S.*

g Chron. of S. *Albans. M.S. Caxton & alij. Eulogium* ſaith, *tres Monachos ex conſenſu Capituli generalis.*

h *Parſons* in his Warn-word, *Ent. 2 cap. 15.*
* Yet *Iacobus Clemens* a Monke did kill *Henry* 3. of *France.*
* M. *Fox* his Martyrolog; Sir *Francis Haſtings* his Ward-word. *Parſons* cenſure of *Foxes* pictures in his Mart.

i Where the king is limned with his *Crowne* and rich roabes, ſitting at a banquet and foure Monks in their habites comming to him, whereof one preſents him with the poyſoned cup. *Vide* M. S. of S. *Albans*, in Bibliotheca *Archiep. Cant.* & *M.S. Scripto temporis, Ed. 1 in Bibliotb. Seldeni.*
k *Parſons, ibidem.*
l *Caxtons Chron.*
n *Leceſtrenſis.*
o By *Parſons loco Citat.*

* *Eulogium M.S. in Bibl. D. Rob. Cotton.*

p Borne in the raigne of *Henr. 3.*
q *Claruit. A. 1336.*
r He ended his ſtorie An. 1410.
* *Fama vulgata.*

Iohn

Iohn of Lichfield, the *Monke of Leiceſter*, and *Scala Mundi* (to omit other [f] nameleſſe Authours before *Ann. 1483.*) ſo confidently auouch his poiſoning at *Swinſhed*, that vnpartiall [t] after-Writers, though friends to *Monkery*, made no ſcruple to beleiue it. And why ſhould they not, ſith an * *Author*, more ancient and vnexceptionable then all the reſt, (euen King *Iohns* Sonne and Succeſſor in his Kingdome) auerred it, [v] when, the *Prior of Clerken-well* ſaucily telling him (being then in that houſe) *that as ſoone as he ceaſt to doe Iuſtice towards his Prelates, hee ſhould ceaſe to bee a King*; the King enraged with his traiterous threat, replyed; What? *meane you to turne me out of my Kingdome, and afterward to murder me, as my Father was dealt with?*

(63) But not to trouble our ſelues with refuting a *Gooſes* gagling againſt *Foxes* true relation; eaſie it is to obſerue the hatred of *Monkes* againſt that King, both in thus procuring his death then, and his diſhonour (a ſecond death) in their ſlanderous inuentions euer ſince. For, whereas he [x] writ by ſome of his Biſhops to certaine forraine Princes, for aides againſt his *faithleſſe Rebels*; the *Monkes* charge him, that he *counterfeited his Biſhops Seales, and writ abroad, that all Engliſhmen were become Infidels and Apoſtates from Chriſts faith, and therefore ſuch ſhould come to ſubdue them, and take their poſſeſſions*: [y] when hee ſaid, a *Stag* which hee kild, had neuer the leſſe fat, though he neuer heard a *Maſſe*; they charged him *he doubted of the Reſurrection of the dead*; [z] and in ſaying, *hee neuer ſped well after his yeelding to the Pope*, that he ſaid he was vnfortunate *ſince he was reconciled vnto God*: that, [a] when hee gaue leaue to a ſeruant of his owne, *to enter any religious Order*, hee gaue him leaue to be of what Religion and Faith hee liſt. That moreouer, [b] he offered his Kingdome to a *Sarazen*, & would embrace the Turkiſh faith, though this tale were told by one *Robert of London* (a [c] wicked Maſſe-Prieſt, or rather a *Monſter*, [d] hauing *a face like a Iew, with one arme long, and another ſhort, his fingers deformedly growing together two and two*,) with ſuch ſenceles improbabilities, as [e] *that he found that Mooriſh King reading of Saint Pauls Epiſtles*, and that he refuſed the Kingdome of *England* being offered him, with the like. That laſtly [f] it was reuealed to a Monke, King *Iohn* was in Hell; though a Poet for ſo ſaying, is by [g] *M. P.* (a who *made no doubt of King Iohns ſaluation*) cenſured for a * *Reprobate*. Theſe all are demonſtrations of ſo incredible hatred, as ſhould rather alleuiate their *Authors* credit, then the kings; whoſe Raigne had it not fallen in the time of ſo turbulent a *Pope*, ſo ambitious Neighbour-*Princes*, ſo diſloyall Subiects, nor his Story into the hands of exaſperated Writers, he had appeared a King of as great renowne, as misfortunes. His workes of deuotion inferiour to none; as his Foundations declare at [h] *Beauley*, [i] *Farrington*, [k] *Malmesbury*, and [l] *Dublin*, and that other for *Nunnes* at *Godſtow* by *Oxford*, [m] for which ſome haue interpreted that Propheſie of *Merlin*, as meant of him;

Sith Virgin-gifts to Maids hee gaue,
'Mongſt bleſſed Saints God will him ſaue.

His Acts and Orders for the *Weale-publike* were beyond moſt: he being either the *firſt*, or the *chiefeſt*, who appointed thoſe noble *Formes* of Ciuill gouernment in [o] *London*, and [p] moſt *Citties*, and Incorporate *Townes* of *England*, endowing them alſo with their greateſt *Franchiſes*; The [q] *firſt* who cauſed Sterling-money to be here coyned; The [r] *firſt*, who ordained the Honourable Ceremonies in Creation of *Earles*; The *firſt*, who [s] ſetled the *Rates* and *Meaſures* for *Wine*, *Bread*, *Cloth*, & ſuch like Neceſſaries of Commerce; The [t] *firſt*, who planted *Engliſh Lawes* and *Officers* in *Ireland*, and both annexed that *Kingdome*, and faſtned *Wales* to the Crowne of *England*, thereby making amends for his loſſes in *France*; and thence, amongſt all the Engliſh *Monarchs*, he was the *firſt* who enlarged the *Royall Style*, with *Lord of Ireland*: a matter of greater import for *Englands Peace*, then all the French Titles euer yet haue prooued. Whoſe whole courſe of Life and Actions, we cannot ſhut vp with any truer *Euloge*, then that which [v] an ancient *Authour* hath conferred on him: *Princeps quidem Magnus erat, ſed minus fœlix; atque vt Marius, vtramque fortunam expertus; Doubtleſſe, he was a Prince more Great then happy, and one, who, like Marius, had tried both ſides of Fortunes wheele.*

His Wiues.

(64) *Alice*, the firſt wife of King *Iohn*, was the eldeſt of the two daughters, and heires apparant at that time, of *Humbert* the ſecond, Earle of *Maurien*, now called *Sauoy*: her *Mother* was *Clemence*, daughter of *Berthold*, the fourth Duke of *Leringen*, who had beene the diuorced wife of *Henry the Lyon*, Duke of *Saxonie*. This marriage was in their childhoode concluded by their *Parents* at *Mountſerrant* in *Auerne*, in February, *Anno 1173*; he ſhould haue had with her, her Fathers *Earledome*, but all altered by her vntimely death; and after enſued the death of her *Mother*, the new marriage of her *Father*, and iſſue male of the ſame, whereof the *Dukes of Saxony* are deſcended.

(65) *Iſabel*, his ſecond Wife (by * ſome called *Hawiſia*, or *Auis*) though the youngeſt of the three Siſters, yet was in regard of this marriage, the ſole *Heire* of *William* Earle of *Glouceſter*, Sonne of Earle *Robert*, the *Naturall* Sonne of King *Henry the firſt*; her *Mother* was *Hawis* the daughter of *Robert Boſſu Earle of Leiceſter*. She was married vnto him when hee was *Earle of Mortaine*, in the firſt yeare of his brother *Richards* Raigne: and after ten yeares hauing no iſſue by him, was (the firſt yeare of his Raigne) diuorced from him, vnder pretence of *Conſanguinity*, and married to *Geffrey Mandeuill* Earle of *Eſſex*, and laſtly, to *Hubert de Burgo* Earle of *Kent*, but dyed without any Iſſue by them.

(66) *Iſabel* alſo his laſt Wife, was Daughter and Heire of *Aimer Earle of Angoleſme*; her *Mother* was *Alice* daughter of *Peter*, Lord of *Courteney*, fifth Son of *Lewis the Groſſe*, King of *France*. She was married vnto him in the firſt yeare of his raigne, & crowned by *Hubert* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, 8. Id. Octob. *Anno 1200.* and ſuruiuing him, was married to *Hugh Brun* Earle of *March*, and Lord of *Luſignian* and *Valence* in *Poyctou*, to whom firſt ſhe ſhould haue beene married, but yet (as ſeemeth) continued her affection to him till now. By him ſhe had diuers Children, (greatly aduanced by the King, *Henry 3.* their halfe-Brother, and as greatly maligned by his Subiects) *Hugh* Earle of *March* and *Angoleſme*, *Guy* of *Luſignian*, ſlaine in the battle at *Lewiſe*, *William* of *Valence* Earle of *Pembroke*, *Aymer* of *Valence* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, *Geffrey* of *Luſignian* Lord of *Haſtings*.

His Iſſue.

(67) *Henry*, the eldeſt Sonne of King *Iohn*, and *Iſabel* his laſt Wife, was borne at *Wincheſter*, 1. *October*, 10. of his Fathers Raigne, *Anno 1208.* King *Iohn* dying at *Newarke*, (* whither hee was brought in a Horſe-litter from *Swinſhed*,) the Barons malice was ended, their offence amended, *Lewis* of *France* reiected, and the yong Prince ſeated on his Fathers throne.

(68) *Richard*, his ſecond ſon by the ſame Queene, was borne the next yeare after *Henry*; by whom afterward he was made Knight, created Earle of *Cornwall*, and appointed Earle of *Poyctou*. After the death of *William* Earle of *Holland*, Emperour of the Weſt, he was by the *Electors* choſen to ſucceede him in the *Empire*, and crowned King of *Romanes*, and of *Almayn* at the Citty of *Acon* in *Germany*, by *Conrade* Archbiſhop of *Coleyne*, *Maij 27.* being the Aſcention day, *Anno 1257.* deceaſing at the Caſtle of *Berkhamſted*, *April 20. An. 1271.* the 13. yeare of his *Empire*, his

[f] *Paris Ann. 1226.*
[g] *Idem in vit. Ioh.*
* *Reprobus verſificator.*
Paris. in vit. Ioh.
K. *Iohns* princely deſerts.

[t] *Iob. Maior.* *George Lillius.* *Caxton, & alij.*
* K. *Henry* the 3.
[v] *Paris. hiſt. ma.*

King *Henry* 3. acknowledgeth his Father was murdered.

Monkiſh ſlanders againſt K. *Iohn.*

[x] *Roger de Wend.* M.S.

[y] *Matth. Paris.*

[z] *Pol. Virgil.*

[a] *In Record. Tow. London.*

[b] *Mat. Paris.*

[c] *Lib. S. Alban. M.S. in vit. Iob. Abb.*
[d] *Mat. Paris.*

[e] *Ibidem.*

His Acts of deuotion.

[h] *Nic. Triuet. M. S.*
[i] *Cambd. Brit. in Berkſhire.*
[k] *Cambd. hiſt. of Ireland. l. 2. c. 1.*
[m] *Triuet. M. S.* *Walſingham.*

His ciuill Acts.

[o] *Houeden.* *Polydor.* *Stow.*
[p] *Ex Record. & Chartis Ciuitat.*
[q] *Cambd. Brit. in Striueling.*
[r] *Cambd. Brit. in Ordinibus Ang.*
[s] *Houeden. Paris.* *Vit. Arch. Cant. in Hubert.*
[t] *Wend. M. S.* *Paris.*

[v] *Rog. Houed. M.S. Citat. ex hiſt. cui Titulus Enlogium, apud Fabian, & Fox.*

* *Houeden in* King *Iohn.*
* *See Glouers Catalogue of Honour, p. 363. & p. 134.*

* *Mat. Paris.* *Wendouer.*

his body was buried in his Monaſtery of *Hailes* in *Glouceſterſhire*, but * his *Heart* at *Oxford* in *Reuly Abbey* (founded by him) vnder a *Pyramis of admirable worke*. Hee had three wiues, the firſt was *Iſabel* daughter of *William Marſhall* Earle of *Pembroke*, widdow of *Gilbert Clare* Earle of *Glouceſter*; by whom he had iſſue, *Henry* ſlaine at *Viterbo* in *Italy*, & *Iohn*, both dying without iſſue. His ſecond wife was *Senches*, (daughter of *Raimond* Earle of *Prouince*, and ſiſter to Queene *Eleanor* his brothers wife) who was crowned with him at *Acon*, and had iſſue by him *Edmund* Earle of *Cornwall*, and others. His laſt wife was *Beatrice*, *Niece* to the Archbiſhop of *Coleyne*, who ſeemeth to haue ſuruiued him, & to haue no Iſſue by him.

* *Roſſus Warwicanus.*

(69) *Ioane*, the eldeſt Daughter and Childe of K. *Iohn*, & Queene *Iſabel* his laſt wife; was the firſt wife of *Alexander* the ſecond, King of *Scots*, married vnto him in *Yorke*, *Iunij 25.* Anno 1221. who returning into *England* to viſite her Brother, deceaſed at *London*, and was buried in the *Nunnery* at *Tarent* in *Dorſetſhire*, *4. Martij*, in the 21. yeare of her Brother King *Henries* raigne in *England*, and the 23. of king *Alexander* her husbands in *Scotland*, Anno 1236.

(70) *Eleanor* their ſecond daughter was firſt married to *William Marſhall* the younger, Earle of *Pembroke*: and after his deceaſe without iſſue, and ſeauen yeares Widow-hood, remarried to *Simon Montfort* Earle of *Leiceſter*, Sonne of *Simon* Earle *Montfort* in *France*, by *Amice* Daughter of *Robert Blanchmane* Earle of *Leiceſter*) who maintaining the Barons warres againſt King *Henry* her brother, was ſlaine at the battaile of *Eueſham*, in the 19. yeare of her brothers raigne, 1265; after whoſe death, ſhe, and her Children were forced to forſake *England*; ſhe dyed in the *Nunnery* at *Montarges* in *France*. *Henry* her eldeſt Sonne, was ſlaine with his Father at *Eueſham*: *Simon*, the ſecond, was Earle of *Bigorre*, and anceſtor to a Family of *Mountforts* in thoſe parts of *France*. *Almaricke*, her third Sonne was firſt, a Prieſt, and Treaſurer of the Cathedrall Church in *Yorke*, and after a Knight, and a valiant ſeruitour in ſundry warres beyond the Seas. *Guy* the fourth Sonne was Earle of *Angleria* in *Italy*, and Progenitour of the *Mountforts* in *Tuſcaine*, and of the Earles of *Campobachi*, in the Kingdome of *Naples*. *Richard* the fift Sonne, remained priuily in *England*, and changing his name from *Mountfort* to *Wellesborne*, was anceſtor of the family of *Wellesbornes* in *England*. She had alſo a daughter named *Eleanor*, borne in *England*, brought vp in *France*, and married into *Wales* to Prince *Lewellen ap Griffith*.

(71) *Iſabel*, their yongeſt daughter was born, An. 1214; when ſhe was 21. yeares of age, ſhe was married (being the ſixt and laſt wife) to the Emperour *Frederick* the ſecond, at the Citty of *Wormes* in *Germany*, 20. of Iuly, 1235. Shee had iſſue by him, *Henry* appointed to be King of *Scicily*, and *Margaret* wife of *Albert*, *Landgraue*, *Thurin*: ſhe was Empreſſe ſix yeares, and died in Child-bed, *Demb. 1.* of her huſbands Empire 31. of her brothers raign 38. An. 1241.

(72) *Iane*, or *Ione*, the daughter naturall of King *Iohn* (by *Agatha* Daughter of *Robert Ferrers*, Earle of *Darby*) married to *Lewin* Prince of *Wales*. Anno 1204. her Father gaue with her the Caſtle & Lordſhip of *Elinſmore* in the Marches of *Southwales*; ſhe (like a moſt louing Child) gaue her Father ſecret intelligence of the Treaſons intended againſt him by the *Welſh* and *Engliſh*.

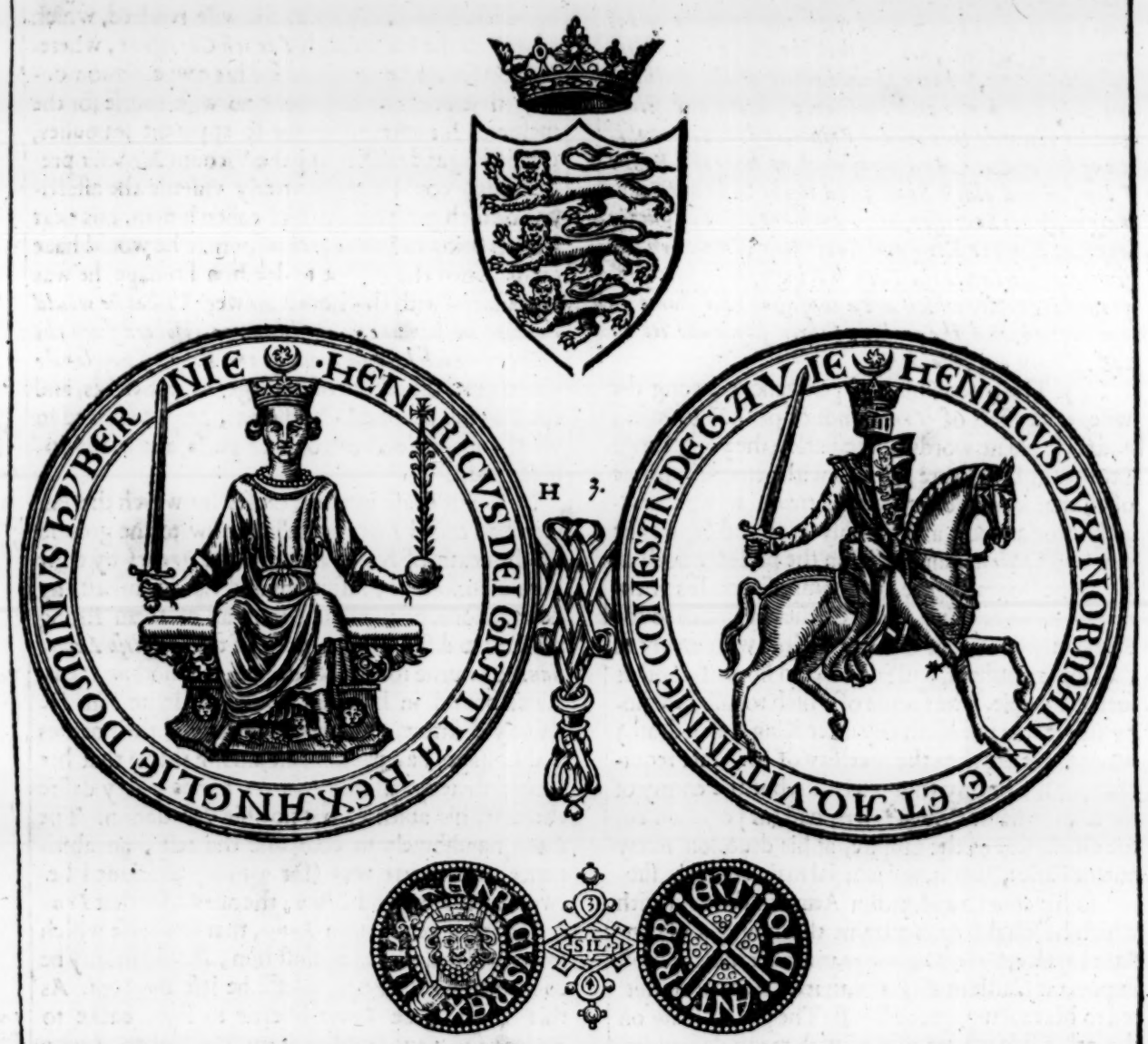
(73) *Geoffrey Fitz-Roy*, a baſe Son, who tranſported ſome Souldiers into *France*, when Archbiſhop *Hubert* forbad the King his Father to goe thither.

(74) *Richard*, who married the Daughter and heire of *Fulbert de Douer*, who built *Chilham* Caſtle in *Kent*, which Caſtle he had with her, and had Iſſue by her, of which ſome families of good eſteeme are deſcended.

Henry III.

HENRIE THE THIRD, LORD OF IRELAND, DVKE OF NORMANDIE, GVYEN, AND AQVITAINE, &c. THE FORTIE-SIXTH MONARCH OF ENGLAND, HIS RAIGNE, ACTS, AND ISSVE.

Monarch 46



CHAPTER IX.

An.D.1216.

HENRIE, the eldeſt ſonne of King *Iohn*, was, when his Father dyed, about * ten yeeres of age: which ſtate of Child-hoode, being moſt vnfit to ſucceede in ſo troublous a State, (the furious waues whereof ſeemed far from being appeaſed) God Almightie, in fauour and pitty of his Innocency, ſtrengthned with the ſeruice of great and worthy men, whereby the free and noble Realme of *England* was gratiouſly preſerued from *French* ſeruilitie; from whoſe Continent as it was naturally diſparted with a Sea, ſo could it as badly haue endured to be joyned thereto by ſubjectiue gouernement. Howbeit the difficulties were not few nor ſleight, which did at firſt empeach this happy preſeruation, though they did not hinder it long; for, * *he diſpoſing the matter, who ordaineth all things wiſely, and moderates them ſweetely, faire weather was reſtored after ſtormes, and quiet being eſtabliſhed through the Kingdome, the peaceable ſeruants of GOD had ſpace to breath in.*

* Ypodig. Neuſtr.

* Lib. Monaſt. S. Alba. M. S.

The ſuccours of King *Henries* Child-hood.

(2) To effect ſo great a benefit, *Wallo* the Popes Legate ſtood wholly for aduancement of *Henry*, and expulſion of the *French*; the authority of whoſe perſwaſions, joyned with his other power and example, drew many of the Prelates ſo farre; that (although their lands and goods were therefore ſpoyled) they would not doe any homage to *Lewis*; as likewiſe the loyall care of *William Marſhall* Earle of *Pembrooke*, did gaine (in time) and ſettle the hearts of the ſecular Lords. Great was the wiſdome, courage and diligence of that Noble Gentleman in ſo broken and jeopardous eſtate; for he, knowing that the maine hopes of his Countrey reſted in the ſafetie of their perſons, in whom the right of Succeſſion was

* Joh. Sto. Annal. in Hen. 3.

The great prudence and care of *Wil. Marſhal.*

was, he first of all secured them within the Citie of *Glouceſter*, which was at *Henries* ſeruice: There were with the young King, his mother Queene *Iſabel*, his brother *Richard*, (afterward King of *Romans*,) his ſiſters, the ſaid Earle, and many others in great numbers of the chiefe and principall men of all ſorts, who vpon perfect notice of King *Iohns* death, repaired thither to their young Prince, with a purpoſe to conſult and concur in one, for the re-vnion of minds and bodies to the obedience of the true borne King. The Earle of *Pembroke* therefore bringing forth his precious charge, and placing him with all due honour and ceremony in view of the aſſembled States, is reported for the pleaſing of all ſides, to haue vſed words to this effect. *Albeit the father of this Prince, whom here you ſee before you, for his euill demeanours hath worthily vndergone our perſecution, yet this young Childe, as he is in yeares tender, ſo is he pure and innocent from thoſe his Fathers doings: Wherefore, ſith euery man is to be charged with the burthen of his owne tranſgreſſions, neither ſhall the Childe (as Scriptures teach vs,) beare the iniquitie of his Father: we ought of duetie and conſcience, beare our ſelues milder towards this tender Prince, and take compaſſion of his age. And foraſmuch as he is the Kings * lawfull and eldeſt Sonne, and ought to be our Soueraigne, & his Succeſſor, let vs with one ioynt aſſiſtance appoynt him our King and Gouernour; let vs remoue from vs this Lewis the French Kings ſonne, and ſuppreſſe his people, which are a confuſion and ſhame to our Nation, and the yoakes of their ſeruitude let vs caſt off from our ſhoulders.*

Act. and *Mona. in Hen.* 3. *Hollinſh.*

The Earle *Marſhal's* ſpeech to the Lords.

* They haue it his *naturall ſonne*, a word of olde bearing no ſtaine of *Baſtardie*, as ſince it hath.

(3) The entertaining of perſwaſions among the wiſe, is an effect of *Truth*, not of painted Phraſes; and theſe plaine words of the Earle, (the yong Kings Brother in Law) were receiued with generall applauſe of all that were preſent, ſo that *Henry* was immediately proclaimed, and ſpeedily crowned (vpon the day of S S. *Simon* and *Iude*) in the preſence both of *Wallo* the Popes Legate, (who impoſed on his vnexperienced yeeres ſome vndue Oathes of ſeruice to the Romane See,) and of Queene *Iſabel*, with many of the Lords Spirituall and Secular, and ſtore of all other ſorts of people. The ſpeede of which royall Ceremony (for it was the ninth day after King *Iohns* death) was not greater then the neceſſity of the State required: for his Enemy (nor onely his, but the enemy of the *Engliſh* name, Prince *Lewis*) had (as yet) *London*, the chiefe ſeat of the Empire, at his deuotion, many potent Earles, Barons, and martial male-contents, ſubject to his commaund, and an Army in the field with which he ſought to conſtraine that mirrour of conſtant loyalty, *Hubert de Burgo*, to render him the moſt important Caſtle in *England*, that of *Douer*, committed to his much-approued truſt: The young King on the other ſide was enuironed with many difficulties, want of money not the leaſt, the moſt part of his Fathers treaſures being drowned. To encounter al which miſchiefes, the ſaid Earle of *Pembrooke* was by common aſſent of *Prelates* and *Peeres* conſtituted Guardian of the young Kings perſon, and Vice-Gouernour of the Kingdome.

The Kings Coronation.

(4) Letters heereupon iſſuing in the new Kings name, and for his affaires, to all ſuch as had charge in the Common-weale, (with many promiſes of reward and fauour,) were accordingly in moſt places obeyed: for the euil-will borne to King *Iohn*, ſeeming to die with him, and to be buried in the ſame graue, the loyall bloud waxt warme about the coldeſt hearts, re-kindling in them the honeſt deſire of ſhewing themſelues true *Engliſhmen*. It was alſo a great helpe to the Kings party, that Prince *Lewis* his followers and abettours, were, on euery Sonday and Holiday, pronounced to ſtand accurſt, and excommunicated. *Lewis* perceiuing, (contrary to his expectation) that King *Iohns* death was to him nothing auaileable, but rather detrimentall, dwels no longer about *Douer-Caſtle*, but raiſing his ſiege, enters *London*, and prouides the beſt he can for his tottering eſtate, which he ſought to ſupport, by putting *French Garriſons* into Caſties; The * Tower of *London* being rendred to him; hee beſiegeth *Hertford Caſtle*, which after the ſlaughter of many *French*, being deliuered vpon faire compoſition, the cuſtody of that Peice was demaunded by *Richard Fitz-Walter*, as by ancient right belonging to him; but *Lewis* put him off with this anſwere, *that hee ſhould haue patience, till he had conquered the Realme, at which time hee would reſtore their rights to euerie one.* The ſecret reaſon which moued *Lewis* to giue this anſwere, was: for that, conſulting with his *French* vpon *Fitz-Walters* demaund, they gaue it for their common opinion: *That the Engliſh were not worthy to haue ſuch places entruſted to their charge, who were betrayers of their naturall Lord.* A juſt reaſon to moue *Lewis* ſo to anſwere, but a farre better to teach others to continue loyall. The Caſtle of *Berkhamſted*, (whoſe Captaine was one *Waleran* a valiant Dutch Knight) hopeleſſe of ſuccours, was likewiſe rendred, which as the reſt, he ſtuffed with *French Garriſons*; wherein, howſoeuer he prouided for his owne Nation during that preſent, hee tooke no wiſe courſe for the maine of his enterpriſe: for ſo apparant jealouſies, (ſeconding and confirming the Vicount *Melunes* predictions) could not but vtterly vnſettle the affections of ſuch great ones as had called him in. His next March being to Saint *Albans*, where he would haue conſtrayned the Abbot to doe him homage, he was encountred with this honeſt anſwer: **That he would doe him no homage, vnleſſe he were abſolued from the homage which he had made to the King of England:* yet to purchaſe reſpite of homage, or rather his, and the Townes peace till Candlemas, hee was forced to vſe the mediation both of his * purſe, and of his noble friends.

* Tpodig. Neuſtr.

The judgement of the *French*, touching the *Engliſh* Barons.

* Lib. Monaſt. S. Albans. M. S.

Mat. Paris.
* Hee paide 80. markes to *Lewis*.

(5) But thoſe inteſtine cauſes for which the Barons had called *Lewis* in, falling now to the ground by the death of King *Iohn*, and the *French* by their naturall inſolence, ſuſpitions and vanity, miniſtring new reaſons of auerſion, were all of them ſtrong motiues to diſpoſe the mindes of the *Engliſh Lewyſians* to returne to due obedience; yet finding themſelues bound in honour, not ſo to leaue him ſodainely deſtitute, (who vpon affiance of their oathes and hoſtages had put himſelfe among them) that hee ſhould thereby fall into *Henries* hands; they deſire therefore his abſence, but not his deſtruction. The more handſomely to compaſſe the reſt, an abſtinence from warre was (for a time) concluded betweene the King and *Lewis*; the rather, for that *Lewis* had intelligence from *Rome*, that the curſe which *Wallo* had denounced againſt him, ſhould ſhortly be confirmed by the Pope, vnleſſe he left *England*. As this Truce gaue *Lewis* libertie to ſayle backe to *France* for new ſupplies from his Father, (who greatly deſired to conferre with him;) ſo his abſence gaue opportunity to his *Engliſh*, to conſult more freely of their beſt way; that from thenceforth *Lewis* was neuer potent in their affections, but * preſently loſt many chiefe Lords and others, who againe became true *Engliſh*.

Paul. Aemil. in Phil. 2. Auguſt.

Math. Paris. Hollinſh. p. 199.

Lewis goeth into *France*, but ſoone returneth.

* *Mat. Paris.*

(6) *Lewis* vpon his ſpeedy returne out of *France*, minding to make a ſpeedie diſpatch, ſets out of *London* his Army of more then twentie thouſand Souldiers, with a purpoſe not onely to free * *Mont-Sorrel*, (then beſieged by his enemies) but to ſubdue the whole countrey adjoyning. Odious and grieuous to the Countries was this paſſage of the *French*, which reach as farre as *Lincolne*, there were among them ſo many ragged Raſcals, the * very ſcumme and filthy froth of that Nation, whoſe beggery was ſo baſe, that they had not Cloathes to hang on their backes, to ſupply the which they made many goe naked in all the places where they marched. The Earle of *Pembrooke*, Gouernour of the King,* by the Counſell of *Wallo*, and the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* reſoluing to ſet the cauſe vpon God, and the fortune of a Field, is now with the young King and his Aſſiſtant

* In Leiceſterſhire.

The *French* ſouldiers braue marching.
* *Mat. Paris.*

The actions of *Lewis* after King *Iohns* death.

The King gathers an hoſt to fight with the *French*.

Assistant Lords, at *Newarke*, where the Generall Assembly for that seruice was appointed. The whole Army after the Musters, rested there some dayes, which they spent not in vanities, but in deuotions & receit of the Sacrament, humbling themselues before the offended Majestie of God; and so all of them (saith *Paris*) being prepared, resolue eyther to returne victorious, or to die in defence of their country, their Soueraignes right, and their owne Liberties, and possessions, all which seemed now to lie at stake. To giue them the greater edge and spirit, *Wallo* with great solemnity accurseth *Lewis* and his Coadjutors, and thus the Army marcheth towards *Lincolne*, and the *Lewysians* there in siege of the Castle: the king himselfe being left with a strong guard at *Stow*, (about eight miles short of *Lincolne*) accompanied with *Wallo* and others, there without perill of his person to attend Gods pleasure, in the euent of the enterprise.

Matth. Paris.

Lewis and his followers accursed.

Hollinsh.

(7) Vpon their approach, if the Counsell of * some *English* Lords had beene followed, the *Lewysian* Army had issued forth of the City, & giuen them battle in the open field; but the Earle of *Perch*, (the *French* Generall) thinking the Kings party to be greater then it was, for that the Noblemen and Bannerets thereof had each of them two *Ensignes*; the one borne with themselues, the other aduaunced among the carriages, which doubled the shew of their numbers; they did thereupon change that course, closed the gates of the City, and plyed their endeauours against the castle more fiercely then before. The Earle of *Pembroke* therefore lets *Falcasius* slip in at the Castle-posterne with his *Arbalasters*, whiles others breake vp the South-gate of the *City*, at which the Kings Army most couragiously entring, and they of the Castle sallying out in *Flancke* of the Enemy, scattered, and vtterly defeated the *Lewysians*. The Earle of *Perch*, *their Generall*, being enuironed with the Royalists, and willed to render himselfe, sware that hee would neuer become Prisoner to any *English*: vpon which refusall he was runne through the sight of his helmet into the braines, and so died without speaking any word. In this conflict, (being on Saturday in Whitson-weeke) the force of naturall propension was apparent; for notwithstanding the fierie resolutions of the Kings people, yet when they saw the faces of their kinsmen, friends, and countrimen on the other side, their fury relented so strongly, that the most part of the reuenge fell vpon the Horses, and not vpon the Horsemen, whom onely they laboured to make their Captiues. The whole riches of the *Lewysian* campe, and of the Citie of *Lincolne*, became the booty and spoyle of the Kings Army, whereupon this discomfiture was called *Lewis Fair*. Neither did the *Clergy* of the place escape, for the Popes Legate had commanded that they also should be rifled to a penny, as persons excommunicated in partaking with *Lewis*. The Chase was but coldly and fainedly followed vpon the flying Barons, otherwise not a man could haue escaped; wherein yet the chiefest Barons were taken, with about * 400. Knights, besides Esquiers, and of other sorts without note or number, though * some say that this number of Knights were slaine, and matrons and women of the Towne flying by boat, which they had no skill to gouerne, were drowned. Such as escaped the fight were not therefore past the danger; for the Country people fell vpon them as they fled, killing great numbers, so that almost all the foot-men tooke vp their last lodgings before they could reach to *London*, where *Lewis* was. The *Marshal* of *France*, the *Castellan* of *Arras*, and about two hundreth Knights came safely thither, but were not otherwise then sowerly welcome of the Prince, who laid vpon their cowardise the losse of all the rest. His feare of being taken Prisoner justly encreasing, he fortifies *London* by the best meanes hee can, and dispatcheth Posts into *France* for more reliefe. This great victory was much the stranger, if (as * some write the same went) that onely there were slaine vpon both sides, the Earle of *Perch*, one of *Du-Brents* Knights, and an obscure fellow belonging to some, or other of the Barons.

* *Matth. Paris.* Sayer de Quincy, & Robert Fitz-Walter.

The policy of K. *Henries* friends in their match.

The fearefull end of the Earle of *Perch*.

(8) The Kings Gouernour after the victory rode presently with the gladsome tidings in the height of speede to the King and Legate, who with teares of joy gaue God thankes. But the noble Earle not leauing his worke imperfect, seekes to embarre *Lewis* from forraging about *London*. Meane while by the diligence of Lady *Blanch* the wife of *Lewis*, *Eustace* the ruffianly *Apostata*, (who of a Monke becomming a * *Demoniacke*) was now vpon the Sea with a fresh supply of men and munition bound for *London*; But God was no better pleased with these, then with the other scatterlings at *Lincolne*. For the *English* Nauie, hauing the winde of the *French*, sunke diuers of their Ships by tilting at them with the yron Prowes or Beakes of their Gallies; vsing also vnslaked lime in dust or powder, which they threw into the faces of their enemies, and blinded their sight: so were the hopes of *Lewis* for any present succours absolutely frustrated. *Eustace* himselfe, found after long search, and drawne out from the bottome of the Pumpe in a *French* Ship, at *Douer* had his head cut off, though * some say hee was slaine by *Richard*, a base-sonne of King *Iohn*. The newes of which successe being brought to the king, did not more reioyce him, then they wounded *Lewis*, for the losse was not onely great in men, but in all sorts of riches and prouisions. To giue now no rest to *Lewis* his declining fortunes, the Earle of *Pembroke* with a mightie Army besieged *London*, and *Lewis* therein, as well by *Water* as by *Land*; seeking to driue him by penurie to render the City. It came to capitulation, and in an Ilet in the Riuer of *Thames*, not farre from *Stanes*, the King, *Wallo* the Legate, and *William Marshall*, the Kings Gouernour, met with *Lewis* and the Barons to finish the Peace: for *Lewis* had promised to doe as *Wallo* and the Earle would deuise, so that it might not tend to his dishonour or scandall: Heades or Articles of the agreement which *Lewis* sware vpon the Gospell to performe, were, 1. *That Lewis, the Barons, and other his partakers should stand to the iudgement of the Church, (whose censures they had now some yeares contemned) and from thenceforth be and remaine true to the same. 2. That he and his should forthwith depart the Land, neuer to returne againe with a purpose to doe harme. 3. That hee should doe his best to draw his Father to make restitution of all such things in France as belonged to the King of England, and that Lewis when himselfe was King should quietly part with them. 4. That Lewis should immediately render to King Henrie all holds and places taken in the warre.* On the other part, the *King*, the *Legate*, and the *Earle* sware; *1. That the King should restore to the Barons, and others, all their rights and inheritances, with all the Liberties formerly demanded of his Father. 2. That none (of the Laity) should suffer dammage or reproch for taking part on either side. 3. That Prisoners should be released, &c.* Wherupon *Lewis* with his adherents was formally by *Wallo* absolued from the sentence of *Excommunication*, and so they ranne on all sides into embracements, and parted in the kisse of Peace. The * *Welsh*, who had held with the Barons, were left out of this Conclusion, being thereby laide open to spoyle. Thus was * *Lewis* * driuen out of *England*, whom the Earle of *Pembroke* brought to the Sea-side, and the Realme was cleared.

* *Ypodig. Neustr.*

Rog. de Wend. M. S. Matth. Paris.

Eustace, and his *French* succours, defeated at Sea.

* *Stow in Henry 3.*

London besieged.

Articles of peace betweene *Henry* and *Lewis*.

* *Doct. Pow. hist. Cambr. p. 278.*

* *Iob. Til. Chron.*

(9) There are * who write how that *Lewis* had a great summe of money paide him for restoring the Hostages; but *Matth. Paris* whom * some cite to that purpose, affirmes no such matter in any printed Copy. Reason surely is vtterly against it; for when euen the life of *Lewis* was after a sort in King *Henries* hand, with what sense can it stand that the King should set all the *French* free without ransome; and yet himselfe pay money for the Hostages? which also were not his, but the Hostages of his enemies

* *Paul. Aemil. in Phil. 2.*

* *Hollinsh. in H. 3.*

Lewis had no money granted to him by this composition.

The perillous estate of *Lewis*.

* *Wend. M. S. Paris. hist.*

enemies the Barons; ſo that, if money were due, it muſt haue come from them, not from the King, who both in honour and profit was rather obliged to the contrary. Writers of that very time doe in plaine words ſay, *The powerty of* Lewis *was ſuch, that he was compelled to borrow fiue thouſand pounds of the Londoners, to ſet him out of England:* and therefore that other ſeemes nothing elſe but a vaine gloze to ſalue the honour of *Lewis*, who was plainely driuen out of *England*, after ſo high hopes, with loſſe, ſorrow, and *eternall diſgrace*, which the *French* are ſo ſenſible of, that they ſcarce ſeeme to write of the whole action, otherwiſe then * laying the misfortune of *Lewis* vpon the Barons mutability.

Rog. Wendouer. M. S. Matth. Paris. The ſame *Matth. Paris*, at A.D. 1227. ſaith that King *Henry* charged the *Londoners* for hauing giuen *Lewis* 5000 markes at his departure, forcing them to giue him as much.

* *Enguer d: Mon. Gagwin. Paul. Aemil. Ioh. Tilii.*

An.D.1218.

(10) The Realme of *England* purged of thoſe forraine dregges, was not therefore preſently freed from other manifold encumbrances, ſuch as after ſo great a toſſing of all lawes and things diuine, and humane, doe ordinarily flote vp and downe, like the froth and working of a troubled Sea. For diuers men preſuming vpon their former ſeruices to the State, or thinking the olde bad World would either continue ſtill, or ſoone returne, if juſtice grew confident againſt Treſpaſſors, or for what other corrupt motiues ſoeuer, did dare intollerable things. The * principall Lords of this miſ-rule, were *William* Earle of *Aumarl*, *Falcaſius de Brent* with his Garriſon ſouldiers, *Robert de Veipont*, with others, who hauing had the Caſtles and poſſeſſions of certaine Biſhops and Great men, either to keepe in truſt, or otherwiſe by iniquity of the times conuerted violently to their vſes; did ſtill with-hold the ſame, both againſt the mindes of their lawfull owners, and the Kings expreſſe Prohibition. Among others, *Robert de Gaugi* defended the Caſtle of *Newarke*, (being the Fee of the Biſhop of *Lincolne*, as was alſo the towne it ſelfe) againſt the Kings Armie, conducted by the * Great *Marſhall* Earle of *Pembroke*, for eight daies, and did not firſt yeeld the place, before (by mediation of friends) the Biſhop paide to *Gaugi* one hundreth pounds. There was in that great Earle, a perpetuall care to conclude things without bloud-ſhedde, wherein ſhined his Chriſtian piety and morall wiſdome, there being no other ſo ſafe way to ſettle diſordered humours. The greater was his loſſe both to the King and State, by his death, * ſoone after enſuing, whoſe * monument yet remaining, doth not ſo much eternize his memory, as that well-deſerued * Epitaph, the *Epitome* of his noble vertues;

Sum quem Saturnum ſibi ſenſit Hybernia, Solem
Anglia, Mercurium Normannia, Gallia Martem.

Irelands Saturne, Englands Sunne am I,
The Mars of France, and Normans Mercurie.

Hee left behinde him fiue Sonnes, all Earles of *Pembroke* ſucceſſiuely, and dying without iſſue; his fiue Daughters aduanced by great marriages, brought as great aduantage to their husbands iſſue, by the inheritances of their iſſueleſſe brethren.

* *Roy de wend. M. S. Matth. Paris.*

* So ancient Writers call him, and well might.

* An.1219.

* In the Temple-Church in *London.*

* *Paris ad an.* 1214. ſaith *Gerualius de Melkeley* made theſe verſes.

An. D.1220.

Ann. Reg. 5.

* *Hollinſh. pa.* 202.

(11) The King, (gouerned after *Marſhals* death, by *Peter* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and ſuch * other, whom the Biſhop had procured to joyne in adminiſtration of publique affaires) ſeeming now to haue a ſetled and calme eſtate, reſolues (for good hopes ſake) to be crowned againe; which was performed by *Stephen* Archbiſhop of *Canterburie* at *Weſtminſter*, with the attendance and confluence of all the Prelates, Peeres, and People. Vpon the * Saturday before his Coronation, the * new worke of the Abbey Church at *Weſtminſter*, (*Paris* calls it the Chappell of our Lady,) was begunne, whereof the King himſelfe in perſon laid the firſt ſtone, as if hee meant the World ſhould know, his intention was to conſecrate his future actions to raiſe the glory of God. This calme but new beginning, was almoſt as ſpeedily diſtempered and diſturbed by ſodaine ſtormes; by reaſon that, while the King kept his Chriſtmas with great royalty at *Oxford*, in the company of the Prelates and Peeres of *England*, *William de Fortibus*, Earle of *Aumarl*, incited by *Falcaſius de Brent*, and the like riotous Gentlemen, ſodainely departed from the Court without leaue, and (whither it were vpon diſcontentment, becauſe the King had againſt the Earles will the laſt yeere taken * ſome Caſtles into his hands, or out of an euill ignorance how to liue in quiet) he mannes the Caſtle of *Biham*, victuals it with the Corne of the Chanons of *Bridlington*, ſpoyles the Towne of *Deeping*, and vnder ſhew of repayring to the Parliament, ſeiſeth on the Caſtle of *Fotheringhay*, committing many other furious riots in contempt of the King, and breach of his peace; many * others in other places following his lewd example. Yet at length the Earle comming in vnder the conduct of *Walter* Archbiſhop of *Yorke*, was at the ſuite of *Pandulph* (who ſucceeded *Wallo* in the place of *Legate*) pardoned; and the like hurtfull clemency was extended toward his Complices and Retinue, whom the King (in regard belike of ſome former better deſerts) ſet free without puniſhment or ranſome. And to preuent any further diſturbances of that nature, *Hubert de Burgo* Earle of *Kent*, for his rare integrity and fidelity (approued in all King *Iohns* troubles) was alſo made gouernor of the Kings perſons, and *Chiefe Iuſtitiar* of *England*, with the general allowance of all the *States*. What neede the Land then had of a ſeuere proceeding, wee may judge by this, that *Fouke de Brent* held the Earledomes of *Northampton*, *Oxford*, *Bedford*, and *Buckingham*, with the Caſtles and Holds; *Philip de Marc*, the caſtles of *Peke* and *Nottingham*, *Nottinghamſhire* and *Darbiſhire*; and others detained other portions, without any other right, then that which the iniquity of the late tumults gaue.

* *Matth. Paris. Walſingham.*

Weſtminſter Church enlarged by *Henry* 3.

An.D.1221.

(12) It was no ſmall addition to the troubleſomneſſe of this time, that certaine * Lords of *Wales*, and (as * ſome ſay) Prince *Lewelin* himſelfe, deſirous to rid their Marches of the *Engliſh*, roſe in Armes, and laide ſiege to the Caſtle of *Buelt*, which inuited King *Henry* to draw thither with an Armie; but the worke was made eaſie by the voluntary departure of the *Welſh*; vpon the fame of the Kings approch: which appearances of ſome enſuing ſtirres, moued the King to thinke of ſtrengthening himſelfe with faithfull alliances; and not long after, *Alexander* King of *Scots* came to *Yorke*, (who in the yeere * before had met King *Henry* at the ſame place, and there tooke to wife the Lady *Ioan* King *Henries* ſiſter; and *Hubert de Burgo*, in preſence of both the Kings, married the Lady * *Margaret* ſiſter to *Alexander*; *Boetius* * ſaith, that two great Lords of *England* married two ſiſters of King *Alexander* at that place. About which time, * *Iſabel* Queene Dowager of *England*, without the leaue of her ſonne the King, or of his Councell, croſt the ſeas, and tooke to husband the Earle of *March* in *France*. The yong King ſuppoſing his eſtate at home now ſomewhat ſetled, and his eyes beginning to grow cleare-ſighted by the benefite of experience, forgers not to looke about his affaires abroad; and firſt ſends * *Sauarie de Malleon* to be his Lieutenant in *Aquitaine*, where yet the *Engliſh* held the greater part, and diſpatcheth Ambaſſadours to *Philip* King of *France*, for reſtitution according to the Articles with *Lewis*: whereunto anſwere was made that nothing ought to be reſtored which by right of warre had beene atchieued; but (as it ſeemes) there was a Truce for * foure yeeres agreed vpon betweene the two Monarches, concerning the County of *Poictou*.

* *Roger. Wend. M.S. Mat. Pariſ. hiſt. ma.*

* *Polyd. Virgil.*

* *Hiſt. Scot.* 13.

* *Tho. Walſingh. in Ypodig. Neuſtr.*

* *Polyd. Virg. l.* 16. *Hollinſh. p.* 203.

Roger. Wend. and *Mat. Paris* place this Ambaſſage at An. D. 1223.

* *Ypod. Neuſtriæ.*

(13) The State both of Church and Commonwealth in thoſe troubled daies, ſeeme to haue much reſemblance; euery man daring to attempt in either, what his own audaciouſnes would ſuggeſt, or others conniuency permit. But *Stephen* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* (who himſelfe was lately the Ring-leader of diſorders both in State and Church) is now become very diligent in his *Prouinciall Synode* at *Oxford*,

Matth Weſtminſt.

An.D.1222.

Oxford, about reformation of the Clergie; where also was conuented before him an execrable *Impostor*, who seeing how current all grosseſt deluſions paſſed in thoſe daies of blindneſſe, was emboldned to ſuffer himſelfe to be wounded in his *hands, feete*, and * *ſide*, (an horrour to thinke) that by the reſemblance of thoſe bloudy impreſſions, he might perſwade the people (apt to beleeue any thing) that he was their very Sauiour: whoſe deſerued puniſhment was by *immuring* betweene two walls, as a monſter too impious and vnworthy to die by any humane hand. There was immured with him a curſed olde Beaſt, who pretended to be *Mary* the mother of this Chriſt, and well might be, if their manners be compared; * ſome adde a third alſo, who named her ſelfe *Mary Magdalen*. The puniſhment by Crucifixion which * ſome thinke was executed vpon the man at *Arbor-bery*, is neither ſo credible nor tollerable, as in which Chriſtianity it ſelfe might ſeeme to ſuſtaine reproach; it being alſo againſt the * ancient law of *Conſtantine*, the firſt famous Chriſtian Emperour, that any ſhould from thence-forth die by crucifixion; but it may be, that it was firſt ſo judged (which might cauſe the relators errours,) though afterward vpon ſounder deliberation changed into a more fitting cenſure. But ſtrange it is, that this man deſeruing (as he did) ſo ſeuere a judgement at *Oxford*, S^t. *Francis*, whoſe fiction and impoſture was the very ſame, (for the * *wounds*, though not for the *name*, of Chriſt) * ſo ſoon after deſerued for it to be canonized at *Rome*, for a *Chiefe of Saints*; and perhaps if this Monſter had beene at *Rome*, he had beene likewiſe *Sainted*, or if Saint *Francis* had beene at *Oxford*, he had beene likewiſe immured.

(14) In the State of the *Common-wealth* incredible darings (though of inferiour quality to that former) were not wanting, againſt the maieſty of the King; as appeared by *Conſtantine Fitz-Arnulf*, a Citizen of *London*: who vpon colour of a popular tumult, by him purpoſely cheriſhed, (which roſe at paſtimes of wreſtling, and like maſteries betweene the *Citizens* of *London*, and others of the *Suburbes*,) attempted to ſet vp a *Lewis* againe, and in the heat of the ſedition, he trayterouſly cryed, * *Mount-Ioy, Mount-Ioy, God for vs, and our Lord Lewis*. Though the * Lord *Maior*, a diſcreet man, earneſtly perſwaded dutifull behauiours, yet *Conſtantine* had made the people incapable of good Counſell with his ſeditious *Proclamations*, which hee there cauſed to be * publiſhed. The ſecret of this conſpiracy was * reuealed by * another Citizen, and without queſtion was farther ſpred then the compaſſe of one Citie, euen as farre as into the hearts of all ſuch turbulent people, to whom *warre* was beneficiall, and *Quiet* banefull. The chiefe *Iuſtitiar* hearing of theſe matters, with forces aſſembled, entred * the *Tower*, whither he commaunded the principall men of the Citie to come, who eaſily put off the blame from themſelues vpon *Fitz-Arnulf*. But hee as reſolute in his anſwere, as deſperate in the ſedition, complayned of himſelfe in the hearing of all, *that he had done leſſe therein then he ought*; yet fifteene thouſand Markes ſterling hee offered for his life, when hee ſaw the halter about his necke, (for with his *Crier*, and his *Nephew*, the next day he was hanged,) but no price could redeeme him out of the hand of Iuſtice: It is ſaid, that he ſo confidently anſwered, vpon truſt of the Articles and Oath betweene the King and *Lewis*, that the partakers of *Lewis* ſhould not be troubled; and that, vpon this occaſion, *Lewis* denied reſtitution of ſuch things, as the Articles did mention, pretending that *Henry* had therein broken firſt his faith, and thereby made the whole contract fruſtrate. Execution thus done without noyſe, or the *Londoners* priuity, the *Iuſtitiar* accompanied with *Falcaſius* and his armed troupes, enters *London*, apprehends ſuch others as were culpable, and for a terrour to the reſt, cauſeth their * hands or feete to be cut off, and then ſet them at liberty. The King depoſed the Magiſtrates, though ſome write that the tumult was appeaſed by the *Maior*; but when the King found, that onely the * baſer ſort were intereſſed in the diſorder, hee was reconciled to the Citie, hauing firſt thus weeded this chiefe *Garden* of the *Engliſh Empire*, and pluckt vp the rootes of the *maſter-bramble*.

(15) This dangerous beginning might haue had farre worſe proceedings, if the King, though in yeeres tender, yet had not beene ſo prouident, as to haue fore-ſeene it, and ſo, with patient conniuence at ſome particular indignities, preuented a publique diſquiet. For the Barons, ſtill minding their long deſired *Liberties*, and requiring a confirmation of them by the King, who, at the concluded peace with *Lewis*, had ſworne thereto; *William Briwere*, one of the Kings Councell, anſwered; that *the liberties which they demaund, ought not to be obſerued, becauſe they were violently extorted*. But words growing heereupon, and Archbiſhop *Stephen*, (the Barons ancient Abettour) kindling thereat, the young King prudently ſhut vp the whole ſtrife with this ſpeech; *All of vs haue ſworne to thoſe Liberties, and that which wee haue ſworne, all of vs are bound to obſerue*. His *Deed* immediately ſealed his *Word*, (for he ſaw hee durſt doe no other,) and *Writs* were ſent forth, to enquire vpon Oathes, what Liberties or free cuſtomes were current, in, and from the time of King *Henry* his Grand-father: by which act, all mens hopes were raiſed to expect the full concluſion of all thoſe grieuous contentions, which had ſo long encombred the Kingdome. The like hope was conceiued of better ſucceſſes then before, in forraine affaires, vpon newes of the death of King *Philip* of *France*, the euer-deadly (and now dead) Enemie of *Englands* wel-fare; which mooued the King to ſend the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and three other Biſhops to *Lewis*, now crowned King of *France*, there to demand the *Duchie of Normandy*, and ſuch other lands on that ſide of the ſea, as before his departure out of *England*, he had ſworne to reſtore: but his anſwere was; 1. *That he held thoſe poſſeſſions by a juſt title, as he was ready to ſhew King* Henry, *if he would come to his Court to make his demaund*; 2. *That the King of England had violated his Oath, for that ſuch as were taken at Lincolne were grieuouſly fined*; 3. *That ſuch Liberties of England, for which the war was firſt mooued, and had bin graunted at his departure, and ſince confirmed by oath, were not onely not obſerued, but the old wicked ones reduced, and generally farre worſe ordained in their place*. With which ſolutions to their demand, the *Ambaſſadors* were faine to returne, and *Henry* left to come by his owne as he could.

An.D.1223.

(16) The King well perceiuing, how vnable he ſhould be eyther to recouer thoſe his Tranſ-marine Dominions, or almoſt to maintaine his owne royall eſtate at home, if ſuch, as by the vnrulynes of former times hauing gotten poſſeſſion of Crowne-Lands, might ſtill with-hold them, reſolued to reſume them; by aduiſe principally of *Stephen* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and *Hubert de Burgo* Earle of *Kent*, who therby drew vpon themſelues no ſmall loads of enuie. Which recouery of ſuch parcels of the royall Patrimony, though it were no leſſe needfull then lawfull; yet by reaſon the intereſſed were ſo many, (and ſuch as wanted no will to toſſe the whole Kingdome, rather then forgoe their holdings,) they wiſely vſed all the ſtrengthes which Religion or humane policy could giue. Firſt therefore * there was procured a Briefe from the Pope, by which both the King was declared to be at libertie to chooſe his owne *Councell*, and gouerne by himſelfe, (which, who doubteth but hee might haue done without the Popes Bull?) and all men commanded vnder paine of *Cenſures* to reſtore ſuch things as againſt law and the Kings will, they detained from him. This put the intereſſed into a will to rayſe Armes; meeting for that purpoſe at *Leiceſter*, where the *Ceſtrian* Earle and his * Confederates conſult, how they (vnder the

An.D.1222.
* *Tho. Walſing. in Ypodig. Neuſtr. Ranul. Ceſtr. Mon. l. 7. c. 34.*
* *Matth. Paris.*
A Pſeudo-Chriſt diſcouered and immured.
* *Ioh. Stowes Annal. Ypodigm. Neuſtr.*
Death by immuration.
* *Antiquit. Brit. in vit. Steph.*
* *M. Paris. vit. Archiep. Cant. in Steph.*
* *Euſebius in vita Conſtan. Ranul. Ceſtr.*
* *Mat. Paris, in Hen. 3.*
* *An. 1227. apud Matth. Paris.*
The treaſonable vprore of *Conſtantine Fitz-Arnulf.*
* *Pariſ. hiſt.*
* *Robert Serle* then L. Major.
* This was done 16. *Auguſt.*
* *Fabian.*
* By one *Walt. Bokerel.*
* *Rog. de Wend.* M. S.
Conſtantine and his Cryer hanged
* *Matth. Paris.*
Hands and feet of offenders cut off.
* *Wendouer, M. S. Paris.*
* *Polyd. Virgil. lib. 16. Fabian.*
An.D.1223.
Liberties againe demaunded.
King *Philip* of *France* dieth.
King *Henry* demaunds his Signiories of *Lewis.*
Lewis pretends care of *Englands* liberties.
An.D.1224.
The politique courſe vſed by the King to recouer his lands from the Lords without ciuill warre.
* *Wendou. M. S. Mat. Pariſ. hiſt.*
Excommunications vſed to ſtrengthen the ſecular authority.
* *Falcaſius de Brent* and others.

the ſpecious pretext of remouing the Earle of *Kent*, as one whoſe predominating greatneſſe, and euill offices againſt them, were not to be by them endured,) might deteine the Caſtle and other poſſeſſions demaunded. But vpon notice, that (if forthwith they did not render backe what they vnjuſtly held,) they ſhould by name be preſently excommunicated; and that the King, (now at *Northampton*) had with him not onely an honeſter cauſe, * *but a greater number of Souldiers*, (which they much more feared then all their flaſhes of Excommunication,) they following a * wiſer courſe, repayred forthwith to the King, rendring vp into his hands all that belonged to the Crowne; but did not lay downe their diſpleaſure, for that, on their petition, the King would not put from him his chiefe *Iuſtitiar*, the obiect of their Enuie.

* *Ro. Wend. M. S. Mat. Paris. hiſt. ma.*

* *Saluberrimo vſi conſilio*, ſaith *Paris* out of *Wend.*

(17) Meane while *Lewis* King of *France* not contented to deny the demaunded reſtitution vpon his alleaged pretexts, inuades ſuch other parts as * King *Henry* peaceably held in *Poictou* and *Xainctoing*; the beſt colour and reaſon giuen for it, * is, *That whereas Aquitain* (whereof *Xainctoing* & *Poictou* were part) *was holden of the Crowne of France by homage, the King of England, being not hindred by ſickneſſe nor other neceſſitie, was not preſent at the Coronation of Lewis, nor excuſed his abſence by Ambaſſadours.* In proſecution of which pretence he tooke * *Rochel*, (the principall Port of *Xainctoing*) with other places, and ouerthrew in a Battle, *Sauarie de Malleon* alſo, Lieutenant for King *Henry* in *Aquitaine*: vpon which ouerthrow the loſſe of thoſe foreſaid Townes, with the whole Countrey of *Poictou*, (as * one ſaith) enſued. Withall, the King loſt the ſeruice of the ſaid *Sauarie*, a valiant commaunder, who for ſome indignitie offered vnto him by *William Longſpe* Earle of *Salisbury*, (* ſent ouer by King *Henry*, vpon ſome diſtaſte of *Sauaries* doings, with commiſſion to oueruiew his courſes,) ſodainely turned *French*, among whom hee had great credit & preferment. King *Henry* ill brooking ſo great a defalcation of his forraine eſtates, determined to haue recourſe to the generall aide of his people, for meanes to recouer his loſſes, but while (for that purpoſe) hee held a * Parliament, the whole Aſſembly was ſodainly troubled with juſt complaints of an inſufferable outrage.

* *Tho. Walſing. in Ypodig. Neuſtr.*

* *Paul. Aemil. in Ludou. 8.*

* *Ypodig. Neuſtr. Mat. Paris.*

* *Paul. Aemyl. in Lud. 8.*

* *Pol. Virg. H. l. 16.*

* At *Northampton.*

(18) For *Henry de Braibrocke*, a *Iuſtice Itinerant*, who with other held the *Aſſiſes* at *Dunſtable*, was ſodainely ſurprized, (and impriſoned vnder ſtrong Garriſon in *Bedford*-Caſtle,) by the commandement of *Falcaſius*, enraged, for that thirty verdicts had there paſſed againſt him, vpon trialls of title for Lands which he had forceably entred. The Iudges Wife with her teares ſo mooued the whole Parliament to indignation and pitty, that all other buſineſſes ſet apart, the Clergy as well as the Laity forthwith attended the King to the ſiege. *Falcaſius* himſelfe flying into *Wales*, there to contriue a greater body of Rebellion, did leaue his brother, Lieutenant in the Caſtle with a deſperate crew, hauing victuals and munition for an whole yeeres reſiſtance. Yet after two Moneths ſiege the Caſtle being taken, the Iudge was enlarged, the Lieutenant and his whole retinue hanged, the pile it ſelfe (as a denne of Theeues) demoliſhed; and an example giuen what others ſhould truſt vnto, who did not in due time ſubmit themſelues to their Soueraigne. This * *Falcaſius* was a *Norman* by birth, and a baſtard, who comming ouer in poore ſort vnder King *Iohn*, ſo behaued himſelfe in the Kings ſeruices, that in regard of his all-daring forwardneſſe, *Bedford* was giuen him to defend againſt the Barons; where by rapine and violence hee had drawne together the ſhew of a great fortune, beſides that which he had in marriage with *Margaret de Riparijs*, a great inheritrix, whom King *Iohn*, to her no leſſe diſcontentment, then diſparagement had beſtowed vpon him. But now when this Caſtle, beyond his imagination was thus beaten to the earth, and all other his poſſeſſions ſeized by the King; he procures *Alexander* Biſhop of *Couentree* to ſafe conduct him to *Bedford*, where hee throwes himſelfe at the Kings feete, imploring mercy for his former good ſeruices. Hee was, after pardon of life hardly gotten, ſent into perpetuall * baniſhment; at which time hee with teares deſired the Earle of *Warren*, (who had in charge to ſee him ſhipt away,) *That hee would commend him to the King, and let him know* (a ſecret fit for the King to take notice of) *that all the troubles which hee had rayſed in the Realme, were by the onely inſtigation of the Barons.* Notwithſtanding the King was ſo incenſed for the keeping this Caſtle againſt him, that hee commaunded all * Strangers to depart the Realme within a time there limited vnder great penalty.

* *Matth. Paris.*

Rog. *Wend. M. S. Matth. Paris.*

A ſtrange outrage againſt execution of juſtice

Matth. Paris.

* He died afterward in *Rome*, in extreame penury and ſorrow. *Paris. Polydor.*

* *Lang. Chro.*

(19) The interrupted Counſels of Parliament, and purpoſes of the King for recouery of his *Poctouine* inheritances, were now againe reſumed; yet the King could not there (but vpon condition * that he ſhould graunt their *Liberties*, the ſtring which was euer harped on,) obtaine a fifteenth, nor the good will of the States to furniſh him in his *French* hoſtilities: Thus the King, * drawne *with deſire of money* (whereof his want was very vrgent) grants thoſe his *Charters* vnder his Seale, and was ſo further wrought on, that oathes were (by royall commaundement) taken, to tie all men to the obſeruation of the ſaide Graunts, according to the very Letter, if that be the meaning of * *literatorium juramentum*, and not ſomthing elſe. Vpon the ſtrength of this money, (whoſe daily expenſe, like vitall nouriſhment, keepes all great actions aliue,) *Richard* Earle of *Cornwall* the Kings brother, *William Longſpe* Earle of *Salisbury*, and about threeſcore Knights with competent forces were ſent into *Gaſcoign* in the Spring; where they ſafely arriued at *Burdeaux*, and were honourably entertained. This timely arriuall had good effects, for it confirmed the well-diſpoſed, ſetled the irreſolute, and reduced much which had beene extorted by the *French*. *Hugh* Earle of the Marches of *Poictou*, comming by the *French* Kings direction to remoue Earle *Richard* and the *Engliſh* from the ſiege of the *Riol*, was with all his Forces intercepted * by an *Ambuſcado*, and diſcomfited with no ſmall loſſe of men, munition, and carriages. All ſides were in the end * contented to pauſe without parliance, and the *Engliſh* held *Aquitaine* deſpite their force or practiſes. But *William Longspe* the Kings Vncle ſuruiued not long his good ſeruices in thoſe parts; who returning (vpon buſineſſe of State) into *England*, ſoone ended his daies at his Caſtle of *Salisbury*, with ſo great humility and pietie, that at poynt of death he would not receiue the *holy Euchariſt* in his Bed, (which deuotion is alſo reported of King *Henry* the eight) but vpon his bare knees on the ground, which hee moiſtned with aboundance of penitent teares. Vpon which great *Earle* this *Epitaph* was made:

An. D. 1225.

* *Rog. Wend. M. S.*

* *Matth. Paris.*

* *Mat. Paris*, who A.D. 1227. doth vſe *Literatorie nunciare*, to ſignifie by letter: ſo this may be an *Oath in writing*, which they were to ſweare vnto word for word, or a written oath ſigned or ſealed by them. *Tho. Walſingham.*

Polyd. Virg. l. 16. calls him Earle of *Champaign*, and might be both.

* *Rog. Wend. M. S. Matth. Paris. Polydor. Virg. Paul. Aemil. in Ludo. 8.*

An. D. 1226.

Polyd. Virg. lib. 16.

Flos Comitum Wilielmus obit, ſtirps regia; * Longus Enſis, *vaginam cœpit habere breuem.*

Royal-born William, Flower of Earles lies here;
A ſheath thus ſhort, doth Long-Sword *ſerue to bear.*

* *Longspee*, or *Long-Sword.*

(20) About theſe times the *Pope* (ſay * his Monks) *ſent abroad into the world his Nunces, requiring euery where vndue exactions*, with purpoſe to ſettle a certainty of contribution to his See of *Rome*, out of all the Cathedrall and conuentual Churches in Chriſtendome; alleadging, * that he did it *to wipe away from that See, that ancient ſcandall of Auarice and Briberie, which otherwiſe their penury muſt ſtill enforce them to vſe.* Neuertheleſſe, aſwell the Meſſenger, as the Meſſage found but ſlender welcome here. For, (by procurement of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*,) the Popes Agent *Otto*, receiued Letters from *Rome*, commaunding him preſently to returne: *Otto*

* *Ma. Paris hiſt. ma.*

* *Litera Papæ, apud Mat. Paris.*

Bedford-Caſtle raſed by the King.

in rage of this vnexpected reuocation, like a braue *Romane* threw the Popes letters into the fire, yet durst not disobey the Contents. And whereas the message it selfe had beene scanned and sifted to the very bran, both heere and in * *France, and judged to sauour of so vniuersall an oppression, as might cause a generall dissession from the Church of Rome*; the *King* in presence of his Prelates and Peeres, turned off the Popes couetous demaund with this thrifty answere: *The things which the Pope would perswade vnto, doe stretch themselues as farre as the Christian World is wide, and because England is but an Out-Angle thereof, therefore when we see other Kingdomes giue vs an example, he shall then finde vs the more forward to obey.*

* *In Concilio Bituricensi. Matth. Paris.*

The King puts off the Popes demaunds. *Matth. Paris.*

(21) That difficultie so auoyded; the King was earnestly bent to make a voyage in person to the ayde of his brother Earle *Richard*, who pursued the affaires of *Gascoigne*; which though by the late Earle of *Sarisburies* death it receiued some mayme; yet by the fortitude and counsell of other noble persons, it did still prosper. This intention and desire was staide by the receit of Letters out of *France*, which declared the Earle his brothers health, and the good successe of affaires. The King, (some say) among his Counsellors of State, had one *William de Perepound*, a great Astrologer, who fore-told that *Lewis* King of *France* should not preuaile; and this affirmation did the rather withhold him at that present. There is who * writes, that King *Henry* (vpon the Popes Letters) forbare to attempt any thing in *France* at that time, lest hee should hinder *Lewis*, who was then vpon an enterprise against the remaines of the *Albigenses* in *Languedoc*, *Prouince*, and the parts about. These men were traduced for *Heretikes*, and so condemned by the See of *Rome*; but what their *Heresie* was, a * Frier, (who writes against them) reports, saying, *They were of all other the most pernicious Sect; for antiquity, some holding they were from the Apostles time; for generality, there scarse being any Nation where they are not; and lastly, for shew of piety, in that they liue justly before men, and beleeue all things touching God aright, and all the Articles of the Creede,* * *onely they blaspheme and hate the Church of Rome.* No maruaile if this horrible *heresie* did trouble his *Holinesse*; and therefore, whereas his Predecessor, and himselfe had kept much adoe in *Christendome*, to excite men to take the *signe* of the *Crosse*, and warre against the *Turke*, (which the Friers did perswade men vnto, teaching, that * *whosoeuer were polluted with any hainous offence, as Parricide, Incest, Sacriledge, he was presently acquited both from the sin, and the punishment of it, if he thus tooke the Crosse vpon him,*) now, because the Earle of *Tholous*, and his people entertained the foresaid *heresie*, the *Crosse*, and *holy warres* were by the Pope denounced against them. Of which Earle yet let vs heare the judgement of another * Frier then liuing. *Those* (saith he) *who thus tooke the warres and Crosse against him, did it more for feare of the French King, and the Popes Legate, then for zeale of Iustice; it seeming to many a wrong thus to infest a faithfull Christian man, and one who with many teares desired the Legate to examine the faith of euery one of his Cities, and if any one held against the Catholike faith, he would punish him, according to the judgement of the Church, and if any City should resist him, he would enforce it to make satisfaction. As for himselfe, he offered to be examined by the Legate touching his faith, and if he were faulty, hee would make satisfaction to God and the Church. But all these things the Legate scorned, nor could that Catholike Earle finde any fauour, vnlesse he would forsake his Inheritance, and abjure it both for himselfe, and his heires for euer.* These were the Heretikes against which *Lewis* was now imployed by the Pope, and King *Henry* the while * commaunded to surcease from impeaching his holy enterprize. Wherein *Lewis* had spent a moneth in the siege of *Auinion*, and endured (for all his sacred *Crossings*) maruailous losses, by a terrible plague deuouring his Army, by a strange kinde of venemous Flies, dispatching many, by a sodaine drowning of a great part of his Army; and lastly, by being himselfe * poysoned by * one of his Earles (an vnchaste Riuall of his Bed,) *though it was giuen forth of him*, (as * of his late enemy King *Iohn*, whom some thinke that *Lewis* his friends did make away) *that he died onely of a Flux.*

Polyd. Virgil. lib. 16. Matth. Paris.

*What kinde of Heretikes the *Albigenses* of *Waldenses* were. *Frater Raynerius, de Valdansibus.*

*The Master heresie of the *Albigenses.*

Apud Auentinum.

The holy warres denounced against Christian Princes.

* *Mat. Paris.*

* *Mat. Paris.*

(22) The newes of the *French* Kings death, seconded with sure relations of sundry discontentments, and open factions vnder the young King (who was but * about twelue yeares of age) bred an hope in King *Henries* minde, that now the time was come, wherein hee might recouer those ancient inheritances which his Fore-fathers held in *France*: and to aduance his hopes, he had his mother Queene *Isabel*, wife to the Earle of *March* in those parts,) an earnest sollicitor. *Peter* Duke of *Britaine* was the principall man who tooke offence that himselfe had not a chiefe hand in directing the young King *Lewis*; but his prudent mother Queene *Blanch*, * weakned his partie, by drawing his brother *Robert* Earle of *Dreux* from him; and albeit the Duke had repayred the breach, by affinitie with the Earle of *Champain*, (one of the twelue Peeres of that Realme, to whom the Duke married the Ladie *Blanda* his daughter and heire,) yet was the Earle driuen by a short warre to continue quiet. The Duke heereupon casts himselfe vpon King *Henrie*; *Sed sera auxilia Anglica; the English aides come slowly* saith *Æmilius*. These and the like inducements mooued the King to send *Walter* Archbishop of *Yorke*, with others, to the chiefe Men of *Normandie*, *Anjou*, and *Poictou*, that by large promises they might procure them to acknowledge *Henrie* for their King, or by partakings, facilitate their reduction to the English Soueraigntie; who accordingly prosecuted their employment.

The Popes crossings attended with few blessings.

* *Math. Paris.*

* The Earle of *Champaigne*, and the Popes *Legate*, were publiquely charged of Adultery with *Lewis* his Queene. *Apud Mat. Paris.*

* *Ranalphus Otterbourne, & aly. Rog. Wend. M. S. Matth. Paris.*

* *Tilius. Aemylius. Walsing.* saith 14. *Paris* scarce 10. Likelihoods for a warre with *France.*

* *Paul. Aemil. in Lud.* 80.

Aemylius.

(23) These opportunities for that designe, moued the King to be-thinke how to gather money, to furnish so chargefull an enterprize; whereby while he sought to prouide to recouer that which was lost, hee ministreth occasion to hazard that which he had. The onely great man in Court was now *Hubert de Burgo*: For the King protesting himselfe of age to gouerne without a Tutor or Protector, did principally conferre with him about all his most weightie affaires. Hence grew more enuy against *Hubert*, and perill to the King. From * the Londoners, (besides the graunted aydes of a fifteenth, which all degrees were subject vnto) hee wrung fiue thousand Markes, for that they had, (as was alleaged) to his prejudice, giuen *Lewis* the like summe. In the Parliament at *Oxford*, by aduice of *Hubert* his *Lord Chiefe Iustice*, he reuokes the *Charters of Liberties*, which now for about two yeeres had beene practised through the Realme: pretending, that at *the time of their Grant the King was vnder age, and had then no liberty either of his person or Signature*; though otherwise, the royall power of the English Monarchie neuer pleads pupillage or minoritie. It serued the turne for the time, and all men were faine to pay what *Huberts* * pleasure was to assesse, for obtaining the new *Seale*. The fortune of such Arts, whereby they were wont to fill Princes *Treasuries*, was not alwaies without repentance to the *Authors*, and *Authorisers*. The *Clergy* was compelled, (vnder paine of Papall Censures) to pay the *Fifteenth*, not only for their temporal goods, but also for their Ecclesiasticall; and yet in the end, (after so much tossing of the People,) the Kings Ambassadours returne out of *France*, without hauing effected that which they went about, so that the whole enterprize quailed. For *Queene Blanch* by sweete and prudent courses, so preuailed among the factious, that there was left no place for *Henrie* to take sure hold vpon. The Duke of *Britaine*, (who expected the English succours not till the Spring,) was so neerely prest, and almost oppreast, with a Winter warre, that he thought himselfe beholding to his brother

An. 1227. The King begets enemies at home by raysing money to make warre abroad.

* *Ro. de Wend. M. S. Matth. Paris.* The King perhaps had this summe for the things which *Fabian* saith he graunted.

The Charters of Liberties reuoked and cancelled.

Matth. Paris. Peace in *France* frustrates the *English* designes for *France.*

brother *Robert* Earle of *Dreux*, for procuring his peace, though it were with ſuch a condition, as euer after left vpon him, the by-name of *Mauclerk*, or *Male-doctus*. He *acknowledged the Dutchie of Britain, to be the Fee of the Crowne of France, and that by right it ought to hold thereof*; this acknowledgment; becauſe againſt all apparant truth and Record, procured to him that *By-name*. Such concluſion at this preſent had King *Henries* French deſignes. Our * ancient *Authors* write, that this diſhonourable homage was done long after, and with an halter about his necke, at ſuch time as the King of *England* refuſed to goe in perſon to his ſuccours, but offered foure Earles, and other competent Forces, which hee refuſed, as harbouring a reuolt in his boſome, and turned Pyrate.

* *Matth. Paris, ad An. 1234. Scriptores Brit. apud Paul. Aemil. in Ludou. 9.*

* *Rog. de Wend. M. S. Matth. Paris* at A. D. 1234.

(24) The euill will which the other great Lords ſecretly harboured againſt *Hubert*, (whoſe Enuy the Kings fauour in * creating him Earle of *Kent* had lately encreaſed,) now openly diſcouered it ſelfe, vpon this occaſion. *Richard* Earle of *Cornwall*, the Kings brother, (lately returned with honour out of *Gaſcoigne*,) had ſeized into his hands a certaine Manour, then in the tenure of one *Waleran* a *Dutch*-Gentleman, (to whom King *Iohn*, for his good ſeruices had formerly giuen it,) which he alleaged was parcell of his Earledome of *Cornwall*. The King hereupon directs his letters to his brother, commanding him to come immediately, and ſhew a reaſon of his fact. He doth ſo, and without any pleaders helpe defended, as juſt, the ſeiſure which he had made, concluding, among other words, *that hee was ready to ſtand to the judgement of the Kings Court, and Peeres of the realme*. When the King, and the *chiefe Iuſtitiar* heard him name the *Peeres of the Realme*, they (ſuſpecting his bent that way) were exceedingly offended; *and* (ſaid the King) *either reſtore the Manour to Waleran, or thou ſhalt depart out of the Kingdome, neuer to returne*: at which peremptory ſentence, the Earle boldly (but too raſhly) anſwered; *that he neither would giue his right to Waleran, nor without the judgement of the Peeres depart the realme*. The * eatle in this heate returnes to his lodging; thence (vpon ſurmiſe that *Hubert* had perſwaded the King to lay hold on him) he poſts to *Marlebourgh*, where findeing *William Marſhall* the young Earle of *Pembroke*, hee enters into a faſt confederacy, ratified by oath; and *Ranulf* Earle of *Cheſter* is eaſily drawne to make another. Letters thence flying about to all their friends, at *Stamford* there aſſembled vnto them, the Earles of *Glouceſter*, of *Warrenn*, of *Hereford*, of *Warwicke*, Earle *Ferrars*, many Barons, and an huge multitude of armed men. Their ſtrengthes being in likelihood able to beare out their darings, they addreſſe a bold meſſage to the King, by which they require him in lofty Phraſe, *to make preſent amends to his brother for the wrong hee had done; the fault whereof they imputed not to him, but to the chiefe Iuſtitiar: and that if he did not without delay reſtore the Charters of Liberties, which hee had cancelled at Oxford, they would driue him by dint of ſword to giue them therein competent ſatisfaction*. The King ſeeing it no ſafe time to deny their requeſts, appoints to meet at *Northampton* in *Auguſt* next; where the Earle of *Cornwall* (vpon his *Aſſociates* reſolute demaund of the King) had large amends of any injury ſuſtained, his Patrimony being augmented with large acceſſions. The moderation and equanimity of the King, (terrified by his Fathers example) peaceably finiſhed this contention, (the matter of the Charters being for the time huſht, as ſeemeth) which might otherwiſe haue coſt many thouſand liues, and haue hazarded the ruine both of King and Kingdome.

* Yet *Walſingham* names him Earle of Kent before that Ceremony of girding him with the Sword.

* *Wend. M. S. Matth. Paris.*

The Barons in Armes at *Stamford*.

The Barons rebellious meſſage to the King.

(25) That daunger was not a little augmented by the inſurrections of the *Welſh*. The King had giuen the Caſtle of *Mountgomery* to his moſt truſty Counſellor *Hubert de Burgo*; the Garriſon of which place, iſſuing out, meant to ſtocke vp the Trees, and ſhrubbes, which grew neere vpon an high-way leading through a great wood of * fiue leagues long, that trauailers (ordinarily there ſpoyled) might paſſe more ſafely. The *Welſh* not ſuffering that waſte, violently aſſayled the worke-men, and not without ſlaughter on both ſides, draue them into the Caſtle; which drew the King (who euen in little matters vſed to make one,) to come thither in perſon, who, with a competent ſtrength, giues not ouer, till hee had with fire, and other force, conſumed the whole Forreſt. From whence hee pierceth farther into *Wales*, and conſumes with fire a place called * *Cridia*; where whiles the King is building a *Caſtle* to bridle them; * *Lewelin* drew thither his forces, where many were ſlaine on both ſides, and a man of ſpeciall worth *William de* * *Brauſia*, (or *de Bruſe*) by the *Welſh* intercepted, as he went to forrage in the Countrey; * *many great perſons there in the Kings Armie being ſecretly confederated with Lewelin*. By which treacherous practiſe, victuals grew ſo ſcarce, that the King was compelled to yeeld to a very diſhonourable peace, the conditions whereof were: *that the King ſhould raze to the ground the new Fort now almoſt finiſhed; that* * *William de Bruce ſhould ſtill remaine Priſoner till the Welſh thought good; that Lewelin ſhould giue the King toward his expenſes three thouſand Markes*.

* *Quinque Leucarum. Mat. Paris.*

* *Rog. Wend. M. S. Matth. Paris. Ceri* ſaith D. *Powel in hiſt. Cambr.*

* *Mat. Paris.*

* *Hiſt. Cambr.*

* *Rog. Wend. M. S. Mat. Paris.*

* This *William* was afterward hanged by *Lewelin* for lying with his wife, as is reported in *Matth. Paris. ad An.* 1230. though elſewhere he ſaith it was by reaſon of *Hubert de Burgo's* Letters to *Lewelin*. *Matth. Paris, ad An.* 1232.

(26) Theſe home-bred garboyles thus appeaſed; whereas Ambaſſadours had formerly repayred to the King out of *Gaſcoigne*, *Poictou*, and *Normandie*, to offer him their ſeruices for recouery of thoſe his inheritances, if himſelfe would come in perſon with a royall Army, he about *Michaelmas* is now ready at *Portſmouth* for the exploit; whither all his Nobles were come with ſo great a multitude, not onely out of *England*, but out of *Ireland*, *Wales*, and *Galloway*, as none of his Anceſtors euer had. Many were the motiues which encouraged the King to this attempt, but none greater then the buſie workings of Queen *Dowager* his mother. *Lewis* king of *France* had created his brother *Alfonſe* Duke of *Poictou*, commaunding the Lords of that Countrey to doe their Homages to him; one of theſe was *Hugh* Earle of *March*, now husband to Queene *Iſabel*, who becauſe ſhee had once beene the *Wife* of a King, and now the *Mother*, diſdayned that euen her preſent husband, though but an Earle, ſhould doe homage to a *Subject*, and thereby her ſelfe, (bearing the ſtile of a Queene,) ſeeme inferiour to the Lady *Ioan*, Wife of Duke *Alfonſe*. The Earle was heereupon drawne to a refuſall of Homage; and the like ſpirit ſhee had breathed into the hearts of the princely family of *Luſignian*, whoſe Anceſtors had bin Kings of *Ieruſalem* and *Cyprus*. Nor thus contented to haue plotted a party, for her Sonne among the *French*, ſhee is charged to haue ſought by poyſon to make riddance of *Lewis* himſelfe, and that her Agents for that purpoſe were diſcouered, and executed. But *Æmilius* ſhall pardon vs, if we herein credit not his judgement, as alſo in thinking her the Authour of ſuborning *Aſſaſines* to murther the King; for that wee finde him ſingular therein, the * receyued opinion being, that they were ſent vnder-hand by the *Sarazens* out of *Aſia*, to take away the daunger which they fore-ſaw was comming, in regard King *Lewis* was ſo deuoutly addicted to Chriſtian pietie, and the hatred of *Mahomets* Infidelity. There were alſo at the ſame time great Diuiſions among the *French* Nobility; but the *Engliſh*, (ſaith *Æmilius* himſelfe) wrought not by treachery, but after the manner of faire warre, which they firſt by defiance denounced, and then did openly proſecute with ſword in hand.

Queene *Iſabels* practiſes for her Sonne againſt the *French*.

Queene *Iſabel* falſly charged.

* *Nich. Gvillet Chr. Fran.*

The noble forme of warre among the olde Engliſh prayſed by ſtrangers.

(27) The King of *England* being thus prouided of men, munition, and other neceſſaries fit for the Field, and now readie to embarke; there was not ſhipping ſufficient to tranſport halfe the Company. Which enraged the King ſo farre, that turning himſelfe to Earle *Hubert*, (vpon whom hee charged the blame,) he called him *ranke olde Traytor*, affirming, *that*

Earle *Hubert* in the Kings diſpleaſure.

that hee had of purpoſe beene ſlacke herein, as in other things, in regard of fiue thouſand Marks, with which the Queen Dowager of France *had (as he ſaid) embribed him*, and withall ranne at him in great furie with his drawne ſword, but *Ranulph* Earle of *Cheſter* and others ſtept betweene, and ſaued the King from ſo foule a blemiſh, who ſoone after receiued him into grace againe. But that aſſembly was diſperſed by the arriuall of a * great man out of *Britaine*; a principall confederate with the *Engliſh* againſt *Lewis*, who ſhewed the vnſeaſonable time of the yeare, and other reaſons; and the enterprize thereupon adiourned to the Spring. So after Easter hee tranſports from *Portſmouth* with a full Armie into *Britaine*. The * ſame day in which he ſet ſaile from *England*, himſelfe did in perſon *viſite the poore and feeble, and dealt large Almes, not refuſing to kiſſe the ſicke and leprous*. The ſucceſſe of this voyage is ſo diuerſly reported, that without preiudice to an obſeruant Reader, it might bee all left out. Much certainely was not done. The King of *Englands* purpoſe * was to haue marched through *Britaine* (where many receiued him) into *Poictou*; and as * ſome write hee did ſo, and tooke homage in *Gaſcoigne*. To empeach this paſſage, the King of *France* lay with a great Armie at *Angiers*, and the King of *England* at *Nants* in *Britaine*, expecting the repaire of more force. *Fulk Paganel* a noble *Norman*, with about * ſixty valiant Knights perſwaded the King of *England*, it was eaſie for him to reduce *Normandy* to his obedience; but *Hubert de Burgo* diuerted the King from acceptance of that enterprize. The *Normans* therefore made an ill iourney and an vnlucky, for * they preuailed not with King *Henry*, and for their conſpiracy were diſſeiſed at home by King *Lewis*. But whether it were by loſſe in battle (wherein, if any battle were at all, ſome ſay the * *French* had the better, taking about foure thouſand of the *Engliſh*,) or otherwiſe, this is agreed on, that after the waſte of infinit Treaſures, and the great diminution of his numbers, the King of *England* returned * without accompliſhment of his purpoſe; leauing for the defence of *Britaine*, the three great Earles of *Cheſter*, *Pembroke* and *Aumarl*, with forces anſwerable.

(28) It is not vnlikely that the dangerous rebellion of the *Iriſh*, haſtned his returne; for the King of *Connaught* and his *Iriſh*, ſeeing the King and the Earle of *Pembroke* (who as Heire to the great *Strangbow* had goodly poſſeſſions in thoſe parts) wholly embuſied in the enterpriſe of *Britaine*, had inuaded the Kings people, with a purpoſe and hope, vtterly to expell and amoue our Nation from among them: but their deuiſes proued miſchieuous to themſelues, that rebellious King himſelfe being taken priſoner, not without the loſſe of many thouſands of the *Iriſh*. The *Welſh* alſo ſoone after brake out againe, whoſe Prince *Lewelin*, (in reuenge of thoſe *Welſhmens* heads, which *Hubert de Burgo* had cruelly cauſed to bee ſtrucken off in cold bloud, and preſented to the King,) had burnt certaine Churches and Gentlewomen in them; for which, at * *Oxford* in the preſence of the King, all the Nobility, and Clergy, he was ſolemnly excommunicated; and the King there gathering a great Army, in perſon went to repreſſe the *Welſh*, though not without loſſe.

(29) Another Garboyle thereafter no leſſe diſturbed the whole land, the * *Inſolency of the Romans* (who were charged to *haue wrought innumerable confuſions and infinite grieuances to the King, his Kingdome, Peeres and People*) ſtirring vp multitudes through the Land, by a *common conſent*, to ſeeke by force to ſhake off the importable yoke of their oppreſſions. It was alleadged by theſe reformers, * that they had vnder-hand the kings *Letters Patents*, the *Lord Chiefe Iuſtices* aſſent, the *Biſhop of Londons* countenance, and the *Sheriffes* aide in ſundry Shires, whereby the armed troupes took heart euery where, violently to ſeize on the *Romans* Corne, and their other wealth; which booties they imployed to * *good purpoſes, and for reliefe of the poore*, the *Romans* the while hiding their heades, for feare of looſing them. And though the King, on the Popes complaint thereof, ſeemed to miſlike the outrage, yet had the King himſelfe no leſſe cauſe to bee mooued with the *inſolency* of the *Pope*, then were his ſubiects of thoſe Popelings. For that very time the *See of Canterbury* being voyd, *Ralph Neuill* Biſhop of *Norwich* was elected by the *Monkes*, and gladly approued by the *King*, whoſe * *moſt faithfull Chancelour hee was, an vnſhaken pillar of truth, doing right to all without delayes, eſpecially to the poore, without declining to the right hand or the left*. But *the Pope* being told he was a Royaliſt, and *one that would ioine with the King and whole kingdome (who now all ſtrugled to ſhake off the Popes ſeruitude,) and would to the death ſticke to that law, and thoſe Appeales, which Stephen Langton ſolemnly before the Altar in Saint Pauls Church vrged againſt king Iohns ſubmiſſion to the See of Rome*; his Election (as being a perſon very dangerous) was preſently pronounced voyd. Whereupon the *Monkes* choſe a ſecond, and him the Pope miſliked; for being too olde, and ſoft ſpirited, then a third was *elected, a man of eminent learning, a Student in the Vniuerſity of Oxford*, and him alſo the Pope reiected; neuer reſting till they had choſen *Edmund* of *Abington*, a man more pleaſing to the *Romane* palate. But the King ſeeing the *Great Emperour Fredericke*, euen this very time whiles hee was winning the *kingdome* of *Ieruſalem* from *Infidels*, ſo Turkiſhly in his abſence depoſed from his owne *Empire* by the Pope; vpon a priuate ſpleene; no maruaile, if in this his vnripe age, and diſtracted gouernment, he feared to draw on himſelfe by any oppoſition, ſo mercileſſe an enemy. So that for the time theſe indignities were winked at in theſe parts: in *France* alſo by the wiſedome of * Queene *Blanch*, and mediation of the Archbiſhop of *Reims*, and *Philip* Earle of *Bollein* of one part, and the Earles of *Britaine* and *Cheſter* on the other, a three yeares ceſſation from mutuall hoſtilities was ratified by oath, betweene the *French* and *Engliſh*.

(30) *Hubert de Burgo* Earle of *Kent*, *Chiefe Iuſticiar* of *England*, hauing with few rubbes hitherto, enioyed the moſt inward loue and fauour aſwell of this King, as of King *Iohn*, ſeemes now to haue run the Stage of his beſt fortunes. For the King (vpon occaſion of ſuch inrodes and ſpoyles, as the Prince *Lewelin* continually made in the Marches of *Wales*) being aduertiſed by *Peter* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and certaine other of the Councell, once for all to giue an end to thoſe braues and inſolencies of the *Welſh*, complained; *that he was not able, in regard of his wants*; ſaying, *that his Treaſurers told him, all the rents of his Exchequer would doe no more then ſcarce maintaine apparell, houſhold and ordinary Almes-deeds*. This was not vnknowne to the Biſhop, and the reſt of that faction, who watched this opportunity of purpoſe to lift the Earle of *Kent* out of fauour: wherefore they boldly anſwered the King: *that if he were poore he might thanke himſelfe, who gaue away to others ſuch Honours, Cuſtodies, and Dignities, as were vacant, alienating them from his eſtate; that he was onely to be called a King in name, rather then for any riches which he had; that his Anceſtors, magnificent Princes, abounding in all ſorts of worldly glorie, and wealth, heaped to themſelues ineſtimable treaſures, out of no other meanes, but the Rents and Profits of the Kingdome*.

(31) The King ſtung with this iuſt reprehenſion, beganne (by their inſtructions) to call the Sheriffes of Shires, Baylifes, and other his Officers to a ſtrait account, for all ſuch receits, as appertained to the Exchequer, thruſting ſome out of their places, and wringing out of all their full * ſpunges, ſtore of coyne, till hee ſatisfied himſelfe both for the arrerages and intereſt. Out of *Ralph Briton* * Treaſurer of his Chamber, hee ſcrewed a thouſand pounds, and

* *Mat. Paris* cals him *Henry* Earle of *Britaine*. *Walſing. Peter* Duke of *Britaine*.

Ann. 1230. * The great humility and charity of K. *Henry*. *Ypodig. Neuſtr.*

* *Rog. de Wend. M. S.*

* *Polyd. Virgil. li. 16. Lib. Statut. ad A. R. 20. Hen. 3.*

* *Polyd. Virgil. l. 16.* ſaith but forty.

* *Math. Paris.*

* *Paul. Aemil.*

* *Rog. Wendouer. M. S. Matth. Paris. Walſingham. in Ypodig. Neuſtr.*

The Iriſh attempting to recouer their Country from the Engliſh, miſcarry.

An. 1231.

* *Math. Paris.*

* *Math. Paris.*

* *Idem, ibid.*

* *Rog. de Wend. M. S.*

* *Mat. Paris.*

Antiquit. Britannicæ in vit. Edmundi.

Mat. Paris, in Hen. 3.

* *Paul. Aemil.*

Three yeares truce with *France*. *Rog. Wend. M. S. Mat. Paris.*

An. 1232. The memorable deiection of Earle *Hubert*.

The cauſes of the Kings wants ſeene into.

* *Polyd. Virg. li. 16. Wendouer. M. S.*

* *Mat. Paris. Polyd. Virg. l. 16.*

and

and alſo put him from his place, into which (by the Biſhop of *Wincheſters* ſuggeſtion, who now predominated in Court) hee ſubſtituted *Peter de Oriuail* a * *Poictouine*, the Biſhops * Nephew or Sonne, if *Paris* ſay true; and ſo, ſaith hee, *The Kings coffers otherwiſe empty and leane, were by theſe meanes ſtuffed againe, though not to their full ſurfet.* For theſe were but preparatiues to a farther ſcrutinie and ranſacke, intended againſt the Earle of *Kent*, whom (vpon the * Biſhops ſuggeſtion) the King remooued from the * *Proto-Iuſtitiariſhip* (or high office of his *Chiefe Iuſtice)* and put in his place Sir *Stephen Segraue*, a Knight onely in name. Then is a ſtrict and captious account demaunded of the Earle of *Kent*, for all ſuch things as hee was in any ſort chargeable with; as *1.* For ſuch receipts or debts, as were due to King *Iohn*, or to this King *Henry* himſelfe: *2.* For the meane profits of ſuch lands, as the King was ſeiſed of, from the day of the death of the firſt great *William*, Earle of *Pembroke*, his Iuſtitiar and Marſhall, whether thoſe lands were in *England*, *Wales*, *Ireland*, or *Poictou*: *3.* For ſuch Liberties or free Cuſtomes which the King had in Forreſts, Warrens, Counties, and elſewhere, and how they were kept or alienated: *4.* For ſuch things as the King loſt by *Huberts* negligence: *5.* For the wrongs and dammages offered to the *Romane*, and *Italian* Clerkes, and to the Popes *Nuncios*, againſt the Kings will, by authority of *Hubert*, who would take no order to correct the miſ-doers, as by vertue and nature of his place hee was obliged: *6.* For the many eſcuages comming by Carrucages, gifts and preſents, or for the rents of Cuſtodies belonging to the Crowne.

(32) To all which heads, the Earle anſwered, that hee had the Charter of the Kings Father, by which he was freed from giuing any account either for things paſſed, or to come, and that he had *giuen ſuch proofe of his fidelity vnto King Iohn, as hee would not endure to heare him make an account.* *Peter* Biſhop of *Wincheſter* replyed hereunto, that *ſuch a Charter after the death of King Iohn had no force, and therefore the Fathers Charter, & graunt of Priuiledge, was no reaſon why he ſhould not ſtand accountant to the ſon.* This defence for *mony* dangers in this ſort trauerſed or auoided, they laboured to draw him in for his head, by charging him with ſundry Articles ſounding treaſonable; as *1.* That *Hubert* had diſſwaded the Duke of *Auſtria* from matching his Daughter with the King, who ſought it; *2.* that he had hindred the King from entring vpon forrain lands to him belonging, whereby the King, Peeres, and People conſumed their Treaſures vainely: *3.* that hee had enticed the Daughter of the King of *Scots* (whom King *Iohn* had entruſted to his cuſtody, meaning himſelfe to marry her) and traiterouſly defiled the noble young Lady, whom he married in hope to be King of *Scotland* in her right, if ſhee ſuruiued her Brother: *4.* that he had ſtolne out of his Iewel-houſe a precious ſtone of wonderfull value, whoſe vertue was to make him who had it, inuincible in Battle, and that hee gaue that ſtone to *Lewelin* Prince of *Wales*, the Kings enemy: *5.* that he by his letters had cauſed *Lewelin* to hang *William de Breuſe*.

(33) The Earle much perplexed with theſe accuſations (whether true or falſe) could hardly obtaine a ſhort reſpite to make his anſwere: *Thus that Hubert* (ſay the * Monkes) *who for loue of the King, and defence of the Kingdome, had prouoked the hatred of all the great Lords, now being forſaken of the king, is left ſole & ſolitary, without friends or comfort:* Onely *Luke* Archbiſhop of *Dublin*, neuer forſooke him, but with prayers and teares beſought the King on his behalfe, but could not be heard againſt ſo great oppoſites, on ſo great pretenſes. When the cry was thus vp, and that the world ſaw it was no ſuperficiall diſpleaſure, into which the Earle was falne with the mutable King, there riſe forth many accuſations (ſauouring of much malignity) round about, vpon hope to oppreſſe and bury *Hubert* vnder them for euer; as, *1. that he had poiſoned the two noble Earles of Saliſbury and Pembroke; 2. that he had alſo procured* Falcaſius de Brent, *and* Richard *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury *to be made away; 3. that by Sorceries and Enchantments, he had drawne the King to fauour him aboue all other; 4. that in the victory gotten againſt the French by Sea, he forceably tooke many Priſoners from the Kings Sailers, and made his benefit of their ranſomes, contrary to right, and that he had ſpoiled and diſinherited many; 5. that he had without triall vniuſtly put to death* Conſtantine, *for which exceſſe the Citizens of* London *required iuſtice againſt the ſaid* Hubert. The King hereupon makes Proclamation through the Citie, that all ſuch as could charge *Hubert* with any wrong, ſhould repaire to Court, and there receiue immediate redreſſe. This ſtrange courſe of proceeding did ſo appale and terrifie the Earle, that he forthwith fled to the Priory Church of *Merton* in *Surrey*, where among the Chanons, he ſheltered his head for a time.

(34) The King with his Prelates and Peeres meeting at *Lambeth*, at the * day appointed for *Huberts* anſwere, hee (being made to beleeue that the King would put him to a moſt fowle death) durſt not appeare, or peepe foorth of his ſacred refuge. The *Londoners* were aſſembled in Armes (by the Kings commaund) to the number of about twenty thouſand, vnder banners diſplayed, to dragge the Earle out of Sanctuary: but vpon the Earle of *Cheſters* wiſer Counſell, the prey was taken out of the hands of a bloudy multitude (who mortally hated him for *Conſtantines* death) and they returned againe to their City. The Archbiſhop of *Dublin* ſtill performing the office of a true friend, ouer-ſlips not this occaſion, and by his importunity obtained day for *Hubert*, till about Twelfe-tide then next enſuing, and the King for his aſſurance, during the *Interim*, giues him letters Patents. *Hubert* thinking himſelfe ſecure for the preſent, is now vpon his way toward his wife at the Abbey of Saint *Edmund* in *Suffolke*, but his enemies ſo preuailed by their ſuggeſtions, that Sir *Godfrey de Crancumb* Knight, with three hundred armed men, was ſent to apprehend the Earle in *Eſſex*. Hee hauing intelligence of their approach, fledde into a Chappell at * *Brentwood*, which adioyned to his lodging; from whence thoſe rough Souldiers haled him (hee holding in one * hand a Crucifix, and in the other the Sacrament) and ſent for a Smith to make for him ſhackles of yron. But when the Smith vnderſtood, that it was for *Hubert de Burgo* Earle of *Kent*, hee refuſed, vttering ſuch words (if *Mathew Paris* doe not Poetize) as did well ſhew that honourable thoughts are ſometimes found in the hearts of men, whoſe fortunes are farre from honour; for hauing firſt drawne a deepe ſigh, he ſaid; * *Doe with me what yee pleaſe, and God haue mercy on my ſoule; but as ſure as the Lord liues, I will neuer make yron ſhackles for him, but will rather die the worſt death that is. For is not this that moſt loyall and couragious* Hubert, *who ſo often hath preſerued* England *from being deſtroyed by ſtrangers, & reſtored* England *to* England? *Hee who faithfully and conſtantly ſerued his Soueraigne Lord King* Iohn *in* Gaſcoigne, Normandy, *and elſewhere, that hee was compelled to eate the fleſh of Horſes, whoſe high courage euen Enemies admired? he, that ſo long defended* Douer *Caſtle, the Key of* England, *againſt all the exquiſite ſieges of the French, and by vanquiſhing them at Sea, brought ſafety to the Kingdome? What need I rehearſe his excellent doings at* Lincolne, *and* Bedford? *Let God be iudge betweene him and you, for vſing him ſo vniuſtly and inhumanely, repaying good with euill, nay, requiting his moſt excellent deſerts with the worſt recompenſe that can bee.* But Sir *Godfrey*, and his blacke band, regarded not ſuch ſpeeches, but otherwiſe binding the Earle hard, they ſet him on horſe-backe, and ſo conuayed him to the Tower of *London*.

(35) This

Other malicious Articles obiected.

The hanging of *Conſtantine* obiected.

The Earle of *Kent* takes Sanctuary.

* On *Holy-rood* day, 14. Sept.

The Earle againe takes Sanctuary.

The honeſt and noble mind of a poore Artificer.

A pithy ſpeech of that Artificer.

* *Wendouer. M. S.* * *Mat. Paris.*

* *Wendouer. M. S.* * *Matth. Paris.*

The principall cords in the ſcourge prepared for the Earle of Kent.

The Earle of Kents defence diſallowed.

Articles or calumniations of treaſon obiected.

A pretious ſtone to make a man inuincible, if you liſt, beleeue it.

* *Wendouer. Mat. Paris.*

* *Fab. Conc. M. S.*

* *Rog. Wend. M. S. Mat. Paris.*

* *Additā. M. Par. ad Wendouer.*

(35) This breach of Sanctuary being made knowne to *Roger* Bishop of *London* (whose Diocesse it was) he confidently tells the King, that if the Earle were not restored to the Chappell, hee would excommunicate all the Authours of that out-rage. The Earle is accordingly restored: but the Sheriffes of *Essex* and *Hertford*, at the Kings commandement, with the powers of their Counties, besiege the Chappell so long, that at last (they hauing cast a Trench about it, that none might goe in or out) the Earle was compelled to come forth and render himselfe, bearing all things with an equall minde, *as one that had a cleare conscience before God*, which he professed to haue. While the Chappell was thus beset round, the Kings indignation was so violent, that hee forbad all men once to make mention of *Hubert* in his hearing. No maruaile then if it be said, that *the Princes indignation is death*. The Archbishop of *Dublin* neuertheless was not deiected, but with prayers and teares besought the King, who remained as yet inexorable, *Huberts* enemies possessing his soule and senses. *Hubert* therefore is againe imprisoned in the Tower. There was no sacrifice as it seemes could appease the Kings ire, but that of the Earles Hoord of Gold, and other riches, which the *Knights Templars* had in their custody vpon trust, & without *Huberts* consent refused to deliuer. *Hubert* therefore willingly yeelds; which when the *Depositaries* did giue vp, the value seemed incredible. This hoording perhaps was *Huberts* crime, whereof being thus purged, he had hope to recouer out of these deadly pangs and convulsions of fortune, and himselfe to be made capable of curing. Well, the King obtaines this precious booty, but his enemies would haue his bloud also; saying, *sith he was conuicted of theft and fraud, it was meet he should die a most shamefull death*. It seemes, they thought, that the very finding of so much treasure was a conuiction of fraud in the getting, and that the King must be interpreted to haue lost, whatsoeuer the Earle had gained. But the displeasure of the King was mollified with this golden balme, for he answered them thus; *Hubert from his childhood hath (as I haue heard) faithfully enough serued my vncle King* Richard, *& my Father King* Iohn, *and if he haue done ill towards me, he shall neuer therefore die an euill death. For I had rather be reputed a foolish or a negligent King, then a cruell Tyrant, or a bloudy man toward him, who hath long serued me and mine ancestors; nor will I weigh more his euill deeds, which are not as yet manifest, nor proued true, then all his good deeds, which are plainely knowne to the Realme, and to vs all.* Hereupon *Hubert* had all such lands granted vnto him, as either King *Iohn* had giuen, or himselfe had purchased. There vndertooke for him to the King (as sureties) the Earles of *Cornwall*, and *Warrenn*, *Marshall*, and *Ferrars*, and himselfe was committed to the **Castle of Deuises*, there to abide in free Prison, vnder the Custody of foure Knights, belonging each of them to one of these foure Earles. This *Court-storme* thus in part ouer-blowne, let vs take our standings, to view what other weather followed, and what countenance of things in this Kingdome did next present it selfe to the world.

The Earle restored to the Sanctuary from whence he was taken.

Rog. Wend. M.S. Mat. Paris.

The Archbishop of *Dublin* a faithfull friend to *Hubert*.

The Earles treasure deliuered to the King.

* *In Wiltshire.*

An. 1233. *Anno reg.* 17.

(36) The King being naturally, as it seemes, addicted to repose himselfe vpon some one mans counsell, was now wholly swayde by *Peter de Rupibus* Bishop of *Winchester*, who had therfore wrought the Earle out of grace, that hee might soly raigne, and predominate in the gentle King. Which the better to effect, the Bishop procures him to displace the * *English* Officers, and in their roomes to surrogate *Poictouines* and *Britons*; who comming ouer to the number of about two thousand, hee stuffes his Castles with them; and (in briefe) did as it were wholy entrust himselfe, his *treasures*, *strengths*, and the *Realme* to them. *So that* * *Iudgements were committed to the vniust, Lawes to the Out-lawes, Peace to Wranglers, and Iustice to wrong-doers.* Such as would haue prayed redresse for these abuses, were interrupted, and put off by the *Bishop of Winchester*. Among them who were remoued from their places in Court, was one *Sir William de Redune* a Knight, and Deputy Marshall to *Richard* Earle of *Pembroke*. This was to the Earle very displeasant, which ioyned with a consideration of the publique cause and danger, he associates vnto him certain of the great Lords (as was the fashion of those Lording times, vpon euery discontent,) and in the Company of them aduanceth confidently to the King, whom in the hearing of many he reproueth; *for that hee had, through sinister aduise, called in the Poictouins, to the oppression of the Realme, of his naturall subiects, of their Lawes and Liberties: humbly therfore he beseecheth him that he would speedily reforme such abuses, which threatned the imminent subuersion both of the Crowne and Kingdome: which if he did not, himselfe and other Lords, would so long with-draw their attendance, as he entertained Strangers.* The Bishop hereunto makes answere; *That the King might well and lawfully call in what Strangers himselfe thought good, for the defence of the Crowne and Realme, and such, and so many of them, as might be able to compell his proud and rebellious people to due obedience.* When the Oracle would speake no otherwise, they departed from Court greatly discontented; firmely promising one to the other, that in such a cause, which did so touch them all, they would like men stand together while any breath was in their bodies.

The King by aduancing strangers discontents his Nobles.

The English Peeres confederate against the strangers.

(37) Those who were now most potent about the King, nothing sorry for the discontentment of so great a Peere as the Earle *Marshall*, but counting it a part of their strengthes, to vse the regall power toward the weakning of the *English*, nourish in the King his auersion. The mindes of men sufficiently inclining of themselues, to doubt the worst vpon such diuisions, had their feare increased by sundry prodigies of strange thunders and raines, but especially of foure red *Parhelions* (or resemblances of the Sunne) besides the Sunne it selfe, (appearing about the parts of *Hereford* and *Worcester*) from morning till night in the Skies: and indeed much trouble immediately ensued aswell in *England* as *Wales*, & *Ireland*. The *Poictouins*, and other Strangers thus bearing the sway, so as the Kings person went guarded with troupes of such, the Earles and Barons being by the Kings commaund summoned to another Parliament at *Oxford*, refused to come. While the King was there, one * *Robert Bacon*, who vsed there to preach before the King and Prelates, freely *tolde him, that if he did not remoue from him* Peter *Bishop of* Winchester, *and* Peter de Riuallis, *he could neuer be in quiet*. The King did hereupon a little come to himselfe, and *Roger Bacon a Clergy-man* also of a pleasant wit, did second *Roberts* aduise, telling the King that * *Petræ* and *Rupes* were most dangerous things at Sea, alluding to the Bishops name, *Petrus de Rupibus*. The King therefore (as hee had the happinesse in his mutability, to change for his more security) taking that good aduise of *Schollers*, which hee would not of his Peeres, summons a Parliament to be holden at * *Westminster*, giuing the world to know withall, that his purpose was *to amend by their aduice, whatsoeuer ought to be amended.*

Fiue Sunnes in the skie in April. *Wend. M.S. Mat. Paris.*

The Barons contemne the Kings summons.

* *Paris* cals him *Bacum.*

The franke speech of a Preacher.

* That is, Rockes and Stones.

* *In July.*

(38) But the Barons, considering that still there arriued sundry strangers, men of warre with Horse and Armour, and not trusting the *Poictouine* faith, came not, but presumed to send this traiterous message to the King, that if out of hand hee *remoued not* Peter *Bishop of* Winchester, *and the Poictouines out of his Court, they all of them, by the common assent of the Kingdome, would driue him, and his wicked Counsellors together out of it, and consult about creating a new Soueraigne.* The King (whom his fathers example made more timerous,) could easily haue beene drawne, to haue redeemed the loue of his natural Liegemen, with the disgrace of a few strangers; but the Bishop of *Winchester* and his friends, infused more

The Barons second contempt of the Kings command.

The traiterous errand to the King.

* *Wend. M.S.*

* *Mat. Paris. ex Rog. Wend. Iuditia committuntur iniustis, leges, ex legibus, pax discordantibus, iustitia iniuriosis.*

more ſpirit vnto him. Whereon, to all thoſe whom hee ſuſpected, the King ſets downe a * day, within which they ſhould deliuer ſufficient pledges to ſecure him of their loyalty. Againſt that day the Lords in great numbers make repaire to *London*, but the Earle Marſhall (admoniſhed of danger, by his ſiſter the Counteſſe of *Cornwall*) flies backe to *Wales*; and chiefly for want of his * preſence nothing was concluded. The King not long after is at *Gloſter* with an Armie, whither the Earle and his adherents required to come, refuſed; the King therefore burnes their Mannors, and giues away their inheritances to the *Poictouines*.

* In Auguſt next.

* *Rog. de Wend. M. S.*

(39) This Rebellion had not many great names in it, but tooke ſtrength rather by weight then number: the knowne Actors were the *Earle Marſhall*, the *Lord Gilbert Baſſet*, and many other of the inferiour Nobles. The Biſhops Arts had pluckt from him, the *Kings Brother*, and the two *Earles of Cheſter and Lincolne*, (who diſhonourably ſold their loue * for a thouſand Markes,) and otherwiſe, as it ſeemed, ſecured the reſt: neuertheleſſe, theſe may well bee thought, not to haue borne any euill will to their now-forſaken confederate, the *Earle Marſhall*, who tooke himſelfe to handle the common cauſe; certainely hee handled his owne ſafety but ill, as the euent ſhall demonſtrate. The Earle hearing theſe things, contracts ſtrict amity with *Lewelin* Prince of *Wales*; whoſe powers thus knit together, by aduantages of the Mountaines, were able to counterpoize any ordinary inuaſion. To the Kings aide, *Baldwin de Giſnes* with many Souldiers came out of *Flaunders*. The King now at *Hereford* in the midſt of his Forces, ſends from thence (by *Wincheſters* counſell) the Biſhop of Saint *Dauids*, to defie the Earle Marſhall; how farre ſoeuer this word *defie* extends it ſelfe, ſure it ſeemes that the Earle hereupon vnderſtood himſelfe diſcharged of that obligation, by which hee was tyed vnto the King, and freed to make his defence. The King notwithſtanding after ſome ſmall attempts, and better conſiderations, did promiſe and aſſume, that by aduiſe of his Councell *all that was amiſſe ſhould (at a * day appointed) be rectified and amended*. About which time, *Hubert de Burgo*, hauing intelligence that the *Biſhop of Wincheſter* (who was a *Poictouine*) * plotted his death, eſcaped out of the Caſtle of *Deuiſes* (where he was priſoner) to a neighbour Church, but was haled from thence by the *Caſtle-Keepers*. The Biſhop of *Sarisbury* (in whoſe Dioceſſe it happened) cauſed him to bee ſafe-reſtored to the ſame place, from whence by the Earle Marſhall, and a * troupe of armed men his friends, hee was reſcued and carried into *Wales*.

The Earle Marſhall in Armes.

* *Math. Paris.*

Confederates himſelfe with *Lewelin* Prince of *Wales*.

Rog. Wend. M. S. Math. Paris.

* The Sunday after Michaelmas.

Hubert de Burgo eſcapes into *Wales*.

* *Thom. Weſtm. Roger Wend. Matth. Paris.*

* *Ypod. Neuſt.*

(40) The King, at the day and place appointed, holds his great Councell or conference with the Lords; but nothing followed for the peace of the Realme; it was not an ordinary paſſage of ſpeech, which hapned there betweene the Lords, and the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*. For, when the Engliſh Biſhops and Barons humbly beſought the King, *for the honour of Almighty God to take into grace his naturall Subiects, whom (without any triall by their Peeres) hee called Traitors*: the Biſhop (offended it ſeemes, at Peeres) takes the words out of the Kings mouth, and anſweres; *That there are not Peeres in England, as in the Realme of* France, *and that therefore the King of* England, *by ſuch Iuſticiars as himſelfe pleaſeth to ordaine, may baniſh offenders out of the Realme, and by iudiciall proceſſe condemne them*. The Engliſh Biſhops reliſhed his ſpeech ſo harſhly, that with one voyce *they threatned to excommunicate and accurſe by name the Kings principall wicked Counſellors*; but *Wincheſter* appealed; then they accurſed all ſuch as alienated the heart of the King from his naturall ſubiects, and all others that perturbed the peace of the Realme.

(41) The Earle Marſhall, this while had by force reſumed a Caſtle, which he had a little before ſurrendred to the King, which ſtirred the King to gather his forces at *Gloceſter*, and thence to aduance towards *Wales*. But the Earle had politickly barred the Country of all Prouiſions for man and beaſt, that the King was faine to ſtrike aſide to *Groſmont* Caſtle; where the Earle, with his Confederats and the * power of *Wales*, ſo awaited their time, that aſſailing the Kings Campe vnawares, there were taken about fiue hundreth Horſe, with the Sumpters, riches, and carriages of the Armie; vpon which loſſe (his men alſo greatly ſcattered) the King leauing * two noble Gentlemen with the *Poictouines*, to make good the Marches againſt the *Welſh*, returned more empty and inglorious then before. The Earle found them worke, whom the King had left behinde; and (as hee was a man of no leſſe courage then deepe wit,) whereas *Baldwin de Giſnes* (the valiant *Flemiſh* Knight) with a thouſand Horſemen, thought to haue ſurprized him, who hauing but a tenth part of that number, came to view the Caſtle of *Monmouth*; the Earle alone defended himſelfe againſt twelue of his enemies; and when his Horſe was cowardly ſlaine by them, he pitcht one of them by the legge out of the Saddle, and leapt into it himſelfe, neuer giuing ground till his Army came to the reſcue, and obtained a faire victory, with the ſlaughter and captiuation of many *Poictouines*, and others. His other exployts in and about *Wales*, were not few nor vnfortunate; if it were not onely in this, (as what indeed could be more grieuous or vnglorious to a noble minde?) for that his Soueraigne was vpon the contrary ſide.

* *Dod. Pow. hiſt. Cambr. p. 289.*

* *Viz. Ioh. de Monmouth. Ralph. de Thorney.*

The Earles great courage and agility.

(42) The King about this time, to ſtrengthen his life and State, with the prayers of *Beneficiaries*, and other deuoted affections, founded the * houſe of *Conuerts*, where ſuch as forſooke the Iudaicall Superſtitions, had prouiſions for maintenance vnder a ſober rule and ruler; hee alſo erected and endowed a * *famous Hoſpitall at Oxford*, both for the entertainement of Forrainers and Pilgrimes, (who thither much frequented,) and for reliefe alſo of ſuch as were diſeaſed: So that *Leoline* Prince of *Wales*, (the Earles chiefe confederate) when hee was threatned ſore, if hee would not liue in quiet, did not ſpeake more magnificently of *charity*, then honourably of the *King*; *I more feare* (quoth hee) *the Almeſdeeds which the King doth, then all the men of warre which he hath, and the whole Clergy, put together*.

* Now the *Rolles* in Chancery Lane, *Stowes Survay*.

* Saint *Iohns* Hoſpitall by *Magdalene* Colledge, the firſt ſtone whereof was layd by the King himſelfe. *Roſſius. Leolines* opinion of *K. Henries* Almeſdeeds. *Matth. Paris. D. Powel. hiſt. Camb. pag. 292.*

(43) The Earle *Marſhall* encreaſing in ſtrength and hatred againſt ſuch as were the Kings reputed Seducers, make ſpoile and booty on their poſſeſſions, and ioyning with the power of *Leoline*, puts all to fire and ſword, as farre as *Shrewsbury*, part whereof they burnt to Aſhes, and ſackt the reſidue. The * King then at *Gloſter* for want of ſufficient Forces, departed thence (greatly grieued) to *Wincheſter*, abandoning thoſe other parts as it were to waſt and ruine. It therefore ſeemes, that he was not growne ſtronger or richer, by the diſplacing of *Hubert* Earle of *Kent*, and the reſt, and by taking new into their roomes, who commonly bite and ſucke hard till they haue glutted themſelues, (if at leaſtwiſe there be any ſatiety in auarice) whereas the olde officers, hauing prouided in a ſort for the maine chance, haue the leſſe reaſon to be grieuous.

An. 1234.
An. reg. 18.

* *Rog. Wend.*

The King giues way to the fury of the rebellious.

(44) Therefore the Lyons skin not being large enough for the *Biſhop of Wincheſter*, and his factious purpoſes, they peece them out with the Foxes caſe; an ineuitable ſtratageme is deuiſed. The Earle *Marſhall* had in *Ireland* all the ample Patrimonies of his Grand-father, the famous *Strongbow*. To make that member of his ſtrengths improfitable, if not alſo pernicious, they deuiſe certaine letters, directed to *Maurice Fitz-Gerald* (Deputy Iuſtice of *Ireland*) and other principall men, who held of the Earle. In them they ſignifie, *that* Richard, *once Marſhall to the King of* England, *was for manifeſt treaſon by the iudgement of the Kings Court, baniſhed the Realme*,

A practiſe to ruine the Earle Marſhall.

The peſtilent tenour of the letters.

Realme, his Lands, townes and Tenements conſumed with fire; other his Hereditaments deſtroyed, and himſelfe for euer diſinherited; that if vpon his comming thither, they did take him, either aliue or dead; the King did giue them all the Earles lands there, which now were forfeited by vertue of his Attainture; and for aſſurance that the ſaid gift ſhould continue firme and good, they, by whoſe aduiſe the King and Kingdome were gouerned, faithfully vndertooke. To theſe letters (which the Monkes call *bloudy*) they cauſed the King to ſet his Seale, as they themſelues alſo (being eleauen) did theirs; vpon receit of which lines, the parties ſignifie backe *vnder the ſeale of ſecreſie*, that if the Contents of thoſe letters were confirmed by the Kings *Letters Patents*, they would performe that which was deſired. The Letters Patents be made accordingly, and * hauing fraudulently gotten the Great Seale from *Hugh* Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, Lord *Chancellour*, who knew not thereof, they make them authenticke with the impreſſion.

* *Rog. Wend. M.S. Matth. Paris.*

(45) The Kings mind therefore being ſtill exulcerated towards the Earle *Marſhall*, he grieuouſly charged *Alexander* Biſhop of *Cheſter*, that he had too much familiarity with the Earle, affirming that *they ſought to thruſt him from his throne*; the Biſhop to cleare himſelfe from ſo hainous a ſcandall, put on his Epiſcopall habite, and ſolemnly pronounceth all thoſe accurſt, *who did but imagine a wickednes of ſo fowle a nature, againſt the Maieſty or perſon of the King*: and thereupon by the interceſſion of other Prelates, he was receiued into grace. The King was then at *Weſtminſter*; where *Edmund* the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* elect, with other his Suffragan Biſhops, bewailing the eſtate of the kingdome, preſent themſelues before him, telling him, as his loyall Liegemen, "*that the* "*Counſell of Peter Biſhop of Wincheſter, and his Com-*"*plices, which now hee had, and vſed, was not ſound* "*nor ſafe, but cruell and perillous to himſelfe and his* "*Realme. Firſt, for that they hated and deſpiſed the* "*Engliſh, calling them Traitours, turning the Kings* "*heart from the loue of his people, and the hearts of* "*the people from him; as in the Earle Marſhall,* "*whom (being one of the worthieſt men of the land)* "*by ſowing falſe tales they draue into diſcontentment;* "2. *That by the Counſell of the ſame Peter, his Father* "*King Iohn firſt loſt the hearts of his people, then Nor-*"*mandy, then other lands; and finally, waſted all his* "*treaſure, and almoſt England it ſelfe, and neuer af-*"*ter had quiet;* 3. *That if the Subiects had now beene* "*handled according to Iuſtice & law, and not by their* "*vngodly counſels, thoſe preſent troubles had not* "*hapned, but the Kings lands had remained vnde-*"*ſtroyed, his treaſures vnexhauſted;* 4. *That the* "*kings Councell is not the Councell of Peace, but of* "*perturbation; becauſe they who cannot riſe by Peace,* "*will raiſe themſelues by the trouble, and diſinheri-*"*ſon of others;* 5. *That they had the treaſure, Caſtles,* "*Wardſhips, and ſtrengths of the Kingdome in their* "*hands, which they inſolently abuſed, to the great ha-*"*zard of the whole eſtate, for that they, made no con-*"*ſcience of an Oath, Law, Iuſtice, or the Churches cen-*"*ſures. Therefore we, ô King* (ſaid they) *ſpeake theſe* "*things faithfully vnto you; and in the preſence both* "*of God and man, doe counſell, beſeech, and admoniſh* "*you, to remoue ſuch a Counſell from about you, and* "*(as it is the vſage in other Realmes) gouerne yours* "*by the faithfull and ſworne Children thereof.* The King in briefe anſwered hereunto, that he could not ſodainely put off his *Councell*, and therefore prayed a ſhort reſpite, till their accounts were audited. Meane-while the behauiours of the *Marſhalline* faction (hauing this backing at Court) grew more and more intolerable: for while the King was at *Huntingdon*, the Lord *Gilbert Baſſet* and others, ſet fire vpon *Alckmundbury*, a Towne belonging to *Stephen de Segraue*, the flames whereof were ſeene of the owner, being then with the King at *Huntingdon*. They alſo tooke priſoners vpon the *Welſh Marches*, and according to the *Law of Warre* (which, ſayth one, is * *lawleſſe*) did put them to their *ranſomes*.

Alexander Biſhop of *Chicheſter* cleareth himſelfe from diſloialty.

The Engliſh Biſhops deale with the King about redreſſe of the common euils.

Obiections againſt the Biſhop of *Winton*, and the *Poictouines*.

The outrages of the Marſhalline faction.

* *Que exlex eſt. Math. Paris.*

(46) Nothing had hitherto preſerued the King more, then that he could, without great griefe forgoe any fauourites, if hee were neerely preſſed; the contrary quality whereof hath been the cauſe of finall deſolation to ſo many Princes. For albeit the choiſe of *Counſellors* ought to be free, yet by common intendment they ſhould be *good*; or howſoeuer they are, or are not, it is madneſſe to hazard a Crowne, or leeſe the loue of an whole nation, rather then to relinquiſh or diminiſh a particular dependant. The rights of amity ought neuertheleſſe to remaine inuiolable, but in ſuch diſtance, that the publike be not peruerted, nor interuerted for a priuate. The King therefore, in this poynt not vnfortunate, commanded Biſhop *Peter* to betake himſelfe to his reſidence at *Winton*, without once medling in affaires of State; but againſt *Peter Riuallis* his *Treaſurer*, he was ſo vehemēt, that he ſware, hee would plucke out his eyes, were it not for reuerence of *holy Orders*; commanding alſo their *Poictouines* to depart the *Realme*, neuer to ſee his face more.

The King facile in taking and leauing fauourites.

Of Princes Councellors and Fauourites.

The King remoues the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* and others from his Councell.

England purged from *Poictouines*.

(47) Then are the *Archbiſhop of Canterbury* with the Biſhops of *Cheſter* and *Rocheſter* ſent into *Wales* to pacifie things there. But the inuincible Earle *Marſhall* had now croſt the Seas into *Ireland*, to take reuenge for the ſpoyles and diſſeiſures, which his hired enemies had made in his lands there; by whoſe plots, according to that ſecret agreement, hee was finally taken, and died of a wound giuen him in the backe, as hee with admirable manhood defended himſelfe. His *Body* was buried in *Kilkennie*, (which pleaſantly-ſituated Towne, our Soueraigne King *Iames* erected into a City,) where himſelfe in his life had appointed, in the *Oratory* of the *Minorites*: in which Towne, as yet ſome ſmall tokens of this great name are remaining; for in the Eaſt window of the Abbey-Church of S. *Iohn Baptiſt*, and in the Abbey of S. *Dominicke*, the ancient Armories of * *Marſhall, Lord of Kilkenny*, are yet extant. The Patrimony of this Earle was ſhared by the Contractors, according to the purport of the Letters patents: but when the King heard of his death, hee (to the wonder of all that were by) brake forth into teares, bewailing the loſſe of ſo braue a Knight, affirming *that hee had left no Peere behinde him in the Kingdome*. A bleſſed King, ſaith *Paris*; *to loue euen thoſe who had offended him.*

The Earle Marſhall dieth in *Ireland*.

* *Partie per pale Or & vert*, otter all a Lyon-rampant, *gules*.

Tbe king lamentes the Earles death.

(48) The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* with the other Biſhops, repaired to the King at *Glouceſter* vpon their returne from *Leoline* Prince of *Wales*, who pretended hee could not conclude, till the King had receiued into grace ſuch of the baniſhed Nobility, withwhom himſelfe had beene confederated during the late diſpleaſures. The King hereupon mooued with Pittie, ſends forth his Proclamations, that all ſuch as were out-lawed or proſcribed, ſhould bee at *Glouceſter* vpon a certaine day, there to bee receiued into the Kings fauour againe, and to haue reſtitution of their inheritances; but leſt they might ſuſpect any euill meaſure, it was ordered that they ſhould bee in the Churches protection, and come vnder the ſafe-conduct of the Archbiſhop and the other Prelates. Thither at the time and place limited doth *Hubert de Burgo* Earle of *Kent* (and lately chiefe Iuſticiar of *England*) repaire; vpon whom, by mediation of the *Biſhops*, the compaſſionate King lookes gratiouſly, receiuing him in his Armes with the kiſſe of peace; in like ſort was the Lord *Gilbert Baſſet*, and all others of that fellowſhip, receiued into fauour, their ſeuerall liuings and rights fully reſtored; and both *Hubert* and *Baſſet* admitted to bee of his Councell. And, that nothing might bee wanting to make the ioy vniuerſall; *Gilbert*, Brother to the late Earle *Marſhall*, had the whole Earledome conferred vpon him, with all the lands and rights thereof whereſoeuer, notwithſtanding the foreſaid treacherous conueyance; whom alſo the King made *Knight* at *Worceſter*, and deliuered into his hands

Ann. 1235.

The King cals home his rebels.

Hubert de Burgo is reconciled.

Gilbert brother to the late Earle Marſhall hath his brothers lands & honours.

the *Rod of the Marſhalſhip*, according to the cuſtome. Howbeit in all theſe poynts the King may ſeeme but to haue temporized (as thereto driuen by ouerbearing inducements) or elſe greatly afterward to haue changed his iudgement, becauſe he openly at one time * called the ſaid *Richard a bloudy Traitour*, and cauſed this *Gilbert* to be forcibly kept out of the *Court* vpon a *Chriſtmas day*.

* *Matth. Paris ad Ann.* 1239.

The practiſe to deſtroy the late Earle Marſhall openly read.

(49) Vpon this reconcilement, the practiſe, by which the late great *Marſhall* was deſtroyed, and his poſſeſſions diſmembred, came to light; the copy of the letters which had beene ſent into *Ireland*, being by commandement of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, openly read in the preſence of the King, the Prelates, Earles and Barons: It mooued teares in all of them; the king with an *Oath* affirming that he knew not the contents of the ſaid letters, though by the vrging of the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, *Riuallis*, *Segraue*, *Paſſeleu*, with other of his Councell, hee had cauſed his Seale to be put vnto them. At the ſound of Summons to make their ſeuerall appearances, the Malefactors take *Sanctuary*, the *Biſhop* and *Peter de Riuallis* in *Wincheſter* Church, *Segraue* in *Leiceſter Abbey*, *Paſſeleu* in the *New-Temple*, and others otherwhere. In the end, vpon the interceſſion of *Edmund* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who piouſly endeauoured to extinguiſh all occaſions of further diſſention in the Kingdome, and vndertooke they ſhould haue a lawfull triall, the delinquents appeared at *Weſtminſter* before the King, *who * ſate in perſon with his Iuſticiars vpon the Bench. Peter de Riuallis* was firſt called (for the Biſhop came not,) whom the King ſhot through with an angry eye, ſaying; *O thou Traitour, by thy wicked aduiſe, I was drawne to ſet my Seale to theſe treacherous letters for the deſtruction of the Earle Marſhall, the Contents whereof were to me vnknowne; and by thine and ſuch like counſell, I baniſhed my natural Subiects, and turned their minds & hearts from me. By thy bad counſell, and thy Complices, I was mooued to make warre vpon them, to my irreparable loſſe, and the diſhonour of my Realme, in which enterprize I waſted my treaſure, and loſt many worthy perſons, together with much of my royall reſpect. Therefore I exact of thee an account aſwell of my treaſure, as of the cuſtodies of Wardes, together with many other profites and eſcheats belonging to my Crowne.* *Peter* denying none of the accuſations, but falling to the ground, thus beſought him. *My Soueraigne Lord and King, I haue beene nouriſhed by you, and made rich in worldly ſubſtance, confound not your owne Creature, but at leaſt-wiſe grant me a time of deliberation, that I may render a competent reaſon for ſuch poynts as I am charged with. Thou ſhalt* (ſaid the King) *bee carried to the Tower of London, there to deliberate till. I am ſatisfied:* He was ſo. *Stephen de Segraue*, the Lord *Chiefe Iuſtice* (whom the King alſo called *moſt wicked Traitour*) had time till *Michaelmas* to make his accounts, at the Archbiſhops and other Biſhops humble entreaty; and for other matters, hee ſhifted them off from himſelfe, by laying the blame vpon ſuch as were higher in place then he: into whoſe office of Chiefe Iuſtice, *Hugh de Pateſhull* is aduanced. The like euaſion *Robert Paſſeleu* had, by leauing the fault vpon *Walter* Biſhop of *Carleil*, who was aboue him in the Exchequer: and thus were theſe ciuill enormities reformed, not without reducing ſtore of Coyne to the King.

* *Rog. de Wend. MS. Mat. Paris.* The King ſits in *Weſtminſter* with the Iudges on the Bench.

The king himſelfe giues ſentence on the Bench.

The Biſhop of *Wincheſter* went to *Rome*, for he was in Pope *Gregories* Army againſt the mutined *Romans*, ſay both *Wendouer* and *Paris. ad Ann.* 1235.

(50) As thoſe continuall turmoiles, and *plagues of the Sword*, much afflicted the land, ſo this was the third yeare, wherein God inflicted alſo for ſinne, the *plague of Famine*, whereby the poore did miſerably periſh, there being no *Samaritan* to pay for their harbouring, or to annoynt their wounds with the oyle of conſolation. Our Authours, to make manifeſt how odious the mercileſſe heart is in the ſight of God, relate a ſtorie of that time with proteſtation, that they doe it, leſt ſo memorable an example ſhould be in time forgotten. Certaine * poore, while as yet the Corne was greene, pluckt the eares in the common fields, to ſuſtaine their liues; whereupon the Owners call on the Prieſt, to curſe all ſuch as had ſo done: but one in their company adiured the Prieſt in the name of God to exempt his corne from the ſentence, ſaying, *it pleaſed him well, that the poore driuen with famine, had taken his corn*, and ſo commended that which they had left to God. The Prieſt, compelled by importunity of the reſt, was entred into the ſentence, when by a terrible interrupting tempeſt of thunder, lightning, winde, haile, and raine, all the Corne-fields about were deſolated, as if they had been troden downe with Horſe and Cartes; that no kinde of Beaſt or Fowle would feede vpon the Corne thus layd. But (as ſay our Authors out of the * Scripture) ſeeing * *they who are pitteous, finde mercie*, that honeſt and compaſſionate-hearted man, found all his corne and grounds (though interlaced with theirs,) altogether vntoucht and vnharmd. Whereupon (ſay they) *it is more cleare then any light, that as glory to God on high is ſung of Angels, ſo there is peace on Earth to Men who are of good-will.* This dearth was in * *Fraunce* and *Gaſcoigne* aſwell as in *England*. A *Iewiſh impietie* may well bee annexed to want of *Chriſtian Charitie*. There were brought before the King at *Weſtminſter* ſeauen Iewes, who circumciſed a Childe, and purpoſed (in contempt of Chriſt and Chriſtianitie) to haue crucified him in Eaſter at *Norwich*.

A miraculous confuſion of hard heartedneſſe toward poore Chriſtians.

* Mat. 5. 7.

* God hath a care of the liberall.

* Ann. 1235. *An. Reg.* 19.

The Iewes conſpire to crucifie a childe.

(51) Theſe now calmer times, were made more happy, by the marriage of the Emperour *Fredericke* with the Lady *Iſabel*, the King of *Englands* ſiſter, a beauteous young Lady, about twenty yeares of age. The meſſengers arriued in *March* with the Emperours letters, cloſed vnder a Seale of gold; and there were ſent to conduct her ouer, the Archbiſhop of *Collein*, and the Duke of *Louain*. The King brought her to *Sandwich*, with about three thouſand horſe in his traine; and being imperially furniſhed with all worldly abundance, ſhee tooke ſhipping in *May*, and in one dayes and one nights ſpace arriued at *Antwerpe*, a City of the Empire, and was euery where moſt magnificently entertained: her ſweet humility, and excellent beauty, drawing all to loue and honour her. At the ſolemnity of her * marriage were preſent three * Kings, eleauen Dukes, thirty Marqueſſes and Earles, beſides the number of great *Prelates*. On whether ſuperſtition, or obſeruation, of the Emperour is noted at this marriage, that hee forbare the Empreſſes company, till a certaine houre, which his *Wiſards* or *Aſtrologers* had aſſigned, and in the morning hee cauſed her to be carefully tended as a Woman with-childe, and ſent word to his Brother the King of *England*, that he ſhould haue a Sonne, ſo skilfull or confident hee was; and God did fauour his iudgement, for it proued ſo. This Imperiall affinity gaue a * worthy Hiſtorian occaſion heere to diſplay and emblazon the Maieſtie and glorie of the Engliſh Princes; but amongſt them all, none were higher aduanced then the Children of King *Iohn*, one of whoſe Sonnes was now a * King, the other afterward choſen to be an * Emperour, and one of his daughter a * Queene, this other (here mentioned) an * *Empreſſe*. And here doth *Wendouer* end his Hiſtory, to whom wee haue hitherto beene beholding for his labours, ſorry we can enioy his good company no longer.

The Emperour marrieth the Kings ſiſter.

The magnificence of the Nuptials.

* At *Wormes* in Auguſt.

* *Rog. de Wend. M. S. Matth. Paris.*

Marriage conſummated by calculation of the Starres.

* *Rog. Wendouer in hiſt. M. 6. in Bibliotb. D. Robert Cotton. Baronetti.*

* K. *Henry* 3. of *England*.

* *Richard* king of the *Romans*.

* *Ioan* Queene of *Scots*.

* *Iſabel*.

(52) There were ſpread through *England* about this time certaine *Romane Vſurers* called * *Caurſini*, who had entangled the King himſelfe, moſt of the great men, and all others as had to deale with the Court of *Rome*, in their cunning ſnares. The firſt entrance into *England* was ſome few yeares paſt, when the Pope requiring the * *tenth of all moueable goods in England, Ireland & Wales*, towards his wars againſt the Emperour *Fredericke*, ſent *Stephen* his Nunce hither to collect it, * who brought with him that race of deuouring-Monſters vnder humane ſhape, called the * *Popes Merchants*, vnder colour of

* *Quaſi capientes vrſi*, deuouring Beares, quoth *Paris*.

* *Mat. Paris.*

* *Idem ad An.* 1237

* *Ibidem.*

The diuine vertue of charity actually commended by God.

* Of *Abbaldeſlea* a village in *Cambridgeſhire*.

of ſupplying with mony ſuch as wanted preſent pay. The * *Popes continuall angariations and extortions*, vnder colour alſo of the Turkiſh warres, kept theſe men (if men) ſtill in vſe here in *England*, to the * *extreame beggering of infinite numbers, who were inueigled (either by perſwaſion, or craning, or commanding, or comminating, or excommunicating,)* to giue way to the Popes *vnſufferable extortions, all men wondering into what bottomleſſe gulfe that huge Maſſe was put, which the Popes Factors had gathered*, wherewith all mens hearts were *deeply wounded, for that all this vnualuable treaſure neuer was imployed to any publike vſe, or honour of the Church*. *Roger* Biſhop of *London* (a learned and religious Prelate) burning with zeale of Chriſtian charity, ſeeing the numbers and miſchiefes of theſe execrable *Vſurers*, thus ſtill to encreaſe, firſt admoniſhed them (whom hee reputed no better then Schiſmatickes) to repent, & leaue that wicked trade of life. But when he found them deafe to all aduiſe, armed with the weapons of ſpirituall iuſtice, he openly pronounceth them accurſed, preciſely commanding them to packe out of LONDON, WHICH TILL THAT TIME KNEW NOT WHAT SVCH A PLAGVE MEANT, *leaſt his flockes ſhould be infected therewith*. But ſo Apoſtolicall and holy a remedy tooke not ſuch effect as it deſerued; for they *ſwelling with pride and preſumption on the Popes patrociny, eaſily procured from the Court of* Rome, *that the olde ſickly Biſhop ſhould be peremptorily cited to appeare in the remote parts beyond the Sea, there to anſwere for that iniury which he had offered the Popes Merchants*.

(53) The King, being now in the beſt ſtrength of his yeares, tooke to wife the Lady *Elenor*, ſecond daughter of *Raimund* Earle of *Prouince*, which hee had by the Daughter of *Thomas* Earle of *Sauoy*. A Lady about twelue or thirteene yeares of age, and altogether as beautifull and princely, as ſhee was young. Her Father, by * reaſon of warres which he had with the *Citizens*, of *Maſilia* his ſubiects (who vpon pretence they were oppreſt, ſought to driue him out of all his territories) was but a poore Prince. Neuertheleſſe it was the happineſſe of his foure Daughters (whoſe Parentage adorned with rare beautie, and faſhioned with excellently-vertuous education, made them fit Brides for any Princes in the world) that each of them had * a King to her Husband. The Eldeſt was married to *Lewis* the ninth King of *France*, *Elenor* to the King of *England*; *Santia* (or *Cynthia*) to *Richard* his brother king of *Romans*; *Beatrix* to *Charles* the *French* kings brother, King of *Sicilia*. The Nuptials were accompliſhed at * *Weſtminſter*; where alſo ſhee was crowned Queene, with incredible ſtate and ſplendor, the King himſelfe wearing his Crowne alſo. The *Citizens* of *London* are noted of much ſeruiceable forwardneſſe and magnificence at this royall feaſt. The Citie was adorned with Silkes, Banners, Crownes, Pals, Tapers, Lamps, and with * certaine *wonders of wit*, and ſtrange ſhowes; the *Citizens* richly attired and well mounted, met the King on horſe-backe. At the Nuptiall dinner, the Trumpets ſounding before them, they came in, carrying three hundreth and threeſcore Cups of Gold and Siluer, to ſerue the King and that noble Company with Wine, according to their duties at Coronations. The King had twice or thrice before attempted to marrie, but God ordained otherwiſe till now; and it was a match made principally after the manner of honeſt priuate perſons, for loue; and not as heads of publique bodies vſe to doe, for ſeeming worldly ſtrengths and profits. It was alſo begun and concluded without the priuity of the States. The Emperour ſoone after requeſted the King to ſend him his Brother *Richard*, Earle of *Cornewall*, to make him *Generall* againſt the *French*, whereby the *Engliſh* alſo might recouer their right: but the *Emperour* was deſired to chooſe any other; for him the States of his Realme, (which were aſſembled to conſult thereupon) would not forgoe, becauſe he was but young, and next heire to the Crowne, if the King ſhould die without children. This anſwere was giuen to the Emperours Ambaſſadours at *Merton* neere *London*; where alſo the Statutes, called of *Merton*, were at the ſame time enacted.

(54) The humorous Lords beganne now againe to relapſe into their wonted giddineſſe, taking it in great indignity, that the King was ſo much ruled by his wiues vncle, *William de Valentia*; in ſo much that the King with-drawing himſelfe into the *Tower of London*, thither none of the Lords would come. Vpon better aduice therefore he returnes to his Palace; where ſome great Officers, and others, were put from the *Priuie Councell*, and their places, not without the admiration of many. But the Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, choſen Lord *Chancellor* in the Kings minority, being required by the King to deliuer vp the *Seale*, refuſed; alleaging, more ſtoutly then loyally, that *as he had receiued it with the publike allowance of the Parliament, ſo without the ſame aſſent hee would not reſigne it*. Which thwartings of his Peeres & Prelates, incited the King (it ſeemeth) to reſume againe into his fauour ſome of thoſe his Counſellors which hee had formerly diſ-courted, as *Peter de Riuallis*, & *Stephen de Segraue*. But (whether on diſcontent hereof or no) *Richard* the Kings brother (whoſe ſeruice was formerly denied to the Emperour,) the Earles *Marſhall*, *Cheſter*, * *Lincolne*, and *Sariſbury*, with many other honourable Souldiers aſſumed the vow to fight in *Paleſtine* againſt Gods enemies, for accompliſhment whereof they departed thither * the ſecond yeere after. Meane-while the King, to ſecure himſelfe from dangers neerer home, trauailes toward *Yorke*, to ſettle a peace betweene himſelfe and *Alexander* King of *Scots*; who, the rather vpon Confidence of *Leolines* amity, (which toward the *Engliſh* was but * ſhadowie, and alwayes ſuſpected) demanded *Northumberland*. Neuertheleſſe, by the wiſedome of friends, and moderation of both the Princes, they parted in peace; the King of *England* being elſewhere to lay out lands to a certaine * value, leaſt he ſhould diſmember his Kingdome by forgoing ſo great and neceſſary a frontire. The *Scottiſh* King claimed that County from King *Iohn*, who by his deed enfeoffed him thereof, as in portion with his Daughter, which King *Alexander* had married.

(55) *Peter* Biſhop of *Wincheſter* (remoued formerly from Court by the working of the *Engliſh* Biſhops and Lords) being craſed and ſicke in body, returned about *Michaelmas* from forraine parts; ſoone after which (as if that Biſhop had brought them with him) *Paris* notes, there enſued great raines, and extraordinary land-flouds: Though * indeed hee was a man of great wiſedome, and dexterity in handling weightieſt affaires: he alſo built ſundry Monaſteries, and beſides other his worthy deeds, hee left his Biſhopricke ſo furniſhed at his * death (a preſident which few of his ſucceſſors haue followed) *that there was not ſo much diminiſhed of that which he found at his entrance, as the very * Cattle which ſerued to draw the plough*.

(56) The King whoſe treaſures were exhauſted with paiment of his Siſters portion (* thirty thouſand Markes to the Emperour, and otherwiſe) called a Parliament at *London*, where he could not obtaine any * ſupplies from the States, but vpon * *confirmation of the Nationall Priuiledges of* England *formerly granted, and vpon acceptance of the Earles of Warren and Ferrars, and Iohn Fitz-Geoffrey* into his moſt inward Counſels; whom the King (meerely enforced to ſatisfie his People) cauſed to ſweare to giue faithfull Counſell, and to forſweare all corruption or ſale of *Iuſtice*; and finally hee conditioneth, *to relye wholly vpon his naturall Subiects for aduiſe, leauing all others*. The *money* gathered (the ſeuereſt and moſt miſtruſtfull point of all,) was not to be payd into the *Exchequer*, but to be depoſited in ſome religious houſe, or fortreſſe of euery *Countie*,

* *Paris ad an.* 1234.

* *Mat. Paris.*

Now corruptly called *Martin Abbey* in *Surrey*.

New alterations in Court.

A zealous courſe to repreſſe cruell Vſurie.

Matth. Paris.

A time when Londoners were not Vſurers. *Mat. Paris. Paris.*

Riuallis and *Segraue* taken againe into grace.

Ann. 1236. *An. reg. 20.*

The King marrieth. *Ypodig. Neuſtr. Mat. Paris.*

* *Hiſt. Camb. pag. 296. Mat. Paris.*

* *Paul. Aemil. in Lud. 9.*

* *Ypodig. Neuſtr.*

* *Vmbratilis & ſemper ſuſpecta. Matth. Paris.*

The Queenes other three Siſters had Kings to their Husbands. * *Ioh. Til. Cron.*

* Foureſcore markes yeerely ſaith *Paris* in one place, but in another, three hundred pounds lands (of aſſiſe.)

* *Ypodig. Neuſtr.*

* *Holinſh. p. 223.*

Weſtminſter in *London. Matth. Paris.*

* He died An. D. 1238. hauing been Biſhop 32. yeares.

* Then belike he left very poore and old Cattle.

* *Prodigioſis ingeniis & portentis.*

An. D. 1237.

* *Iohn Stowes Annal.*

* *Triceſimam bonorum partem.* * *Matth. Paris.*

The King for ſupply of money drawne to ſeuere conditions.

to bee expended in the generall ſeruices of the Kingdome, as occaſion required; ſo that if the king failed to performe his part, euery man ſhould haue backe what hee had diſburſed. One great and ordinary cauſe of waſte, ſeemed now taken away, for that *Leoline* (who had * firſt taken homage of all his owne Barons) did * voluntarily yeeld to hold his whole Principality of the *Kings of England*; moued thereunto (though with much miſlike of the *Welſh*) to ſtrengthen himſelfe againſt his Son *Griffin*, who greatly infeſted him, being alſo aſſailed with a palſie.

Leoline Prince of *Wales* makes voluntary homage.
* *Hiſt. Camb. pag.* 297.
* *Matth. Paris.*

(57) There is in *Mathew Paris* much complaint of the State of *England* at this time, which by the Kings flexibility (ſaith he) was become the ordinary prey, ſometime of one ſort of ſtrangers, and ſometime of another, *Poictouins*, *Italians*, *Almaines*, and *Prouincios*. Indeed the *Genius*, and common humor of a Nation, is not eaſily alterable: and our *Miſoxenie* (or hatred to ſtrangers) was no new qualitie, for * *Horace* noted it before, or about, Chriſts birth: and Engliſhmen can hardly ſee when they are well to keep them ſo. But no kind of *Strangers* at that time more infeſted *England* (ſaith our * Monke) then the Romans, of which here ſwarmed three ſorts, *Vſurers, which were the Popes Marchants, Italian Clerks, moſt vile & illiterate perſons, which armed with the Popes Bulls, poſſeſſed themſelues (againſt all right of Priuiledges) of ſpirituall reuenues, and if any withſtoode them, they were by the Popes owne warrant excommunicated*; *laſtly, the* * *Farmers and Proctors for the Romans, who cunningly ſcraping together whatſoeuer was of price in the Land, ſent it ouer Sea to the Maſters, who there liued in deliciouſnes on the Patrimony of him that was crucified, and in pride on other mens goods.* Inſomuch, *that holy men with heart-breakings, teares, and deadly* * *grones*, profeſſed it *was better for them to dye, then to ſee thoſe meſeries on their Nation and holy men.* So that *the daughter of Sion was become like an impudent Harlot.* And as theſe Papall Engines dealt here in *England*, ſo did they with others * at *Rome*, *the Gouernours of that Church not ſeeking to winne mens ſoules, but their money, oppreſſing the religious by puniſhments, vſuries, and Simonie, without any care of iuſtice & honeſty. Which made the Greeke Church at this time to fall quite away, and oppoſe it ſelfe againſt the Romane.* Doubtleſſe *England* had no leſſe cauſe ſo to doe, then had the Greekes; but as Pope *Gregory* knew that his onely way to keepe *England* faſt, was to hold cloſe with the King; ſo the King alſo ſaw no way to ſtrengthen himſelfe againſt his Barons, but by holding in with the Pope, though with ſo many vnſufferable miſchiefes. And for ſome ſuch purpoſe of the Kings, newly now arriued Cardinall *Otto*, the Popes Legate, *greatly againſt the liking both of the Peeres, and of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, who not onely reproued the King therof, as of a thing dangerous to the Kingdome*, but ſoone after alſo tooke his iourney to *Rome*, to make ſome complaints, neither *would hee ſtay, though the Legate recalled him by his authority, which euer after cauſed much hatred betwixt them.* Yet ſundry good offices were at firſt performed by the Legate. The treaty of peace begun betweene the two Kings of *England*, and *Scotland* at *Yorke*, was againe reſumed in the ſame City, where *Otto* interpoſed himſelfe toward making a finall agreement, which enſued. There were alſo aſſembled, the Earles and Barons, who by the princely offices * of *Alexander* King of *Scots*, were reconciled to the *King* their *Soueraigne*, if this be the time which *Boetius* meanes, and not the next yeare. *Otto* had formerly accorded many of them among themſelues, whoſe diſagreements had emperild the State of the Realme, ſo that for a time nothing but calmneſſe and amity appeared. Yet ſoone after they ſtormed to ſee the King ſo * *addicted to the will of the Romans, eſpecially the Legate*, for which *Richard* Earle of *Cornwall* reproued him, as carrying himſelfe *more like the Popes Penſioner then a King.* Notwithſtanding the King was ſo prouident of his State, that the Legate calling his * *Nationall Councell*, thither came from the King, *Iohn* Earle of *Lincolne*, *Iohn Fitz-Geoffrey*, and *William de Kele* a Canon of *Pauls*, to forbid the *Legate* on the behalfe of the King and Kingdome, *not to attempt any thing againſt the Crowne or royall dignitie*.

Complaint of the kings raigne more grieuous then luſt.
* *Britanni hoſpitibus feri.*
* *Pariſ. hiſt. ma.*
* *Firmarij & Procuratores Rom. Paris.*
* *Singultu cruentato. Paris.*
* A Monkes teſtimony of *Romes* vſage.
Matth. Paris.
* At *Pauls*, in craſt. Oct. S. Martini.

(58) *Simon de Montfort* (afterward created Earle of *Leiceſter*) had now wrought himſelfe into ſuch fauour, that the *King* with his own hand ſecretly gaue *Elienor*, (widdow of the laſt *Willlam Marſhall* Earle of *Pembroke*) to him in mariage, notwithſtanding that ſhe had vowed her ſelfe a Nunne. When this was once knowne to *Richard* Earle of *Cornwall*, and the angry Lords, they all tooke ſuch ſnuffe thereat, becauſe they were not firſt conſulted with, in regard the King had promiſed to doe no weighty matter without them, that none but *Hubert de Burgo* Earle of *Kent* adhered to the forſaken King. The head of this defection was the Earle of *Cornwall*, of whom men generally *had hope, that hee would now free the Land from the miſerable oppreſſions both of Romans and other Strangers.* Him therefore the *Legate* vndertakes, but found him ſtiffe and vntractable at firſt. For when he truely and fatherly told him: *That if all the people of the land roſe againſt the King, yet hee being his owne brother ought alwaies to ſtand faſt with him againſt the whole world, & not to make himſelfe Captaine of the enemie, &c.* The Earle roundly replied; * *That none ought to maruaile, if he being the only Heire apparant, had a care of the Kingdomes ſtate, when there was no treaſure in the publike coffers for defence thereof, though it were enuironed with enemies: That it was moreouer wondred at, for ſomuch as the king his brother did moſt ſtand in need of helpe, and good diſcretion, that he would not take example by ſuch as were wiſe; as neither of the Emperour, who hauing married their ſiſter, retained her with him, but ſent backe all that attended her, not giuing to any of them either lands or money, although himſelfe did abound in both; nor the example of the king of* France, *who tooke the ſame courſe though hee married the eldeſt ſiſter of the Engliſh Queene, &c.* The Legate vpon theſe and many other ſhrewde ſharpe ſpeeches, takes with him *Peter* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, & deales with the King, who required time to anſwere; which the Lords granted, and met at *London* ſtrongly appointed vpon the day. There, while the quarrell hung in ſuſpenſe, *Simon de Montfort* had with money, faire words, and much entreatie of Mediators, reconciled himſelfe to the fierce young Earle, and ſo alſo had *Iohn* Earle of *Lincolne*, another marke of the publique enuie. This practiſe (which Earle *Richard* entertained without his Confederates priuity) had profitable effects; for the controlling Lords loſt thereby their *Generall*, and hee greatly weakened himſelfe in the opinion of the *Lords* and *People*; both which were poynts of aduantage and ſafetie for the King. But *Simon* feeling himſelfe as yet vpon no ſure ground, left his Wife with-childe at *Kenilworth*, not ceaſing, till by the fauour of the Emperours letters, and * *exceſſiue bribes, (by which iuſtice was ouercome, and made captiue to the Romane auarice)* he had obtained at *Rome* a diſpenſation for that marriage, which yet was * doubted, whether it could be lawfull, becauſe ſhee had taken the * Ring, though neither the *habit* of a Nunne, nor the *vaile*. Howſoeuer, the King did afterward ſo dainely breake with him, obiecting that *Montfort* had * firſt corrupted her, and hee to couer his Sifters ſhame, was content to giue her in Marriage.

An. 1238.
Ypodig. Neuſtr. ad An. D. 1239.
The Earle of *Kent* onely ſtands for the King.
* *Matth. Paris. p.* 451. & 452.
The combination of the Lords broken.
* So ſaid the king himſelfe of that diſpenſation. *Paris.*
* *William de Abendune, & Peter Lombar. apud. Mat. Paris.*
* *Hollinſh. p.* 221. *colum.* 6.
* *Matth. Paris. p.* 480.

(59) While the King and his Queene abode at *Woodſtocke*, a Traitor was apprehended, who vpon examination, confeſt that others had vowed the ſame, and that hee was ſent out of *Ireland* from *William* the Sonne of *Geoffrey de Mariſco* (one of thoſe Patentees, which hoped to ſhare in the lands of

The King forbids him to touch the rights of the Crowne.
The King in danger to haue beene murthered.
The King of Scots a peace-maker betweene the king and his mutinous Barons.
* *Hector Boetius lib.* 13. ſaith it was at *London.*
* *Mat. Paris.*

of *Richard* late Earle Marſhall) to commit that * aſſaſſinate vpon him. This execrable wretch hauing beene a Courtier, and one of the Kings * Knights, ſuppoſing to haue found the King in his owne retiring Bed, had about mid-night gotten in at the Chamber-window; but God (in whoſe ſpeciall protection the liues of Princes are) diſappointed him, for the King was elſe-where in Bed with his Queene. Neuertheleſſe he gaue not ouer, but with naked knife in hand, fought vp and downe in ſome other Chambers. One of the Queenes * Gentle-women (ſitting late and very deuoutly at her Booke by Candle-light,) at ſight of the furious villaine, with her ſhriking noyſe wakened the Kings ſeruants, who ſtarting out of their Beds, laid hands vpon him; and afterward hee was drawne in peeces with Horſes at *Couentree*. And worthily: for (as * a vulgar Chronicler heereupon ſaith truely,) *in wounding and killing a Prince, the Traytor is guilty of Homicide, of Parricide, of * Chriſticide, nay of * Deicide. William de Mariſco*, who was ſaid to be the inſtigator of this Treaſon, knowing his danger, became a Pyrate, and fortified the Iſle of *Lundey* in *Seuern*, where hee did much miſchiefe, the ſituation of that little Iland being * inexpugnable. At length he was ſurpriſed therein, and ſixteene of his Complices, who all of them after conuiction were put to death at *London*. *William* to the laſt gaſpe denying his priuity to the former treaſonous attempt of killing the King. About the time of the Kings danger at *Woodſtocke*, the Legate was in very little better caſe at *Oxford*, where being at firſt *honourably by the Vniuerſitie entertained in Ouſney Abbey*, the pride of his Romans there proued ſo intollerable, that a troupe of the younger *Students*, prouoked therewith to arme themſelues, not onely ſlew the *Legates owne brother*, but would haue done the like with the Legate himſelfe, whom they tearmed an *Vſurer, Symoniſt, Rent-raker, Money-thirſter, peruerter of the King, ſubuerter of the kingdome, enriching ſtrangers with ſpoyles of the Engliſh; but he lurking in the Belfrey, at mid-night eſcaped ouer the riuer (not without danger of drowning) and fled to the King for his protection*. For which outrage, the King ſending the Earle of *Warren* with an armed band, * impriſoned about 30. of the offenders, and the *Legate* interdicted the Vniuerſity, till *all the Biſhops of England (purpoſely * meeting in a Synode) pleaded for the Vniuerſity, as beeing the ſecond of Chriſtendome*: to whoſe importunity the proud Legate would not condiſcend, vnleſſe all the *Biſhops would yeeld to goe on foot with the Students from Paules-Church to the Legates houſe, (which was about a mile,) who there vngowned and vnſhod, ſhould humbly craue abſolution; which accordingly they performed*.

(60) The Legate was (not long after) called home by the Pope, * *vpon notice of the ſcandall daily giuen in England, by the vnſatiable auarice of the Romanes*; but by the earneſt workings of the King, who feared leſt his great ones would riſe againſt him, hee was detained, as a neceſſary euill, to eſtabliſh the good of *Peace*. For it was in a manner taken vp for a faſhion among the Lords, to glorifie themſelues with the ſenſeleſſe multitude, by ſeditiouſly diſparaging and taxing the Kings diſcretion and gouernement, being farre too gentle and amiable for ſpirites ſo peruerſe and inſolent; which might well force his louing nature, to ſeeke kindneſſe and aduiſe among ſtrangers, ſeeing he could not haue it for any his deſerts among the home-borne. A great reaſon why (perhaps) hee did ſome few things raſhly and paſſionately enough: it being a thing forceable to diſtemper a very wiſe man, to haue ſo many imperious cenſors to obſerue his actions, and few to humble their abilities to obſequious ſeruices, all bearing themſelues rather like Tutors or Controllers, then like Subiects or Counſellors. About which time, one *William* an ordinary Calumniator, and accuſer of great men to the King, was for that impious practiſe condemned to die; though he ſought to peece out his daies by the helpe of new appeachments and falſe criminations; but that being diſcouered, he was hanged vpon a Gibbet in *London*. Now alſo the King began to ſmell out the vndirect and falſe dealing of his beloued *Legate*, whoſe familiar friend *(Peter Saracen)* being taken Captiue by the Emperour, and to pay 10000. l. Sterling for his ranſome; the ſhameleſſe *Legate* counſelled the King to *binde himſelfe and his Crowne for that payment. Whereby the King perceiuing what toyles were layde to entrap him, (the Romanes not caring what loſſe happened to the Kingdome, ſo they might be gayners) ſwore in great rage, that it repented him he had euer admitted the Legate into the land, to diſſipate the wealth thereof*. But the Biſhops of the land meeting in Councell at *London*, *to redreſſe the oppreſſions of the Engliſh Church*, tolde the Legate flatly, *that the Romanes importunity had ſo long exhauſted their Church-goods, that they would no longer endure it*. Theſe Engliſh repentances ſeeme ſomewhat too late; but that prouidence which the King of *Scotland* ſoone after vſed, was, as more tempeſtiue, ſo more commendable, when meeting the ſame Legate (for now into *Scotland* he is going to gather coyne) *he denyed him entrance into his Kingdome, telling him, he was the firſt Legate which euer entred that Kingdome; yet by entreatie to ſaue the Legates credite*, he was permitted; firſt making a declaration, that his entrance ſhould neuer goe for a Preſident of any after; whereto the Legate ſhould put his Seale at his departure; but hauing gotten what hee came for, hee ſodainly ſtole away *without leaue of the King, and carried his writing with him*. By all which vile and indigne vſages, a man might thinke the Church of *Rome* did purpoſely ſtriue to draw the hatred of all Nations againſt her; eſpecially, ſith (as wee ſhewed) the Greekes were fallen from the *Romane vnion*, ſo now the Church of *Antioch* had both *excommunicated the Pope, the Church and Court of Rome*, and challenged *the Primacie aboue the Pope and the Romane Church*, as being *an ancienter See*, wherein S^t. *Peter firſt ſate Biſhop for ſeauen yeares; and more excellent and deare, ſith there Peter liued with loue and reuerence, whereas both hee and Saint Paul were continually perſecuted in Rome; which Church was now alſo defiled with Simonie, Vſurie, Auarice, and other hainous offences*.

(61) But (doubtleſſe) it was worthy of reproofe in the King; that after ſo manifold trials of faith and conſtancy in *Hubert* Earle of *Kent*, he ſhould now againe afflict his honourable old-age with reuiuall of accuſations, when hee rather ought to haue tendred him as a Father. Among other the Articles (engines of vexation) which the King bent againſt him, theſe were three new ones, by which any reaſonable man may take a ſcantling of the reſt. 1. *That Hubert had taken the money out of the barrels which were ſent for the reliefe of Rochel & Poictou, and ſtuffed them with ſand*. 2. *That to diſſwade a great Ladie from marriage with the King, hee had ſaid the King was a ſquint-eyde foole, a lewd man, and a kinde of Leper, deceitfull, periured, more faint-hearted then a woman, only terrible to his owne friends; and vtterly vnfit for any faire or noble Ladies company*. 3. *That at Woodſtocke, when the King was alone, he ruſht in with a naked knife to murther him*: Which and many other accuſations the Earle did modeſtly and cleerely refute. But with the laſt, (being moſt wicked of all) he was ſo grieued, that making low obeyſance to the King, he could not forbeare to ſay, that *he was neuer traitor to his father, nor to him, which by Gods grace did well appeare in the King*: as if he ſhould haue ſaid, (quoth *Paris*) *That if the Earle would haue beene a Traitor, the King had neuer obtained the Crowne*. This ſeemes to haue beene a publique triall, vpon a Suit or Action of treſpaſſe, brought againſt the Earle by the King in the *Kings Bench*, at which triall the King himſelfe

* *Mat. Paris* vſeth this word.

* *Polyd. Virgil. lib. 16. Armiger quidam literatus*, ſaith *Paris*, but *pag. 566* the ſame *M. Paris* ſaith his name was *Clement*, and a Clerke.

* *Margaret Biſet.*

The Traytour drawne in ſunder with horſes.

* *Hollinſh. p. 123.*

* Becauſe Kings are annointed, * Becauſe in holy Scriptures they are called Gods.

* *Mat. Paris. ad* A.D. 1242.

Paris.

Idem.

* *In Wallingford-Caſtle.*

* *16. Iunij, Londini. Paris.*

An. D. 1239.

* *Math. Paris.*

Great faults in the Lords towards the King.

Worthy juſtice done vpon a Court Rat, or Promoter. *Matth. Paris.*

Allegations for *Antioches* Primacy aboue *Rome*.

Hubert Earle of *Kent* toſt with a new Court-ſtorme.

Strabo.

A ſtrange deſcription of a King.

himselfe was also present. But howsoeuer the Earle answered, hee was condemned to giue to the King * foure his *deerest Castles, *Blanch Castle, Grosmount* in *Wales, Skenefrith* and *Hasfeld*; and then also (as it seemes) he was * depriued of his Title of *Earle*.

* *Ypodig. Neustr.*
* *Matth. Paris.*
* *Cambden. Brit.* in *Kent.* this man died An.D.1243.

(62) After so many mischiefes patiently brooked, at last the King, vpon receipt of Letters from the Emperour (whom as his brother in law, he was loath to offend,) commaunded *Otto* the Popes Legate, in regard of the great enmities betweene the Pope and Emperour, to depart out of *England*. There was also strait commaundement giuen to the *Italian Vsurers*, to leaue the most * *pure earth* of his Realme, (meaning that his owne people was most innocent and free from such a sinne,) but (saith * one, who durst write any thing he thought) *by giuing the King money, which is too much vsed to iustifie the wicked*, they for a great part *remayned still, as loath to forsake such fat pastures*. And the *Legate* himselfe also stayed so long, till the Pope by wily inducements and * *forged calumniations* had drawne the King, both to relinquish the Emperour his brother in law, and to suffer the Papall Excommunication to passe heere against him, and money also to be gathered to his impeachment. A briefe taste of all the Popes proceedings against this glorious Emperour, wee may take from the *Nobilitie* of *France*, who (when the Pope offered the Empire vnto *Robert* the *French*-Kings brother) in their grand Councell refused to accept it, *charging the Pope with the Spirit of audacious rashnesse, for deposing the Emperour, not conuicted of any fault*, and whom a *Generall Councel onely ought to censure, not the Pope, to whom no credit ought to be giuen, being his Capitall enemie. For that themselues knew hee was a vertuous and victorious Emperour, and one who had in him more religion then the Pope had.* Our Legate *Otto* (who now at length is gone) was no sooner departed, but *Peter* of *Sauoy*, the Queenes Vncle, arriued, to whom the King gaue the *Earledome* of *Richmond*, and entertained otherwise most magnificently. This and the like largesse to strangers, drew on the King much euill-will, who also in fauour of his Queene, procured her Vncle *Bonifacius* to be chosen Archbishop of *Canterburie* in place of * *Edmund*, who *weary of his life in England, by reason* that he could not redresse the Popes *detestable exactions and oppressions*, made choyse of a voluntarie Exile at *Pountney* in *France*, where hee dyed with the honour and opinion of a Saint.

* *Imperatoris litteræ apud Paris.*

An.D.1241.

* *Edmund* a Saint, though dyin an Exile in detestation of the Popes oppressions.

An.D.1242. *Ann. Reg.* 26. The King goes to recouer *Poictou*.

(63) The Kings imployments hitherto haue (almost wholly) beene taken vp either in the impatiencie of ciuill disturbations, or in the too-patient sufferance of some forraine grieuances, nourished within his Kingdome; which gaue him perhaps little leasure, minde, or meanes, to pursue any transmarine designe. But now better prouided with money, then with men, (and yet not sufficiently with money) he takes ship immediately after *Easter* towards *Poictou*, where the Earle of *March* (now husband to Queene *Isabel* his mother) expected his arriuall. Hee committed the Gouernement of the Realme in his absence to the Archbishop of *Yorke*. Thirtie Hogsheads or * Barrels fraught with sterling money were shipt for that seruice. There also went with him *Richard* Earle of *Cornewall*, (who was returned, with much honour, out of the Holy-land not long before) and seauen other Earles, with about three hundreth Knights, besides other souldiers. To resist the English, the King of *France* (who had giuen *Poictou* to his brother *Alfonse*) assembled an Armie-royall of foure thousand men of Armes, excellently well appoynted, and about twentie thousand choyse Souldiers; with a thousand Carts to carrie their other necessaries. King *Henrie* vnderstanding that the King of *France* lay before *Frontenay*, (a Castle belonging to the Earle of *March*,) seeking to force it by assaults, sent a messenger of defiance to him as a breaker of Truce. *Lewis*, a most just and valiant Prince, denyed that euer hee brake the truce; but *that the King of England, by maintenance of his Rebels, did rather seeme to infringe the Peace.* Neuertheless he offered (so as the *English* would not protect his enemies, the Earle of *March* and others) to giue him *Poictou*, and a great part of *Normandy*, in satisfaction of his * *Fathers Oath*, and moreouer, *to enlarge the last truce with a longer terme of yeeres.* These so honourable, safe, and profitable conditions, by the practise of the *Poictouines* (who feared the *French* Kings indignation would prooue too heauie for them to beare, if the *English* abandoned their cause) were vnfortunately refused.

* *Cadum.*

The French-Kings preparations to resist.

* *Vide supra*, at his departing from England.

(64) When the *French* King heard hereof, it repented him that he had humbled himselfe so farre; telling his Lords, that he neither feared his Cousen of *England*, nor all his forces, but onely that *Oath*, (for restoring of the Lands in *France*) which his father made when he was in *England*. This scruple did so trouble the Kings minde, on the behalfe of his dead Father, that hee would admit no comfort, till one of his Lords tolde him, that the King of *England*, by putting *Constantine Fitz-Arnulf* to death, for hauing spoken some words in honour of King *Lewis* (his Father) had first broken the truce. This satisfied the *French*. That whole businesse is thus concluded by * *Tilius*; *Hugh Earle of March ouercome with the pride and perswasions of his wife Isabel, would not doe homage to Alfonse the French Kings brother: for shee was a cause to draw the English thither, where things thriuing on his part but meanly, Hugh is constrained in the end to doe both homage and fealty vnto Alfonse.* This only must be added, that he did vnfaithfully prouide for his priuate safety, without the knowledge of the King of *England*, at such time as he * pretended otherwise.

A most Christian feare of the Christian King.

* *Io. Tili. Chron.*

* *Math. Paris.*

Isabel, Queene Dowager, forgeth writings to draw her Sonne the King into *France*. *Matt. Par. p.* 570.

(65) This treacherie lost the King all *Poictou*, for whereas he principally tooke care for money, presuming vpon the Earle for men, when it came to the point, the Earle was not only not prouided, but sware by the throat of God, *hee neuer promised any such matter, and denyed he had set his Seale to any writing concerning such promises, and that if any such sealed writing were (as the King and his brother the Earle of Cornwall affirmed) their mother his wife had forged it.* They were now in sight of the *French* Host before *Tailbourg* in *Xainctoing* when this improuident expostulation was made. The King of *England* manifestly seeing his perill, and hauing by his Brother Earle *Richards* mediation (whom many of the *French* did greatly honour, because hee had by composition been a meane at his arriuall to free them from the *Sarasens* in the holy-land,) raised his campe by night, and retreated with much more haste then good speed. Not long after this, the faire City of *Xaincts* in *Xainctoing*, vpon displeasure conceiued by the Citizens against the King, because he had giuen the same to the Lord *Hugh* his halfe-brother, (sonne to the Earle of *March*) first contriued a perfidious reuolt so closely, that if first the said Lord *Hugh*, & then *Guy de Lusignian* his elder brother, had not in good time signified the danger, the King and all the *English* had beene surprized by the *French*. There was none, (among all the mutable *Poictouins*) found respectiue of honour and loyalty, but onely one called *Hertold*, Captaine of the famous Castle of *Mirabell*, who in great sorrow repayred to the King of *England*, praying counsell and assistance, where the King with a downe-cast-looke gaue him this answere: *Thou dost see (O* Hertold) *that my forces are scarce sufficient to defend my selfe. Our Lord and Sauiour was betrayed by his Disciple* Iudas, *and therefore who shall be safe? Behold the Earle of March, whom I tooke and reuerenced as my Father, hath giuen a pernicious president. I haue trusted in a staffe of reed, & the splinters thereof haue wounded my hand. Thou art the only man who hast behaued thy selfe honestly: whatsoeuer therefore thou doest possesse of mine, by any just Title, take it to thee as thine owne, I giue it thee: Prouide otherwise*

Poictou lost by the *English*.

Xaincts also and *Xainctoing*.

The *French* Earle of *March* compared by the King to *Iudas*.

Hertold an example of loyalty.

otherwiſe for thy ſelfe, as thou doſt thinke it moſt expedient. The King of *France*, in whom all magnanimity, bounty, and Chriſtian vertues did ſhine, hearing what *Hertold* had ſaid and done, commended the man, and manner ſo highly, that, ſaying, *He loued and allowed ſuch as he*; The Caſtle was entruſted backe to the ſame Captaine; when with many teares and other ſignes of ſorrow, hee had ſurrendred himſelfe and it to *Lewis*. The farther proſecution of that warre was empeached by ſickneſſe and penurie, which ſore afflicted the *French* Armie. An ouerture therefore for fiue yeeres truce being made, *Lewis* returned into *France*, and *Henry* to his City of *Burdeaux* in *Gaſcoigne*, where his Queene *Elianor* (who bare him Prince * *Edward* about two yeeres before) bare to him a daughter called *Beatrix*.

The great Lords returne and leaue the King.

* Prince *Edward* borne at *weſtminſter*, *An.* 1239. *in July.*

An. 1243. *An. Reg.* 27.

(66) Meane while the King looking carefully into the double-dealings of the *Poictouines*, who were the limitanie or border-ſubjects of the Engliſh dominions in *Aquitaine*, and by a nature proper to free March-men, which lie betweene the hammer and the Anvill, are enured to all ſorts of deuices how to ſaue themſelues, and delude others, wiſely withdrawes his * large Penſions, which they by deepe diſſimulations and improfitable ſhewes of aſſiſtance had ſhared among them, for which they repayed nothing but ſecret ſeoffes of their Patron and Pay-maſter. The Earle of *March* whatſoeuer his Fees were from the King his Sonne in Law, made but an euill bargaine in the end: for, beſides that the *French*-King tooke from him no ſmall portion of his Eſtate, he was openly appeached of Treaſon in the *French* Court, by a valiant Knight, who offered to prooue the truth of his accuſation by Battell. *Iſabel*, whom the *French* in paſſion called *Iezabel*, becauſe her pride and turbulent practiſes had procured all thoſe euills, fled vpon the newes to a Nunnerie. In the end yet her Husband being aged, by the diligence and care of friends auoyded the Combate, and was ſuffered to returne home. The King (whoſe comming had beene long expected in *England*,) hauing ordayned one Sir *Nicholas de Molis* his * Lieutenant in *Aquitaine*, is now vnder Saile, although the *Gaſcoignes*, becauſe his preſence was greatly beneficiall, had ſought all the wayes they could to detaine him longer. Being returned, by reaſon of that vn-aduiſed and loſſefull voyage into *France*, hee was compelled to be burthenous to his Subjects, as well by the leuie of Eſcuage, as of loane and otherwiſe. The Iewes alſo felt the gripe of his wants ſo farre, that euen Chriſtians commiſerated: whoſe Golde hee receyued with his owne hands, but their Siluer by others. Theſe and other importunate corraſions, were not made onely to fill vp ſuch breaches as the *French* affaires had produced, but alſo to ſpend in entertainments and ſhowes.

* 7000. l. ſterling beſides the Earle of Marches huge ſummes.

The Poictouins policy in this laſt warre, to deceiue the King of his money.

* The King lands at *Portſmouth* in October.

The prodigality of Kings, ends in the rapine and ſpoyle of the Subject.

(67) Neither will the Majeſty and honour of the Kingdome permit, that ſuch kindes of expenſe ſhould be wanting, when publique occaſions doe require; in which reſpects they are not onely vſe-full, but abſolutely neceſſary, becauſe Common-weales are partly founded vpon the opinion which Subjects and Neighbours haue of their power and riches, and their eſtimate is commonly made by that which is outwardly ſeene at ſuch times. This care, beſides the great loue hee bare to his Wiues kindred and Country-men, made him purſuey for money in this manner; for in December the Lady *Beatrix* Counteſſe of *Prouince*, * mother to the Queenes of *England* and *France*, hauing with her the Lady *Cincia*, *Cynthia*, or *Scientia*, (for by all thoſe names ſhe is called in Authours) and a princely trayne, in all poynts excellently well furniſhed, landed at *Douer*, where innumerable of the beſt ſorts gaue her welcome and attendance. *London* was hung with rich Ornaments, from the Bridge thereof to *Weſtminſter*. This noble young Ladie *Cincia*, was brought hither to bee marryed to *Richard* the Kings brother Earle of *Cornwall*: At whoſe Nuptiall Feaſt, there were thirty thouſand * Meſſes prouided in the Cookery onely, and of all other things there was incredible plenty. All which notwithſtanding did manifeſtly proue (as *Paris* ſaith moſt truly) *that the world is but a very Iugler, and the pompe thereof but an idle ſhadow, ſeeing the next morrow blew away the whole varietie of ſo great preparations; like as if it had beene a Clowde.* Nor much vnlike is the life euen of greateſt Princes, which hangeth on very vntruſty tearmes, as *Griffin*, eldeſt brother of *Dauid* Prince of *Wales* did finde, when hoping by a chaine of Blankets, and ſuch like ſtuffe, to eſcape out of the *Tower of London*, where the King had impriſoned him, the line breaking, hee pitcht vpon his head, which the weight of his great Body draue (as it were) into his ſhoulders, and miſerably ſlew him. The King therefore puniſhing the Keepers for their ſloath, commanded that the Sonne of *Griffith* (priſoner with his father) ſhould from thenceforth bee more narrowly watched. Not long after the which, *Dauid* Prince of *Wales* prouoked by wrongs, (chiefly done by the * Earle of *Hereford*) inuaded the *Engliſh Marches*, whom the Earles of *Gloceſter* and *Hereford*, and other mighty men in thoſe parts, hauing the Kings conſent and aſſiſtance, did withſtand, yet fighting but with variable fortune. It was Prince *Dauids* purpoſe to haue freed himſelfe from the obedience or tenure which he had acknowledged to the King; for which purpoſe he exhibited his * complaint to the Pope, pretending that the King of *England* compelled him vnjuſtly to holde his Principality and Lands of him. But the Kings credit, cauſe, and workings, eaſily ouer-weighed the Prince of *Wales*, and preuayled.

* *Stow* in his Suruey, p. 367. ſaith ſhe was mother to 5. Queenes, adding to the 4. fore-mentioned, *Ioan* married to *Philip* King of *Navarre*.

Richard the Kings brother marrieth the Queenes ſiſter.

* *Fircula.* A mortifying truth concerning the Worlds vanity.

An. D. 1244.

Griffith, elder brother to the *Prince of Wales*, caſually brake his necke.

* *Mat. Paris*, p. 628. Troubles vpon the Marches of *Wales*.

* *D. Powel in hiſt. Cambr.* p. 308.

(68) The States of the Realme were in thoſe dayes nothing ſupple, when the King ſought to handle them for money: for hee about this time labouring to draw ſome from them, vpon faithfull promiſe to keepe and obſerue the Liberties, vnto which *he had ſworne at his Coronation, and whereof hee had graunted his Charter*, they beſought him to remember, *how often hee had wrung from his faithfull liege-people, (whom he ought to cheriſh, not vtterly impoueriſh) without performing his promiſe.* "That forthwith after the taking of *Bedford*, he had "*Carrucage*, that is, two ſhillings vpon euery Plough-"land; the next yeere after, a *fifteenth* of all their "Moueables: vpon his paſſage into *Britaine*, *no* "*ſmall ſummes of money* from the Prelates, Religious "orders, Burgeſſes, and Iewes: after his returne, hee "had Eſcuage, that is, vpon euery Shield (or knights "Fee) three markes: then a fortieth part of all their "Moueables: within a while after a thirtieth part; "By and by, for the marriage of the Ladie *Iſabel* "to the Emperour, two markes vpon euery Plough-"land; at his Sonnes birth, he by *Preſents* heaped "vp no ſmall ſtore of money. Againe, when he "went into *Gaſcoigne*, he rayſed almoſt infinite "heapes of money from all ſorts of Subjects: vpon "his returne, where hee had beene deluded and "diſhonoured, hee fleeced all manner of Subiects. They now alſo (vnder the name of ayde for the marriage of his eldeſt Daughter,) graunted him vpon euery Knights Fee, which held of the King in chiefe, twentie ſhillings, the one halfe to be payd at Eaſter, the other at Michaelmaſſe. *But* (ſay they) *how well the King will keepe and fulfill his vndertakings and promiſes, in requitall of the paſt and preſent contributions, he onely knowes to whom nothing is vnknowne.* But ſuch as trauelled to ſtrengthen the Popes deſignes, with collections of money among the Engliſh Clergy, found a ſterne and conſtant oppoſition, not onely for that they were vnwilling, but alſo for that the Emperour had written to the King in plaine phraſe, that if he ſuffered any ſuch matter, he would not fayle in grieuous ſort to puniſh all the Engliſh hee could get, in reuenge of that partiality.

The free anſwere of the Lords to the Kings demaund for money.

The Catalogue of pecuniary aids in 18. yeeres raigne.

They grant him new ſupplies.

(66) About

(69) About which time, many ſeditious perſons were in the Court of *England*, which * hoped that warre with *Scotland* would bring them this commoditie, that the oppreſſions they did to the people ſhould reſt vnpuniſhed; *for Lawes and Iuſtice haue no place in time of battell.* Their hope thus tooke beginning. *Alexander* King of *Scots* had married the Lady *Marie*, a goodly Gentle-woman, daughter to the Lord *Ingelram de Cowcie*, who (as all *Frenchmen*) being a deadly enemy to the King of *England*, had laboured to weaken that ſtrength of amitie, which was betweene the two Kings of *England* and of *Scots*, as a poynt neceſſarie or profitable for the tranquilitie of *France*. Their hope thus had ending; the ſaid *Ingelram* by the ſtumbling of his Horſe in a Foord, being caſt out of his Saddle, and pitcht into the depth of the Riuer, while his foote hung faſt in the ſtirrop, his ſword at the ſame time falling out of his ſheath, and running him through, did moſt ſtrangely end his life by a triple death, with whom it ſeemed the humour of battell betweene the two Siſter-Nations likewiſe dyed: for not long after, (notwithſtanding the great preparations on both ſides) all quarrels were abſolutely * concluded, with relation to ſuch *Articles* as had beene formerly made betweene them at *Yorke*. The King of *England* had with him fiue thouſand Horſe-men moſt fairely armed and appoynted; beſides a moſt puiſſant number of ſeruiceable men on foote. The *Welſhmen* feared and expected, that vpon this agreement, the King would turne all his forces againſt them; but hee knowing it needeleſſe to vſe ſuch numbers for that ſeruice, ſent onely three hundreth men of Armes, vnder the conduct of Sir *Hubert Fitz-Mathew*, to repreſſe their attempts, but through their owne raſhneſſe, and the Welſhmens valiancie, hee and his people were with loſſe at that time ſcattered. The newes of this bad ſucceſſe troubled the King neerely, for finall remedy whereof, he reſolued to leade a ful Army thither. But when, to furniſh this deſigne hee prayed more Subſidie of the States of his Realme, they *with one voyce and with one minde contradicted*; though alſo his debts to Merchant-ſtrangers for Wines, and other neceſſaries, were ſo many and ſo continually called for, as hee could ſcarce paſſe abroad without their clamours. Neuertheleſſe, the newes which hee receyued out of *Aquitaine*, where his *Seneſchall Nicholæs de Molis* had wonne the day in a battell againſt the King of *Nauarre*, did ſomewhat mitigate the ſowreneſſe of theſe ouer-thwarts; and for repleniſhment of Coffers, *Robert Paſſeleu* ſo ordered the matter, by fining ſuch as had encroched vpon the Kings Forreſts, that hee vnexpectedly began againe to make them ouer-flow.

(70) The great helpes which the King found by the new ſupply of his Treaſure, made him daily conſider, how to augment the ſame, and how to ſtop all vndue Out-lets, by which it was ordinarily impaired. Vpon the departure of *Otto* the Popes Legate, who had well ſtuffed his owne and his Maſters Coffers, (and had no leſſe filled the peoples hearts with repinings, and their mouthes with curſes of him) there was ſome hope the Romiſh *horſe-leaches* would for a while haue left ſucking the beſt juyce of the Land; but it proued otherwiſe, new Agents, Legats, and Factors, ſtill comming ouer, *as if England had beene a Well which could neuer be drawne dry, and Rome a bottomleſſe gulfe which could neuer be filled full.* Whereupon, before this, the King writ his letters both to this Pope, and to his Predeceſſor *Gregorie* 9. deſiring them to *ſurceaſe from thus afflicting England with their exactions; but neither one nor other of them would vouchſafe to bridle their owne wilfull motions, as if God and S.* Peter *(whoſe ſteps they follow not) had euen bent their bowes againſt that Church of Rome*. With which contempt the King had the more reaſon to be incenſed, becauſe the Pope had endeauoured to free *Dauid Prince of Wales* from his homage made to King *Henry*, pretending that *if it were done by feare or force, it was of no force, but vtterly void.* Notwithſtanding the Pope ſeeing the King and State reſolued to the contrary, was deſirous not onely to hold faſt the Kings good-will, but alſo to come into *England*; *to which purpoſe he cauſed his Cardinals to write their perſuaſory Letters to the King, as a thing tending much to his ſafety, and to his Kingdomes immortall glory, to enjoy the Lord Popes preſence, who did long to ſee the delicacies of Weſtminſter, and the riches of London:* but the Kings Councell told him, that *the Romans Rapines and Simonies had enough ſtained Englands purity, though the Pope himſelfe came not perſonally to ſpoyle and prey vpon the wealth of this Church and Kingdome.* The like deniall of entrance he had found both in *France* and *Arragon*, it being ſaid, that *the Pope was but like a mouſe in a ſachel, or a ſnake in ones boſome, who did but ill repay their Hoſts for their lodging, and the infamies of the Popes Court deſerued no other, whoſe filth* (ſaith our Monke) *ſent forth a ſteme and ſtench as hie as the very Clouds.* The Pope, though he could not come himſelfe, yet hee had his pipes and conducts to conuay this ſtench into this land, and the wealth of it backe in lieu thereof. Which was now ſo factoured by his Chaplaine *Martin*, that *certaine of the Peeres commiſerating the inceſſant depredation of the Land*, tooke order for ſtrickt watch at all the Ports in *England*, that all Letters, comming daily from the Pope to picke mens purſes, ſhould be ſtopt. But ſoone after, a more generall redreſſe was intended againſt ſo vnmercifull tyranny: the King finding by *diligent inquiry, in euery Shire, that the annuall reuenues here, wherewith the Court of Rome had fraudulently and violently enriched Italians, amounted to threeſcore thouſand Markes, to the great both wonder and anger of the King; which made him now begin to deteſt the inſatiable greedineſſe of the Court of Rome.* Hereupon, for that the Pope had now ſummoned a Generall Councell at *Lyons*, Ambaſſadors were thither ſent, *there publiquely, in the name of the whole Kingdome, both to complaine and craue redreſſe of* the Popes too long ſuffered extortions, (which were particularly there rehearſed, and *which as being deteſtable to God and man, they would no longer endure;*) and to diſauow all ſubjection vnjuſtly pretended from King *Iohn*, *as whereunto both the then Archbiſhop openly contradicted, and the Nobles and State neuer conſented, nor euer would.* The Pope, (aſhamed belike to be ſo taxed in ſo great an Aſſembly) is noted to haue ſate *long ſilent, not ſo much as liſting vp his eyes from the ground*, till at length hee cut off their importunity with this briefe anſwere, *That ſo difficult a matter would aske longer deliberation*; which vaine delay ſo enraged Earle *Bygod, and the reſt of the Kings Agents, that with threats and terrible oaths*, they ſware to remedy that themſelues, which the Pope would not. And indeed the *Nobles* at home had already begun ſo to doe; hauing commaunded *Martin* (the *Popes Agent*) *to depart out of hand, for if he ſtayed, he and all his company ſhould be cut in peeces*; who preſently packing away, *(the King alſo wiſhing the Diuell to take him, hauing thus preyed vpon his land)* ſo enraged the Pope with tidings of this vſage, that his *Holineſſe* ſaid; *It is high time that we make a quicke end with the Emperour, that ſo we may cruſh theſe petty Kings (meaning the Engliſh and French, who both denied him entrance into their land) who ſpurne againſt vs; for the great Dragon being once cruſhed, thoſe leſſer poore ſnakes will ſoone be troden vnder.*

(71) The Welſh affaires, by reaſon of the caſuall death of *Fitz-Mathew*, growing daily leſſe tractable then other, the King againe prepares to repreſſe their inſolencies in perſon. Before hee ſets forward, hee came into *London* to the Church of Saint *Paul*, to the intent that before his departure hee might take his leaue of the Citizens in a popular and louing manner. And becauſe neither warre nor want

* *Hect. Boetius lib. 13. & cap. 15. in Bellind. tranſ.*

Matth. Pariſ.

Ingelram de Cowcy hanged in his ſtirrop, drowned, and run through with his owne Sword, all at one time.

* At *New-caſtle* vpon *Tine.*

Welſh troubles.

The King ſeekes in vaine to draw the graunt of more contribution.

The Kings wants ſupplyed by rapine.

An. D. 1245.

Math. Pariſ.

Idem.

Then by the Popes owne rule K. *Iohns* ſubmiſſion was of no force.

The Pope deſireth to come into *England.*

Matth. Pariſ.

Idem.

Matth. Weſtminſt. Matth. Pariſ.

The King preparing to inuade *Wales*, vſeth the Londoners familiarly.

want could make him forget his magnificence, and bountie, he causèd the East-part of the great Church at *Westminster* to be taken downe, and by aduise of expert Worke-men newly to be builded and ioyned to the West. The effect of the Kings expedition into *Wales* was, that after he had fortified the Castle of *Gannocke* in *North-Wales*, vpon the passage into *Anglesey*, and by the *Irishmen* wasted that fertile Iland, hee was himselfe enforced by sharpenesse of the weather, and for want of victuals, to returne about the end of *October*, hauing taken all courses hee could to starue the *Welsh*, forbidding the *Irish* vpon paine of death to bring any relieefe into *Wales*; and lest that they of *Cheshire*, or the neighbour parts should giue them any succour, he so spoyled them of all their prouisions, that they were scarce able to feede themselues; and if the *Welsh* compelled by famine ventred out of their strengthes or fastnesses, in or about *Snowdon*, the Garrison Souldiers of *Gannocke* were ready to intercept and kill them; and on the other side, the Lords of *Brumfield* and *Powys*, though *Welsh-men*,* held with the King, so that they were miserably straitned. The King pawnd his Iewels to his brother *Richard* at this journey for 3000. Markes, which holpe to piece out the charge thereof. *Paris* hath a long list of great names, which dying about this time, left neyther name, nor issue to preserue the memory of their Greatnesse; bnt none so strange as of the *Marshals*, fiue Brethren of them successiuely Earles of *Pembroke*, and all dying issuelesse; which he attributeth to the judgement of God, for the iniquity of their Father, and of themselues, who would neuer restore certaine Manours, which their Father in warre-time had taken in *Ireland* from the Bishop of *Ferns*, an holy *Irish*-man, who often required restitution, and for want thereof, did put them vnder Gods curse and his. * One doth indeede obserue, that the *Irish-Saints* are vindicatiue; but certainely the examples of punishments for *Sacriledge*, and violent extortions are terrible in *holy Scripture*; and most fearefull was the sentence it selfe which Gods Prophet pronounced against *Ahab* for * *Naboths* Vineyard; agreeing with the very plague which this yeare fell vpon the house of the *Marshall*.

The effect of the Kings journy into *Wales*.

* *Hist. Conk.*

A judgement of God on a withholder of *Church-lands*.

* *Gyrald. Cambren.*

* 3. *Reg. cap.* 1. *vers.* 21.

Ann. 1246. *An. Reg.* 30.

(72) The Popes furie was now so much inflamed against King *Henry* and the *English*, for so disgracing him publiquely in the Generall Councell, * that he *vsed lofty threats, if once the Emperour were quelled, to tame England also; and whetted on the French King, to enter on the Land, promising him all the helpes of the Church, and Papall power.* But the just King, not onely refused so vniust an offer, (*as hauing no title to England, themselues also knit by kindred, and by truce, their Queenes being sisters, the attempt bloudie for Christians, &c.* but further ratified the former truce, and enlarged it with the addition of more yeeres, because King *Lewis* was prepared to make warre against the *Infidels*, which voyage King *Henrie* would not hinder, but aduance. And that nothing might disturbe the peacefull life, with which the King of *England* was most delighted. *Dauid Prince of Wales departed out of the vale of the dying, (as Paris elegantly saith) into the vale of the dead.* The King seeing all things quiet and safe about him, doth now conuert his whole cares to the reformation of the inward maladies of his dominions, calling the estates of the Land together for that purpose. To whom hee there deliuered in writing, sundry * *Articles of the grieuances and oppressions of his Kingdome, and the Church.* 1. *That the Pope extorts great Contributions of the Clergie, without the Kings assent, against the rights & liberties of the Kingdome.* 2. *That Patrons cannot bestow Church-liuings on fit men; but the Pope giues them to his Romans, who can speake no English, (nor celebrate diuine seruice, nor preach, nor keepe hospitality, nor care for soules, &c.) but onely beggar the Land with carrying away the Coyne.* 3. *That the Popes Prouisions and Pensions are vnsufferable.* 4. That *Englishmen are drawn forth of the land to end their causes.* 5. *That the Pope by his* Non obstante *ouerthrowes Oaths, Customes, Charters, Grants, Statutes, Priuiledges, Rights, &c.* whereupon, the *King, Bishops, Nobles, Abbots*, and *Priors*, did all write * their seuerall complaints to the *Pope*, requiring speedy redresse of those infinit wrongs to the *King, the Kingdome, the Clergy, the Nobles, and the People, who would rather die, then thus daily endure those oppressions.* Notwithstanding sundry Prelates (either out of ambition or feare) vnder-hand furthered the Popes desires, when secretly he craued an annuall tallage of the Clergy for maintenance of his Souldiers; and that the State should take no notice thereof, the Pope causèd his Agents to make them * *sweare, not to reueale this their Contribution to any man liuing, for the space of halfe a yeere.* Yet the King came to the knowledge thereof; and sent forth his writs, *forbidding vnder great penalty that the mony should be carried forth of the land.* This the Kings displeasure was much augmented vpon the returne of his messengers from the Councell of *Lyons*, who related *how proudly the Pope reiected the iust complaints of the State, saying, the King himselfe did Frederize, and holding his people as Schismaticks.* Which incensed the King to publish his Proclamation in euery Citie and towne, *that none of his subiects should dare to contribute any mony to the Pope:* but it came to no effect, for that some* *Popizing Bishops and ambitious Clerks (of his Councell) fearing the Papall threats, where no cause of feare was, drew him to leaue his purpose womanly, which he manfully vndertooke.*

* *Articuli super Grauamin. apud Paris.*

* *See their seuerall Letters in Paris.*

* *Matth. Paris.*

* *Papalium Episcoporum. Matth. West.*

(73) The Bishop of *Worcester* (a principall worker herein) was said to * *haue had authority from the Pope to interdict the land*, which perhaps was it which the King so greatly feared, and which the Monk said, was not worth the fearing. The Earle of *Cornwal* also with others (who fauoured not the Emperour *Fredericks* cause) laboured to change the Kings minde, so that the wonted extortions were as current as euer; insomuch that a * Cardinall truely told the Pope, that *England was to the Pope as* Balaams *Asse, which being so often wronged, spurgalled, and cudgeld, it was no maruaile, if at length she opened her mouth to complaine: and for themselues and their Romane Court, they were like* Ismael, * *euery mans hand against them, and theirs against euery man.* But if we should so often insist on the relation of this Kingdomes distresses, as the Popes endlesse Corasions from yeere to yeere, and the States remedilesse complaints, giue vs occasion, we should but cloy the Reader with rufull matter, which * Monkes themselues haue mournfully and copiously endited vnto vs, and set forth the too seruile affections of our owne Ancestors, who still entred new consultations about the disease, but neuer brought the medicine vnto a perfect receipt. For vpon fresh angariations from *Rome*, the King * againe assembles his State to thinke of redresse, * *the Common-wealth, as well of Laitie as Clergie, being brought to the poynt of vtter desolation, as the like was neuer heard in any age*, whereof they againe made *their lamentable complaint to the King, whose duety it was to protect the Land from such wrongs and dangers.* Their onely remedy was, againe to write letters to the Pope, which slender meanes he could as sleightly put off; and though (to stop the clamour for the present) he promised neuer to send any Legates into *England*, but on entreatie of the State, yet daily did he send his raking Clerkes, *with the power, though not the Title, and Ensignes of Legates*, both into *England* and *Ireland*, so to delude the King, and still purloine his Subiects.

* *Iohannes Anglicus.* England the Popes Asse.

* Genes. 16. 12.

An. D. 1247.

* *Mat. Westmin. Matth. Paris. Iob. London, &c.*

* *In Crastino Purificationis.*

* *Ibidem.*

(74) The State of the Kingdome still requiring reformation, there assembled againe at *London* certaine Prelates, Earles, and others, at the Kings commaundement, where after so much purloyning by others, now the Kings owne errand and affaires was to get money for himselfe. But they (who gaue such way to the Popes collections) were now all close-handed,

An. D. 1248. *An. Reg.* 32.

close-handed, and open-mouthed; for, besides their vndutiful vpbrayding the king with some ouer-sights, they vntruly & seditiously charged him to haue done contrary to the example of his magnificent Predecessors, *in that his chiefe Iustice, Chancellour and Treasurer were of his owne chusing, and not by the Common Councell of the Realme, as they ought.* The King inwardly touched herewith, yet seeing no other helpe, promiseth redresse and change for the better. Whereunto they answered; that *they would expect a while with patience, and as the King shall carry himselfe toward them, so will they performe their obeysance to him.* So the meeting was adjourned from that Candlemas till Midsommer; at which time also there was nothing done, but all parts rose discontented. The cause of that discontentment was, for that the King, in stead of satisfying their audacious demands, answered them, *That they sought to bridle him at their surlie pleasures, proudly forbidding that in him, which was lawfull for themselues. For that euery priuate man may vse, what, and whose Counsell he list; euery master of a family prefer or remoue what officers in his house he list; which yet they saucily denyed vnto him, their Lord and Soueraigne, as if seruants and vassals were to rule their Lords; whereas indeed he is no King but a seruant, who must bow at others becke. That therefore he would neither place nor displace either Chancellour, Iustitiar, or Treasurer, as they thought good. Neuertheless he required money at their hands, to recouer such forreine lands as concerned as well them as him, to see it done.* Hereupon the Parliament brake vp, and the King was left to furnish himselfe otherwise so well as hee could, euen by saile of his Iewels, Plate, and other precious stuffe, after a dishonourable manner.

The seditious Nobles expostulate their greeuances with the King in stead of granting mony.

The King driuen to sell his Iewels and Plate to the *Londoners.*

An. D. 1249. *An. Reg. 33.*

(75) The affaires of *Gascoigne* (which one *Guasto de Biard* had greatly troubled) by the manhood and wit of *Simon* Earle of *Leicester* were now brought into better quiet, which made his presence (being returned, as it seemeth for more supplies, which went again with him) very acceptable in the Court of *England.* The King intending to furnish that enterprise afresh against the comming Spring-time, left no meanes vnthought of, which either by Art or strong entreatie he could vse, to repleniſh his exhausted Coffers. In which he embased too much the Royall name and dignitie, telling some (and perhaps truly) whose bountie he craued, *that it was more almes to aide him with money, then one that went begging from dore to dore.* Meane while the King neglects not his administration of Iustice; for, whereas the whole Countie of *Hampshire* swarmed with Felons and murtherous Robbers, himselfe so ordered the matter, sitting in person in *Winchester*-Castle, that the infamie and danger of those places were cleared by hanging the Offendors; many of which were very wealthy, and some the Kings owne seruants. *Walter de Clifford* also (a Baron of the *Marches* of *Wales*) for enforcing an officer (whom he had otherwise handled badly) to eate the Kings Writ, Waxe and all, ranne so farre into the Kings displeasure thereby, that while he liued, he was made the lesse able to feed himselfe; paying to the King a very great summe of money, and hardly escaping without confiscation of his whole patrimonie. The King desirous to be friends with the Citizens of *London*, to whom of late he had beene ouerhard, publikely reconciled himselfe vnto them, whom for that cause he had commanded to appeare at *Westminster*, and there immediatly receiued the badge of the Crosse at the hand of *Boniface* Archbishop of *Canterburie*; but whatsoeuer his intention was, it neuer came into action on his part. In the meane time, contrary to his Fore-fathers example, hee so much abridged the expences of his house, and his Almes, that he vnder-went some dishonourable imputation. Neuertheless he wisely wound himselfe out of many a Merchants debt; whereto he wrung great helpes from the *Iewes*, (as the ordinary Clippers and defacers of his Coyne,) and the forgers of Seales and Charters; from one of whom hee had at times drawne thirty thousand markes Sterling, besides two hundreth markes in Gold.

Simon Earle of *Leicester* returnes with honour out of *Gascoigne.*

Hampshire purged of *Theeues* by the King himselfe sitting in judgement.

An. D. 1250. *An. Reg. 34.*

Walter Clifford makes an officer eate the Kings *Writ, Wax* and all.

The King leſseneth the charge of his Houſhold.

Thirtie thousand markes wrung from one *Iew* in a few yeeres.

(76) It seemeth an inseparable quality in his nature, to be extreamely violent, in doing whatsoeuer he had a minde to doe, and that sometime without the due respect to secular Majestie; as in the course hee tooke for aduancing his halfe-brother *Æthelmare* to the Bishoprick of *Winchester*. For not contenting himself to haue sent his messengers to the Couent by them to worke the election, hee came thither in person, where the *Chapter* being set in the Cathedral Church, he entred, and placing himselfe in the *Presidents* seat, makes to them a speech in the nature of a *Sermon*, taking for his Theme those words of *Dauid: Iustice and Peace kisse each other.* Whereon hee shewed them, *That, whereas Iustice belonged to him, and to such as had the rule of Nations, and to the Clergie calmenesse and Peace, both these should that day kisse together, if they elected his brother for their Bishop:* For which he gaue them many reasons, but concluded, if they did otherwise, they should feele his Princely displeasure. When therefore they published to the King their Choise, they did it with this reseruation, (because *Æthelmare* was to remaine vnder the title of the Elect of *Winchester*, for that hee was not a Priest) *if such an election might stand by Law, or lawfull fauour.* But the Pope, who meant to make his aduantage hereof, as well as the King, exacted of him for confirmation of the same election, fiue hundreth Markes of Church-reuenewes, to be passed ouer vnto the Earle of *Burgundies* Sonne a Childe; which makes * the Monke to breake forth into this bitter lamentation; *O Pope, the Chiefe of Fathers, why dost thou suffer thus the Christian world to be defiled? worthily, worthily, therefore art thou * driuen out of thine owne City and See, & like a runnagate and another* Cham, *art inforced to wander vp and downe. O God, thou God of iust reuenge, when wilt thou draw forth thy sword to imbrue it in the bloud of such oppressors?* Though in these vniuersall abuses, the Pope would neither redresse himselfe nor others, yet God raised vp a stout and learned Prelate, *Robert Grosteſt*, Bishop of *Lincolne*, who vndertooke to reforme the Monkes and Friars; but they (who knew *Rome* was from the beginning * *Asylum Latronum*) appealed to the Pope. Whereupon the aged Bishop going to his Holinesse, *tolde him that all offenders escaped, by his opening his bosome to such as brought him Bribes*; who snapping him vp with angry countenance and speech, sent him home with reproach. The Pope was at this time at *Lyons*, where not long after the Councel breaking vp, Cardinal *Hugo* made *a Sermon of farewel to the citizens; wherein, amongst other benefits which the Popes lying in their City had brought them, hee told them this was a * Principal, that whereas at their comming there were three or foure Whore-houses in Lyons, now at their departing they left but one, but indeede that reached from the East-Gate of the Citie to the West.* Whereby we see, *France* had some part of the *Popes Almes*, as well as *England.*

The King preacheth to the *Couent.*

* *Paris.*

* The *Pope* was now fled from *Rome*, for feare of the Emperour.

* *Linie.*

* Hee calls it a profitable Almesdeede. *Paris.*

(77) The King now wholly intented vpon encrease of treasure, neither gaue any rich presents according to the ancient Custome of *England*, nor robed himself in royall estate, but shortened yet more the allowances of his houshold & entertainments, without any regard to Majestie or rumour. And to spare his owne charge the rather, he inuites himselfe sometime to this man, and sometime to that, but no where contenting himselfe with his dyet and hospitage, vnlesse both he, his Queene, and Sonne *Edward*, yea and chiefe fauourites in Court, were presented with great and costly gifts, which they tooke not as of Courtesie, but as due. This was the vnhonourable face of the Kings estate at that time. But in the depth of his wants and rigour of his Parcimonie, hee could not shut vp himselfe against the suits and aduancement of his *Poictouines* and *Prouincois*, so that it was become a common murmur in *England*; *Our inheritance*

An. 1251. A strange description of the Kings parsimony, or pouertie.

is

is conuerted to aliens, and our houſes to ſtrangers. The matter ſeemed the more grieuous, for that their pride and violence were intollerable. About this time the clauſe *Non obſtante* (brought in firſt by the Pope) was taken vp in *England* by the King, in his grants and other writings, as * *Non obſtante priore mandato, Non obſtante* * *antiqua libertate, &c.* This our ancient Author cals an *odious and deteſtable clauſe:* and *Roger de Thurkeby* Iuſtitiar, fetching a deepe ſigh at the ſight thereof, cryed out both of the times and it, ſaying, * *it was a ſtreame deriued from that ſulphurious fountaine of the Clergie.*

* Notwithſtanding any former commandement.
* Or former priuiledge.

* *Mat. Paris.*

(78) Another of the Kings Iuſticiars, and a learned Knight, Sir *Henry de Bath*, (whoſe Lady, becauſe her ſelfe was well deſcended, filled him with pride,) was ſo confidently greedy, the better to ſatisfie her ambition, that in one circuit, he appropriated to himſelfe aboue two hundreth pound lands. Corruption in Iuſtice, *which muſt needes be ſuſpected to be there, where exceſſiue wealth is gotten by the Officers of Iuſtice)* is but a ſandie ground-worke of a vainely-hoped greatneſſe, and may well be reputed in the number of *crying ſinnes*; and this mooued a Knight, Sir *Philip de Arci*, to appeach him before the King, both for vnfaithfulneſſe in his office, and treaſon againſt the King. The King had no hold of himſelfe, after he was once throughly kindled. *Bath* knowes it, and therefore writes to his Wiues friends to come ſtrong in his defence, that the King ſhould not dare to call him to his triall; yet withall hee ſeekes all ſecret meanes how to appeaſe the King; who vnderſtanding of this combination, was the more enflamed. The Earle of *Cornwall* his brother could not appeaſe him; no, not though he knit vp his interceſſion with theſe minatorie words; *Wee muſt not forſake Gentlemen in their right, nor in preſeruing the peace of the tottering Kingdome.* In March there was holden a Parliament at *London*; there the king cauſed *Bath* to be ſharply proſecuted. Thither Sir *Henry Bath* repaires, ſtrongly attended with Knights and Gentlemen of his owne friends, and his Wiues, to daunt the edge of Iuſtice, which he deſeruedly feared. The accuſations were many, (for all men were called to ſay what they could aganſt him,) and among all, theſe two, moſt hainous: *That he troubled the whole Realme, and ſtirred all the Barons thereof againſt the King, ſo that a generall rebellion was to be feared,* (which one of his fellow-Iuſtitiars did openly teſtifie:) *That he had for reward diſcharged a conuicted Maleſactor out of priſon without puniſhment, in prejudice of the King, and to the perill of his aſſociate Iuſtitiars.* The King was ſo enraged herewith, that ſeeing no other way to puniſh him, being ſo ſtrongly backed, hee mounted into an higher place then before, and cries out, *Whoſoeuer kils* Henry de Bath *ſhall be quit of his death, and I heere doe acquit him*; and preſently departs. Neuertheleſſe, although he left behinde him many men, who would haue readily executed the Kings terrible doome; yet by the wiſdome of *Sir Iohn Manſell*, (one of the Kings priuate Counſellors) they were reſtrayned. His words are worthy to be remembred; *Gentlemen, and friends, it is not neceſſary for vs to put that preſently in execution which the King hath in his anger commaunded. It may be when his wrath is ouer-blowne, he will be ſorry he ſaid it. Moreouer, if any out-rage be done to* Bath, *loe heere are his friends, who will take all ſorts of reuenge.* Sir *Henry* eſcaping thus from ſo preſent a danger, found meanes vpon promiſe of * money and great mediation of friends, to obtaine his peace and ſafetie; for at this time, Iuſtice and all things grew faileable. The North-Eaſt part of *Wales* was committed to *Alan de Zouch*, who had it in Farme for eleuen hundreth Markes yeerely, whereas *Iohn de Gray* (whom he ſupplanted in the place) paid but fiue hundreth, *ſo* * *miſerable Wales was let out to ſuch as would giue moſt.*

Sir *Philip Darcy* appeacheth Sir *Henry Bath*, a bribing Iudge, of Treaſon.

The diſorderly, weake, and violent carriage of trials.

The King proſcribes Sir *Henry Bath.*

Sir *Iohn Manſel* ſtayes the Kings ſeruants from killing *Bath.*

* Two thouſand Markes.

* *Additam. ad Matth. Paris.*

An. 1252.

(79) *Alexander* the third, ſucceeding his Father in the Kingdome of *Scotland*, comming in Chriſtmas to *Yorke*, there eſpouſed, though very young, the *Lady Margaret*, daughter to King *Henry*. There were preſent the two Kings in perſon, with a moſt choiſe multitude of either Nation, the Engliſh being in number aboue a thouſand Knights, beſide greater States, as Prelates, Earles, and Barons, and of the Scots about ſixe hundreth Knights and Gentlemen, all of them well appoynted. There was alſo two Queenes, the Mother of the Bride, (who was to be Queene) and the Widow, or Queene *Dowager* of *Scotland*, who for that cauſe was returned out of *France*, attended vpon in royall manner with many Lords and Gentlemen of *France*. The Scots were lodged in one place of the City by themſelues. Vpon Chriſtmas day the King of *England* gaue the order of Knighthood to the King of *Scots*, and at the ſame time to twentie others richly apparrelled. Vpon the next day the princely couple were eſpouſed. Take a ſcantling of the cheere and multitude of gueſts by this. The Archbiſhop of *Yorke*, who was Prince (as it were) of the Northerne parts (and the common hoſt of al that moſt noble fellowſhip, which coſt him about foure thouſand markes) gaue toward that Feaſt ſixe hundreth fat Oxen, all which were ſpent in the firſt generall ſeruice; and whatſoeuer the *vaine* * *Stage-play of the World* might affoord, eyther for pompe or delight, was there all enjoyed. More worthy to be remembred, then that magnificent gluttonie, (the naturall vice of theſe our Nations) was the orderly and no childiſh action of the young *Bridegroome*, in reconciling *Philip Louell* (whom King *Henry* had lately fined and diſcourted for taking Bribes) to the King his Lord. King *Alexander* vndertaking the buſineſſe, and finding a fit time, preſents himſelfe to the king of *England* vpon his knees, holding vp his hands, neither would he riſe, though earneſtly requeſted, but with a geſture which ſeemed to draw teares of joy and loue from the eyes of ſuch as * ſate round about, proſecuting his intent, ſaith; *My Lord King, your Maieſtie knowes, that though I my ſelfe am a King, and through your goodneſſe honoured with the Girdle of Knight-hood, yet that I am withall both a Childe, as well in age as in Knowledge, and alſo an Orphan, my father being dead, and my mother leauing mee, though at your ſending for, ſhee is now pleaſed to be preſent, therefore from henceforth, and for euer after, I heere doe take you, both for Father and Mother, that you may ſupply both their wants, and with your paternall care, helpe and protect all mine inſufficiencies.* The King ſcarce able to refraine from tender teares, or to hold downe his throbbings, ſaid no more but onely this one word, *Willingly*. The princely Childe replied thereupon: *I will make experiment of that, and know it by proofe; ſeeing you haue graciouſly heard mee hitherto, in trying whether I ſhal reape the effect of my firſt ſuit.* Then he declared his requeſt, and had it; ſo that *Louell* was afterward Treaſurer.

Alexander the third King of *Scots*, eſpouſeth the Lady *Margaret.*

Six hundreth *Oxen* ſpent at one meale.
* *Mat. Paris.*

The young King of *Scots* a ſuiter to the King for bringing *Philip Louel* into fauour againe.

* *Circumſedentium.*

The moſt witty and princely inſinuations of the young King, to the King his father in Law.

Philip Louel reconciled to the King.

(80) The State and fidelity of the *Gaſcoignes* was ſo deſperately ſhaken and plunged by the reuenges which *Simon de Montfort* (to whom the King had giuen the gouernement of their Country for ſixe yeeres,) had exerciſed vpon them, for that they had accuſed him to the King of tyrannous and proditorious dealing, and affirmed, *that his name ought rather to be Sinon then Simon*, that but for the vent of their Wines, (in which reſpect their ſubjection to *England* was very beneficiall to their Common-weale) it was thought they would generally haue reuolted. But the King though ready thus to leeſe *Gaſcoigne*, would yet needes hope to obtaine *Normandie*, and his other Lands in *France* without blowes. The King of *France* (whoſe conſcience was wonderfully tender and ſincere) had indeed written out of *Paleſtine* to that purpoſe, as thinking King *Henries* title was better then his owne: but the *French*, among whom their Kings misfortunes in the loſſe of *Damiata* in *Ægypt*, which was wholly * aſcribed *to the Popes auarice, who for money releaſed thoſe who*

Simon Earle of *Leiceſter* rather to be called *Simon*, as the *Gaſcoignes* ſaid.

* *Per Papæ auaritiam totũ euenit infortunium. Paris.*

ſhould haue ayded him,) had brought him into leſſe regard then his excellent vertues merited, did vniuerſally and conſtantly refuſe, adding, *that before the King of England ſhould haue any more Land among them, hee muſt paſſe through a thouſand ſharpe Lances, and a thouſand bloudie Swords when the Lances were burſt.* On the other ſide, the King of *England* was but in little credite with his people: for, whereas (by an agreement betweene the Pope and him,) the *Tenths* of the Clergie through *England* during three yeeres ſhould haue beene receyued toward his charges in his pretented journey to the Holy-land, yet in a generall Aſſembly at *Weſtminſter*, very few were drawne to giue their names to that ſeruice, notwithſtanding that two Biſhops and the Abbot of *Weſtminſter* laboured in their Sermons all they could to ſtirre the people to that martiall Pilgrimage, and though the King himſelfe in all their view tooke a moſt ſolemne Oath, that within three yeere he would ſet forward; the onely reaſon of their vnwillingneſſe growing vpon ſuſpition, *that he onely ſought* (as the Pope had giuen him example) *to draw by this colour the treaſure of the Realme into his hands.* This their diffidence of ſincerity in him, made him the rather incline to foſter and fauour ſtrangers, and that with a kinde of peruicacie, though himſelfe by manifold neglects of his word, had worthily bred that diffidence.

The Kings hope to recouer *Normandie* fruſtrated.

(81) The King could more hardly finde followers in ſuch an enterprize, for that his people had no conceit of his valour, but ſaid: *What reaſon encourageth him, who was neuer trayned vp in Martiall diſcipline, nor hath managed an Horſe, nor drawne a Sword, nor charged a ſtaffe, nor ſhooke a Target; to hope for a triumph ouer the Sarazens, againſt whom the Cheualrie of France hath miſcarried? or wherefore dreames he of recouery of more Land, who could not keepe that which he had in forraigne parts? concluding, that he was a man onely borne to draine their purſes, to emptie his owne, and to multiply debts.* This was the opinion of men, and behinde his backe; but not onely of men, for *Iſabel* Counteſſe of *Arundel*, Widow of *Henry* Earle of *Arundel*, a young Ladie, receiuing the repulſe at the Kings hands in a matter which ſhe alledged to be hers in equity, durſt ſay thus to his face: *O my Lord King; why doe you turne away from juſtice? wee cannot now obtaine that which is right in your Court; you are placed as a meane betweene God and vs, but you neyther gouerne vs, nor your ſelfe, neither dread you to vex the Church diuerſly, as it hath not onely felt in preſent, but often heretofore. Moreouer you doubt not manifoldly to afflict the Nobles of the Kingdome.* The King fired at ſo free a ſpeech, with a ſcornefull and angry countenance, anſwered with a loud voyce; *O my Ladie Counteſſe, What? haue the Lords of England, becauſe you haue tongue at will, made a Charter, and hyred you to be their Orator and Aduocate?* whereunto the Counteſſe replyed: *Not ſo my Lord, for they haue made to mee no Charter, but that Charter which your Father made, and which your ſelfe confirmed, ſwearing to keepe the ſame inuiolably and conſtantly, and often extorting money, vpon promiſe that the Liberties therein contained ſhould be faithfully obſerued, you haue not kept, but without regard to honor or conſcience, broken. Therefore are you found to be a maniſeſt violater of your faith and oath. For where are the Liberties of England ſo often fairely engroſt in writing? ſo often granted? ſo often bought? I therefore though a woman, and all the naturall loyall people of the Land, appeale againſt you to the Tribunall of the feareſull Iudge, and Heauen and Earth ſhall beare vs witneſſe, that we are vſed vniuſtly, & God the Lord of reuenges right vs.* The King abaſhed at theſe words, asked her, *if ſhe did not looke to obtaine her ſuite vpon fauour, in regard ſhe was his Kinſwoman?* whereunto ſhee anſwered: *That ſeeing hee had denyed that which the Law gaue, how could ſhe hope to obtaine her ſuite by fauour? Therefore* (ſaid ſhe) *I doe appeale to the preſence of Chriſt, againſt thoſe alſo your Councellors, who bewitch and dull your iudgement, and draw you out of the path of truth, gaping onely after their owne commodity.* But the King (ſaith *Paris*) remained incorrigible, and the Lady loſt both her charges, hopes, and trauell.

The common opinion of the Kings deſigne for the Holy-Land.

A perillous bold *Dialogue* between the Counteſſe of *Arundel*, and the *King*.

(82) Thus harſh were the former yeeres to the King and Kingdome: let vs ſee what more gentle or rougher accidents riſe vnto vs in the next. But it then at the firſt little better appeares; for the King hauing bought out the time which *Simon de Montfort* had in the gouernment of *Gaſcoigne* (which now hee giues to Prince *Edward*) was truely aduertiſed, that *Guaſto de Biard* was turned *Spaniſh*, and laboured by all the meanes he could to plucke that part from the *Engliſh* obedience. *Alfonſe* King of *Spaine*, claymed the ſame by vertue of a Charter made thereof by *Henry* the ſecond, confirmed by *Richard* and *Iohn* Kings of *England*. *Simon* Earle of *Leiceſter* thus diſplaced, to let the World ſee that he would not for any preferment incurre the ſuſpition of diſloyalty, refuſed moſt honourable offers, which, (after the death of Lady *Blanch*, Queene *Dowager*, and Rectrix of *France*,) the *French Nobility* made him, if he would with his counſell and Force helpe to ſuſtaine that Monarchie, while *Lewis* their King was abſent. In the meane time the King of *England* (all olde matters being buried in obliuion, vpon hope of future amendment) for aduauncement of his martiall Pilgrimage, had large aydes granted him in Parliament; but vpon condition that hee ſhould now at laſt, once for all, ſubmit himſelfe to gouerne by a Law, not at his pleaſure, confirming the Charters of Liberties, againſt the breakers whereof a moſt ſolemne curſe was pronounced by the Kings aſſent. The Archbiſhop, Biſhop, and the reſt of the Prelates pontifically apparelled, pronounced that curſe with Tapers burning, which when they had throwne away vpon the pauement, where they lay extinguiſhed and ſmoaking, the King (hauing layde his hand on his breaſt all the while,) ſware to keepe all Liberties vpon paine of that execratory ſentence; *as hee was a Man, a Chriſtian, a Knight, and a King annoynted and crowned.* The buſineſſes of *Gaſcoigne* ſoone after called him to a neerer warre, whether vpon his promiſe made to the *Gaſcoignes*, he ſet ſaile, leauing his ſonne Prince *Edward*, and his Kingdome to the gouernment of his Brother, the Earle of *Cornwall*, and the Queene his Wife: his arriuall there giuing a light and ſtay to all the affaires thereof. Such Holds as held againſt him, he reduced to obedience, but with too faultie a Clemencie, ſparing moſt open Traytors, whereas if an Engliſh-man had offended, he was ſure to ſmart for it, and that rather more then leſſe.

An.D.1253. *Ad. Reg. 37.*

The King of *Spaine* claimes *Gaſcoigne*.

Simon, Earle of *Leiceſter*, refuſeth high honour in *France* to auoide the ſuſpition of diſloyaltie to *England*.

Magna Charta confirmed, helpes the king to mony.

The Kings Oath to obſerue that confirmation.

(83) His feare now was, leſt the *Gaſcoigns* ſhould draw in the *Spaniards*, and relinquiſh his ſoueraigntie. To preuent this, he very prudently and ſeaſonably ſent Ambaſſadours to *Alfonſe* King of *Spaine* and *Caſtile*, to deſire that the Ladie *Eleanor* his Siſter, might be giuen in marriage to Prince *Edward*. The motion was well approoued, and beſides that, they brought Letters Patents from the King of *Spaine*, in which, among all other Clauſes it was contained, that the *King of Spaine did quit his claime and whole right, which by vertue of any Grants from* Henry, Richard, *and* Iohn, *Kings of England, he had, or ought to haue.* Hereupon hee ſends both for his Sonne, (whom the King of *Spaine* deſired might be conuayed to him, onely with a noble intent to ſee and doe him honour) and for his Wife the Queene. Among other Acts of ſinceritie and loue, *Alfonſe* ſent to the King of *England* good aduiſe: that, *after the example of good Kings & Princes, he ſhould be a Lambe toward his ſubiects, and Seruitors, and a Lion to Aliens and Rebels.* *Simon* Earle of *Leiceſter* with a gallant Troupe of Souldiers offered his ſeruice to the King, who admiring the Earles charity, receiued him with all joy poſſible: at which reconciliation, the

The King requeſteth the King of *Spaines* Siſter to be giuen for Wife to his Sonne *Edward*.

The King of *Spaine* quitteth his claime to *Gaſcoigne*.

The King of *Spaines* aduice to the King of *England*.

the *Gascoignes* * who feared him like lightning, were so appalled, that they came * droppingly in, and became good Subiects. That valorous Earle was thereunto mooued by that great, free, and noble Prelate, *Robert Grosted*, called *the* * *Maull of the Romans*, as being a great curbe in those dayes of the Popes vngodly courses towards his State of *England*; against which he writ a * famous letter to his Holinesse, learnedly prouing, *that his detestable, abhominable, soule-murdering actions, did euince him to be an Hereticke, worthy of death, to be Antichrist, and to sit in the Chaire of pestilence, as next to Lucifer himselfe, and that he had no power to excommunicate such as resisted those his actions.* With which Catholike letter, *the Pope was besides himselfe for rage, swearing by Saint Peter and Saint Paul, that he could finde in his heart to make that doting Prelate a mirrour of confusion to all the world for his sawcinesse.* But some wiser Cardinals *aduised him from any sharper* course against him, telling the *Pope that all was true he said of their Courts abuses; that hee was holier then any of themselues, and one who had no Peere amongst all other Prelates for sanctity or learning; and therefore it were best to hush the matter, for feare of stirring coales, especially sith it was known, that at length there would be a departure from their Church.* This noble Prelate dyed this very yeare, with opinion of a Saint in despite of the Pope, (*who would haue had his bones throwne out of the Church*) leauing this * *Prophetical farewell at his very last gaspe*; that the *Church would neuer be set free from such her Egyptian seruitude, but by the dint of bloudy sword.*

* *Math. Paris.*
* *Stillatim. ibid.*
* *Romanorum malleus & contemptor. Paris.*
* This letter is *viribatim in Paris.*
* *Mat. Paris.*

Ann. 1254. Prince *Edward* married the King of *Spaines* sister.

(84) Soone after the Queenes arriuing in *Gascoigne*, when all things were rightly prepared, Prince *Edward* was thence sent into *Spaine*, where, at the City of *Burgos* hee married the Lady *Eleanor*, sister to the King, with great honour, hauing first receiued Knight-hood at his hand; which done, hee returnes with his Bride to *Burdeaux*, from whence they all together came safe through *Fraunce* into *England*. What treasure this noble young Princesse brought in portion to her Husband, wee cannot say; but the King forthwith gaue his Sonne *Gascoigne*, *Ireland*, *Wales*, *Bristow*, *Stanford*, and *Grantham*. He had drawne vpon himselfe a debt, in this and other his actions, of aboue three hundred thousand Markes; the King of *Fraunce* being not long before returned from the Holy-Land, gaue them both safe-conduct in their passage, and did to him, and his whole noble company all the honour which the wit of man, or the most goodly Kingdome of *Fraunce* could afforde. There were at *Paris* in this entertainment *Beatrix* the Countesse of *Prouince*, and foure Queenes her Daughters. The King of *England* had in his owne Housholl traine, a thousand choyce and excellent horse, beside Carriages, Sumpters, and Coursers. Hee was lodged in the Pallace of the olde Temple, being an house almost capable of an Armie, where the next morning he commanded that all sorts of poore should bee relieued with his charity and Almes. The magnifence of the great Feast of the Kings, at the King of *Englands* charge, shall be expressed in our Authors owne words, who is bold to affirme, that *Assuerus*, *Arthur*, *Charles* the Great, had neuer any such. After dinner, the King sent to the *French* Lords, and men of Armes, Plate, Buckles of Gold, and other royall presents. The King of *England* sate at the Table on the right hand of the *French* King, and the King of *Nauarre* on the left. But the *French* King contended much in curtesie to the contrary, till King *Henry* obstinately refused saying, *the King of France was his Lord, and should be, for there was reason*, meaning, because hee held his Lands in *France* of him. To whom the most iust and gratious King *Lewis* with a soft voice answered; *Would to God euery one had his right without offence*, meaning such other lands as the *English* Crowne had right vnto. At another time he gaue the reason why the Peeres of *France* would not consent to the restitution of *Normandy*, for *that the Normans would neuer learne to keepe their Borders in quiet.* The *English* King did to himselfe, and to the *English* name great honour, in his whole behauiour and carriage, which was full of *Charity* towards the poore (a vertue for which in those dayes Kings chiefly sought to be commended) of *Maiestie*, *Magnificence*, and all sorts of royall liberality and gentlenesse. The King and Court of *France* brought him an whole dayes iourney vpon the way. Hee staid a while at *Boloigne* for a winde, but returned safe, hauing peaceably measured a way through *France*, out of *Gascoigne*, which his martiall Nephewes, Kings of *England*, trode afterward in another manner, drawing lines of bloud and fire ouer all *Fraunce*, the most pleasant, rich, and spacious Realme of Christendome.

The estate which the King gaue him in present.

The Kings debt.

The King of *England* most honorably entertained in *France*.

(85) *Eleanor* Prince *Edwards* wife landed at *Douer* in great State. On the other side, *Edmund* the Kings second sonne, by a *Ring*, which the Pope sent (so to ingage King *Henry* in his warres against *Manfredus*; the Sonne of the late Emperour *Frederick*) was solemnly inuested in the Kingdome of *Sicilie*. The Ambassadour was a Bishop, who forthwith departed, for indeed his errand was in shew glorious, but in truth both delusory and vnprofitable, aswell because the King had already vnreasonably interessed himselfe in this quarrell, (the Pope hauing changed his vowe against the Turkes, into this against Christians,) as also, for that the *Roman Armie* which (by the Popes fetches) warred most at his charge; was (notwithstanding the Popes blessings) vtterly ouerthrowne, before this ayrie honour could be setled in the Lord *Edmund*, whom yet his Father (whose credulity the Pope for his owne ends had shamefully inueigled, by drawing him into obligations of * two hundreth and fifty thousand pounds) openly tearmed and vsed as the *King of Sicilie*, (for which also hee vsed this annexed Seale) highly pleasing himselfe in the variety of a wastfull Title, to his owne, and *his whole Kingdomes* * *extreame impouerishment.*

An. 1255. *Edmund* the kings second Sonne King of *Sicilia*.

* *Paris.*

* *In totius regni exterminium irrestaurabile. Paris.*

Edmund King of *Sicil.*

An. D. 1256. *Ann. Reg. 40.*

(86) The Calamities of the Kingdome in these exhaustings, was the more lamentable, because they were countenanced by the King, who should haue repelled them. But the Pope hauing no so easie way to be supplied as by the King, nor the King any but by the People, both Pope and King were well accorded to grinde the people each for the others vses; the King to satisfie the Popes Auarice; the Pope to aduance the Kings Ambition. The gayning of the Kingdome of *Sicilie* must bee the colour, for which the King was resolued to goe in person; and therefore *Rustandus* (the Popes Agent) sent to gather the Tenth of all *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, for the Popes vse and the Kings, indifferently, had called

called a great Councell the former yeare, and adiourned it * till this; where hee alſo required all the Prelates to binde themſelues to the Popes Marchants, as hauing receiued of them a great ſumme of money, which was imployed to the vſe of their Churches. At which guilefull and vntrue deuiſe, the Prelates replyed they would rather dye then ſuffer ſuch oppreſſion, and that they held it a manifeſter Martyrdome to dye in ſuch a cauſe, then was the death of *Thomas Becket*. The Nobles alſo peremptorily refuſed either to recouer *Sicilie*, or to beare the charge thereof, being both impoſſible; the one for the ſtrength of *Manfredus*, the other for the preſent pouerty of *England*. And indeed ſoone after the Pope and *Manfrede* were made friends, and ſo King *Henry* and King *Edmund* beguiled, one of his great expenſes, the other of his high hopes. The King was herewith wakened out of a ſweet dreame wherein till then he continued, feeding his minde with the hope to leaue to either of his Sonnes a Kingdome; though neither ſo he reſted quiet till hee had almoſt throwne the Crowne into the gulphes of irrecouerable debts and vſury. The young King of *Scots* and his Queene, about this time came into *England* to viſite their beſt friends, the King and Queene of this Kingdome, which lay wholly open to their honour and vſes. The King, to let his Sonne in law ſee how welcome hee was, did beſtowe vpon him the Earledome of *Huntingdon*; They, and their Queenes, with almoſt all the great Lords and Ladies of *England* met at *Woodſtocke* by *Oxford*, from whence they came to *London*. The King was vnwilling to deny his Sonne in law and daughter any thing, for at their earneſt ſuite he pardoned Sir *William de Lile* Knight, Sheriffe of *Northamptonſhire*, who was prooued to haue practiſed by moſt fowle ſuborned treacherie to ſpoile another Gentleman of his eſtate: for which the ſaid *Lile* had dyed a ſhamefull, but a worthy, death, by drawing and hanging, had not his Wiues teares and prayers made the King and Queene of *Scots* their interceſſors. Thus the young Princes returned into *Scotland*, worthily well contented.

(87) The King, much the freſher to vndergoe ſerious affaires, by reaſon of the late comfort hee had in his Childe the Queene of *Scots*, beſtirres himſelfe, and comes in perſon into the *Exchequer* among the Barons thereof, when the Court was ſet, and made ſharpe orders againſt all Sheriffes and Bayliues of Townes incorporate, who did not yearely appeare at the Exchequer, to pay ſuch money of the Kings as was come to their hands. At the ſame time all the Sheriffes of *England* were amerced, becauſe they had not diſtreined all thoſe which had ſuch eſtates in Land, as the law limiteth, to take the order of Knighthood, or pay their fines. Which of the Lords could ſay now, that the King would not prooue a good Husband? Howbeit the caſe of the people ſeemed nothing relieued, for (ſaith *Paris*) there were ſo many petty Tyrants, by the negligence or conniuence of one, that the auncient State of *England*, when it had many Kings, ſeemed to be brought in againe.

(88) Occaſions of expence, like the heads of Hydra, daily encreaſed. The Welſh (oppreſt by *Geoffrey de Langley*, an officer vpon the Marches) roſe in armes, and miniſtred one of thoſe occaſions, but that Prince *Edward*, to whom his Father had giuen *Wales*, was left therein to himſelfe, for his Father could ſpare no money. The Prince therefore borrowes ſome thouſands of Markes of his Vncle *Richard*, and with his owne and them wageth Souldiers; his ſeruants behaued themſelues moſt violently euery where, taking without paiment, or paying with blowes; and it was the humour alſo of their young Maſter, who had ſtore of martiall and ſtirring fire in his boſome. The Welſh therefore would not for any perſwaſions be drawne to lay downe weapons, but hauing about ten thouſand of their countrey horſemen, and many more on foot, tooke a ſolemne Oath, *that they would ſtand together for their libertie and ancient lawes, holding it better to die with honour, then to liue a wretched life in ſhame and ſeruitude*. And indeed they did great things vnder Prince *Lewelyn ap Gruffith*, by whoſe meanes they valiantly recouered all the Inland-countrey of *North-Wales*, with other places; and in one fight ſlew aboue two thouſand Engliſhmen, and draue the reſt out of the field. They alſo ſpoyled the land, to the very * gates of *Cheſter*. This they had the greater oportunity to doe, for that the King, while he built kingdomes in the Clowds, and plunged himſelfe into the Abyſſes of Vſury, ſuffered ſome few, his Sonne, his Brother, the Earle of *Glouceſter*, and his halfe-brothers, with their Families, to trample right and reaſon vnderfoot, and with his hatred to enrich themſelues, his owne meanes daily conſuming, and mens mindes more and more alienated from him, as men that deſpaired of redreſſe and iuſtice. The Welſh alſo perſiſting in their enterpriſe, made Prince *Edward* retire in a battaile, and he complaining to his Father, had no other comfort but this: *What is that to mee? the land is thine of my gift. Put forth thy ſtrengths at firſt, and get honour in thy youth, that from thenceforth thy enemies may ſtand in feare of thee. As for me, I haue ſomewhat elſe to doe.*

(89) The greateſt worldly forreine honour that (ſince *Conſtantine*) euer fell vpon any *Engliſh* ſubiect, was at this time, in regard both of his birth and riches, deriued and tendred to *Richard* Earle of *Cornewall*, brother to the King, to whom was ſent an honourable Ambaſſage out of *Germanie*, who, in humble manner declared, that the Princes of the ſacred *Roman* Empire had elected him King of *Romans*, beſeeching him to accept of that their common choiſe. In teſtimony whereof the Archbiſhop of *Collein*, high Chancellor of the Empire, Prince Elector, and other great Lords of *Almaine*, had ſent their writings vnder ſeale, affirming, *That neuer was any one with ſo generall conſent and vniuerſall good liking elected to that place as he, his name carrying it clearely without any contradiction among them.* Vpon receipt of this moſt honourable inuitation and offer, there was much debatement in the Chappell, where they ſate vpon the Earles behalfe, whether he ſhould accept thereof, or no; but while all of them ſtood in doubt, the King puts in a deciding voyce, ſaying: *Leaſt my Brother be thought faint-hearted, my opinion and requeſt is, that hee would not refuſe to accept this honour, which God and man haue tendred vnto him.* This made the ſquadron of the negatiues to giue way, & at leaſt-wiſe to become Neutrals, till all obiections were anſwered, as they were all of them by one or other, concluding in their ſpeeches to the Earle; *That hee ſhould bee warned, and withall ſtirred vp to the ſeruice of God, in acceptance of this higheſt place, by the example of Robert Curthoſe Duke of Normandy (eldeſt Son of William the firſt, King of England) to whom the Kingdome of Ieruſalem, for the intent to rule the inheritance of Chriſt, was offred; which hee refuſing to accept, did afterward feele the grieuous wrath of God, and neuer had happy daies after.* To theſe and many other reaſons, the king, his half-brothers, & ſpecially the Elect B. of *Wincheſter* encouraged him, with one voyce, affirming, *that this honour would exalt the Engliſh name for euer*: The Earle therefore putting on the man, with a free and cheerfull voyce, anſwered: *And I relying vpon the goodneſſe of Almighty God, though I am inſufficient, & vnworthy, to auoide the note of faintneſſe, doe thankefully accept this burthen and honour, which Heauen (I hope) hath put into my hands.* And then turning himſelfe to the Biſhops who were preſent, among which *Richard* Biſhop of *Bangor* (from whoſe mouth our * Author wrote thoſe things) was one, he concluded and ſaid: *Let me before I depart out of this Chappell die, and ſodainly be burnt with the fire of Hell, if I doe accept thereof either for ambition, or auarice; but only to reſtore the Empire (which God grant) to a better eſtate,*

* *Ad feſtum S. Hilary. Paris.*

* *Tpod. Neuſt.*

The high and noble reſolution of the Welſh.

An. D. 1257.

The Earle accepts the election.

* *Mat. Paris*, who had alſo many hiſtoricall dictates from the King himſelfe, *pag.* 915. *edit.* 1606.

His moſt noble proteſtation.

Alexander King of *Scots* and his Queene highly entertained in *England*.

Practiſe to compaſſe anothers eſtate wickedly, iudged worthy of death.

The King comes in perſon to the Court of Exchequer, and makes orders there.

Prince *Edward* hauing no helpe of the King for his Welſh wars borrowes of his Vncle *Richard*.

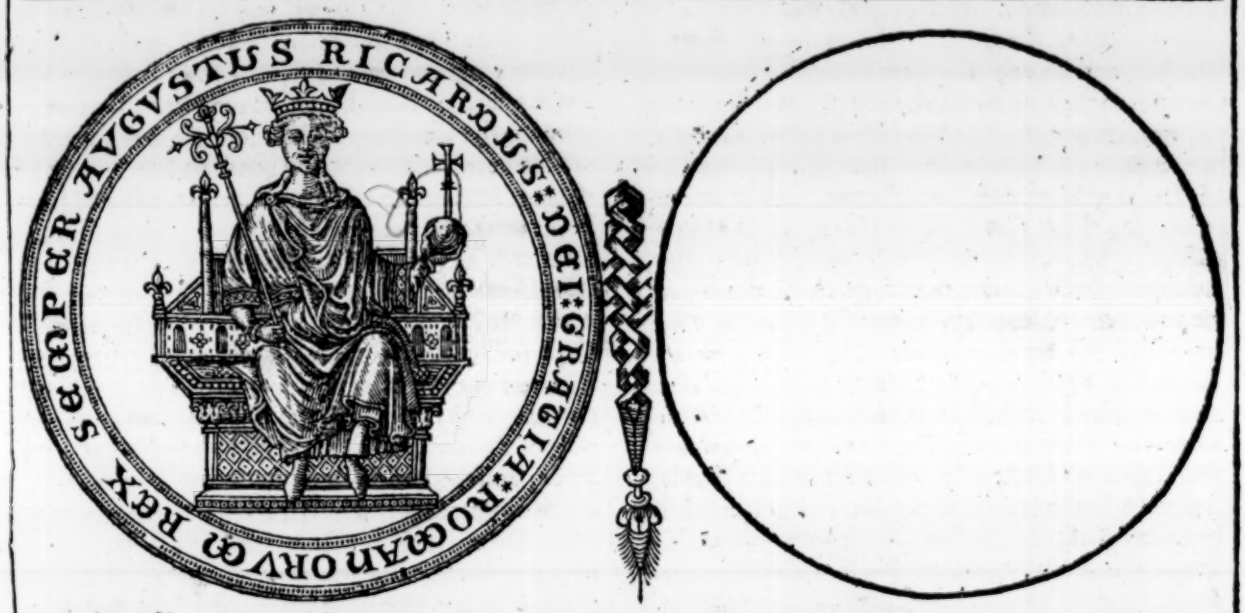
eſtate, and to gouerne them, who haue willingly elected me for their Lord, in modeſt, iuſt and honorable manner. Theſe words exhaled ioyfull teares from many of the hearers, and the Ambaſſadors returned to deliuer the newes of this acceptance, who from thenceforth was King of *Romans*, that is, Emperour Elect, which title is vſed till they receiue the Crowne imperiall; though to all other purpoſes hee is Emperour, ſo that king of *Romans* ſeemes to anſwer to the Title of *Cæſar*, which vnder the ancient *Roman* Emperours was giuen to the heire apparant of the Empire, or Coadiutors. After the *German* Ambaſſadors were gone, the King permitteth his Brother to ſend ſome ouer to ſound the truth of the Electors and Peoples affections, which (in regard the *Engliſh* were originally *Germans*, and by late affinity incorporated, and for that *Engliſh* (ſaith *Paris*) was in a ſort agreeable to the *Almaine* tongue) they found entire, and with that certitude returne. The King of *England* hereby ſeemed to haue his deſignes for recouery of *Normandy*, greatly ſtrengthned, the *Almaines* and *French* hardly brooking one the other; but howſoeuer, ſure it is that his Brother the new King, had occaſion to ſpend the golden Oyle, which was ſo long in gathering, to maintaine the light of this Imperiall lampe; and without queſtion hee might bee liberall, for hee was reputed to poſſeſſe ſo much ready coyne, as would euery day for tenne yeares afforde him an hundreth Markes vpon the maine ſtocke, without reckoning his rents and reuenues in *Germany*, and the Engliſh dominions. The Earle * was ſoone after crowned King of the *Romans* at *Aquiſgraue*, by *Conrade* Archbiſhop of *Collein*, with great pompe and ſolemnity.

The King of *Romans*, what and who.

The Engliſh tongue in the dayes of *Mathew Paris* agreeable to the Dutch.

The huge ſums of ready money which *Richard* King of *Romans* had of his owne at his Election.

* 6. *Cal. Iun. die Aſcenſionis.*



(90) In the meane time, while his brothers royall preparations were in hand, the King being for a weekes ſpace at the Abbey of S. *Albans*, certaine maſters of *Oxford* brought a great complaint againſt the Biſhop of *Lincolne*, for ſome encroachments vpon the * auncient liberties of that *Vniuerſitie*, to whom the King was gratious, and aſſigned a day; and *Mathew Paris*, whom the King in honor of his learned paines, admitted euery day to his Table, and Chamber, ſaid to him vpon this Complaint; * *My Liege, for Gods loue haue a care of the ſhaken State of the Church. The Vniuerſity of Paris (the Nurſe, and mother of ſo many holy Prelates) is not a little diſquieted. If at the ſame time the Vniuerſity of Oxford ſhould bee diſturbed, which is the ſecond Schoole of the Church, yea, the fundamentall baſe thereof, it is greatly to bee feared, leaſt the whole Church doe fall to ruine.* Whereunto the King made anſwere, *God forbid that ſhould happen at all, but chiefly in his dayes.* Which the Parliament then at hand, he accordingly prouided for, to their contentation. The memory of the King ſeemes by this to haue beene excellent, for beſide that he recounted to *Paris* all the Kings of *England* which had beeene Canonized Saints, all the Princes Electors, and great Princes of *Germany* and *Erance*, hee called to minde the names of about two hundreth and fifty Baronies in *England*.

* *Contra antiqua ſtatuta & libertates. Paris.*

* *Mat. Paris. in hiſt. maior.*

The Vniuerſity of *Oxford* the ſecond Schoole of the Church next *Paris*, protected by the King.

(91) At this Parliament, (which was exceeding great) holden at *London*, the King in ſight and view of all the people, brings forth his younger Sonne *Edmund*, attired like an *Italian* of *Apulia*, (which Country is a member of the Kingdome of *Sicilia*) and vſed this ſpeech: *Behold here good people, my Son Edmund, whom God of his gracious goodneſſe hath called to the excellency of kingly dignity; how comely and wel-worthy he is of all your fauours, & how cruell and tyrannicall they are, who at this pinch, would deny him effectuall and timely helpe, both with aduice & money?* The ſum of all was to draw a vaſt contribution from the Clergy for atchieuement of this ſhadow (it proued no better) into his Coffers. Neuertheleſſe he obtained a grant of aboue fiftie thouſand Markes, vpon couenant that the liberties of the Realme ſhould be really and finally once for euer eſtabliſhed: which was done. There were preſent in this Parliament ſix Archbiſhops, *Canterbury*, *Yorke*, *Dublin*, *Collein*, *Meſſana* in *Sicilia*, and *Tarentum* in *Apulia*. The politike *Germans* knew what they did in chooſing *Richard* their King, for they ſaw a cloud of gold and ſiluer would diſſolue it ſelfe into ſhowres among them at his arriuall; and all elections of ſtrangers turne to their profit, becauſe none is choſen that relies wholly vpon the rents of the Empire.

The King commends the cauſe of his Sonne *Edmund* for the kingdome of *Sicilia*.

Note that by this it appeares *Edmund* was not deformed as *Hen. 4.* did afterward alleadge.

(92) It was a worthy care in this King, that when by the prouiſion of his Brother *Richard* King of *Romans*, there arriued in the Riuer of *Thames* fifty ſaile of *German* Ships, laden with Corne, to relieue the great dearth, which then raigned through the Land, he cauſed proclamation to be made, *That no Citizen of London ſhould buy any of that Corne to ſtore vp, which they were wont to doe, to the intent they might ſell it the dearer afterward, to ſuch as wanted.* But no warning, prayers, aduiſes, nor ſenſe of wants were able to make him frugall of his expenſe; whereby hee was miſerably ſtreightned, neither would the Laity in Parliament contribute any thing, but (hammering ſome great attempts in their thoughts) in plaine words concluded, *That they neither would, nor could any longer endure ſuch (they called them) extorſions.* Moreouer, they there vttered many grieuances, and *Simon* Earle of *Leiceſter* complained of the diſhonor and iniury done him by *William de Valence*, calling him *Traitor*; ſo that againſt the Seſſion to be holden vpon prorogation, hee, the Earle of *Glouceſter*, and Marſhall, confederated themſelues and (pretending the feare of ſtrangers, the Kings fauorites,) determined to come ſtrong to *Oxford* at Saint *Barnabas* day. They alſo ſent Meſſengers to the King of *Fraunce*, praying at leaſt ſo much aſſiſtance, as that he would not hinder the good purpoſe which they held of ordaining

An. D. 1258. *Ann. Reg. 42.*

The practiſe of *Londoners* to engroſſe Corne forbidden by the King.

The Barons combine.

ordaining and ſetling the troubled eſtate of *England*. They had alſo taken order to watch the * Ports againſt ſtrangers. Thus they prepared to abate (as it ſeemed) or baniſh the loftineſſe and inſolency of the *Poictouines* and of other Forreiners, by whom the King was powerfully led, for they deſpaired of redreſſe at his hands, who like another *Proteus* (as *Paris* ſaith) tooke all ſhapes vpon him to ſerue his turnes, and then ſlipt out at his pleaſure, no promiſes, or ties, being ſtrong enough to hold him. Theſe were the beginnings of bloudy euils, and the ſeede-ſparkes of thoſe factious fires which afterward brake forth, from the ſight and ſenſe whereof, many thouſands were taken by death, whoſe mortall ſtroake of peſtilence raged ouer *England*, ſpecially among the poore, through ſcarcity of food.

* *Matth. Paris. pag. 940.*

(93) When the time appointed for the Parliament at *Oxford* was come, the ſeditious Earles and Barons (with whom *ſundry *Biſhops had taken Counſell againſt the King, the Lords annointed*) repaired thither, and ſternely propounded ſundry trayterous Articles to the king, to which they required his aſſent. The chiefe poynts were, *That the King would vnfainedly keepe and obſerue the Charter of liberties, which he had ſo often granted, and ſworne to maintaine inviolable; That ſuch a one ſhould bee in the place of Chiefe Iuſtitiar, who would iudge according to right, without reſpect to poore, or rich, &c.* Then they renewed their confederacy, ſolemnely ſwearing, *That neither for life, nor death, nor loue, nor hate, they would be drawne to relent in their purpoſe, till they had cleared England (in which themſelues and their fore-fathers were borne) from vpſtarts and aliens, and had procured laudable Statutes.* Thoſe turbulent Nobles had yet a further plot then all this; which was firſt broached (ſaith *Mat: Weſtminſter*) by the diſloyall Biſhops, which was, *that 24. perſons ſhould there be choſen, to haue the whole adminiſtration of the King and State, and yearely appointment of all great Officers, reſeruing only to the king the* *higheſt place at meetings, and ſalutations of honour in publike places.* And becauſe they would not be croſſed in their purpoſes, they *came exquiſitely armed & appointed, that ſo the King & his Aliens ſhould be enforced, if they would not willingly aſſent.* To all theſe *their ordinations, the King and Prince Edward, was enforced to ſweare, for feare of perpetuall impriſonment, the traiterous Lords hauing, by an Edict, threatned death to all that reſiſted.* Whereupon all the Peeres and Prelates tooke their Corporall Oath *to be faithfull in this their infidelity, and made all who would abide in the Kingdome, to ſweare they would ſtand to the tryall of their Peeres:* the Archbiſhops *and Biſhops ſolemnely accurſing all that ſhould rebell againſt it.* The * Monks themſelues deteſting this impudent treaſon, aske, *with what forehead, eſpecially Prelates, durſt thus impaire the kingly Maieſty, expreſly againſt their ſworne fidelity to him?* This coniuration they ſo proſecuted, that when *William de Valence* the Kings halfe-brother, denied with Oaths to render vp any Caſtle which was giuen him, the Earle of *Leiceſter*, and the reſt of the Barons anſwered, *they would either haue his Caſtles or his head.* This violent proceeding ſo terrified the *Poictouines*, that ſodainly they left *Oxford*, and ſhortly fled into *France*, where alſo the Barons had made them odious. *Hugh Bigod*, brother to the Earle Marſhall, was made chiefe Iuſtitiar. The people, ſeemed wholly theirs, which made the Barons ſo rough and peremptory in all their conferences, that when the Lord *Henry*, ſonne to the King of *Almain*, refuſed to combine or take their oath, without his Fathers conſent, they roundly bad him know, *That if his Father himſelfe would not hold with the Baronage of England, he ſhould not haue a furrow of earth among them.* And leaſt any thing which might tend to their ſecurity ſhould ſeem to be omitted, they vſing the kings name, commanded *London* to ſtand vpon her guard, by keeping their Citie gates carefully ſhut, and by maintaining ſtrong watches night by night, vpon pretence of danger to the Realme through the practiſes of ſtrangers; and after they diſpatched thither certaine fit Agents, who in the Guilde-hall made knowne their commiſſion, which was directly to vnderſtand, *Whether they would immutably adhere to the Barons and obey their conſtitutions, by manfully aiding and effectually ſupplying them in the common cauſe.* Whereunto the Citizens condeſcended, binding themſelues thereunto vnder the publike ſeale of *London*.

* *Pontifices, ne dicam Phariſæi, &c. Math. Weſt.*

The Barons take an oath among themſelues.

Math. Weſtminſt.

* *Primos accubitus in cœnis, &c. Math. Weſt. Ibidem.*

The prouiſions of *Oxford*.

* *Mat. Weſt. Math. Paris.*

The City of *London* ioynes with the Barons to redreſſe the kingdome.

(94) The Barons did as yet forbeare to declare, what thoſe reformatorie Prouiſions ſhould bee, becauſe the Earle of *Glouceſter* (a principall man among them) was in danger of death, whoſe ſicknes did perplex and ſuſpend their proceedings, and the manner of his maladie did put them in doubt of their owne ſafeties, making them grow in diſtruſt of their Cooks, their butlers, and ſewers, for the Earle his body breaing out into *puſtules*, and his haire, nailes, teeth and skinne it ſelfe, falling away, was (as many others, of which ſome died) thought to be poyſoned. But whither they were or no, the *Poictouins* & ſtrangers had the blame laid vpon them, to make them the more odious to the Commons. But the Earle partly recouered his health in time, by the benefit of medicines and diligent attendance. The * poiſons were ſaid to haue beene tempered in the houſe of *Elias* a Iew, afterward baptized. The King himſelfe perhaps would not haue beene ſorry, if that he, *Simon* Earle of *Leiceſter* and ſome few others of the Barons had beene with God, for howſoeuer his body was among them, yet his heart was not at quiet, which in this wiſe well appeared. For being in the moneth of *Iune* vpon the riuer of *Thames* in his Barge, the aire ſodainely grew darke, and there enſued a terrible ſhower with thunder and lightning, of which the King impatient commands himſelfe to bee ſet on land at the next place which was *Durham* houſe, whereas then, the Earle of *Leiceſter* lay. The Earle being therof certified came out to entertaine him, ſaying, Sir, *why are you afraid? the tempeſt is now paſt:* whereunto he anſwered with a ſeuere looke: *I feare thunder and lightning aboue meaſure, but by the head of God, I doe more feare thee then all the thunder & lightning of the world.* Whereunto the Earle replied: *My Liege, it is iniurious & incredible, that you ſhould ſtand in feare of me, who haue alwaies beene loyall both to you and your Realme, whereas you ought to feare your enemies, ſuch as deſtroy the Realme, & abuſe you with bad Counſels.* The Barons therefore remaining firme in their firſt purpoſe, ſend meſſengers abroad to will all ſuch as had beene wronged by the Kings halfe-brothers, and other *Poictouines* and ſtrangers, to preſent their grieuances to the Barons, and to proſecute them. Moreouer (becauſe ſundry other petty-tyrants of the Engliſh nation, encouraged by their example, had exceeded their limits, in oppreſſing their inferiours) they procured the King to appoint foure *Knights Commiſsioners* in euery Shire, to enquire of all ſuch iniuries, and certifie the ſame vnder their ſeales within a certaine time limitted.

* *Mat. Paris. p. 951*

The King feares the Earle of *Leiceſter* more then thunder and lightning.

Commiſſioners to certifie what oppreſſions in euery County.

(95) The Barons in the meane time neglect not their enterprize, at whoſe inſtance (principally of *Hugh Bigod* the new chiefe Iuſtitiar) *Philip Lonel* the Kings Treaſurer, for abuſes committed in the Kings Forreſts and game, about *Stony-Stratford*, and many Officers of the Exchequer, were likewiſe remoued, to giue roome to ſuch as the Barons better liked. The Sheriffes likewiſe of Shires, their practiſes and extortions, were diligently ſeene into, and it was ordained, that as well the giuers as the takers of bribes ſhould be ſeuerely puniſht. The Welſh ſeeing theſe round proceedings in *England*, the peace and reflouriſhment whereof they feared, laboured for reconciliation but could not then obtaine it.

Officers put from their places.

The abuſes of Sheriffes noted and prouided againſt.

(96) *Richard* King of *Romans*, hauing a deſire to ſee the king his brother, and his lands in *England*, not without a purpoſe to bring an Armie, or ſuch a number of men as might greatly ſtrengthen the King againſt the Barons, as they ſuſpected, was aduertiſed that

An. D. 1259. *An. reg. 43.*

The King of *Romans* ſuſpected of the Barons, arriues in *England* & takes an oath.

that they prouided for his reſiſtance aſwell by Land as Sea. This made him, his Wife, and Sonne, to lay aſide that purpoſe, and to arriue in a priuate manner at *Douer* with a ſmall traine, in which there were onely two Earles, and about nine Knights. The King met him with great congratulation at the Sea ſide, but nor King, nor hee could bee ſuffered to enter into *Douer* Caſtle, becauſe (forſooth) it was the principall Key of *England*; for the ſafegard whereof they openly exacted an Oath of him at *Canterbury* in this manner. The holy Goſpels being laid vpon the Pulpit in the Chapter-houſe at *Canterbury*, the Barons reuerently brought in thither the Kings of *England* and of *Almaine*; then *Richard* Earle of *Gloceſter* (for *Simon* Earle of *Leiceſter* was gone with others into *France*, to deale with the King and States thereof about a perpetuall league) ſtanding in the midſt openly, and in humble ſort, cals *Richard* King of *Romans* vnto him, by the name onely of *Richard* Earle of *Cornwall*, who obeyed accordingly, to whom he diſtinctly miniſtred the Oath following: *Heare all men, that I Richard Earle of Cornwall ſweare vpon the holy Goſpels, to be faithfull and forward to reforme with you the Kingdome of England, hitherto by the counſell of wicked men too much deformed. And I will be an effectuall Coadiutor to expell the* * *Rebels and troubles of the Realme, from out the ſame. This oath will I obſerue vpon paine to forfeit all the lands I haue in England.* On the other ſide (had the King known how to vſe it) there fell out ſuch diſſention between the Earles of *Glouceſter* & *Leiceſter*, that *Leiceſter* departed from *England* diſcontented, ſaying, he tooke no ioy to liue among men ſo mutable and deceitful. Neuertheleſſe ſuch means were vſed, that theſe two chiefe Captains of the Barons, brake not forth into any farther diuiſion. Thus whiles the Barons vſing the Kings name, diſpoſed of all things, and *Simon de Montfort* Earle of *Leiceſter*, was gone with others to tranſact with the *French* about an indiſſoluble league; the King himſelfe through deſire not to * bee interrupted with forraine matters, if warre ſhould riſe at home, or through want of money or better aduiſe, was induced (if not betrayed) to an act of little honour, though it carried with it the face of profit and ſetled quiet.

The King not ſuffered to enter his owne Caſtles.

* Then the Barons too.

* *Polyd. Virg. li. 16.*

(97) For (the affaires of the realme thus ſtrangely managed) the King in perſon ſailes ouer into *Fraunce*, there to demaund a peaceable reſtitution of ſuch Signiories as *Philip* and *Lewis* (Father of this *Lewis*) had iniuriouſly withdrawne from his Father King *Iohn*. The *French* replied, that no reſtitution was due for many reſpects, ſpecially, becauſe the * ancient grant made to *Rollo* the firſt Duke of *Normandy*, was not voluntary, but extorted by feare and force of Armes, in the daies of the weake ſtate of *Fraunce*. The King hauing * no diſpoſition to recouer his claimes by battle; and deſtitute of money wherewith to wage an Army, but principally for that his owne Peeres and people ſtood on their guard againſt him, did * vnwillingly ratifie a concluſion; the Articles whereof were, that the King of *France* ſhould quietly hold the Dukedome of *Normandy*, and Earledome of *Aniou* (* *Main* alſo, *Tourain* and *Poictou*) for * three hundred thouſand ſmall pounds of *Tourain*, and vpon promiſe to receiue other lands to the yeerely value of twenty thouſand pounds. *Polydor* ſaith, that the reputed limits of the *Engliſh* Pale in *France*, were from thenceforth the riuer of *Charent* in *Xanctoing*, and the mountaines *Pyrenees*; and that hee ſhould peaceably haue *Angoumois*, *Quercy*, and *Limain*, being Countries marching vpon *Gaſcoigne*, in lieu of the reſt, yet ſo as the king of *England* ſhould * hold them of the Crowne of *France* by homage and fealty. Vpon theſe Articles the King acquitted, and for euer renounced all his challenge to *Normandy*, and the other lands, and thenceforth abridged his Stile, and changed his Seale, vſing a Scepter in place of a *Sword*: whereon theſe Monkiſh and mockiſh verſes were written.

The King ſailes ouer into *France* to demand reſtitution of *Normandy*.

* *Guil. Gemeticenſ.*

* *Ypodig. Neuſtr.*

* *Polyd. Virgil. lib. 16.*

* *Paul. Aemil. Iohn Tilius. Ypodig. Neuſtr. Matth. Pariſ.*

* *Polyd. Virgil.* ſaith 150000. Crowns in hand, and 10000. Crowns yeerely, in the name of Tribute.

* *Iohn Tilius.*

Eſt M. CC L IX. vtinam concordia fælix,
Andegauis, Pictauis, Neuſtria, gente relictâ
Anglorum, dantur tibi France, Sigilla nouantur,
Nomina tolluntur, fugit Enſis, Sceptra geruntur.

M. CC L IX, God grant firme peace thou fix,
Poictou, Angiou, Normans, to France range you,
New Seales are made, old Styles forſaken,
Downe laid the Blade, Scepters vp taken.

An. D. 1260 *An. Reg. 44.*

(98) The King (at theſe vnworthy rates) hauing ſecured himſelfe from the *French*, labours to vindicate the Regall power out of the vſurping Barons hands (whoſe ouer-toppings at home had driuen him to thoſe forraine indignities,) alleadging, that the *Oath* which his Sonne and hee had taken at *Oxford*, was voide, in regard it was compulſory, that the Barons alſo, who pretended the profite of the Realme, ſought onely their owne honour and gaine, contrary to their decrees. For his more ſecurity * he takes the Tower of *London*, preparing force by the helpe of his Brother King of *Romans*. There followed a grieuous perturbation of the Realme, although at this time it brake not forth into the extreamity; Armes being laid downe for a little ſpace. *Edward* the Kings eldeſt Sonne would not trauerſe the oath he had made at *Oxford*; but held with the * Barons for the preſent. The King, the Queene, and his ſelected friends, ſtill remaine vpon their guard in the Tower; where hee (in the yeare before) had burſt vp the locks of the ancient *Depoſitum*, or dead ſtocke of the Crowne, to employ againſt the Barons. Peace was

An. D. 1261. *An. Reg. 45.*

* *Polyd. Virg. l. 16.*

* *Ypodig. Neuſtr.*

An. D. 1262. *An. Reg. 46.*

The King ſeiſeth the ancient ſtocke of the Crowne.

was notwithſtanding brought about againe by the Queenes ſpeciall diligence; and *Doner* and *Rocheſter* Caſtles (whither hee went in perſon) are deliuered vnto him. This makes him reſolue to purſue the Barons; the rather alſo for that the *French* King (who much condemned the Barons vniuſt courſes) had promiſed his aſſiſtance. *Henry* therefore thruſts out the Barons Chancellor, and Chiefe Iuſticiar, placing *Walter Merton* and *Philip Baſſet*, men of much more loyall affections in their roomes. The Barons hearing of this, haſten in Armes to *Wincheſter*, where the King was, who (hauing intelligence by his faithfull Clerke, Sir *Iohn Manſell*) got backe into the Tower of *London*. The King of *Fraunce* was made Vmpire in the quarrell. The * cauſe was heard at *Amiens*, where he gaue iudgement with the King of *England* againſt the Barons, pronouncing all the Statutes and Acts made at *Oxford*, to bee vtterly void: prouided neuertheleſſe, that the Charter of Liberties which King *Iohn* had made to the *Engliſh* nation, ſhould in no ſort bee thereby infringed. This prouiſo animated *Simon* Earle of *Leiceſter*, and the Barons, to maintaine all the Statutes of *Oxford*, (becauſe they were pretendedly founded vpon that Charter) notwithſtanding that iuſt iudgement which King *Lewis* had giuen. The ſecret confederacy with *Lewelin* Prince of *Wales*, miniſtred to the Barons no little encouragement; who about this time waſted the Dominions of Prince *Edward* in the Marches of *Wales*. This iudgement of the *French* King did much diſaduantage the Barons, of whom diuers being drawne with perſwaſions, gifts, and promiſes, reuolted from *Simon Montfort*. There was now a taking of Townes and Priſoners on all hands. Prince *Edward* (who now was wholly for his Father, in deſpite of the Barons) takes the Caſtle of *Briſtol*, and fines the City at a thouſand pounds. *Simon Montfort* executeth his greateſt reuenges vpon the Queenes friends which were Aliens, not ſparing the Kings. Marching forward, he recouers *Gloſter*-Caſtle, enters *Worceſter* and *Bridgenorth*; laſtly, ſurprizeth the Ile of *Ely*, ſubduing that faſtneſſe or fenny ſtrength to the Barons vſe. Sir *Iohn Manſel* the Kings Councellour, fearing the euent of things, flies ſecretly from the Tower where the King was. *Henrie* ſonne to the King of *Almain*, was after this taken by the Barons. Meane-while Prince *Edward* fortifies *Windſor*-Caſtle with Strangers. Mutuall wearineſſe at length begat a deſire of peace, and the * King had yeelded that the *Statutes of Oxford* ſhould ſtand: but the Queene was vttetly againſt it, not without cauſe; for it did enfeeble the arbitration which the *French* King had made. The Queenes oppoſition in this poynt was knowne to the *Londoners*; which put the baſer ſort into ſo lewd a rage, that ſhee being to ſhoote the Bridge from the Tower toward *Windſor*, they with durt and ſtones and villanous words forced her to returne. Prince *Edward* vnder the conduct of the Biſhop of *Worceſter*, came from the Caſtle of *Briſtol* (by reaſon of quarrell betweene his men of warre and the Burgers) and contrary to his promiſe entred into *Windſor*-Caſtle; but afterward going forth to meet *Simon Montfort* at *Kingſton* vpon *Thames*, with purpoſe to offer peace, the ſaid *Simon* got *Windſor*-Caſtle, & would not permit him to depart. At *London* yet in a Parliament, matters were pieced againe, and the Kings ſide grew ſtronger daily.

(99) There were with him his brother King of *Romans*, his Son *Edward*, *William de Valence* (whom Prince *Edward* had brought out of *France*) *Iohn Comyn* of *Scotland*, with a multitude of valiant *Scots*, (whoſe King was *Henries* ſonne in law,) *Iohn de Baliol* Lord of *Galloway*, *Robert de Brus*, *&c.* with whom hee marcheth from *London* to *Oxford*, where the Rendeuou of his friends and forces was appointed. The King meaning to make that place (where his chiefe blow was giuen him) his chiefe ſeate to conſult for remedies, diſmiſſed thence all the Students, by reaſon of their multitude, * being *aboue* 15000. (ſaith *William Riſhanger* who then liued) *of thoſe only whoſe names were entred into the Matriculation book*, amongſt whom being ſo many young Nobles, the King doubted how they might be affected to the Barons. Whereupon many of them went to *Northampton*, where then the Barons were ſtrong; and thither the King comming with his hoaſt, and breaking in at the Towne-walls vpon *Paſſion-Sunday*, encountred his enemies, amongſt whom the * *Students of Oxford had a banner by themſelues aduanced right againſt the King, and they did more annoy him in the fight, then the reſt of the Barons*: which the King (who at length preuayled) had vowed ſharpely to reuenge, but that *his Councellors told him, thoſe Students were the ſonnes and kindred of the Great-men of the Land, whom if he puniſhed, euen the Nobles who now ſtood for him, would take Armes againſt him*. The King there tooke *Simon Montfort* the younger, and foureteene other principall Barons and * Knights Banerets, forty other Knights, beſides Eſquiers, &c. Encouraged with this ſucceſſe, hee aduanceth the Standard royall toward *Nottingham*, burning and waſting the Barons Lands whereſoeuer he came. To diuert this tempeſt, *Simon Montfort* haſteneth to *London*, and attempts the taking of *Rocheſter*-Caſtle, which *Iohn* Earle of *Warren* defended for the King: who comming to raiſe the ſiege, takes *Kingſton*-Caſtle, which belonged to the Earle of *Glouceſter*; then vnexpectedly falling vpon ſuch as maintayned the ſiege of *Rocheſter*, while *Simon* was abſent, kils very many, and ſcatters the reſt. Then ſeiſeth hee the Caſtle of *Tunbridge*, and therein the Counteſſe of *Glouceſter*, whom, notwithſtanding he nobly ſet at large, as profeſſing not to warre againſt Ladies; from thence the Cloud of power borne vpon the wings of indignation, ſpeedes to *Winchelſea*, and receiues the Cinque-Portmen to grace, ſetling at laſt in *Lewis*, where himſelfe reſted in the Priorie, and his ſonne in the Caſtle, whither the Barons ſent Letters to him, proteſting *their loyall obſeruance to his perſon, but all hoſtility to their enemies which were about him*.

(100) But the King flaming with deſire of reuenge, ſets ſlight by theſe vowed (but fained) fidelities; and returnes a full defiance *as to Traitors, profeſſing that he takes the wrong of his friends, as his owne, and their enemies as his*. The King of *Almaine*, Prince *Edward*, with other of the Kings chiefe friends, ſent their like letters of defiance. The Barons, loath to let it come to the hazardous and vnkind triall of ſteele, (though they then encamped about ſixe miles from *Lewis*,) not acquitting themſelues in this repulſe, iterate their meſſage, with an offer to pay to the King thirtie thouſand pounds, in ſatisfaction of ſuch hurts as their people had done through the Realme; ſo *as the Statutes of Oxford might ſtand*. The king of *Almaine* (whoſe honour they had toucht, and ſpoild part of his inheritances) hindred all harkening to any their offers.

(101) It came to a battell; wherein *Simon de Montford* commands his trayterous Army to *weare white Croſſes on breaſt and backe, to ſhew they fought for Iuſtice*; great was the effuſion of bloud on both parts; chiefly of the *Scots* vpon the Kings ſide, and of the *Londoners* vpon the Earles ſide; whoſe Battalion, (lead by the Lord *Segraue*,) Prince *Edward* moſt furiouſly charged, and had the execution of them for about foure miles, which he purſued the more bloudily, in reuenge of the extreame diſgrace which they had offered vpon *London-Bridge* to the Queene his Mother, and after that the Garriſon of *Tunbridge* followes, and ſlew many at *Croyden*. But while the Prince ſpent himſelf in that reuenge, his Father (who, hauing his Horſe ſlaine vnder him, had yeelded himſelf priſoner to *Simon de Montfort*) his vncle the king of *Romans*, and others great Peeres were taken, and the whole hope of that day loſt. There fell in all on both ſides, about fiue thouſand. Prince *Edward* returning from the ſlaughter of the *Londoners*, would

The Barons driue the King from *Wincheſter*.

An.D.1263.

An. Reg. 47.

* *Addit. ad Par.*

Simon Montfort in apparant fault.

An.D.1264.

An. Reg. 48.

* *Addit. ad Matth. Paris.*

An intollerable villany offered by Raſcals to the Queene.

The *Scots* aide the King.

The King takes *Northampton*, and many chiefe men.

* *W. Riſhanger M.S. in Bibliotheca D. Rob. Cotton Baronetti.*

* *Chron. M.S. Fox in Martyrolog. Hollinſh.*

* *Milites vexilliferi.*

The Barons Letters.

The kings letters

The King of *Almaines* Letter, & Prince *Edwards*.

The Barons ſend the ſecond time.

Simon Earle of *Leiceſter* takes the Kings of *England*, and of *Almaine* in the battel at *Lewis*.

Prince *Edward* and *Henry* sonne to the King of *Romans* yeeld by composition.

would haue re-enforced the Battaile, but the Barons offered peace; which vpon the next day was concluded for the preſent, ſo that Prince *Edward* and *Henry* Son to the King of *Romans*, ſhould alſo render themſelues priſoners, and the two kings, till ſuch time as all quarrels might receiue an happier concluſion by calme deliberation. Thus was *Simon* Earle of *Leiceſter* in poſſeſſion of both the Kings and of their elder ſonnes; ſo fortunate may Treaſon and Rebellion bee for a time, but in the end it ſpeeds as it deſerues.

An. 1265. *An. Reg. 49.* The Earle of *Leiceſter* carries the King about till he had gotten all the chiefe ſtrengths of the Realme.

(102) By this aduantage this Kingly Rebell got all the chiefe Caſtles of the kingdome into his hand, leading his Soueraigne as his Priſoner about the Country (yet with all outward reſpect and honour) the rather to procure a more quiet ſurrender. The King of *Romans* he impriſoned in the Tower, Prince *Edward* and the Lord *Henry* in *Douer*. The Earle feeling now his owne greatneſſe, began to be leſſe tractable; neither could the Popes authority interpoſing it ſelfe for the King, preuaile. For as the Pope by *Apoſtolike ſentence* before *had abſolued the King and others from his Oath to the Prouiſions of Oxford*, ſo now he ſent his * *Cardinall Legate to excommunicate all the fauorers of thoſe Acts, and impugners of the King*; but theſe men * *hauing the materiall ſword to truſt vnto, made no reckoning of the Spirituall*, pretending *they appealed to the Pope, or to better times, or a generall Councell, or to God himſelfe*: ſo great account made theſe croſſed ſouldiers of the Popes curſe. Notwithſtanding the loyall bloud of *Roger de Mortimer*, and many other high-ſpirited men of Armes, could not brooke their Kings ſo baſe vſage & dangerous eſtate, but make head in vaine. For *Simon* treacherouſly combines himſelfe with *Lewelin* Prince of *Wales*, and with their ioynt forces takes *Hereford* Caſtle; thether they remoue Prince *Edward* from *Douer*. The loyall band was hereby compelled to capitulate, and deliuer hoſtages. O the fearefull poynt, to which *England* was brought at this preſent, but God (in whoſe protection it was) deliuered it. *Simon* and the Earle of *Gloceſter* fall at debate about their *diuidend* & ſhares in the ſpoiles, (for what euer they pretended for the Kingdome, their owne greatnes & gaine was the motiue,) and ſomewhat alſo the vnequall altitude of his ſaid partner the Earle of *Leiceſter*, together with the perill of his Country moued him. Who thereupon confederates with *Roger Mortimer*, and his aſſociates, to whom not long after *Iohn* Earle of *Warren*, *Surrey* and *Suſſex*, and *William de Valence* Earle of *Pembroke* with others are ioyned; & not long after Prince *Edward* by eſcape from the Caſtle of *Hereford*, commeth in ſafety to *Wigmore*. There were that laboured to attone the two Earles of *Leiceſter* and *Gloceſter*, but offence and indignation had taken too deepe root. Meanewhile thou, O *Henry* art ſhewed vp and down by the Arch-rebellious Earle of *Leiceſter*, to countenance thine owne deſtruction.

* *Epiſcopum Sabinenſem.*

* *Matth. Weſtm.*

Prince *Edward* hauing eſcaped ioynes with the Earle of *Gloceſter*.

(103) The Prince therefore ſeeing that he muſt reſolutely ſtand for the liberty of the Realme and of his Father, friends and poſterity, raiſeth an Armie, confederates himſelfe with the people and Counties of *Hereford*, *Worceſter*, *Shropſhire* & *Cheſter*. *Gloceſter* he enters by force, and driues the defendants into the Caſtle, which after yeelds. *Simon Montfort* with *Lewelin* Prince of *Wales*, doe in the meane time ſpoile their enemies lands in * *Monmouth* and *Glamorganſhires*, the King in perſon, not in ſpirit, being preſent. Prince *Edward*, and the Earle of *Gloceſter* on the other ſide, ſpeed to the Caſtle of *Kenelworth*, kept againſt them by *Simon* ſonne of the Earle of *Leiceſter*; there they intercept the Earle of *Oxford* with about thirteene Knights Bannerets before they could reach the Caſtle, whither they were haſtning. Newes came then that the Earle of *Leiceſter* was returned with the king in his company out of *Southwales*, neere to *Worceſter*. Thither the Prince aduanceth to fight with him. The Earle hearing of his approach, encampes at *Eueſham* with his whole power. Vpon the third of *Auguſt* the noble *Edward* ſets out of *Worceſter*, and

* *Nic. Triuet. apud Holinſhed.*

The Earles of *Leiceſter* and *Gloceſter* fall at debate in a good time.

ſtrikes betweene *Simon Montfort* and his way to *Kenelworth*, and the next day turnes backe toward *Eueſham*; the Earle of *Gloceſter* with his force, and *Roger de Mortimer* (as they had agreed) with his battalion, drawing thither by two other wayes; ſo that *Simon* thus ſhut vp and encloſed, muſt either fight or yeeld. They ioyne in battaile in a goodly large field before the Towne of *Eueſham*; where the Earles hoſt being aſſailed on all ſides, was with much ſlaughter (of the *Welſh* eſpecially) vtterly in the end diſtreſſed and diſcomfited. At the houre of his death it thundered and lightned, and ſo great a darkneſſe ſpread the skie, that men were amazed. The Earles head, (which was ſent to *Worceſter* Caſtle to the Lady *Mortimer*) his hands, and feet, were chopt off. In this cruell battaile the King himſelfe (being wounded vnawares with a Iauelin) was almoſt ſlaine. Let vs now behold how this victory is vſed. The king being thus reſtored to liberty, cals a Parliament at *Wincheſter*, by authority whereof hee ſeiſeth into his hands the Charters and freedomes of the City of *London*, and of many other Townes for their Rebellion. Thoſe that were taken in the battaile are committed to ſafe cuſtody, and all ſuch as had been vpon the Earles ſide were diſinherited, a rateable diſtribution being made of their eſtates to the Kings well-deſeruing friends. *Simon* and *Guy de Montfort*, the Earles ſonnes, were chiefe of the attainted; their mother the Counteſſe with all her goods was ſent in ſafety out of *England* neuer to returne. *Simon* the eldeſt brother ſought to preſerue himſelfe, and the remaines of his Fathers misfortunes in the Ile of *Axholme*.

Simon Earle of *Leiceſter* encloſed by the Princes Armies, is ſlaine at *Eueſham* in Worceſterſhire.

Ann. 1266. *An. Reg. 50.*

(104) The King meaning to take all refuge from him, is together with his brother the King of *Romans*, *Ottobon* the Popes Legate, (who was lately arriued) and a puiſſant armie, at *Northampton*, with purpoſe to oppreſſe him by warre. *Simon* had friends about the King, but the Earle of *Gloceſter* maligning his reſtitution to full grace, it was concluded (vpon his ſubmiſſion) that hee ſhould liue in exile, and for his maintenance receiue onely fiue hundreth markes by the yeere. But the Caſtle of *Kenelworth* would not yeeld, driuing the King to an halfe yeeres ſiege; who alſo in the end was content to giue the garriſon pardon for life and limme, licenſing it to part with bag and baggage. In the meane while, the other outlawes, and diſinherited men, made ſundry excurſions out of the *Ile of Elie*. Temperate men, deſirous to pacifie all theſe euils, would gladly haue had the King to pardon thoſe tranſgreſſions, and reſtore their lands vpon reaſonable fines. This propoſition found a ſowre enemie of *Roger Mortimer*, who had by the Kings gift gotten much of their Land; which moued the Earle of *Gloceſter* (who fauoured the other courſe) to indignation and diſtruſt, ſo that he withdrew himſelfe. Not long after which, he by his meſſengers beſought the King, to remoue ſtrangers from about him, to ſee that the *Statutes of Oxford* were obſerued through the Kingdome, and to keepe ſuch promiſes as he had made at *Eueſham*: Otherwiſe the king muſt not marueile, if he did that which himſelfe thought beſt. The Legate Cardinall *Ottobon*, about the ſame time (to hinder the growth of any new rebellion) excommunicated the biſhops of *Wincheſter*, *Worceſter*, *London* & *Chicheſter* for hauing adhered to *Simon Montfort*, and alſo declared that the Clergie were to pay their tenths, for ſeuen yeeres next enſuing, to the King. On the other ſide, all the vndone and diſinherited men (except the ſonnes of *Simon Montfort* and *Robert Earle of Derby*) were offered to be put to ranſome, and for certaine fines to be reſtored to their Lands; but they required to haue them without redemption, expoſtulating with the King and Legate many grieuances. When words had no better operation, the King and Prince *Edward* beſiege the Ile of *Elie* on all ſides. This being knowne to the Earle of Gloceſter, who (although he had vnder his ſeale promiſed neuer to take armes againſt the King and Prince, but only in his owne defence) gathers a

An. D. 1267. *An. Reg. 51.* The Earle of *Gloceſters* meſſage to the King.

An. D. 1268. *An. Reg. 52.* The Earle of *Gloceſter* in armes againſt the King, taketh *London*.

for ce in *Wales* in fauour of the diſinherited, marcheth vp to *London* and taketh it, the Citizens fauouring him. Then commands he the Popes Legate, who lodged in the Tower, to yeeld vp the ſame; but he, as taking no knowledge of any ſuch matter, repaired quietly to *Pauls*, there, by preaching to ſtirre vp people againſt the enemies of Chriſt in the *Holy-land*. Peace enſued not long after, by mediation of the King of *Romans*, and the noble Lord *Philip Baſſet*, the Earle binding himſelfe in ten thouſand markes to the King, neuer to mooue any tumult. *Lewelin* Prince of *Wales*, who had greatly ſupported the Earle of *Leiceſters* rebellion, for *thirty two thouſand pounds ſterling was reſtored to foure Cantreds, which the King had taken from him in the warre, and reconciled.

* *Hiſtor. Cambr.* ſaith but 30000. markes.

The Prince of *Wales* reconciled to the King.

An. D. 1269. *An. Reg.* 53.

(105) Domeſticke peace now beginning to ſhine in the Engliſh *Hemiſphere* Prince *Edward* his brother, the Lord *Edmund*, the Earle of *Glouceſter*, with many other Noblemen of *England, with intent of a more honourable warfare*, take the Croſſe vpon them at *Northampton*, by the deliuery of *Ottobon*, who not long after returned into *Italie*. Then was the kings peace proclaimed through *England*, all men being vpon paine of death commanded to forbeare to make ſpoiles, or take booties violently, as they of late had been accuſtomed. The Prince, ſeeing the Realme thus acquitted, doth the more willingly (hauing his Fathers conſent) yeeld to goe with *Lewis* King of *France*, into the *Holy-land*, who, toward his furniture in that voyage, lends him thirty thouſand markes: for aſſurance whereof, the Prince morgageth *Aquitaine* vnto him. But what true ſetled peace may wee iudge it, when *Iohn de Warren* Earle of *Surrey*, the Kings halfe-brother, (vpon the increaſe of words betweene them) durſt kill *Alan le Zouch* the chiefe Iuſtice, with his owne hand in *Weſtminſter* Hall? A plaine and fearefull example of fauourites potency. That all things yet might not run out of ſquare, the King held a Parliament at *Marlborough*, where the Statutes called of *Marlborough* were enacted. The old king & his Queene henceforward enioyed the bleſſing of a quiet eſtate at home, with the more leiſure to pray therein for their Sons faire ſucceſſe in *Paleſtine*, whoſe vertues had there raiſed an admiration of him among the *Infidels*. That quiet neuertheleſſe was a little interrupted by an incendiary outrage at *Norwich*, where the Citizens ſet on fire the *Priorie Church*. The king being kindled with another kinde of fire, ſware hee would in perſon ſee a reuenge taken; and diſpatching firſt away Sir *Thomas Triuet*, (before whom a great multitude were found guilty, and condemned to bee drawne and hanged) himſelfe, hauing in his company one Biſhop and the Earle of *Glouceſter*, followed; where beholding the deformed ruines, he could hardly refraine from teares. The Biſhop hauing therefore excommunicated the nocent, and the King condemned the Towne in three thouſand markes, toward the re-edification of that Church, as alſo to pay one hundreth pounds for a Cup weighing ten pounds in gold, he purpoſed to returne toward *London*. This publike act of zeale to *religion* and *Iuſtice*, was the laſt which he did, as a *King*; for now he was come to that, which hee was to enter into as a *mortall man*: At the Abbey of S. *Edmund* in *Suffolke*, he fell grieuouſly ſicke, where while hee lay, * hee cauſed the Earle of *Glouceſter* to be ſworne to keepe the Realme for his Sonne; the Prelates, Earles, and Barons of the Land, being aſſembled to be preſent at his departure. Therefore after he had in Chriſtian manner prepared his ſoule, by acknowledging his ſinnes, and receiuing fit ſpirituall conſolations, he rendred vp the ſame to his *Redeemer*. His *Will* was ſhort, for his *Creditors* and the *Poore* ſhared all his goods. The ſpace of time which he raigned, is almoſt an old mans age, and abſolutely the longeſt number of yeares, that euer any King of *England* raigned, not excepting *Ethelbert* the firſt *Chriſtian* King, if (which is *written by ſome) he raigned fifty ſixe yeares, and as many dayes more, as are between the feaſt of *Simon* & *Iude*, and *Saint *Edmund* the Archbiſhop, which are about twenty. A Prince whoſe * deuotion was greater then his diſcreation, as we ſee in his permitting the depredation of himſelfe and his whole kingdome by Papall ouer-ſwayings, the errour of whoſe Gouernment, concurring with the tumultuous treaſons of his Nobles, did precipitate him into many miſchiefes, out of which yet God almighty did ſtrangely deliuer him; for if he had not beene diuinely protected, there is no cauſe for a reaſonable man to doubt, but that his end had proued as headlong, as ſome of his owne, and his Barons actions ſeemed to threaten. The royall remaines of this happily-dying Prince were with all the due pompe of exequies interred in *Weſtminſter*, the great & ſumptuous new worke whereof he began, but finiſhed not; the deſcription of whoſe life, being full of diuerticles and abrupt paſſages, as a maze or labyrinth, here at laſt hath found a place of reſt for it ſelfe and vs.

* *Liber. Trinit. apud Iohn Stowes Annal.*

* *Additam ad Math. Paris.*

* *Raimulf Higd.*
* *Polychron.*
Ypodig. Neuſtr.

The Srate of *England* ſetled again.

The chiefe Iuſtice ſlaine in *Weſtminſter* Hall.

The Kings late yeares ſpent in quiet repoſe.

An. D. 1270.
1271.
1272.
1273.

The Priory Church of *Norwich* burnt in a tumult.

Note the proportion then, betweene the value of gold and ſiluer.

King *Henry* the third dyeth, hauing raigned fifty ſixe yeares, and twenty daies.

His Wife.

(106) *Eleanor* the wife of King *Henry*, was the ſecond of the fiue daughters, of *Raymond* Earle of *Prouince*, ſonne of Earle *Alfonſe*, ſonne of *Alfonſe* the firſt King of *Arragon*; her mother was *Beatrice*, daughter of *Thomas* Earle of *Sauoy*, ſiſter of the Earles *Amee*, and *Peter*, and the Archbiſhop *Boniface* of *Canterbury*. She was married to him at *Canterbury*, *Ianu. 24.* An. 1236. Reg. 20. Crowned at *Weſtminſter* the *19.* of the ſame moneth: was his wife 37. yeare, his widow 19. died a Nun at *Almesbery*, the *25.* of *Iune*, in the 20. yeare of her ſons raigne 1291, & was buried in her Monaſtery, the *11.* of *September* following.

His Iſſue.

Edward their eldeſt ſon was borne at *Weſtminſter*, the *28.* day of *Iune*, the 24. yeare of his Fathers Raign 1239. he was ſurnamed *Longſhancke*, of his tall and ſlender body, made knight in *Spaine* by *Alfonſe* king of *Caſtile*, created Earle of *Cheſter* by his Father, after the Iſſue male extinct of the former Earles, and ſucceeded his Father in the kingdome of *England*.

(107) *Edmund* their ſecond ſonne, borne *Ian. 26.* A. 1245. and of his Fathers raigne, 29. was ſurnamed *Crouched-backe*, of bowing in his backe, ſay ſome, but more likely of wearing the ſigne of the Croſſe, (anciently called a * *Crouch*) vpon his backe, which was vſually worne of ſuch as vowed voyages to *Ieruſalem*, as he had done. He was inueſted *titular King* of *Sicilia* and *Apulia*, and created Earle of *Lancaſter*, (on whoſe perſon originally the great contention of *Lancaſter* and *Yorke* was founded) & hauing of the grant of his Father, the lands of *Simon Montfort* and *Robert Ferrers*, (diſinherited in the Barons warres) was by vertue of the ſame graunt Earle of *Leiceſter* and *Derby*, and high Steward of *England*. He had two wiues, the firſt was *Auelin*, daughter and heire of *William* Earle of *Albemarle*, by whom he left no iſſue, the ſecond was Queene *Blanch*, daughter of *Robert* Earle of *Artoys*, (brother of Saint *Lewis* king of *France*) widow of *Henry* of *Champaigne*, King of *Nauarre*, and mother of *Ioane* Queene of *France* and *Nauarre*, the wife of *Philip the faire*. By her he had iſſue three *ſons* and one *daughter*. *Thomas*, who after his Father was Earle of *Lancaſter*, and hauing married *Alice*, daughter and heire of *Henry Lacie* Earle of *Lincolne*, was beheaded at *Pomfret* without iſſue: *Henrie* Lord of *Monmouth*, who after his brothers death was Earle of *Lancaſter*, and Father of *Henry* the firſt Duke of *Lancaſter*: *Iohn*, who died without marriage: and *Marie*, married to *Henrie* Lord *Percie*, Mother of *Henrie*, the firſt Earle of *Northumberland*. This Earle *Edmund* died at *Bayon* in *Gaſcoigne*, *Iune 5.* An. 1296. and of King *Edward* his brothers raigne 24. when he had liued fifty yeare, foure moneths and nineteene daies; whoſe body halfe a yeare after his death, was conuaied into *England*, & lieth entombed at

* So we call the wodden ſupporters of impotent men, made like a croſſe at the top; and *Crouched-Friers* for wearing a *Croſſe*.

at *Weſtminſter* on the North-ſide of the high Altar, vnder a faire monument of ſtone, with his Portraiture, and the armes of him and others of his houſe, and many noble houſes of that time.

(108) *Richard*, the third ſonne of King *Henry* and Queene *Eleanor*, (bearing the name of his Vncle *Richard*, King of *Romans Almaign*,) deceaſed in his youth, and lyeth at *Weſtminſter*, enterred on the South-ſide of the Quire.

(109) *Iohn*, the fourth ſonne of King *Henrie* and Queene *Eleanor*, (bearing the name of King *Iohn* his Grand-father,) deceaſed yong, and at *Weſtminſter* his bones lie enterred with his brother *Richard*.

(110) *William*, the fift ſonne of King *Henry* and Queene *Eleanor*, is mentioned by *Thomas Pickering*, (a Prieſt of the monaſtery of *Whitby* in *Yorkſhire*, who liued in the time of King *Henrie* the ſixt, and wrote a large Genealogie of the Kings of *England*, and their iſſues,) and that he dying in his child-hood, was buried within the *New-Temple*, by Fleete-ſtreete in *London*.

(111) *Henrie*, the ſixt ſonne of King *Henry* and Queene *Eleanor*, is alſo reported by the ſame *Pickering*, to haue dyed young, and to be buried at *Weſtminſter*.

(112) *Margaret*, the eldeſt daughter of King *Henry* and Queene *Eleanor*, borne the twentie ſixt yeere of her Fathers raigne, 1241. was the firſt wife of *Alexander* the third, King of *Scotland*, married to him at *Yorke*, An. 1251. by whom ſhe had iſſue, *Alexander* and *Dauid*, (who died both before their Father without iſſue,) and *Margaret* Queene of *Norway*, wife of King *Erike*, and mother of *Margaret* the heire of *Scotland*, and *Norway*, that dyed vnmarried: ſhe was Queene twenty two yeeres, liued thirtie three, deceaſed before her Husband, in the twenty third yeere of his Raigne, the firſt of her brother *Edwards* in *England*, and was buried at the Abbey of *Dunferinling* in *Stotland*.

(113) *Beatrice*, the ſecond daughter of King *Henrie* and Queene *Eleanor*, was borne at *Burdeaux* in *Gaſcoigne*, *Iune 25. An. 1242.* of her Fathers raigne 27. At the age of eighteene yeeres, ſhee was marryed to *Iohn* the firſt Duke of *Britaine*, (ſonne of *Iohn* the laſt Earle of the ſame,) and had iſſue by him, *Arthur* Duke of *Britanny*, *Iohn* Earle of *Richmont*, *Peter*, and *Blanch* married to *Philip*, Son of *Robert* Earle of *Artoys*; *Eleanor* a Nunne at *Almsbery*, & *Mary* married to *Guy* Earle of Saint *Paul*: when ſhe had beene his Wife twelue yeeres, and liued thirty yeeres, ſhe deceaſed in *Britanny*, in the firſt yeere of the Raigne of her brother Kling *Edward*, and was buried at *London*, in the Quire of the *Grey-Friers* within Newgate.

(114) *Katherine*, the third daughter of King *Henry* and Queene *Eleanor*, was borne at *London*, *An. 1252.* of her fathers raigne 37. *Nouemb. 25.* being Saint *Katherines* day, whoſe name was therefore giuen vnto her, at the font, by *Boniface* Archbiſhop of *Canterburie*, her mothers Vncle, who chriſtned her, and was her God-father. She dyed yong, and at *Weſtminſter* her bones lie enterred, with her brother *Richard* and *Iohn*, in the ſpace betweene the Chappels of King *Edward*, and Saint *Bennet*.

EDWARD

Edward I.

EDWARD THE FIRST, LORD OF IRELAND, AND DVKE OF AQVITAINE, &c. THE FORTIE-SEVENTH MONARCH OF ENGLAND, HIS RAIGNE, ACTS, AND ISSVE.

Monarch 47

CHAPTER X.

An. 1273.

EDward, who followed King *Henrie* in wearing the *Engliſh* Crowne, but farre out-went him in all regall vertues, was abroad at the time of his fathers death, ſtill purſuing his high deſires for the *Holy Warres:* wherein what he performed, (being yet but a Prince) againſt the publique enemies of *Chriſtians*, it ſhall not be impertinent to touch, before wee come to his actions as a *King*; hauing already remembred, with what valour and felicity he had ſubdued his Fathers domeſticke enemies, ſetled the peace of his kingdome, and re-eſtabliſhed the raines of Soueraigntie in his Fathers hands, which thoſe potent Rebels had formerly extorted.

(2) King *Lewis* of *France*, whoſe perſwaſions had enflamed this noble-ſpirited Prince to aſſociate him in this glorious quarrell, hauing firſt ſet forth for the enterpriſe, lay now in ſiege of *Tunis* in *Africa*; where Prince *Edward* with all his forces arriuing, the *French King* (greatly rejoycing in his wiſhed preſence,) together with the *King of Nauarre*, and other Princes of his Army, went forth to meete him, and receiued him in the kiſſe of Peace. This place which they beleaguered, was (as then) not great, yet by reaſon of the ſituation, it *greatly impeached the *Chriſtians* in their paſſages through thoſe Seas; being built out of the ſcattered ribs, and waſted ruines of that mighty and famous City *Carthage*, riual once in *Majeſtie* and *Ambition* with ancient *Rome*, as contending with her about the *Empire* of the World. Therefore to ſecure the Mediterranean Seas, it was thought neceſſarie to beginne that enterpriſe for *Aſia*, with this in *Africa*; but not long after *Lewis* yeelding vp his holy Soule to GOD at the ſiege, and ſickneſſe (by reaſon of the heates in thoſe Regions, for it was Auguſt) raigning in

Prince *Edward at Tunis in Africa.*

* *Paul. Aemyl. in Lud. 9.*

Continuatio Mat. Paris.

in the Christian Campe, *Charles* King of *Sicilie*, whom *Lewis* (before his decease) had sent for, to take charge of the whole enterprise, arriues; and after sharpe re-enforcement of the siege, (where *Edward* gaue frequent proofe of his great valour and prudence,) *Charles* is content to forbeare extremitie, (to which the *Sarazens* were brought) vpon capitulations with them, contrary to *Edwards* minde, being wholly set to subdue, conuert or roote them out.

Prince *Edward* vnwilling to any truce with the *Sarazens*.

(3) Yet the points of the treaty & truce (though graunted for many yeeres) carried shew of honour, being these: 1. That all Christian Captiues should be set free without ransome: That in the Cities of that Kingdome, the Christian faith might freely be taught: 3. That all such as were willing, might freely receiue sacred Baptisme: 4. That the *Sarazens* should repay to the Christian Kings, their charges: 5. That the King of *Tunis* should remaine tributarie to the King of *Sicilie*. The siege hereupon was raised, to the griefe and indignation of *Edward*, who would not (as is reported) partake nor share in any of the Treasure, which by reason of the truce was payed by the *Sarazens*, as accounting it to be wickedly gotten, and contrary to the Tenour of the vow, which for the honour and aduauncement of Christian Religion had beene made. The euent also seeming to confirme no lesse; for the wrath of Heauen (saith our * Author) pursued King *Charles*, brother to the late King *Lewis*, and finding him out vpon the Sea in his returne toward *Sicilie*, tooke seuere reuenge by terrible weather, as well vpon him, as almost his whole Army, which perished in the waters, together with the impious treasure brought from *Tunis*, and all other his furniture of State and Houshold. Which when Prince *Edward* vnderstood, he sware, *By the Bloud of our Lord, that though all his Companions in Armes and Country-men should abandon him, yet hee and* Fowin *his* * *Lackey alone would enter into* *Ptolomais, *and keepe the vow which he had made, whiles soule and body held together.* A noble resolution, and as faithfully performed; but not with so small attendance; for the *English* hearing his feruent asseueration, promised with one heart to accompanie him, and that (in all likely-hood) the more willingly, becaus it is not obserued, that the tempest had any way damnified *Edward*, or his fellowship. He forthwith therefore sets saile toward *Acon*, into which he entred safe not aboue foure daies before the City should haue beene yeelded to the *Sarazens*, from which precipitation these succors out of *England* withheld it. The Sultan of *Babylon*, who lay about *Acon* with a puissant hoast, and had begun to assault the breaches; hearing this, not long after raised his siege, & without the fruition of his desire withdrew to his owne Dominions.

* *Continuatio Matth. Paris.*

Prince *Edwards* high resolution to hold on his enterprize.

* *Custos Palfredi.*

* *Acon*, or *Acres.*

He arriueth safe at *Acon*.

(4) *Edward* vndoubtedly was not more tall of personage, then stout of courage, and vpon trust thereof, doing some things, which perhaps a Prince of his hopes, and fortunes, might with good reason haue forborne. His vndaunted courage against those *Infidels* may be gessed by the like against a domestick Rebell. Among those who were out-lawed for Rebellion and Treason, after the Battell of *Euesham* for partaking with *Simon* Earle of *Leicester*, was one Sir *Adam Gurdon* a Knight of the parts about *Winchester*, who with certaine his Complices kept out of the way of the Kings officers, but made the Kings high-way betweene *Wilton* and *Fernham*, (which by reason of woods and windings was fit to shelter enemies) very dangerous for such as meant to passe, but doing most mischiefe to the lands and goods of such as were the Kings friends. *Edward* hearing of this mans singular courage, gets intelligence of a fit time, and comes vpon him with a strong band of followers, but he, nothing terrified, prepares himselfe to fight for his life to the last gaspe. The Prince hereupon commaunds that none of his men should dare to interrupt their combate, and forthwith with equall courage exchanged mightie blowes without winning ground each of other. *Edward* delighted with the brauery of *Adams* spirit, and proofe of his man-hood, *bad him yeeld, promising him life, and his Lands againe*; who presently throwing away his weapons, enioyed the full benefit of Prince *Edwards* promise. The happinesse of that age, wherein *Sword* and *Shield* were the ordinary weapons, and afforded much assurance in fight, might somewhat excuse the Prince from the note of temerity, which otherwise, in hazarding his princely person against a priuate Gentleman, he could hardly haue escaped. But here at *Acon* he refused no occasion of putting forth the naturall strengthes of his firme-compacted body, till by the Sultans retreat the most honourable opportunities were subtracted.

Edwards Wife deliuered of a daughter at *Acon*.

Reade *Turkish Hist.* pag. 120.

(5) All this while did that renowned and vertuous Ladie, *Elenor* Wife of Prince *Edward*, endure with him an inseparable companion of all his fortunes, and was at *Acon* deliuered of a Daughter, baptized there by the name of *Ioan*. But if God had not better prouided for him, shee was not likely to haue enjoyed any longer the deare company of her louing Lord and Husband. Amongst that bloudy Sect of *Sarazens*, called *Assassini*, who, without feare of torments, vndertake (vpon commaund of their * *Superior*) the murther of any eminent Prince, impugning their irreligion, was one *Anzazim*, often vsed by the *Sarazen* Admirall of *Ioppe*, as a Messenger betweene him and *Edward*, whom the *Admiral* pretended exceedingly to honour for his heroicke parts of minde and body. The desperate wretch by this employment getting credite and accesse, vpon his insinuation of certaine secrets to be imparted, Prince *Edward* commanded all men to voide the Chamber, when looking out of a window, the *Assassine* sodainly with a poysoned Knife giues him three wounds, two in the arme, and one neere the arme-pit; whom *Edward* presently with his foot threw to the Earth, wrung the Knife from the Traytour, (not without wounding himselfe in the hand,) and with the tressell of a Table smote out his braines. Then calling in his people, he commaunds that the body of the Villaine should be hanged vp ouer the Cities Wall, and a liue Dogge with him. The Admirall hearing of this trayterous attempt, is * said to haue sighed for sorrow, for that he neuer knew thereof; but meant himselfe to haue become a Christian. But when the Christians vnderstood of this cursed assault vpon the person of so renowned a Prince, they meant in reuenge thereof, to haue forthwith inuaded the Pagans whersoeuer. But the Prince (whose first care was the safetie of Christians) said, *I forbid you on the behalfe of God, that none of you yet presume to infest the Pagans Army, becaus many of our people are gone to visit the holy Sepulchre, who shall euery one of them be murthered by the Sarazens, if they shall now sustaine any (though but small) vexation at our hands.* The second care was of the wounds; which by reason of the enuenomed blade were feared to be mortall; wherein the Lady *Elenor* gaue so rare example of conjugall affection, as her immortall memory doth justly impart glory to that whole Sex. For when no medicine could extract the poyson, she did it with her Tongue, licking daily, while her Husband slept, *his ranckling wounds, whereby they perfectly closed, and yet her selfe receyued no harme; so soueraigne a medicine is a wiues Tongue, annoynted with the vertue of louely affection.*

Prince *Edward* trayterously wounded by an *Assassine*.

* *Continu. Math. Paris.*

A rare example of wiuely affection.

Rodericus Toletan. lib. 1. Cambd. in Middlesex. fol. 432.

Edwards voluntary single fight with Sir *Adam Gurdon*.

(6) Thus while *Edward* abode in forraine parts for the generall seruice of Christianity, against the encreasing Enemies thereof, (contending then to that lamentable Greatnesse, wherein our vnhappy times behold them;) his Father King *Henrie* dyes, and prince *Edward* had the defect of his presence supplyed by the faith and care of such venerable and noble persons, as his Father left behinde him at his death. Therefore *Robert Kilwarby* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Gilbert* Earle of *Gloceſter*, with other the chiefe

Tho. Walsingh.

chiefe Prelates and Peeres of the Land, assembling together at the *New-Temple* in *London*, acknowledged and proclaymed absent *Edward* for their Soueraigne Liege Lord; and by the assent of his Mother, the *Queene Dowager*, prouided for the common affaires of the King, and the good estate of the Kingdome. The first newes of his Fathers death were brought vnto him, when after his returne from the Holy-Land (which seruice he was * enforced to forsake, hauing long in vaine expected the promised aides of Christians, and Tartars,) he rested himselfe in *Sicilia*, with *Charles* the King thereof; where to the immortall commendation of his pietie, and filiall affection (rare in Princes) it is recorded, that the death of his *Sonne* and Heire, comming first to his eare, and afterward of the King his *Father*, he much more sorrowed his Fathers departure, then his Sonnes: whereat King *Charles* greatly maruailed, and demaunding the reason, had of him this answere; *The losse of Sonnes is but light, becausе they are multiplied euerie day: but the death of Parents is irremediable, becausе they can neuer bee had againe.*

* *Paul. Aemyl. in Lud. 9.*

An.D.1274. (7) Now, whether it were the terrour of such reuenge as followed the captiuation of his valiant Predecessor King *Richard*, or his owne wiser carriage, or the calmer condition of the times, or all of them together, which secured him in his returne: certaine it is, that hee trauelled in great safetie and honour ouer-Land from *Sicilia* to *Rome*, where he was met vpon the way with all the Cardinals, gratulating the honourable succesſe of his Cheualrie against the Turkes, his safe returne, and new Kingdome. At his instance, Pope *Gregorie* * excommunicated the bloudy-handed *Guy Montfort* (becausе * his person could not easily be gotten, by reason of his Greatnesse, and power) with all his receiuers, and (vntill amends were made) put their whole Dominions vnder interdict, for that the said *Guy*, (sonne to *Simon*, late Earle of *Leicester*, slain at the battel of *Euesham*) in reuenge of his Fathers death (* for which he mortally hated all King *Henries* race,) had most butcherly murthered * *Henrie* of *Almaine*, King *Edwards* neere kinsman, vpon his returne toward *England*, in the raigne of the late King *Henrie*, as he was deuoutly seruing God in the Church at *Viterbo* in *Italie*; which horrible act induced a * judicious Author to suspect, that *Guy* also had a hand in that *Assassination* on *Edward*, who had slaine his Father. This *Guy* being afterward taken by the Admirall of *Arragon*, to gratifie King *Edward*, was kept in prison, & the death of *Henrie* reuenged * with his. From *Rome* hee iournyed through the Cities of *Italie*, where he was generally entertained with exceeding ioy and honour; and as he was * entring into *Sauoy*, at the stoope, or descent of the *Alpes*, very many of the *Prelates*, and *Peeres* of *England* met him, acknowledging their gladnesse for his safetie, and their duties to his Soueraigntie. In his passage, he gaue notable proofe of his great prowesse and strength at a Turnament (or rather * battel) against * the Earle of *Chabloun*, and his Burgundians: for the said Count being a gallant man at Armes, after many blowes with the Sword betweene King *Edward* and him, throwing away his weapon, grasped the King about the Gorget, and hung vpon him with the weight of his masse body, in hope to cast him to the Earth; but the King, sitting vpright, without any bending, put Spurres to his lusty Horse, and lifted the Count so hanging about his necke, quite from his Saddle, carrying him away, till he had forceably shooke him off to the ground, who recouering himselfe, & comming to redeeme his disgrace, had such entertainement, as he was contented to yeeld. In our effeminate and degenerous age, to omit such an atchieuement of a King of *England* in his owne person, had beene hainous and *piaculum*. Thus his renowne encreasing with his progresse, he had magnificent entertainement in *France*, of *Philip* the king, to whom (vpon condition to haue such territories restored, as were promised to his Father King *Henrie*, when he sold *Normandie* to the *French*) he did homage for such Signiories, as he held of the Crowne of *France*.

* *Tho. Walsingh.*
* *Polyd. Virg. l. 17.*
* *Paul. Aemyl. in Philip. 8.*
* The sonne of *Richard* King of *Romans.*
* *Paul. Aemyl. in Lud. 9.*
* *Polyd. Virg. l. 17.*
* *Ypod. Neustr. per Tho. Walsingham.*
* *Ass.* and *Mon. pag. 124.*
* *Tho. Walsing. in Edward 1.*
The maruailous strength of Body in K. *Edward.*

(8) And as well to shew his owne moderation & princely temperance, *(a vertue which makes euery man a King in himselfe, and Kings like to Gods)* as also his reuerence to the Crown of *France*, whose homager he was for his transmarine Dominions, *Guasco de Biern*, a valiant man of Armes, being in actuall rebellion against King *Edward* in his Dutchie of *Gascoigne*, was admitted to appeale for triall of his pretended causes to the *French King*, as the superior Lord. Many of King *Edwards* friends and Counsellors were vtterly aduerse to this fauour; as well becausе the said *Guasco* had drawne the King to no smal charge, and labor, as also for that now he was brought by strait siege to such extremities, as that he could no longer hold out, and himselfe, hauing all that while put his confidence in walls of stone; and the weapons poynt; there was also little reason to allow him an ordinary ciuill triall of his pretexts for taking armes; and many perhaps, both thought the example prejudicious to King *Edward* and his Succesſors, by giuing way to such appeales, and distrusted the iustice of the *French* Court: Contrary to all which, the king decreed, and it was fortunate with him; for *Guasco* (not long after) was condemned in *France*, and sent with * an Halter about his necke, to prostrate himselfe to iustice, or mercy, at King *Edwards* feete in *England*; who pardoned him the forfeiture of life, & (when hee had for certaine yeeres kept him prisoner at *Wincheſter*) set him at libertie, and sent him backe to his own, who remained for euer after gratefully firme and loyall.

* *Ypodigm. Neustr. per Tho. Walſ.*

Mercy well placed.

(9) King *Edward* (his transmarine affaires thus being setled) arriued in *England*, where he was after so long desirings most joyfully welcome, and there, in the Church of *Westminster* (the magnificent new worke of his deceased Father, who had with great cost, and after aboue fiftie yeeres spent therein, almost finished the same) he and his deareſt *Elenor* were annointed, and crowned by * *Robert Kilwarby* Archbishop of *Canterburie*. There were present at this solemnity Queene *Elenor* the Kings mother, * *Alexander* King of *Scots*, the Duke of *Britaine*, with multitudes of Peeres and others: where (as * one saith) for the more royall celebration of this great feast, and honor of so martiall a King, there were fiue hundreth great Horses let looſe, euery one to take them for his owne, who could.

* *Tho. Walsingh.*
* *Hector Boetius translа. lib. 13. Ran. Higden. in Polychr. lib. 7.*
* *John Stow.*

(10) The finall abolishment of succeſſion of the *Welsh* bloud in the *principality*, or chiefedom of *Wales* now ensued: but yet (as great matters vse) not first without some time, and certaine degrees. The originall was this; King *Edward* hauing sent for *Lewelin* Prince of *Wales* to his Coronation, there to doe him homage; he, excusing the same, was againe (for that cause) admonished to repaire to the Kings Parliament at *Westminster*: whither likewise he forbare to come, pretending it was danger to his person, but * directing his excuse to the Archbishops of *Canterburie* and *Yorke*, and their *Suffragans*, professed his readineſse, if it would please the King, *eyther to send a Commission for taking his oath, and fealtie*, (who bare him a deepe displeasure, euer * since *Lewelin* had put him, being then but Earle of *Chester*, to the worse) *or else, to appoint some indifferent place, or giue to him for hostages the* * *Kings sonne, & Robert Earle of Gloceſter, with Robert Burnell the Kings Chancellour.* But King *Edward* dissembling the arrogancy of the demand for the present, went forward in his Parliament, where the first Statutes, called of *Westminster*, and among them the Statute of *Mortmain* were enacted. But after the Parliament; the King repaired to his city of *Chester*, being very neere to *Wales*, and *Lewelin* fore-slowed his comming thither also; wherefore the King, resoluing (for deniall of

The *Welsh* affaires, and destruction of their gouernment.

The Prince of *Wales* summoned to do his homage & seruice.

* *Da. Powel p. 331.*
* *Idem pag. 328.* in his History of *Wales.*
* *Tho. Walsingh.*

The Stature of *Mortmain* first enacted.

of Homage) to ſeize vpon the whole Fee of the ſaid Prince, marcht with an Armie into *Wales*; his good fortune there was accidentally augmented by a prize, which foure ſhips of *Briſtol* tooke about the Iles of *Sillie*, wherein the daughter of *Simon Montfort* late Earle of *Leiceſter*, (who, according to a ſecret contract betweene their friends, went to be giuen in marriage to *Lewelin*) and *Aimericke* her brother, were ſurpriſed, but ſhe found honourable vſage of the King her neere kinſ-man.

An.D.1278. * *Alias Camurcijs.* (11) Meane-while, *Lewelines* affaires, by the manhood and diligence of *Pain de* * *Canuſys*, and others, who had taken *Weſt-Wales* in, and brought it to the Kings peace, thriuing but poorely, and the ſaid Prince feeling the foundations of his ſafetie beginning manifeſtly to fayle, and ſhrinke from vnder him, * ſued for peace, and had it vpon ſuch termes, which in likely-hood were not (as * *Polydor Virgil* would haue it ſeeme) granted by King *Edward, leſt he ſhould leeſe his coſt, and care, by warring againſt bogs and mountaines.* In the conditions of Peace (which was procured * with great difficulty) the moſt remarkeable (as carrying the ſhew of a farre greater riches in the poſſeſſion of the *Welſh*, euen at that time, then ſome prejudicated can eaſily beleeue) * were theſe. 1. That the Prince ſhould pay to the King for his peace and good-will, fifty thouſand pounds ſterling, the * payment whereof ſhould be in the Kings will and grace; that is (as we conceiue it) how much therof the Prince ſhould pay or not pay, and when. 2. That the ſaid Prince ſhould haue the Iſle of *Angleſey* in Fee-farme of the King, to him, and to the lawfull iſſue of his body in generall taile, for fiue thouſand Markes ready money, for * *greſſom*, or a fine in hand payde, and the yeerely rent of a thouſand Markes. The reſt of the Articles (being about eight,) amounted to ſo much as a plain Conqueſt, or diſſolution of the *Principality of Wales*, after *Lewelins* death, who was to enjoy the ſame, during his time vpon conditions.

* *Lanquet. in Epit. Chr. ex Tho. Walſing.*
* *Hiſt. Angl. l. 17.*
* *Fabian.*
* *Dauid Powel. Pag. 334. & 335.*
* *Thom. Walſing. in Edw. 1. and in Ypodig. Neuſtr.*
* Or in *Garſuma*, as ſome vſe the word.

(12) Now whereas the ſaid *Lewelin* had three Brethren, *Dauid* (whom King *Edward* fauoured) *Owen*, and *Rodericke*, it was enjoyned to him at this concluſion (made by the Lord *Robert Tiptoft*, and certaine other * Commiſſioners, vpon eyther ſide appoynted) that he ſhould appeaſe and ſatisfie his ſaid Brethren: but becauſe *Dauid* was afterward a principall Actor in the calamities which fell vpon himſelfe, his houſe, and his Country, we muſt not neglect to ſpeake ſomewhat particularly of him. This Gentleman for ſome cauſes, * flying into *England* from his Brother *Lewelin*, for his faithfull ſeruice to the State of *England*, was there honoured (contrary to the manner of his Nation) with the order of *Knight-hood*, and receiued alſo, by the bounty of King *Edward*, for his maintenance, the Caſtle of *Denbigh*, with lands to the yeerly value of one thouſand pounds, and the Daughter of the Earle of *Derby* (being then a *Widow*) to wife: *with all which bounty, the King did but entertaine a reuealer of his ſecrets, as* * *ſome* (not improbably) *doe affirme*. The State of *Wales* thus compoſed, and the Caſtle of * *Aberiſtwith* (which ſeemes to be the ſame, that by * another is ſaid to haue beene built in *Weſt-Wales* at *Lanpader Vaur*) being built by King *Edward* for aſſuring thoſe parts, the King (as he was munificent, and royall) the more to tye *Lewelins* faith, gaue vnto him the Lady, of whoſe ſurpriſe at Sea we haue mentioned, to be his conſort, honouring the Nuptials with his owne preſence, and his Queenes. And whereas *Alexander* King of *Scots* came about the ſame ſeaſon into *England* to treat with *Edward* concerning important affaires, and had formerly ſent to the *Welſh* wars, certaine aides of the *Scots*, the ſaid *Alexander* being jealous (on his countries behalfe) that thoſe aides might be interpreted, to haue beene ſent vpon duty, obtayned Letters teſtimoniall from King *Edward*, declaring *that they were not ſent of duty, or in reſpect of ſeruice due*.

* *Da. Pow. p. 336.*
* *Tho. Walſingh.*
* *Fabian, in Ed. 1.*
An. 1279.
* *Da. Pow. p. 336.*
* *Tho. Walſingh. Fabian.*
Scottiſh aydes proteſted not to be ſent of duty to King *Edward*, but of loue.

An.1282. (13) Though King *Edward* were thus deſirous to gaine the *Welſh*-Nation rather by his largeſſe, then puiſſance, hauing ſo honourably vſed *Lewelin*, he could not yet retaine their harts; for whether it were (which * ſome, to amoue the note of ingratitude, and turbulency from them, affirme,) for that there was partiality vſed by the *Engliſh* officers in diſtribution of juſtice vpon the Marches, or (which ſeems to ſome as likely) *for that they aſpired in vaine to their ancient libertie (being miſerably ſeduced with certaine* * *blind propheſies)* the *Welſh* be-tooke themſelues afreſh to Armes: for *Dauid* himſelfe, whom the King had laden with ſo many benefits and graces, became to them a principall leader, and to giue them full aſſurance of his faſtneſſe to their cauſe) reconciling himſelfe to his brother the Prince) he ſodainely and treacherouſly vpon Palme-Sunday ſeiſed the Caſtle of * *Hawardin*, ſurpriſing *Roger de Clifford*, a noble and famous Knight, whom the King had diſpatched into thoſe parts, as Iuſticiar of all *Wales*, and ſlaying ſuch vnarmed men as offered to reſiſt that violence, whence marching, he laide ſiege, together with the Prince his Brother, to the Caſtle of * *Rodolan*, doing many outrages, and killing all ſuch as they could reach, yea ſome (as it is ſaid) whoſe ranſomes * they had taken, though againſt *Lewelins* mind. And while King *Edward* ſpent his Eaſter at the *Viſes* in *Wiltſhire*, and afterward viſited the Queene his Mother, who liued in the Nunnerie at *Almesberie*, the *Welſh*, vnder diuers Captaines, had taken ſundry of the Kings * ſtrengthes and Caſtles in diuers parts. There are extant the * Copies of certaine grieuances, exhibited to *Iohn* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* by the *Welſh*, at ſuch time as of his owne accord (ſo ſay the ſaid Copies) he interpoſed himſelfe (without the Kings leaue) to ſettle their quiet; which Articles in ſhew, (for the anſweres of the Engliſh are not ſet downe) containe indeed ſundry great abuſes; but the fate of *Wales* had now inuolued them all in a deſolating warre, and made them vncapable of reliefe. For after the Arch-Biſhop had trauelled in perſon to the Prince of *Wales*, being then in * *Snowdon*, and returned, without any Concluſion made, * comming vnto *Oxford*, he there ſent out the lightnings of * excommunication againſt him and his ſeduced adherents: We ſay *ſeduced*, becauſe they did capitulate in ſuch ſort, as if they had beene able to make their party good.

* *Da. Pow. p. 336.*
* *Poly. Virg. lib. 17.*
* *Tho. Walſingh.*
* *Rudhlan. Da. Pow. pag. 337.*
* *Archb. of Cant. apud Da. Powel. Pag. 339.*
* *Tho. Walſingh.*
* *Da. Pow. p. 336.*
* *Tho. Walſingh.*
* *Antiq. Brit. in vit. Iob. Peckam.*
* *Polyd. Virg. l. 17.*

An.D.1283. (14) But though the old *Brittiſh* Principality was now to expire, yet it muſt be confeſſed, that as *Lewelin* had an end vnworthy of his bloud, being rather vnfortunately ſlaine, then otherwiſe, ſo on the other ſide the ſame hapned not without reuenge: for at one encounter in open field, *Gilbert* Earle of *Gloceſter* loſt *William Valence*, (a younger Coſen of the Kings) ſlaine in the fight, and foure other Knights, though at the ſame time alſo, many of the *Welſh* left their bodies dead vpon the earth, together with the victory to the Engliſh: but the day certainely which they had of King *Edward* himſelfe, may not be forgotten, in which the *Welſh* ſlew the * Lord *William de Audeley*, and the Lord *Roger Clifford* the yonger, and got foureteene Enſignes from the Engliſh Army, King *Edward* being enforced to enter into the Caſtle of Hope for his ſafetie. Theſe things, though not contemptible, but rather certaine deceitfull fauours, vſuall when the ruine of a Nation is by God decreed, could not vphold the cauſe. For firſt the Prince, hauing vpon ſome occaſion withdrawne himſelfe with ſome few others from his Army, which then was in the Land of *Buelth*, was ſet vpon by two principall Gentlemen, *Iohn Giffard*, and *Edmund de Mortumar*, with their Forces, and there by the hand of one * *Adam Francton* was runne through with an Horſemans ſtaffe, who at the firſt being vnknowne, had his head ſtrucken afterward off, and preſented to King *Edward*, at whoſe commandement it was * crowned with Iuie, and ſet vp for a certaine time vpon the Tower of *London*.

* *Tho. Walſingh.* King *Edward* repulſed by the *Welſh*.
* *Da. Pow. p. 374.*
* *Tho. Walſingh.*

(15) This (ſaith the * Hiſtory of *Wales*) was the

* *Pag. 374.*

end of *Lewelyn*, betrayed by the men of *Buelth*, who was the laſt Prince of *Britaines* bloud: and with him (*whom one *Verſifier* calleth *the Captaine, the praiſe, the law, and light of Nations*, and another defaceth with as many ignominious attributes) the liberty of that people did alſo dye. For it was not long but that King *Edward* ſubdued in a manner all *Wales*, and reſeruing to himſelfe the Coaſt-Townes and ſtrengths toward the Sea, diſtributed the In-Land Countries to the Lords his followers: therein prudently *following the counſell of* Auguſtus, *who thus vnder pretence of defence for the Prouinces, had the brideling of all their forces at his pleaſure.* Neuertheleſſe the whole flame was not as yet extinguiſhed, for *Dauid* the *Princes* Brother, and * chiefeſt fire-brand in this fatall combuſtion, was at large: who being taken and brought to King *Edward* at the Caſtle of *Ruthlan*, could not obtaine admiſſion to his ſight or ſpeech, but was amanded, and ſent Priſoner to *Shrewsburie*. Thither the King, hauing ſetled the State of *Wales*, repayring to a Parliament which he had ſummoned, there to bee kept after Michaelmas, cauſed *Dauid* (hauing firſt had a Legall triall * before certaine Iuſticiars for that cauſe appointed) to be ſeuerely put to death, by * hanging, heading, and quartering, whoſe head was ſet vp at *London*, and his quarters in foure other principall Cities of *England*, to the terrour of all ingratefull and diſloyall perſons. The *Welſh* Line thus thruſt from the Principality, King *Edward* vpon *Saint Markes* day had a Sonne borne vnto him in *Wales* at *Caernaruon*, who alſo was called *Edward*, and raigned after him; and that with the birth of a new Lord, the *Welſh* might be injured to new Lawes, the King eſtabliſhed (by example of King *Iohn* his Grand-father in *Ireland*) the Engliſh Lawes and Offices among them.

(16) But the King that he might not ſeeme forgetfull of his French affaires, repaired into *France*, where hee obtayned ſundry fauours, though they continued not long, and ſate in perſon there with the French King in his Parliament at the Citie of *Paris*, as a Lord or Peere of that Realme, in reſpect of ſuch Lands as he had in thoſe parts. Nor may here be forgotten an Act of ſingular munificence, and charity in this renowned King, for the redemption of *Charles* Prince of *Achaia*, ſonne and Heire of *Charles* King of *Sicilia*, who had ſome yeeres before beene taken in a battell at Sea before *Naples*, by the Gallies of *Sicilia*, fighting on the behalfe of the King of *Arragon*: for whoſe ſpeedier enlargement, King *Edward* diſburſed thirty thouſand pounds Sterling, and gaue his owne Knights in hoſtage, till *Charles* had ſent in his two Sonnes, *Robert* and *Lewis*, as pledges to *Alfonſe* King of *Arragon*: which done, King *Edward* returned into *Gaſcoigne*, and there tooke vpon him the Croſſe, in full purpoſe to finiſh the journey which once he had vndertaken, and had in part performed againſt the *Sarazens*.

(17) In the meane time, to purge *England* (whither he was now returned) from ſuch corruptions, and oppreſſions, as vnder which it groaned, and not neglecting therein his particular gaine, he baniſhed the *Iewes* out of the realm, confiſcating all their goods, leauing them nothing but money to beare their charges. And whereas they by their cruell vſuries had one way eaten his people to the bones, and his Iuſticiars (like another kinde of Iewes) had ruined them with delayes in their ſuites, and enriched themſelues with wicked corruptions, he (like a father of his Country) *put all thoſe from their offices who were found guiltie* (and they were * almoſt all) *and puniſhed them otherwiſe in a grieuous manner, being firſt in open Parliament conuicted.* The particulars whereof, by reaſon of the moſt juſt and commendable example, we will not thinke needleſſe (the order of naming them only changed) to recapitulate here. *Sir Ralph Hengham, Chiefe Iuſtice of the higher Bench, 7000. marks. Sir Iohn Louetot, Iuſtice of the lower Bench, 3000. marks. Sir William Brompton Iuſtice, 6000. markes. Sir Salomon Rocheſter, chiefe Iuſtice of Aſſiſes, 4000. M. Sir Richard Boyland, 4000. Markes. Sir Thomas Sodentone, 2000. Markes. Sir Walter de Hopton, 2000. Markes. Sir William Saham, Iuſtice, 3000. Markes. Robert Littelburie, Clerke, 1000. Markes. Roger Leiceſter, Clerke, 1000. Markes. Adam de Stratton (beſide other riches incredible) 32000. Markes.* But with one Sir *Thomas Weyland* the Kings * chiefe Iuſtice, (being found belike moſt falſe) he dealt farre more ſternely, for he not only ſeiſed vpon all his moueable goods and Iewels (which he had done to others) but alſo vpon his immoueable, and baniſht him moreouer out of the Kingdome. At which time the King conſtrayned all his Iuſtices to ſweare, that from thenceforth they would take no penſion, fee, or gift of any man, except only a breakfaſt, or the like preſent. *O diuine and ſtill neceſſary ſeuerity, onely able to breake the pernicious combination of men that vnder the profeſſion of Law and offices of Iuſtice, make merchandize of honour, iuſtice, law, & conſcience, which cannot in the end but bring forth ruine, and confuſion.*

(18) That tempeſt now, which *Thomas Erſilton*, a *Scottiſh* Rimer, is ſaid to haue obſcurely prophecied, alluding to the troubles of *Scotland*, by reaſon of King *Alexanders* death; hapned about theſe times; which raiſed ſo great, and bloudy contentions, that it had almoſt blowne vp the regality of that Kingdome by the very rootes. For when, by the violent fal from his horſe, King *Alexander* had moſt vnfortunately loſt his life, that Realme was wofully deſtitute of any apparent heire, ſundry perſons ſtanding in competition for the ſame. Theſe things were thought to be fore-ſhewed from heauen by many * fearefull preſages, as extraordinary Meteors, Flouds, Fires, and Peſtilence. But King *Edward* intending to ſway that affaire, and being vpon his way toward the borders, the death of his royall conſort, and Queene, which he lamented while himſelfe did liue, called him backe to the celebration of her funerals: as her excellent vertues did well deſerue: To our Nation ſhe was a louing mother, and (ſaith * one) the Columne, and pillar (as it were) of the whole Realme. In her honour the K. her husband (who loued her aboue all worldly creatures) cauſed thoſe many famous * tropheis, or croſſes to be erected, whereſoeuer her noble Coarſe did reſt, as it was conueyed from *Lincolneſhire* to buriall in *Weſtminſter*. Nor could any thing, but the reſpect to other weightie matters, now preſently in hand, with-hold our pen from paying to her memory a farre more copious commendation.

(19) Thoſe mourning offices as mournfully performed, the King repaires into *Northumberland*, whither the greateſt, and ſageſt perſons of the *Scottiſh* nation being come, * themſelues hauing ſought to him, *Edward* makes claime to the ſuperiority of *Scotland*, and requires that the Competitors would quietly aſſent to his award, alleaging that the Crowne of that Realme was held of him: for more credit to which aſſertion he vouched ſundry * books, and acts, whereunto the *Scots* replyed, **That they were ignorant, that any ſuch ſuperioritie belonged to the King of England: neyther could they make anſwere to ſuch things without a King, the head, vpon whom it lay to heare ſuch a denunciation, and proteſted, that other anſwere they ought not as then to giue, in regard of their Oath, which after the death of* Alexander *their King, they had made one to the other, and the ſame to keepe vnder paine of excommunication.* Whereupon the King deliuered to them his Letters Patents, in which he acknowledged, that the comming of thoſe *Scots*, on this ſide the Water of *Twede*, ſhould not be at any other time vrged to prejudice them, for comming againe into *England*: that is, *That their example ſhould not ſo be drawne to an argument of King* Edwards *right over them, as if they were to come againe vpon duty; ſo prudently iealous were theſe Patriots of their Countries libertie.*

(20) The

*Polych. lib. 7. Tho. Walſingh.

Camden. in Comitat. Flint.

An.D.1284.

*Polych. l. 7. ca. 38.

*Tho. Walſingh.

*Ranul. Ceſtr. in Polych. l. 7.

An.D.1285.

An.D.1287.

An.D.1289.

Tho. Walſingh.

Pol. Virg. lib. 17.

King Edward confiſcates the Iewes, and fines his Iuſticiars.

An. 1290.

An honourable way to enrich a King.

*Tho. Walſingh.

Iohn Stow ex Adam. Merim. Giron. Dunſt. &c.

* Stow in Edw. 1.

Scottiſh affaires.

* Hect. Boet. tranſ. lib. 13.

*Hect. Bo lib. 13.

An.D.1291.

* Walſingh.

* As Charing-Croſſe, and at Waltham, S. Albans, Dunſtable, &c.

An.D. 1292.

* Hect. Boet. lib. 14.

* Marian. Scot. willielm. Mal. Henry Hunting. Rog. Houed. &c. *Tho. Walſingh. in Edw. 1.

(20) The names of the *Competitors* were these, according to *Walsingham*: *Erick, King* of *Norway*, who appeared by his Attorneys; *Florence, Earle* of *Holland*; *Robert le Brus*, Lord of *Annandale*; *Iohn de Baliol*, Lord of *Galway*; *Iohn de Hastings*, Lord of *Abergeuenny*; *Iohn Comin*, Lord of *Badenaw*; *Patrick de Dunbar*, Earle of *March*; *Iohn de Vesci*, on his Fathers behalfe; *Nicholas de Sules*; *William de Rosse*. These all peaceably submitted themselues, *for so much as concerned their seuerall Titles to the Scottish Crowne*, to the finall award and arbitration of King *Edward*, passing thereof an authentick instrument vnto him; who hauing giuen caution to restore the Realme of *Scotland*, (within a certaine prefixed time,) to that partie to whom the *Crowne* thereof should be adjudged, had seisin deliuered to him, the better to put the sentence in execution, or (say the Writers of that Nation) they giuing him power to constraine the parties to stand to this sentence. The whole carriage of which weightie businesse, being so diuersly related and censured by the Writers of both Nations, (though for the present it be not materiall, both Kingdomes now blessedly acknowledging one absolute *Superiour*) we will so trace the steps of truth in a middle way, as resoluing neither to impeach the action of that glorious Vmpier, not prejudicate the right of our noble Sister-Nation. The State of *Scotland* now was not without manifest perill; for the *Scots** denying that their Kingdome was in any point subalterne to the Crowne of *England*, and King *Edward* either perswaded that it was so, or resoluing and plotting now to make it so, would not neglect the aduantage of this * *Akephalisis*, or *want of a knowne head* in *Scotland*.

Tho. Walsingh. Ranul. Higd. Polychr. lib. 7.

Bellendens transl. of Hect. Boet. lib. 14.

*Hect. Boet. lib. 14.

* So *Boniface* cals it in his Letters to king *Edward*.

(21) Vpon full ventilation therefore and scanning of all rights, the maine doubt rested vpon Lord *Brus* and *Baliol*, for the residue might seeme rather to affect the honour of hauing pretended title in bloud to a Diademe, then to haue colour to contend with either of them. Great was the aduise, and deliberation (as there was cause) which King *Edward* tooke therein, for not trusting to his owne judgement, he caused (saith * *Hector Boetius*) twelue of the best Clerkes or learned men of *Scotland*, and twelue of *England* to concurre, as Assessors, with him in that great decision.

*Hect. Boet. lib. 14.

An. D. 1293.

(22) While this weightie cause was in debatement; there fell out deadly strife betweene the *English* and *Normans*, occasioned by one of them casually slaine by the *English*; which mischiefe the King of *France* forwardly nourisht, as thirsting for the *dutchy* of *Gascoigne*, which best he might attain by troubling the forreine affaires of King *Edward*, whom they saw now entangled at home in so weighty employments. Whereupon the *Normans* slew sundry of the *English*, and hung vp one vpon the mast of a Ship, whom they had taken at Sea: but, ere long after, threescore *English* ships encountring with two hundreth saile of *Normans*, laden with wines, after a most bloudy battell (wherein many * thousands of the *French* were slaine) tooke, with their whole fleet, their ful reuenge, and brought them into *England*.

A famous Sea-victory of the English against the Normans.

*Thom. Walsing. saith 1500.

Hect. Boe. lib. 14.

(23) At last yet King *Edward* returning to *Berwicke*, hauing with him the said twenty foure Assessors, as it were a Iury of either Nation,* and, with the good will and assent of the *Scottish* Lords, gaue solemne judgement with *Baliol*, as being descended of the eldest Daughter of *Dauid*, Earle of *Huntingdon*, a yonger sonne of *Scotland*; whose issue (the line of the elder brother being extinct) was to inherite, without question. But the strife being betweene the descendents of the said *Dauid*, of which the Lord *Robert Bruce* was also a principall, reasons of importance were produced, which drew many mens judgement to incline to him, as hauing a neerer interest to the *Crowne*. But according to the sentence, *Baliol* was solemnly crowned King of *Scotland* vpon Saint *Andrews* day, and, in *Christmas* following, repayred to King *Edward*, at New-castle vpon *Tyne*, and * there (against the minds of many *Scots*) did homage vnto him for the whole Kingdome of *Scotland*.

*Edwardi litere ad Papam apud Tho. Walsingh.

Iudgement giuen by King *Edward*.

Lib. 14. Cap. 1.

An. D. 1294.

*Hect. Boet. transl. lib. 14. cap. 2.

(24) Meane time the *French* King pursued the reuenge of the *Normans*, demanding restitution, and citing King *Edward* iudicially to appeare to answere such wrongs as were done in *Aquitaine*: who, (desirous to settle his owne affaires at home, or, as some write, * eager vpon a match for himselfe in *France*) while hee discouered either his vnwillingnesse to appeare in that kinde, or to warre, suffered himselfe by a French deuise, to be merely deceiued, and put out of his possession of *Gascoigne*, to the great mischeife, and disaduantage of the English: whereupon King *Edward* highly incensed, called a Parliament at *London*, where *Iohn* King of *Scotland* was present; *and had the full consent of the whole Realme, to re-gaine that honestly by the sword, which was craftily gotten away by a cunning tricke*, * renouncing to the French his homage for *Aquitaine*. *Wales* also was at the same time full of troubles; but the fires of rebellion, there rashly kindled, were, not long after, quencht with the bloud of the Actors, and thousands of their Complices.

* Polychr.

An. D. 1295.

* Ypod. Neust.

(25) *Baliol* hauing thus obtained the Crowne of *Scotland*, and finding his party, by the homage which hee had made to King *Edward*, much empaired among the Scots, who greatly repined thereat; for re-gaining their loues,* attempted a secret combination with the French against the English; which *Edward* ignorant of, and * requiring him by vertue of his homage to ayde him with all his powers against the King of *France*, * discouered (by *Baliols* delayes, and trauerses) the said conspiracie. Wherupon he aduanced forward against the King of Scots with a puissant Armie to *Newcastle* vpon *Tyne*: The first bloud which was drawne was of the English, of whom, the Scots * slew almost one thousand in a village vnder the leading of one *Robert de Ros*, who had fled from King *Edward*: The City of *Carlile* likewise was assaulted, and the County of *Cumberland* spoyled by seauen Earles of *Scotland*, and their companies, which to *Edward* was not greatly displeasing, (as was said) for that the first hostile acts were done by them, whom he had a full purpose to subdue, *that at last hee might be sole in Albion*; which, had not God reserued for other times, wee might wonder hee effected not.

An. D. 1296.

* Tho. Walsing.

* Hect. Boe. li. 14.

* Thom. Walsing.

* Thom. Walsing. Polyd. Virg. lib. 17. saith but one hundreth.

(26) King *Edward* therefore presented himselfe before the strong Towne of *Berwicke* with a mighty host, there to auspicate his entrance to a conquest of *Scotland*; and, after summons sent to the Towne, abode one whole day without offer of violence: The Townesmen refusing to render, had a victory of the English Marriners, who rashly entring, with twenty and foure Ships into the harbour, were repelled, with the losse of foure of their vessels, which was soone reuenged by the forceable taking of *Berwicke*, where * *Hector Boetius* saith, there was exercised great cruelty by the English. In the Towne, the Flemish Merchants (who were smothered by the English with fire) had a very strong house in the manner of a Tower, from whence they leueld, at the entring of the English, with darts, & iauelins, one of which casually slew *Richard* of *Cornwall*, a gallant Gentleman, brother to the Earle of *Cornwall*, which, in an army heated with former contumelies, for the Scots vpon the slaughter and repulse which they had made of the English marriners, published certaine rimes in derision, as

An. D. 1297.

Lib. 14.

* Thom. Walsing. Berwick taken by King *Edward*.

(* *What wenys King* Edward *with his Longshancks*;
To haue wonne Berwicke, *all our vnthanks? &c.*)

* Fabian.

together with the remembrance of many fresh shrewd turnes, might stirre vp bloudy effects. After the Towne was thus taken, the Castle after stood not ong out, but rendred it selfe. * Sir *William Douglas*, captaine thereof, was detained prisoner, and (as* some write) Sir *Robert Bruce*: others were suffered to depart, vpon oath, to beare no armes from thenceforth against the K. of *England*. The losse of this important

* Thom. Walsing.

* Fabian.

Towne, and Caſtle was very great, for it was the key, and common Bulwarke of *Scotland*.

(27) While the Engliſh, at this place, were buſie to caſt a very deepe ditch, to hinder the ſodaine inroades of their enemies, *Iohn* King of *Scotland* ſent two religious men to the King of *England* with * letters; in which, *alledging that he was by Oath bound to defend his owne Kingdome, and people, he renounced his homage, and fealtie, as extorted by violence, and void in it ſelfe, being made without aſſent of the three eſtates of his Realme.* The reſignation was admitted, King *Edward* commanding his *Chancellor* to record the ſame for perpetuall memory, as a iuſtification of his proceedings.

* *Tho. Walſingh.*

(28) The Scots hereupon, vnder the conduct of the Earles of *Bucquhan*, *Menteth*, *Strathern*, *Ros*, *Athol*, *Marr*, and other of their nobility, made an incurſion into *England*, whence with the ſpoiles of two religious houſes, and other booties they returned: But *Patrick* Earle of *Dunbarre* came to king *Edward* ſubmitting himſelfe; and the Caſtle of *Dunbarre* (by this ſubmiſſion being vnder King *Edwards* protection) was re-gained by Scots: for recouery, or ſur-re-gaining whereof, the King ſent *Iohn* Earle of *Surrey*, and *Suſſex*, & *William* Earle of *Warwick*, who were entertained with battell by the Scottiſh Nation, of whom the Engliſh, * after cruell fight, obtained a victory of great importance, the Chaſe holding about eight miles, in which the ſlaughter was not ſmall. The ſiege of *Dunbarre* being re-inforced, King *Edward* had it yeelded vnto him, at his comming, wherein were taken three Earles, ſixe or ſeauen Barons, beſides many knights, and Eſquires, which were all ſent priſoners to diuers caſtles of *England*, and (if ſome ſay true) not put to the ſword (as *Hector* tranſported perhaps with hatred to *Edward* writes) contrary to his word, and faith giuen.

* *Tho. Walſingh.* *Hector Boetius l. 14* *Fabian.*

(29) King *Edward* knowing as well how to vſe a victory, as to get it, hauing a preſent ſpirit vpon all aduantages and turnes of fortune, takes the Caſtle of *Rocksbrough*, and (for a finall end to this affaire) marcheth to *Edenburgh* it ſelfe (the chiefe Towne of *Scotland*) which * was ſhortly rendred: Then tooke they Striueling alſo, and draue *Baliol* to the * Caſtle of *Forfar*: where *Iohn Comin* Lord of *Strabogie* ſubmitted himſelfe to King *Edward*. About this time there came to the Engliſh campe great numbers of Welſh Souldiers, with whom he releeued many of the Engliſh foote-men, tyred with ſeruice, ſending them back into *England*. Thither alſo came the Earles of *Vlſter* with bands of Iriſh.

* *Hector Boet. l. 14.* * *Poly. Virg. lib. 17.* *Tho. Walſingh.* * *Bellind. tranſl. of Hect. Boet. lib. 14.*

Welſh ayde againſt *Scotland.* Iriſh ayde againſt *Scotland.*

(30) The King of *England* proſpering thus, paſſeth with his Army ouer the * Scottiſh Sea, where while he kept the feaſt of S^t. *Iohn Baptiſt* * at *Perth* (or Saint *Iohns* Towne) there came meſſengers from *Baliol*, and the Lords his Factors, to ſue for mercy, which was granted, vpon condition, that they ſhould render themſelues to him as his ſubiects. * *Hector Boetius* ſaith, that after this agreement (wherein * *Anthonie* Biſhop of *Durham* was vſed) *Iohn Comin* brought *Baliol*, voyd of all kingly habiliments with a white rod in his hand, to the Engliſh campe at *Montros*, where he reſigned his whole right that he either had, or might haue to the Crowne of *Scotland*, into Kings *Edwards* hands, and made thereof a formall Charter in *French*, and at the ſame time alſo (for feare of life) gaue his ſonne *Edward* for hoſtage, and aſſurance of his fealtie; by which finall diſclaime, the Lord *Bruces* right might ſeeme now vnqueſtionable. But this reſignation being thus made, King *Edward* returnes to *Berwick*, where * all the Nobles of *Scotland* (at a Parliament there holden) were ſworne to be loyall, and true ſubiects to King *Edward* for euer after: and * hereof a ſolemne inſtrument was ſealed by the ſaid Lords (of whom *Iohn Comin* of *Badenaw* was firſt) bearing date at *Berwick* in the twentie fifth yeere of the reigne of their Soueraigne Lord King *Edward*.

* *Thomas Walſing.* * *Pol. Virg. lib. 17.*

* *Lib. 14.* * *Tho. Walſingh.*

The *Baliol* reſignes.

* *Bellind. tranſl. of Hect. Boet. l. 14. cap. 3.* * *Tho. Walſingh.*

(31) *Iohn* the late King, was ſent to the Tower of *London*, and there was honourably attended, hauing liberty for twentie miles about. The Scottiſh Lords were confined within *Trent*, ouer which *Riuer* they might not paſſe toward *Scotland*, vpon paine of life: The cuſtody of *Scotland* was committed to *Iohn de Warren*, Earle of *Surrey* and *Suſſex*, and the *Treaſurerſhip* thereof to *Hugh de Creſſingham*, but *William de Ormesby* was ordained *Iuſticiar*, with this particular commaundement, that he ſhould take the Homages and Fealties of all ſuch as held Lands of the King. And the more to ſhew his purpoſe, vtterly to diſſolue the diſtinct Regality of *Scotland*, and to vnite it to the Engliſh Monarchie, as he had done *Wales*, he tooke out of *Edinbrough* the *Crowne*, *Scepter*, and *Cloath of Eſtate*, offering them vp at * Saint *Edwards* ſhrine in *Weſtminſter*, if the Author miſtake not, for at Saint *Thomas* at *Canterbury*, * he offered vp *Baliols Crowne* ſaith another; and (beſides many other Acts tending to the aboliſhment of the Scottiſh Name, which * *Hector* relates, *as the burning their Records, abrogating their lawes, altering their formes of diuine ſeruice, and tranſplanting all their learnedſt men thence vnto his Vniuerſitie of Oxford*) he tooke out of the * Abbey of *Scene* the *Marble Chaire*, in which the Kings of *Scotland* were wont to be crowned, and ſent the ſame to *Weſtminſter*, for Prieſts to ſit therein at Celebration. This *Chaire* is the ſame vpon which was engrauen, the famous Propheticall *Diſtichon:*

* *Fabian.* * *Thom Walſing.* * *Bellind. tranſl. lib. 14. cap. 7.* * *Tho. Walſingh.* * *Cambden in Scotland. p. 42.* ſaith it was a ſtone incloſed within a wodden *Chaire.*

Ni fallat fatum, Scoti quocunque locatum
Inuenient lapidem, regnare tenentur ibidem,

If Fates goe right, where ere this ſtone is pight,
The Regall race of Scots ſhall rule that place.

Which by whomſoeuer it was written, we who now liue, finde it happily accompliſhed. But theſe great Acts of this yeere brought to the Commons of *England* ſmall commodity, vpon whom the charge of the warres lay heauily, *And it is not often found, that the people gaine much by their Princes Conqueſts.*

(32) The force of *Scotland* with a greater force being thus for the preſent broken, who would ſuppoſe that it could once againe haue lifted vp the head, and that *chiefly by the particular vertue of a priuate man*, as it after hapned? which he had the more opportunitie to doe, for that the King of *England* was diuerſly diuerted by occaſion of warres in *Gaſcoigne* for recouery of his owne, and for aide of his friends in *Flanders*, whom the *French* did afflict in hoſtile manner. The Captaine of the reuolted troupes in *Scotland*, was one *William Walleys* (the ſonne of * Sir *Andrew Walleys* of *Cragie* Knight, though ſome * vpon heare-ſay, write contemptibly of his courſe of life, as of a publike Robber) who, by the aſſiſtance of ſuch as were out-lawed, for refuſing to doe their Homage to King *Edward*, draue *William de Ormesby* (the Kings Iuſticiar) out of *Scotland*. Which King *Edward* hearing, diſcharged *Iohn Comin of Badenaw*, and the Earle of *Bucquhan* from their confinement, to the intent that he might by their endeuours, the ſooner ſettle matters, but withall he gaue *Iohn de Warren* Earle of *Surrey* commiſſion to leuie an Army: and the King (loath to be hindred from his other deſtinations) eaſily yeelded to ſuch requeſts as were propounded on the *Scots* behalfe for that time. The voyage which he had then in hand, was to tranſport from *Winchelſey* an Armie, to aſſiſt the Earle of *Flanders* his Confederate.

An. 1298.

* *Bellendens tranſl. of Hect. Boet. lib. 14. cap. 4.* * *Tho. Walſingh.* * *Polyd. Virg. l. 17.*

(33) *England* at this time was not without great diſcontentments, which *Humphrey de Bohun* Earle of *Hereford* & *Eſſex*, Conſtable of *England*, and *Roger Bigod* Earle of *Norfolke*, Marſhall of *England*, did countenance; for preſent ſatisfaction whereof, the King yeelded (among other things) to confirme "*Magna Charta*, and *Charta de Foreſta*, and *that* "*there ſhould no Subſidie nor taxation bee leuyed* "*vpon the people, without the conſent of the Prelates,* "*Peeres,*

"*Peeres, and people.* But before this time, and while the King was absent out of the land, the Scots, vnder the leading of *William Walleys*, put to * flight the Earle *Warren*, and all the Englisth forces which were with him, taking them at aduantage, as they were passing ouer a narrow Bridge, neere vnto the Castle of *Striueling*: the slaughter of the Englisth was not small. There *Hugh de Cressingham* Treasurer of *Scotland* for King *Edward*, fell in battell, whose dead body for speciall hatred borne vnto him, the Scots did flea, diuiding his skinne among them. The King hearing of this ouerthrowe, commaunds the Lords of *England* by his letters to bee ready to assist the said Earle *Warren* (his *Custos* or *Guardian* of *Scotland*) with their Forces, in the *Octaues* of S. *Hilary* at *Yorke*, and also to proclaime such of the Scottish Lords as came not thither, enemies of the State; but they kept themselues within *Scotland*, and came not. Whereupon the Englisth Captaines marched to the rescue of the Castle of *Rocksbrough*, whence *William Walleys* fled vpon notice of their approach to raise his siege. But King *Edward* (aduertised of these accidents) hauing taken a truce for two yeares with the King of *France*, by mediation of *Bonifacius* the Pope, who interposed himselfe (*non tanquam Iudex, sed amicabilis Compositor*, saith *Walsingham*, *not as a Iudge, but as a friendly Composer*, made hast into *England*, where his presence was extreamely wanting: but in his way home, at a Towne called * *Ardeburgh*, all the Scots almost, which hee had brought with him to serue in the Flemish wars, forsooke him, and went to *Paris*.

*Tho. Walsing. in Hect. Boet. lib. 14. Polyd. Virg. l. 17.

An. D. 1299.

* Tho. Walsingh.

(34) After his arriuall in *England*, he summoned a Parliament at *Yorke*, giuing the Scots a day to appeare thereat; *which they not doing, nor acknowledging that they ought to doe*, hee entred with a mighty Army into their Countrey, his Nauy laden with victuals coasting along; which by contrary winds being holden off for a time, put the Scots the rather in hope of victory, by reason of the scarsity of prouisions among the Englisth; but three dayes before the Scots appeared, the shippes came, and plentifully refresht the fainting souldiers. Hereupon the King led forward his people, and vpon the next morning, a terrible showt being heard from the Scottish host the Englisth ranne to armes; but the Kings horse (affrighted with the sodaine tumultuous noise) as hee was putting foot in stirrup, threw him to the earth, and striking with the hinder heeles, brake two of his ribs; who neuertheless vpon the same horse proceeded in person to the battell. *William Walleys*, who had wonne to himselfe, by many his hardy enterprises a singular opinion among the Peeres, and people, hauing set his Scots in array (whose numbers far exceeded the Englisth) vsed euery where this short speech vnto them in stead of Orations, *I haue brought you to the King, hop gif yee kun*. For their more security, he had * fixed betweene them and the Englisth, certaine Pales or stakes, bound together with ropes, which the Englisth Vauntguard brake downe, and came to strokes. The first which fled, were the Scottish Horsemen, leauing their Infantery, or battels of foote, open to that great destruction which followed, the victory resting clearely to the Englisth.

* Tho. Walsingh. The bloudy ouerthrow at Fawkirke.

(35) Our Scottish * Author writes, that by reason of emulation against *Walleys*, the Scots burning in mutuall hatred, made the enterprise easie to their enemies; which as it may be very true, so certainely there was scarse any battell betweene the two Nations, in which more Scottish bloud was spilt then in this, for thereof * *Sebastian Munster* seemes to meane, saying, that there were slaine threescore and ten thousand, which though we take not to bee the true number, (for some haue * threescore thousand, * others not so many) yet shewes it that the slaughter was vast, as it could not otherwise bee, the Scottish footmen valiantly * fighting as it were to the last man. "*Bloud worthy to haue beene shed on*

* Hect. Boet. li. 14.

* Vniuers. cosm. lib. 2.

* Tho. Walsingh.
* Ypod. Neustr.
Ranul. Cest. Polych. lib. 7.
* Fabian, & Harding.
* Polyd. Virg. l. 17.
Hect. Boet. lib. 14.

"*both sides, against another kind of enemie, then Chri-*
"*stians, the deformitie of which effusions may iustly*
"*represent to vs the blessed estate of our now setled*
"*vnion.* This victory was obtained by the Englisth vpon Saint *Mary Magdalens* day, at a place called *Fawkirke*: from which *William Walleys*, opening his way with his sword escaped. The Welshmen deserued ill of the King at this iourney, for that they fore-slowed to charge vpon the *Pallisado*, or fence of the Scots, in hope (the Englisth being vanquished which by the inequality of their numbers, they presumed would happen) that themselues might ioyntly with the Scots, *execute vpon King Edward the hatred*, which they bare him for the * euils hee had brought vpon their Nation. After this victory the King tooke sundry places, and returned into *England* by *Carlile*.

* Tho. Walsing.

(36) The two yeares truce formerly taken betweene the Englisth and French, was now, by the interceding of *Boniface* Bishop of *Rome*, turned to a setled peace, (who among other things) brought it about, that King *Edward* should marry the French Kings Sister *Margaret*, and *Edward* the Kings Sonne, the same Kings Daughter, *though* (saith *Walsingham*) *he aduanced not the good of his Realme by this match in any point*. To this affinity were added the greater strengths of a domesticke quiet, for the King (whom warres had together made renowned, and aged) graciously and wisely yeelded to confirme such graunts of lawes and liberties, as the Earles and Barons (the pretended Conseruators of the Peoples interest) did declare, were by his promise to bee confirmed to them at his returne from *Scotland*: and which hee accordingly did, in a Parliament holden at *London*, vpon prorogation, in *Quindena Paschæ*, where for their fuller satisfaction he * left out this Clause in the end, *Saluo iure coronæ nostræ, sauing the right of our Crowne:* and what at this time was wanting, he made vp afterward in a Parliament at *Stamford*.

An. D. 1300.

* Tho. Walsingh.

(37) But that hee might not seeme willing to deny the Pope any iust request, or not to know the sweetnesse of anothers freedome, hee deliuered to the hands of the Popes *Nuntios*, *Iohn* the late King of *Scotland*, (vpon their assuming for King *Edwards* indemnity,) whom they conueied to his inheritance in *France*, where (vpon euery side vnfortunate) hee remained as vnder the note of a false seducer, and of a periur'd person in King *Edwards* iudgement, and without any part of his regall office ouer the Scottish Nation; who found that the peace which King *Edward* made in other places, did but turne to their more grieuous affliction; for albeit they had gotten *Striueling* by surrender of the Englisth, and began with an immortall desire of their ancient Liberty, to assemble againe vnder *William Walleys*, yet the time was not come of their deliuerance; for King *Edward* (according as it was formerly appointed,) hauing accomplished his marriage with the French Kings sister at *Canterbury*, made it his whole affaire, to finish the annexation of *Scotland* to the Crowne of *England*.

The Baliol set at liberty.

(38) He therefore accompanied with his sonne, and a dreadfull Army, pursued the matter so close, that whereas the Scots had gotten together againe in exceeding great numbers, vnder their seuerall Captaines, (whose * Enuie had caused *Walleys* to giue vp all such authority, as the Common-wealth of *Scotland* had formerly granted vnto him, for preseruation of their freedomes,) and flying before King *Edward*, whose fortune in warre had worthily made him terrible; *that day* (in *Walsinghams* iudgement) *had been irrecouerably fatall to the Scottish name, if the Englisth had beene able to haue followed them in their Armour, ouer their bogges and mountaines, or that the Welsh had with their naturall nimblenes supplied the same.* Sure it is, that *Edward* held himselfe so fast in possession, that he neither would grant the Scottish Lords their *Baliol* to raigne ouer them, (which they

* Hect. Boet. lib. 14.

they requeſted ſaith *Walſingham*) nor ſuffer them to redeeme ſuch lands of theirs, as hee had giuen to the Engliſh among them.

The Pope interpoſeth his authority for the reliefe of *Scotland*.

(39) Armes failing, and the Scots hauing made their way in the Court of *Rome*, procured inhibitory letters from the Pope, which were brought by one *Lumbardus* into *Scotland*: but the King ſwearing a * terrible oath, ſaid, *that he would not deſiſt*. Neuertheleſſe the Scots, after a few dayes, requeſted the King to let them liue in peace till they had taken counſell of the Peeres, and of the King of *France*, threatning that otherwiſe the Pope would take the matter vpon him. But the King with a diſdainefull "ſmile, anſwered: *Haue you done homage to me (as "to the chiefe Lord of the Kingdome of* Scotland) "*and now ſuppoſe that I can bee terrified with ſwel-"ling lies, as if (like one that had no power to com-"pell) I would let the right which I haue ouer you to "ſlip out of my hands? Let me here no more of this, "for if I doe, I ſweare by the Lord, I will conſume all* "Scotland *from ſea to ſea*. On the other ſide, the Scots did boldly enough reply, *That in this cauſe they would ſhed their bloud for defence of iuſtice, and their Countries libertie.*

*Per ſanguinem Dei.

The conſtancy of the Welſhmens loue to the firſt Engliſh Prince of *Wales*.

(40) About this time the King made his ſonne *Edward*, (who was borne at *Caernaruon*) Prince of *Wales*, and Earle of *Cheſter*, which ſo greatly contented the Welſh, becauſe (in regard of his birth-place) they held him as one of theirs, that when all friends did afterward forſake him (as the following Raigne will ſhew) they alwayes ſtucke moſt loyally vnto him, expreſſing wonderfull loue and affection, and bewayling his heauie fortunes in woefull ſongs, *which neither the dread of his enemies, nor length of time could euer make them to* * *forget*.

* Tho. Walſing.

(41) But, in the matter of *Scotland*, the King not to ſeeme altogether to neglect the Court of *Rome*, addreſſed thither the Earle of *Lincolne*, and the Lord *Hugh de Spencer* with manifold complaints againſt the Scots, and iuſtification of his own proceedings; howbeit at the Popes requeſt, he granted them truce from *Hallowmas* to *Whitſontide*. This very yeare, *Caſſan* King of *Tartars* gloriouſly ſlew one hundreth thouſand Turkes in a battell vpon the plaine of *Damaſcus*, and was baptized therupon, as *acknowledging the victorie to come from the ſonne of God*: the ioy whereof filled *England*, as other the parts of Chriſtendome.

An. D. 1302.

(42) The iuſtice of the Engliſh Armes againſt the Scots, being now againe directly impugned by the Papall letters, comprehending ſundry arguments on the behalfe of that Nation, King *Edward* in a Parliament at *Lincolne* publiſhed their contents, and by conſent of the whole repreſentatiue body of the Realme, returned a copious defence of his whole proceedings, with proteſtation, firſt, *that he did not exhibite any thing as in forme of iudgement, or triall of his cauſe, but for ſatisfaction of his holy Fatherhoods conſcience, and not otherwiſe*. But whereas the Pope had required the King to ſtand to his deciſion for matter of claime, hee writes, that thereunto hee would make no anſwere, as hauing left that poynt to the Earles and Peeres of his Land: who with one "minde directly ſignifie, *that their King was not to "anſwere in iudgement for any rites of the Crowne of* "England *before any Tribunall vnder Heauen: and "that (by ſending Deputies or Attourneyes to ſuch "an end) he ſhould not make the ſaid truth doubtful, "becauſe it manifeſtly tended to the diſinheriſon of the "ſaid Crowne, which with the helpe of God, they would "reſolutely, and with all their force maintaine againſt "all men*. That the reſolution of theſe worthy pillars, thus in caſe of their Countries Crowne, and dignities, may be imitated in their following poſterities, and celebrated in our euerlaſting remembrances. We hold it here fit to record their names, ſubſcribed in their anſweres vnto Pope *Boniface*, dated at *Lincolne*, the yeare of our Redemption 1301. and 29. of King *Edward* the firſt.

Iohn Earle *Warren*.
Thomas Earle of *Lancaſter*.
Ralph de Monthermer, Earle of *Glouceſter* and *Hereford*.
Humfrey de Bohun, Earle of *Hartford* and *Eſſex*.
Roger Bigod, Earle of *Norfolke*.
Guy Earle of *Warwicke*.
Richard Earle of *Arundell*.
Adomar de Valence, Lord of *Monterney*.
Henry de Lancaſter, Lord of *Monmouth*.
Iohn de Haſtings, Lord of *Bergeuennie*.
Henrie de Percie, Lord of *Topeliſe*.
Edmund de Mortimer, Lord of *Wigmore*.
Robert Fitz-Walter, Lord of *Wodham*.
Iohn de S^t. Iohn, Lord of *Hannake*.
Hugh de Veer, Lord of *Swaneſtampe*.
William de Breuſe, Lord of *Gower*.
Robert de Monthault, Lord of *Hawarden*.
Robert de Tateſhall, Lord of *Wokeham*.
Reinold de Grey, Lord of *Ruthin*.
Henry de Grey, Lord of *Coduore*.
Hugh Bardolfe, Lord of *Wormegay*.
Robert de Clifford, Chatellaine of *Appelbie*.
Peter de Malowe, Lord of *Mulgreene*.
Philip Lord of *Kime*.
Robert Fitz-Roger, Lord of *Clauerings*.
Iohn de Moham, Lord of *Duneſtar*.
Almericke de S^t. Amound, Lord of *Widehay*.
VVilliam de Ferrers, Lord of *Grobie*.
Alane de Zouch, Lord of *Aſhbie*.
Theobald de Verdon, Lord of *VVebbeley*,
Thomas de Furniuall, Lord of *Schefield*.
Thomas de Multon, Lord of *Egremont*.
VVilliam Latimer, Lord of *Torbie*.
Thomas Lord *Berkley*.
Fowlke Fitz-VVarren, Lord of *Mitingham*.
Iohn Lord *Segraue*.
Edmund de Eincourt, Lord of *Thurgerton*.
Peter Corbet, Lord *Caus*.
VVilliam de Cantelowe, Lord of *Rauenſthorpe*.
Iohn de Beauchampe, Lord of *Hache*.
Roger de Mortimer, Lord of *Pentethlin*.
Iohn Fitz-Reinold, Lord of *Blenleuenie*.
Ralph de Neuill, Lord of *Rabie*.
Brian Fitz-Allane, Lord of *Bedale*.
VVilliam Marſhall, Lord of *Hengham*.
VValter Lord *Huntercombe*.
VVilliam Martin, Lord of *Cameis*.
Henrie de Thies, Lord of *Chilton*.
Roger le VVare, Lord of *Iſefield*.
Iohn de Riuers, Lord of *Angre*.
Iohn de Lancaſter, Lord of *Griſedale*.
Robert Fitz-Paine, Lord of *Lainnier*.
Henry Tregoze, Lord of *Garinges*.
Robert Hipard, Lord of *Lomford*.
VValter Lord *Faucomberge*.
Roger Strange, Lord of *Elleſmere*.
Iohn Strange, Lord of *Cnokin*.
Thomas de Chances, Lord of *Norton*.
VValter de Beauchampe, Lord of *Aleceſter*.
Richard Talbot, Lord of *Eccleſwell*.
Iohn Butetourt, Lord of *Mendeſham*.
Iohn Engain, Lord of *Colum*.
Hugh de Poinz, Lord of *Cornualet*.
Adam Lord of *VVels*.
Simon Lord *Montacute*.
Iohn Lord *Sulle*.
Iohn de Melles, Lord of *Candeburie*.
Edmund Baron *Stafford*.
Iohn Louell, Lord of *Hackings*.
Edmund de Haſtings, Lord of *Elchunhonokes*.
Ralph Fitz-VVilliam, Lord of *Grinthorpe*.
Robert de Scales, Lord of *Neuſels*.
VVilliam Tuchet, Lord of *Lewenhales*.
Iohn Abadan, Lord of *Deuerſton*.
Iohn de Hauerings, Lord of *Grafton*.
Robert la VVard, Lord of *VVhitehall*.
Nicholas de Segraue, Lord of *Stowe*.

VValter

Walter de Tey, Lord of *Stongraue*.
Iohn de Liſle, Lord of *Wodton*.
Euſtace, Lord *Hacche*.
Gilbert Peche, Lord of *Corbie*.
William Painell, Lord of *Trachington*.
Roger de Albo monaſterio.
Foulke le Strange, Lord of *Corſham*.
Henry de Pinkenie, Lord of *Wedon*.
Iohn de Hodeleſton, Lord of *Axers*.
Iohn de Huntingfield, Lord of *Bradenham*.
Hugh Fitz-Henry, Lord of *Rauenſwath*.
Iohn Daleton, Lord of *Sporle*.
Nicholas de Carru, Lord of *Mulesford*.
Thomas, Lord *de la Roche*.
Walter de Muncie, Lord of *Thornton*.
Iohn, Lord of *Kingſton*.
Robert Haſting the Father, Lord of *Chebeſſey*.
Ralph, Lord *Grendon*.
William, Lord *Leiborne*.
Iohn de Greiſtocke, Lord of *Morpath*.
Mathew Fitz-Iohn, Lord of *Stokenham*.
Nicholas de Neuill, Lord of *Wherlton*.
Iohn Painell, Lord of *Ateli*.

Pope *Boniface* thus ſeeing the reſolutions of theſe Lords, and hauing enough to doe againſt the French King, proceeded no further in theſe buſineſſes; but let fall his action, and left the Scots to defend themſelues as they could. Meane time Sir *Iohn Segraue*, Lord *Segraue*, a renowned Souldier, was ſent Gouernour or *Cuſtos* into *Scotland*, with an Armie, after the Truce expired, which at the French Kings inſtance, King *Edward* had yeelded vnto for a time; *Iohn Cumin*, who had alſo beene a Competitor for the Crowne, was choſen by the Scots * for their Gouernour.

An.D.1303.

* Hect. Boet. lib. 14.

(43) We may not here ouer-paſſe a victory (at *Roſſelin*) which the Writers of that Nation celebrate, wherein the Engliſh were by them ouercome, howbeit there is in our Writers much variety in that relation. It is the ſaying of *Hector Boetius*, that the *Engliſh* were about three for one, our ancient and later Authors ſay, that the *Scots* had farre the * more people; hee affirmes, that it was in the plaine field, ours, that it was an * Ambuſh; hee, that the *Scots* did put to flight, and tooke the ſpoiles of three whole battels, in either of which were * 10000. *Engliſh*, ours, that the *Scots* by reaſon of their multitudes did onely ouer-beare the Vauntgard, from which the neareſt of the other battels was * foure miles off. All agree in this, that the Lord *Iohn Segraue* (*Ralph Confrey* ſaith *Hector*) who had the poynt or voward of the Engliſh (whoſe Generall hee alſo was) by diuiding his Army into three parts for their better reliefe, weakened ſo his whole force, that thereby, and his vnaduiſed forwardneſſe (impatient to ſtay for his other powers) hee gaue occaſion to the Scots of ſuch a victory. They had alſo taken the perſon of the ſaid Lord Generall, but * Sir *Robert de Neuile*, who with others was at diuine Seruice, hearing thereof, came with his troupes of Horſe, reſcued *Segraue*, ſlew many, put many to flight, and brought away backe the reſt of the priſoners, without * the loſſe of any one man of his owne. The ſaid Scottiſh Chronicle makes no mention of *William Walleys*, at this diſcomfiture of the *Engliſh*, but giues the whole glory therof to *Cumyn*, and to *Simon Fraſer*: whereas we attribute all to *Walleys*, and make no mention of the other, with farre leſſe wrong to the immortall deſerts of *VValleys*; for he vndoubtedly, was the onely man, who kept vp *Scotland*, till neere the time of deliuerance.

An.D.1304.

* Thom. Walſ. Abington. Polyd. Virg. li. 17.
* Thom. Walſingh.
* Bellind. tranſl. of Hect. Boe. li. 14. c. 6.
* Polyd. Virg. l. 17.
* Abington.
* Thom. Walſing.

(44) The *Scottiſh* Nation (as * *Hector* reports) "*had for their warrant in conſcience, and iuſtificati-*
"*on of reſiſtance, the Popes iudgement, who vpon*
"*ripe deliberation in their matter, decreed* (ſaith
"hee) *that the* Scots *had iuſt action of battaile in*
"*defence of their liberties againſt King* Edward: who not much eſteeming the doome of that Oracle, vpon the other ſide was perſwaded hee might proceed to ſubdue them wholly to his dominion: and therefore, (vpon report that the Scots were not onely vp in Armes, but encouraged to greater attempts by this late ſucceſſe,) came in perſon with a dreadfull hoſt, piercing therewith * through all *Scotland*, from one end thereof to the other; from *Rockſbrough* to *Catnes*, which is the fartheſt poynt in the length of that Land, being about three hundreth myles: whither hee marched by ſmall iourneyes, not an enemy appearing with power to empeach him. For they, vnable to make head, being ſo continually waſted, did either for their ſafety betake themſelues to the woods, and Mountaines, with their *VValleys*, or wholly ſubmitted themſelues, * ſwearing to bee true to King *Edward*, there being in all *Scotland* but one Caſtle (the Caſtle of *Striueling*) which ſtood out, and that alſo (vpon King *Edwards* reture from *Catnes*) was * abſolutely ſurrended to him; and therefore no great cauſe, why *Hector* ſhould call King *Edward* falſe Tyrant, for committing the Captaine and Garriſon of that Caſtle to ſundry Priſons: So that, had not God in his eternall prouidence, fauouring the liberty of that people, ordained ſome in-acceſſible places, and naturall ſtrengths, where no Armie could march nor bee maintained, the Scots had in all likelyhoode perpetually vndergone the ſame fortune, which we the Engliſh were brought into, for want of the like, by *VVilliam* the firſt, and his *Normans*.

* Bellindens tranſl. lib. 14. cap. 6.
* Hect. Boetius lib. 14. cap. 7.
* Thom. Walſing.

"(45) *Therefore let prophane diſcourſes (with*
"*their Father* Epicurus *and* Lucretius) *bluſh*
"*and tremble, as often as they ſhall dare to inſi-*
"*nuate any thing againſt Gods wiſedome in the Fa-*
"*bricke of the world, as if the Craggie, and deſert*
"*places thereof, had no vſe in nature, when (omit-*
"*ting all other reaſons of their being) the conſerua-*
"*tion of Kingdomes, and Nations, was thus by them*
"*effected. VVee had an* * *Herward in the Conque-*
"*rours time, aſwell as the* Scots *had a* Walleys *in*
"*this; and wee might perhaps at this houre haue*
"*beene without French mixtures, if God had proui-*
"*ded our Country of ſuch Waſtes, and deſerts, as ei-*
"*ther they or the VVelſhmen did enioy, who for ma-*
"*ny hundreths of yeares, after the ruine of their Mo-*
"*narchie in* Britaine, *vpheld, in ſome ſort, their liber-*
"*ty, when the* Engliſh *had twice by* Danes, *and* Nor-
"mans, *in the meane time, vtterly loſt it.*

* Matth. Paris.

(46) *Scotland* (ſaith * *Hector*) being in this manner ſubdued, and all the ſtrengths of buildings; and the Nobility thereof at King *Edwards* diſpoſition, hee hauing ordered the affaires thereof as himſelfe thought beſt, left the cuſtody thereof againe to * *Segraue*, and in his triumphall returne through *England* from *Dunfermelin* in *Scotland*, where he kept his *Chriſtmas*, cauſed the Courts of the Bench, and Exchequer, which had beene ſeauen yeares kept at *Yorke*, (for the more commodity of his Scottiſh expeditions) to bee reduced to *London*, their auncient reſidence. Moreouer hee ordained *Iuſtitiars* for *Trailbaſton*, who were to enquire of man-ſlaughters, Ruffians, Diſſeiſors, Boot-halers, Incendiaries, and other perturbers of the common quiet, and them to puniſh, by fine, death, and otherwiſe, which brought to the Realme much reſt, and to the King much riches.

* Lib. 14. A.D.1305. After *Walſinghams* account which we follow in all his reigne, and ſo farre as he wrote, being till *Hen. 5.*
* Thom. Walſing.

(47) But, the more to ſecure King *Edward* in the Scottiſh Kingdome, it was not long, but that *VVilliam VValleys* (whom an Earle of *Scotland* in the beginning of his reſiſtances had honoured (ſaith *VValſingham*) with the girdle of * Knight-hood) was brought vp priſoner to *London*, being treaſonably taken at *Glaſco* by * one Sir *Iohn Menteth* (though * *Polydor Virgil*, ſaith the *Engliſh* tooke him in warre) where hee had publike triall at *VVeſtminſter*, and * denying that he was a Traitour to the King of *England*, was there for other his crimes (as burning of Townes, taking of Caſtles, killing the Engliſh, &c.) adiudged to death, which ſentence was executed

An.D.1306.

* Militie.
* Hect. Boet. cap. 1. lib.
* Pol. Virg. lib. 17.
* Read *Iohn Stow* in *Edward 1.*

executed vpon him, & his head & quarters ſet vp in ſeuerall places ouer the Iſland, his right * leg at *Perth* or Saint *Iohns* Towne in *Scotland*, and his left at *Aberdein*. This was the end of *Walleys*, whom his Countrey had once by common conſent choſen for their defender, and * *Captaine Generall*, and, for his deſerts towards her, doth place in glory farre aboue the Starres, as the onely perſon, by whoſe example, the Scots had their ſpirits kept awake, and quicke vpon all occaſions, by which they might recouer the Gouernment out of the hands of the *Engliſh*, whoſe Raigne ouer them this *Walleys* neither by faire meanes, nor by force could euer bee drawne to endure, or looke vpon with a patient eye; whom though (with * *Hectors* Tranſlatour) we doe not call a *Martyr*, yet muſt wee thinke his Countrey honoured in him, wiſhing many the like in our owne.

* *Holinſh. pa. 303.*

* *Bellind. tran. lib. 14. cap. 4.*

* *Bellind. lib. 14. cap. 8.*

(48) Let no man now make doubt to write vp King *Edward* among the greateſt of our *Engliſh Monarchs*, for (beſides the whole Ilands of *Britaine* and *Ireland*) he alſo held *Aquitaine*, which about two yeares before, the King of *Fraunce* (entangled with troubles otherwiſe) did reſtore, and the City of *Burdeaux* of the owne accord ſubmitted it ſelfe againe to the Engliſh Scepter, as that wherewith it had formerly beene ſo long, and well acquainted; and to gratifie the ſame *Edward* the King of *Fraunce* alſo baniſhed the Scots out of his dominons. Thus was King *Edward* poſſeſſed of *Scotland*; which neuertheleſſe (*that the world may ſee Gods hand in tranſlating of Kingdomes*, being a * poynt of his prerogatiue) was not long after pluckt from his Sonne; and the calamities which the Scots had ſuffered, whelmed backe vpon the Engliſh. Which peculiar art of diuine prouidence you will more eaſily acknowledge, when you ſhall behold by how naked an inſtrument hee raiſed againe the Scottiſh Common-wealth out of that duſt, in which for a little ſeaſon it ſeemed to lye buried.

King *Edward* one of the greateſt Engliſh Monarchs.

Tho. Walſing. ad An. Dom. 1306.

* Daniel, cap. 2. verſe 21.

(49) *Walleys* therefore being take̅n out of the way, the Lord *Robert Bruce* (betweene whom, and the vnfortunate *Baliol* the maine ſtrife lay for the *Diadem*) beholding the ſtate of his Countrey, for which *Walleys*, without intereſt to the Crowne thereof, had ſtood ſo nobly, and deſirous to giue it a new head by making himſelfe *King* (whereto by *Baliols* ſurrender his other right was made more paſſable) had for that purpoſe entered into a conſpiracy with *Cumyn*, whoſe diſcloſure thereof (as Scots do write) brought into apparant danger the Lord *Bruces* life, who was then attendant in the Court of *England*. King *Edward* vpon the firſt diſcouery of the plot not crediting the ſame, *Bruce*, moſt conſtantly denying it, and caſting the accuſation, with good probability, vpon *Cumyns* enuie, had time, and warning to eſcape. For an Earle (ſaith *Boetius*) ſent vnto him twelue Striueling pence, and a paire of ſharpe *ſpurres*, preſently vpon his departure from the King, which he wittily interpreted to be a *Symbole of ſpeedy flight*. According whereunto he forth-with ſped from *London*, where King *Edward* kept *Chriſtmas*, ſhooing his horſes backward, that he might not be followed by their prints vpon the ſnow, and with his owne hand thruſt his Sword into *Cumyn* * in the Church of the *Friers Minors* at *Dunfreis* in *Scotland*, whom two of *Bruces* friends with other mortall thruſts diſpatched. *Bruce* knowing now no way to anſwere the fact, but by open defection, which he did reſolue vpon, did thereupon procure himſelfe to be crowned King of *Scotland* about our Ladies day in *March* in the *Abbey of Scone*.

The Lord *Rob. Bruce*, purſues his right to the Crowne.

* *Thom. Walſing. Heſt. Boet.*

King *Robert Bruce* of *Scotland.*

An. D. 1307.

(50) Such an attempt as this could not be long hidden from King *Edward*, who hauing at the *Whitſontide* next after honoured *Edward* Prince of *Wales*, his eldeſt Sonne, with the order of Knight-hood at *London*, ſent him againſt King *Robert* into *Scotland*, attended with a troupe of noble young Gentlemen, *Aymery de Valence* Earle of *Pembroke*; *Robert de Clifford*, and *Henry de Percie* being gone before with an Armie, and King *Edward* preparing to come after, appoynting the *Rendeuous* of his owne hoſt to be at *Carleil*. Where, in a Parliament, beſides prouiſions for the Warres, ſundry conſultations and courſes were entred, for repelling another kinde of enemy no leſſe dangerous to the State; to wit, the Pope, and his * *ſtill continued extortions in this Land, whereof greeuous complaints were made in that Aſſembly*; and both the *Clergie there* * *appealed from* the *Popes Bull*, and his *Cardinal-Legats* exactions: and alſo *the Kings Councell was driuen to enact ſome orders* for brideling their exceſſiue depilations.

Thom. Walſing. ad An. Dom. 1306.

Thom. Walſing.

A Parliament at *Carleil.*

* *Matth. Weſtmin.*

* *Ibidem.*

(51) Meane time *Aymery de Valence* at *Perth* in *Scotland* had put to flight King *Robert Bruce*, and purſued him ſo neere, that he tooke his Wife, his brother *Nigellus*, and others, but himſelfe eſcaped into the vtmoſt Iles of *Scotland*. This hanſell taken at the entrance to his *Regality*, draue his people into ſuch deſpaire of his future better fortunes, that there remayned onely two friends vnto him, the Earle of *Lenox*, and *Gilbert Hay*; the reſt, as the Earle of *Athol*, at *London*, (who had twice reuolted) and his brother *Nigellus* at *Berwick*, were put to death as all others his chiefe partakers were, or elſe kept priſoners in *England*. In which number was King *Roberts* wife (daughter to the Earle of *Vlſter* in *Ireland*) and his daughter, the *Biſhops of Glaſco*, and S^t. *Andrewes*, the *Abbot of Scone and others*. The Counteſſe of *Bucquhan*, ſiſter to the Earle of *Fife* (then abſent in *England* at his mannor of * *VVhitwick* in *Leiceſterſhire*, whoſe office it was to haue crowned the *Scottiſh king*) was alſo taken; and becauſe (in her brothers abſence) ſhe had ſtolne from the Earle her husband, with all his great horſe, to * ſet the Diadem vpon *Bruces* head, it was deuiſed that ſhe ſhould be ſet in a wodden cage (made * *Crowne*-wiſe) vpon the wals of *Berwick* Caſtle, for all to wonder at. This ridiculous reuenge was held ſufficient, without taking her life, though ſhe were a man-like Woman, and did herein but the part of a noble-ſpirited Lady. Thus was King *Robert* (ſaith the *Scottiſh* * tranſlator of *Boetius*) brought to ſuch miſery, *that he was ſometime naked and hungry without meat, or drinke, ſaue only water and rootes of hearbes, and his life perpetually in danger*. Howbeit, *hee neuer forſooke himſelfe*, but as one that had firme truſt in God, cheriſhed an hope in his minde, at one time or other to recouer the Crown. In which condition he exhibited himſelfe ſo noble a ſpectacle as in which euen the * morall *Heathen* doe teach, that the Gods themſelues tooke pleaſure; how then can Chriſtians looke off? Certainely, all generous ſpirits, whom cruell injuries oppreſſe, haue reaſon to dwell in this patterne of Chriſtian magnanimity and patience.

* *Hollinſh. pag. 314*

* *Tho. Walſingh.*

* *Matth. Weſtmin.*

* *Bellind. li. 14. f. 8.*

The hard eſtate of the noble *Bruce.*

* *Seneca lib. de Prouidentia.*

(52) King *Edward* alſo on the other ſide (like a Chriſtian Prince) as he had ſome yeares before, by his ſpeciall Letters) directed to the * Archbiſhop of *Canterburie*,) requeſted *that publique prayers ſhould be made to Almightie God for him, his Realme and people, that the heauenly Maieſty would direct his way and workes to the glory of his holy name, and aduancement of the Kingdome*; ſo now repayred he with his Lords to *Weſtminſter*, after this diſcomfiture of his enemies, there ſolemnely to render vnto God his humble thanks for the Conqueſt, wherof he thus held himſelfe aſſured. Which confidence drew him on ſo farre, that now (his turnes being ſerued, as he thought againſt the *Scots*) he refuſed to ſtand to the confirmation which he had made to his Barons, of ſuch Lawes and Liberties as haue before beene mentioned, pretending that they had forced his conſent: and doubtleſſe, as great was the Kings fault thus to renounce what he had ſolemnly ſworne, (* *though indeede it was on ſome neceſſitie and enforcement*) ſo the Popes warranting thereof (which certainely encouraged the King thereunto) is moſt execrable, who afterward abſolued him (as other Popes had done to his Predeceſſors) from obſeruance of that oath.

* *Epiſtola Edwardi 1. apud Thom. Walſingh.*

King Edward recals his Charters of liberties.

* *Nich. Trivet.*

(53) The

An.D.1308. *Ann.Reg.35. & vlt.*

Bruces fortunes turne faire.

(53) The miraculous deliuerance of *Scotland* was now at hand; for the noble *Bruce*, not ſtaying till King *Edward* were dead (who was now about threeſcore and eight yeares of age,) came forth out of the Scottiſh Ilands with ſuch powers as hee had gotten together, taking the Caſtles of *Carricke*, *Inuerneſſe*, and many other, doing many things aboue the opinion of his meanes. To put an end to all which troubles, King *Edward* reſolued once againe in perſon (notwithſtanding his age,) to enter *Scotland* with a mighty hoaſt, which he appointed to attend him at *Carliel* in *Cumberland*, three weekes after Midſommer day: where God viſiting him with his laſt ſickneſſe, he commanded his Sonne the Prince to repaire with ſpeed vnto him, vnto whom being come, he vttered many admonitions and precepts, the ſumme whereof was * this.

* *Tho. Walſingh.* King *Edwards* laſt ſpeeches to the Prince.

"(54) That hee ſhould bee mercifull, iuſt and "courteous, conſtant in word and deed, *familiar to* "*the good, and toward ſuch as were in diſtreſſe alwaies* "*pittifull.* That after his death he ſhould not haſten "to take the Crowne of *England*, till hee had ho-"nourably reuenged the iniuries of his Father, and "accompliſhed the preſent ſeruice. That hee "ſhould carry his Fathers bones about with him in "ſome coffin, till hee had marched through all *Scot-*"*land*, and ſubdued all his enemies, for that none "ſhould be able to * ouercome him while his *Ske-*"*leton* marched with him. Moreouer, hee com-"maunded the ſaid Prince to loue his * Brethren, "*Thomas* and *Edmund*; but eſpecially to tender and "reſpect his Mother *Queene Margaret*. * *That* "*vpon paine of his malediction, and curſe, he ſhould* "*not preſume without common conſent to repeale*" Piers de Gaueſton, *who for abuſing the tender yeares* "*of the Prince with wicked vanities, by common de-*"*cree was baniſhed.* That whereas himſelfe, by the "continuall, and new attempts of *Bruce*, could not "in perſon (according to his vow) make warre in "the Holy-land, therefore hee ſhould ſend his *Heart* "thither, accompanied with ſeauenſcore Knights, "and their retinues, for whoſe ſupport he had proui-"ded thirty and two thouſand pounds of ſiluer. That "his *Heart* being ſo by them conueied, hee did hope "in God, that all things there would proſper with "them. Laſtly, *That vpon paine of eternall damna-*"*tion, the ſaid money ſhould not be expended vpon a-*"*ny other vſes.*

* Becauſe the care to preſerue them from enemies would make a Sonne fight nobly.

* They were his brethren by the Queene *Margaret* a ſecond wife of the King.

* *Piers Gaueſton* among his laſt warnings.

(55) With theſe admonitions diſmiſſing the light young man from his preſence, to accompliſh (ſo prouident was hee to the very end of his ſtate affaires) the marriage with the French Kings Daughter, which had beene formerly agreed vpon betweene the Parents; hee aduanced neerer to the enemy vnto *Burgh vpon Sands*, where his lingering *Diſſenterie* encreaſing (for that was the ſickneſſe whereof hee dyed, though one maleuolently ſaith, hee died ſodainely, without ſhew of repentance for his ſinnes) hee tooke his * leaue of this world, after no leſſe preparation (no doubt) for his own ſoules health, then carefull promotion for the carriage of his ſonne, and ordering of his Kingdome. Which puiſſant Princes raigne and life, wee cannot heere ſhut vp with a nobler *Euloge*, then that wherewith our * Great and Iudicious Antiquary hath already deportrayed him, as *a Prince of chiefe renowne, to whoſe heroicke minde God proportioned (as a moſt worthy Manſion) a bodie anſwerable, ſo that as well in beautie and goodly preſence, as in wiſedome and valour, hee was ſutable to the height of his Regall Dignitie, whoſe flouriſhing youth his Deſtinie did exerciſe with many warres and troubles of the State, ſo to frame & fit him for the Britiſh Empire; which, being King, he ſo managed with the glory of his Welſh and Northerne victories, that by due deſert he is to be reputed a chiefe honour of Britannie.*

* *Menſe Junij die Veneris.*

* *Cambden in Cumberl.*

His VViues.

(56) *Eleanor*, the firſt Wife of King *Edward*, was Siſter to *Alphonſus* King of *Caſtile*, Daughter to King *Ferdinando* the third, and onely Childe of *Ioan* his ſecond Wife, Daughter and Heire of *Iohn* Earle of *Ponthieu*. Shee was married to him at *Bures* in *Spaine*, in the thirty ninth yeare of King *Henrie* his Father, 1254. ſhee was crowned with him the day of his Coronation, and liuing his Wife (in louely participation of all his troubles, and long voyages) thirty ſixe yeares, dyed at *Herdeby* in *Lincolnſhire*, *Nouember 29.* of her Husbands raigne 19. An. Dom. 1290. ſhe is buried at *VVeſtminſter*, at the feet of King *Henry* the third, vnder a faire Marble Tombe, adorned with her portraiture of Copper guilt; * other coſtly monuments of her Husbands loue being in euery place erected where her Hearſe reſted, as it was conueied from *Herdeby* to *VVeſtminſter*.

* The Croſſes at *Charing*, *Waltham*, *Dunſtaple*, &c. *Stow in Edwar.* 1.

(57) *Margaret* his ſecond Wife, being Siſter of *Philip* the fourth, ſurnamed the *Faire*, King of *Fraunce*, and eldeſt Daughter of *King Philip* the *Hardy*, Sonne of S. *Lewis*, was married to him at *Canterbury*, on Thurſday, September 8. of her Husbands raigne 27. An. Dom. 1299. after almoſt eight yeares marriage, ſuruiuing him, ſhe remained a Widow ten yeares, and deceaſing 10. of *Edward 2.* Ann. Dom. 1317. was buried at the Gray-Friers in *London*, before the Altar, in the Quire which her ſelfe had built.

His Iſſue.

(58) *Iohn*, the eldeſt Sonne of King *Edward*, and Queene *Elenor*, was borne at *VVindſor*, in the raigne of King *Henry* his Grandfather, before his Fathers voyage into *Syria*, and in his abſence, was committed to the charge of *Richard* King of *Romans*, his great-Vncle, and others, who procured principall men of euery Hundred in each County within the Realme, to ſweare their fealty to his Father and him, but hee dyed ſhortly after, being a Childe, and was buried at *Weſtminſter* by the wall, betweene Saint *Edmunds* and Saint *Bennets* Chappell, *Auguſt 8.* in the laſt yeare of King *Henry* his Grand-fathers raigne; there is remaining ouer him a Tombe of Marble in-layed, with his picture in an Arch ouer it.

(59) *Henry*, the ſecond Sonne of King *Edward* and Queene *Elenor*, deceaſed alſo being a Childe, the newes of whoſe death was brought to his Father, being then in the Iſle of *Sicill*, in his returne from the Holy-Land, not long before the report of his owne Fathers death came to his knowledge: hee was buried in Saint *Peters* Church at *Weſtminſter*, the twentieth day of *Nouember*, in the firſt yeare of his Fathers raigne, Ann. Dom. 1272. in the ſame place, and vnder the ſame Tombe where his Brother *Iohn* lyes, with his picture alſo in the Arch aboue it.

(60) *Alphonſe*, the third ſonne of *Edward* and Queene *Elenor*, was borne at the Towne of *Maine* in *Gaſcoigne*, as his Father and Mother were in their returne towards *England* from *Ieruſalem*, *Nouember 23.* in the ſecond yeare of his Fathers raign, 1273. hee deceaſed at *VVindſor*, *Auguſt 4.* in the twelfth yeare of his age, 1285. and was buried at *VVeſtminſter* in Saint *Peters* Church by Saint *Bennets* Chappell, where his body lyeth vnder the Tombe of his Brothers, *Iohn* and *Henry*, his Image alſo there portrayed with theirs.

(61) *Edward*, the fourth ſonne of King *Edward* and Queene *Elenor*, was borne *Aprill 25.* in the thirteenth yeare of his Fathers raigne, 1284. at *Caernaruon* in *North-VVales*, and after the death of *Lewelin ap Griffith*, in regard of the place of his Natiuity, was by his Fathers Creation, with the conſent of the *VVelſh*, made Prince of *VVales*, the firſt of the Sonnes and Heires apparant of the Kings of *England*, that bare that Title, which afterward became ordinary to moſt of the reſt: hee was

alſo Earle of *Ponthieu* and *Cheſter*, and being made Knight by his Father at *London* on Whitſunday, in the thirtie fourth yeare of his Raigne, 1306. ſucceeded him the ſame yeare in the Kingdome of *England* and *VVales*.

(62) *Elenor*, the eldeſt daughter of King *Edward* and Queene *Elenor*, was borne at *VVindſor*, in the fiftieth yeare of King *Henry* her Grand-father, ſhe was married with all Ceremonies of Proxie to a Deputy for *Alphonſe* King of *Aragon*, ſonne of King *Peter*, who deceaſed, An. Dom. 1292. before the ſolemnization of marriage, leauing his Kingdome to his Brother *Iames*, and his new wife to another huſband, who was married at *Briſtow*, in the two and twentieth yeare of her Fathers raigne, 1293. to *Henrie* the 3. Earle of *Barrie*, whoſe Earledome lay in the Eaſt-borders of *Champaigne* in *France*. She had Iſſue by him *Edward* Earle of *Barrie*, from whom deſcended the Earles and Dukes of that Countrey, whoſe inheritance, by Heires general, deuolued to the Kings of *Aragon*, and from them againe to the Dukes of *Anion* that were Kings of *Sicill*. *Henrie* another ſonne of hers was Biſhop of *Troys* in *Champaigne*. *Helen* her daughter was married to *Henrie* Earle of *Bloys*; and *Ioan* to *Iohn Warren* Earle of *Surrey*, ſhe was his wife fiue yeares, and deceaſed 27. of her Fathers raigne, An. Dom. 1298.

(63) *Ioan* the ſecond daughter of King *Edward*, and Queene *Elenor*, was borne in the firſt yeare of her Fathers raigne, 1272. at a City in the Holy-land ſometime named *Ptolomais*, commonly called *Acon* and *Acer*, where her Mother remained during the warres that her Father had with the *Sarazens*. She was, at eighteene yeares of age, married to *Gilbert Clare*, called the *Red*, Earle of *Gloceſter* and *Hereford*, by whom ſhe had iſſue, Earle *Gilbert* ſlaine in *Scotland* without iſſue; *Elenor*, married firſt to *Hugh Spencer* (in her right, Earle of *Glouceſter*,) and after to *William Zouch* of *Ricards* Caſtle. *Margaret*, firſt married to *Peter Gaueſton*, Earle of *Cornwall*, after to *Hugh Audeley* Earle alſo of *Glouceſter*; and *Elizabeth* Lady of *Clare*, married firſt to *Iohn*, ſonne and heire to *Richard Burgh*, Earle of *Vlſter* in *Ireland*, Mother of *William Burgh* Earle of *Vlſter*, and Grandmother of *Elizabeth*, Dutcheſſe of *Clarence*; ſecondly, to *Theobald* Lord *Verdon*, and laſtly, to Sir *Roger Damary*. This *Ioan* ſuruiued her husband, and was re-married to Sir *Ralph Monthermere* a Baron, Father to *Margaret* the Mother of *Thomas Mountacute* Earle of *Salisburie*, of whom the now Viſcount *Mountacute* is deſcended; ſhee liued thirty eight yeares, and deceaſed in the firſt yeare of her Brother King *Edwards* raigne, and is buried at the Fryer *Auſtines* in *Clare*.

(64) *Margaret* the third daughter of King *Edward* and Queene *Elenor*, was borne at the Caſtle of *Windſor*, in the third yeare of her Fathers raigne, and of our Lord, 1275. When ſhe was fifteene yeares of age, ſhee was married at *VVeſtminſter*, *Iuly 9.* in the eighteenth yeare of her Fathers raigne, An. Do. 1290. to *Iohn* the ſecond, Duke of *Brabant*, by whom ſhe had iſſue Duke *Iohn* the third, Father of *Margaret*, wife of *Lewis* of *Mechlin* Earle of *Flanders*, and Mother of the Lady *Margaret*, the Heire of *Brabant* and *Flanders*, who was married to *Philip* Duke of *Burgundy*.

(65) *Berenger*, the fourth Daughter of King *Edward* and Queene *Elenor*, was borne the 4. of her fathers raigne, An. 1276. as *Iohn Euereſden* the Monke of S^t. *Edmundsburie* in *Suffolke*, hath recorded in his Booke of Engliſh Annales, but other mention there is none, but onely from him: whereby it is likely that ſhe did not liue to be married, but that ſhe dyed in her Childe-hoode.

(66) *Alice*, the fifth Daughter of King *Edward* and Queene *Elenor*, is by *Thomas Pickering* of the Monaſtery of *VVhitby*, (who wrote the large Genealogie of the Kings of *England*, and their iſſue) reported to haue deceaſed without iſſue.

(67) *Marie*, the ſixt Daughter of King *Edward* and Queene *Elenor*, was borne at *VVindſor*, *April 22.* in the eight yeare of her Fathers raigne, 1279. and at ten yeares of age, An. Do. 1289. *September 8.* ſhee was made a Nunne in the Monaſtery of *Ambreſberie* in *VViltſhire*, at the inſtance of Queene *Elenor* her Grand-mother, who at that time liued there, in the habite of the ſame profeſſion, although her Parents were hardly induced to yeeld their conſents to that courſe.

(68) *Elizabeth*, the ſeauenth Daughter of King *Edward* and Queene *Elenor*, was borne at the Caſtle of *Ruthland* in *Flintſhire*, in the thirteenth yeare of her Fathers raigne, An. 1284. When ſhe was foureteene yeares of age, ſhee was married at *London* to *Iohn* the firſt of that name, Earle of *Holland*, *Zeland*, & Lord of *Freezeland*, who dyed within two yeares after without iſſue, and ſhe was re-married to *Humfrey Bohun* Earle of *Hereford* & *Eſſex*, Lord of *Breknocke*, and high Conſtable of *England*, by whom ſhe had iſſue *Iohn* and *Humfrey*, both Earles ſucceſſiuely after their Father; *Edward*, that died in *Scotland* without iſſue; and *VVilliam*, who being created Earle of *Northampton*, while his Brothers liued, after their deceaſes, was alſo Earle of *Hereford* and *Eſſex*, Lord of *Breknocke*, and high Conſtable of *England*, and father of Earle *Humfrey* the tenth of that name, and laſt of that houſe, who dyed without iſſue male. She had alſo by him two daughters, *Elenor* married to *Iames Butler* Earle of *Ormond*, and *Margaret* to *Hugh Courtney* the firſt, Earle of *Deuonſhire*. Shee was this Earles wife foureteene yeares; liued thirty three, deceaſed in the ninth yeare of the raigne of King *Edward* her Brother, An. Dom. 1316. and was buried in the Church of S^t. *Iames*, at the Abbey of *Saffron-VValden* in *Eſſex*.

(69) *Beatrice*, the eight daughter of King *Edward* and Queene *Elenor*, bare the name of *Beatrice* Dutcheſſe of *Britannie*, her Fathers ſiſter: ſhe is by ſome Genealogiſts mentioned to haue liued till ſhee was marriageable, but yet no mention being made of her match, it ſeemeth ſhe died vn-married.

(70) *Blanch*, the ninth Daughter of King *Edward*, and the laſt of Queene *Elenor*, is ſo mentioned by *Thomas Pickering*, and ſome others, but not at all by *Thomas Elraham* a Monke, who made a Pedegree of the Kings of *England*, but ſhe is by the reſt reported to haue dyed in her Childe hoode.

(71) *Thomas*, the fifth ſonne of King *Edward*, and the firſt of Queene *Margaret* his ſecond Wife, was borne at a little Village in *Yorkeſhire* called *Brotherton*, *Iune 1.* in the nine and twentieth yeare of his Fathers raigne, Ann. 1300. hee was created Earle of *Norfolke*, & Earle *Marſhall* of *England*, which Earledomes the laſt Earle *Roger Bigod*, leauing no iſſue, left to the diſpoſition of the King. Hee had two Wiues, of which the firſt was *Alice* the daughter of Sir *Roger Hayles* of *Harwich* in *Suffolke*, by whom hee had iſſue *Edward*, who married *Beatrice* the daughter of *Roger Mortimer* the firſt, Earle of *March*, but hee dyed before his Father, without Iſſue; and two Daughters, *Margaret* twice married, firſt to *Iohn* Lord *Segraue*, by whom ſhee had *Elizabeth* Dutcheſſe of *Norfolke*, Wife of *Iohn* Lord *Mowbray* (from whom the *Mowbrayes* and *Howards*, Dukes of *Norfolke*, and Earles *Marſhall* deſcended;) ſecondly, to Sir *Walter Manny* a Knight of *Cambray*, and by him had *Anne* Wife of *Iohn Haſtings* the elder, Earle of *Pembroke*, and Mother of Earle *Iohn* the yonger, that dyed without iſſue; his yongeſt daughter *Alice* was married to Sir *Edward Mountacute*, and had by him three daughters, *Elizabeth* and *Ioan* married to *VValter* and *VVilliam* two of the *Vffords*, and *Maud* that dyed vnmarried. The ſecond wife of this Earle *Thomas*, was *Mary* the daughter of *VVilliam* Lord *Ros*, and widow of Sir *Ralph Cobham*, who ſuruiuing him without Iſſue by him, ſhee was married the third time to *VVilliam* Lord *Breroſe* of *Brember*.

(72) *Edmund*

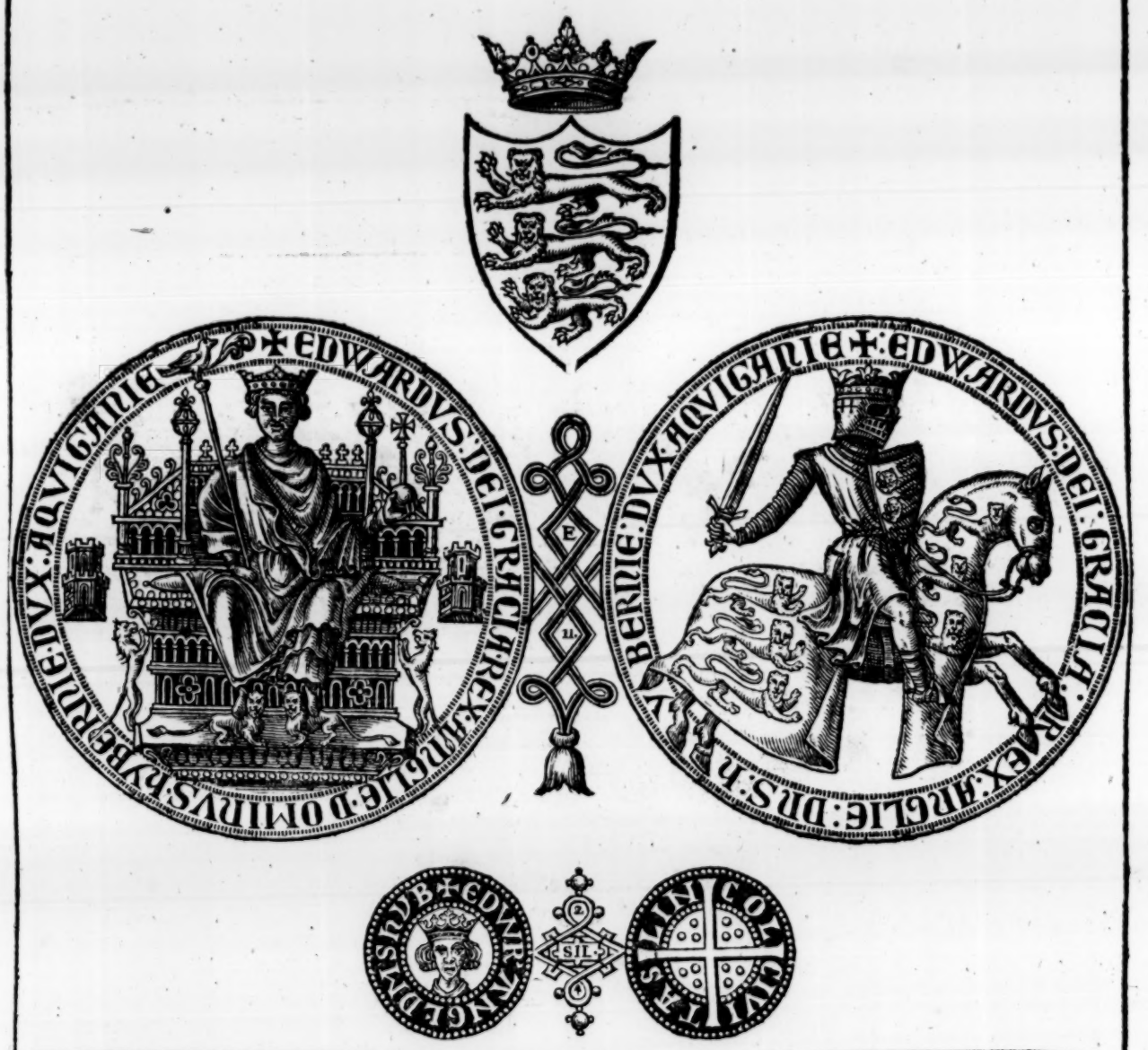
(72) *Edmund*, his ſixt Sonne by Queene *Margaret*, was borne at *Woodſtocke* in *Oxfordſhire*, *Auguſt* 5. in the thirtieth yeare of the raigne of his Father, An. 1301. Hee was created Earle of *Kent*, and married *Margaret* daughter of *Iohn*, and Sifter and ſole heire of *Thomas* Lord *Wake* of *Lydel*, in the County of *Northampton*; by her he had Iſſue two Sonnes, and one Daughter: *Edmund* his eldeſt ſonne was Earle of *Kent* after his Father, and dyed vnder age without Wife or iſſue: *Iohn* the yonger was Earle alſo after his Brother, hee married *Elizabeth* the Daughter of the Duke of *Gulike*, and dyed likewiſe without iſſue; His Daughter was *Ioan*, for her beauty called *the faire Maid of Kent*, firſt married to *William Mountacute* Earle of *Salisbury*, and from him diuorced, and re-married to S^r. *Thomas Holland*, in her right, Earle of *Kent*, and by her, father of *Thomas*, and *Iohn Holland* Duke of *Surrey*, and Earle of *Huntingdon*: and laſtly, ſhe was the Wife of *Edward of Woodſtocke*, the *Blacke Prince of Wales*, and by him, Mother of King *Richard* the ſecond. This Earle *Edmund* was beheaded at *Wincheſter* the 19. of *March*, in the fourth yeare of King *Edward* his Nephew.

(73) *Eleanor*, the tenth Daughter and ſixteenth Childe of King *Edward*, and the laſt Child of Queene *Margaret* his ſecond wife, was borne at *Wincheſter* the ſixt day of *May*, in the fiue and thirtieth, and laſt yeare of her Fathers raigne, being the yeere of our Lord 1306. ſhee deceaſed in her Childe-hoode, and was buried in S^t. *Peters* Church at *Weſtminſter*, by her Brother *Iohn*, *Henrie*, and *Alfonſe*, vnder the monument before named, with her picture ouer it.

Edward II.

EDWARD THE SECOND, LORD OF IRELAND, AND DVKE OF AQVITAINE, &c. THE FORTIE-EIGHTH MONARCH OF ENGLAND, HIS RAIGNE, ACTS AND ISSVE.

Monarch 48



CHAPTER XI.

THat the *Minde* is not deriued from *Parents*, certainely the second *Edward* (called of *Caernaruon*) might (if nothing elſe) abundantly ſhew, being of a moſt valiant, wiſe and fortunate father, an vnlike ſonne; yet not to begin our deſcription of his courſes, with preiudice of his perſon, wee will ſo temper our ſtile, that by his owne actions ſincerely related, rather then by any verball cenſures the man may bee iudged. This cannot bee denyed, that whereas from the Conqueſt till his time, *England*, though it endured (by Gods iuſt iudgements) many bitter, ſad and heauie ſtormes through ſome headineſſe, ambition, or other ſickneſſes of minde in the Princes thereof, yet had ſhe Men to ſway and gouerne her, and thoſe diſtempers were as the perturbations incident to vigorous diſpoſitions; whereas vnder this *Edward*, who could neither get nor keepe, it ſeemed to endure the leuities of a Childe, though his yeares, being about twenty and three, might haue exempted him from ſo great infancy of iudgement, as his raigne diſcouered.

(2) Neuer came Prince to the crowne with more generall applauſe then hee: ſo great hopes of doing well, his victorious Father, *Edward* of * *VVincheſter* had left vpon him, beſides the right of ſucceſſion, whoſe laſt warning and terrible adiurations you haue heard: with the * vtter contempt and breach whereof, to the deſtruction of himſelfe, and his friends, hee in a manner auſpicated his gouernement.

(3) After that *Edward* had in his beſt manner prouided for the affaires of *Scotland*, where (at *Dumfrees*) many of the Scottiſh * Lords did their homage to him, as they had to his Father; the firſt taske which hee gaue of his future behauiours at home, was

* *Thom. de la More.*

* *Thom. Walſing.*

* *Pol. Virg. lib. 18.*
* *Hect Boet. lib. 14.*
* *Bellind.* his *tran. lib. 14. cap. 9.*

was a rigorous reuenge taken by him vpon *Walter de Langton* Bishop of *Chester*, Treasurer of *England*, and principall Executor of the last Will of the deceased King, whose body was not as yet interred, but by the care of the Executors, conueyed with funerall pompe to *Waltham*, and (after sixteene weekes) to *Westminster*, where vnder a plaine monument the same at this present rests. The Bishops crime was a kinde of good freedome, which he vsed in the late Kings daies, in * grauely reprouing the Prince for his misdemeanors, and shortning his waste of coyne, by a frugall moderation; and particularly, * for that he had complayned of *Peirs Gaueston*, whereupon ensued Prince *Edwards* imprisonment, and the others banishment, and therefore comming now to the Crowne, he arrested the Bishop, by Sir *Iohn Felton* Constable of the Tower, and imprisoned him in * *Wallingford*-Castle, seised vpon all his temporall goods and * credites, there being not a man in the Realme who durst speake a word on his behalfe, (so great displeasure he had conceyued, seeking vterly to ruine him) till afterward by meanes of the Papall authority, he was restored, and in a faint sort reconciled.

* *Tho. Walsingh.*

* *Fabian. A. R. 18. Edw. 1.*

* *Will. Packington apud Iohn Stow.*

* The Abbot of Saint Albans was compelled to pay great summes which he ought to the Bishop, and the King acquited him. *Lib. Monast. S. Alban. M. S.*

(4) The thing which suited best with his youthfull affections; to wit, the marriage of young *Isabel*, daughter of *Philip the Faire*, King of *France*, he performed with wonderfull magnificence at *Bolein*, at which solemnity were present besides all others, The King of *France*, Father to the *Bride*; The King of *Nauarre* his sonne; The King of *Almaine*; The King of *Sicill*; *Marie* Queene of *France*; *Margaret* Queene *Dowager* of *England*, her Daughter; The Queene of *Nauarre*. There was also present (as no Sunne-shine but hath shadow) * *Peirs* of *Gaueston* the beloued Minion of this *Edward*, whose re-entertainement the dying King had so seriously forbidden, whom notwithstanding, together with his owne new Wife, he brought into *England*.

An.D.1309.

The meeting of 5. Kings and 4. Queenes.

* *Tho. de la More.*

(5) This fatall fauourite of this young King was a Stranger borne, but a * Gentleman, and (in regard of good seruice done by the Father of *Peirs* in *Gascoigne*, * brought vp (at old King *Edwards* owne appoyntment) with this Prince: from whom not to derogate in any poynt, as if he had without some appearances of worth and value embraced *Peirs*, it is certaine (by that which a * Knight and seruitor of this very King hath left written) that he had a sharpe wit in a comely shape, and briefly, was such an one, as we vse to call *very fine*; Neither yet was he vnhardie in Armes, but of commendable performance, whereof (saith *de la More*) he gaue proofe against the *Scots*, (to whom * he was alike hatefull as to the *English*) till he was recalled to satisfie such as (saith their Courtier) did enuy his graces, and good successe; but of his Christian or morall vertues (which onely make men truely commendable) there is great silence in Authours, though not of his Vices, whereof we shall haue occasion enough to speake hereafter.

Peirs de Gaueston described.

* *Tho. Walsingh.*

* *Ypodig. Neustr.*

* *Tho. de la More.*

* *Bellind. transl. lib. 14. cap. 9.*

(6) At the Coronation of the King and Queene, (which the Lords would haue impeached, had he not promised reasonably to * satisfie them about *Gaueston*) none was * neere to *Peirs* in brauery of apparrell, or delicacie of fashion, which (and for that the King gaue him * S. *Edwards* Crowne to carry in that pompe,) greatly encreased the offence of the Lords against him: But he that (hauing a King to backe him) knew no other meanes to extinguish hatred, but by daring it to the vttermost, spared not afterwardes to scoffe and reproach the principall Peeres, * calling *Thomas* Earle of *Lancaster*, *Stage-Player*; *Aimerie de Valence* Earle of *Pembroke*, *Ioseph the Iew*, because he was pale and tall; and *Guy* Earle of *Warwicke*, the *blacke dogge of Ardern*: all whom, and others, he at a * Turneament by him proclaimed and holden, handled vilely.

* *Act. & Mon. pag. 459.*

* *Tho. de la More.*

* *Tho. Walsingh.*

* *Tho. Walsing. in fine Edw. 1.*

* *Idem Thom. Walsingham in Edw. 2.*

(7) But King *Edward* was daily more and more possessed with the familiarity of *Peirs*, who to establish his interest in the vnprudent Prince, by sensualities and riotous practises, filled the Court * with buffons, parasites, and the like pernicious instruments, drawing *Edward* from the thought of all great enterprises, in accomplishment of his fathers will, or discharge of his particular dutie; to all sorts of vnworthy vanities, and sinfull delights; while himselfe in the meane space reuelled in all outward felicity, wasting the riches of the kingdome, or conuerting them to his priuate vses. For (fearing belike that the time might come againe to vndergoe banishment) he transported much treasure into forraine parts, and much he had to transport; for not onely by the * sale of his fauour with the King, to which there was no speeding approach but by *Gaueston*, (who vsed to peize the gifts, more then the causes) but also by the Kings prodigality, he had whatsoeuer could be powred vpon him: for (though it might seeme incredible) he both gaue him his jewels and ancestors treasure, and * euen the Crowne it selfe of his victorious father; not sticking to professe, that (if it lay in him) hee should succeed him in the kingdome.

* *Polydor. Virg.*

* *Tho. Walsingh. lib. S. Alban. M. S.*

* *Chr. Dunstab.*

(8) The Lords (who for reuerence of the King sate downe by their priuate injuries, in hope there would be a season, in which their Soueraign might by timely and sweete admonitions recouer the vse of himselfe,) not thinking it tollerable to be now any longer silent, (and the rather, lest that *Peirs*, farther abusing his greatnesse, should bring * in Forreiners, not onely to the prejudice of the English Lawes and customes, but of their authority also and places,) preuayled so much with the King, in a Parliament holden at *London*, (where sundry prouisions concerning the liberties of the people, and execution of Iustice, were enacted, and by corporall oath confirmed by the King himselfe,) that among them, the decree of *Gauestons* perpetuall banishment, was by the King (ouercome with a meere necessity for satisfaction of the Kingdome, to whom the said Earle of *Cornwall* was odious) vnwillingly suffered to passe; and the King was thereupon re-gratified with a Subsidie of the twentieth part of the subiects goods. The King also tooke his Oath not to reuoke the said Earle of *Cornwall* from banishment (if it may be called a banishment) wherein * he had the Kingdome of *Ireland* entrusted to his charge, and for the securing thereof against Rebels, was furnished with men and money by the King.

An.D.1311. *Peirs de Gaueston*, Earle of *Cornwal*, banished for euer

* *Tho. Walsing.*

* *S. Th. de la More.*

(9) Yet forgetting, that those affections, which oftentimes deserue prayse in a priuate person, are subiect to much construction in a publike, and neglecting both his deceased Fathers so solemne adiurations, and also his owne Oath, as careless of the sequell, he calls Earle *Peirs* home, with whose loue he was most fondly, and most passionately transported, and (as if he had receyued some diuine benefit) gaue him most joyous welcome at the Castle of *Flint* in *North-wales*, and * bestowed vpon him for wife *Ioan* of *Acres*, Countesse of *Gloceſter* his Sisters daughter, resoluing with himselfe to retaine his *Gaueston*, maugre all his Earles and Barons, or (for the loue of him) to put his Crowne and life in perill when time should serue. In which, whether the King or his fauourite shewed lesse discretion, it is not at the first sight easily determinable; it being as vnsafe for the one, with so offensiue behauiour to affect immoderate shew and vse of grace, as for the other, to the iniury of his name and Realme to bestow the same.

The Earle of *Cornwal* reuoked.

* *Iohn Stow. Tho. Walsingh. Tho. de la More.*

(10) The contemptibility and vanity of this effeminate argument detaines vs longer, then for the quality thereof were fitting, did not so much mischiefe issue out of it. For *Peirs*, (of his owne nature insolent) being thus (aboue reason, or his owne darings) aduanced to alliance with the bloud-royal, was so farre from all amendment, as he rather seemed to striue to out-goe himselfe in his former courses, consuming so much of the Kings treasure and meanes, that hee had * not wherewith to defray ordinary charges.

Is the third time banished, and returnes.

* *Tho. Walsing.*

charges, or to pay for the neceſſaries of his court. The young Queene alſo tooke her ſelfe not to be a little wronged by this vngracious mans predominancy, & thereof ſent her complaints to the king of *France* her father, which concerned injuries in the higheſt kind, as in her bed (the King being drawne by *Gaueſton* to * Adultery) and in her honour and * maintenance. Whereupon the Peeres of the Land, animated by the King of *France*, ſo confidently dealt with *Edward*, that his Earle now the third time did abjure the Realme: but (the king of *France* and his enemies making forraine parts vnſure for him to abide in) he returned in Chriſtmas, to the generall perturbation of the Kingdome, and to his owne certaine ruine, for that the Barons (his aduerſaries) had gotten him baniſhed with this Prouiſo, * that if at any time afterward he were taken in *England*, he ſhould be forthwith apprehended, and ſuffer death. But an Angell from Heauen could not ſeeme more welcome, then this moſt faithful friend (as that * Courtier cals him) was vnto King *Edward*, who * forthwith aduanced him to be his principall Secretary.

(11) Vpon report of *Gaueſtons* returne, the chiefe Lords, as well Eccleſiaſticall as Temporall, (*Walter* Biſhop of *Couentree* excepted, * who allowed the Kings affections towards *Gaueſton*; and procured him to breake the former agreements, which were made and ſworne in the Parliament at *London*,) conſulted vpon a deſperate courſe of reformation in this poynt, and made choyſe of *Thomas* Earle of *Lancaſter* to be their leader. This *Thomas* was Son of *Edmund* Earle of *Lancaſter*, *Leiceſter*, and *Ferrers*, ſecond ſonne of *Henry* the third, King of *England*, and in right of his wife (after her fathers deceaſe, which hapned about this time) Earle of *Lincolne*, *Salisburie*, and (beſides many other great Lands in *Yorkeſhire*, *Cumberland*, and *Wales*) he had the Earledome of * *Artoys* in *Picardy*, ſo that without compariſon he was the greateſt ſubiect of the Kingdome.

(12) The Iſſue of which combination before we purſue, we may not here in our way ouer-ſlip a ſtrange alteration both here in *England*, and in all *Chriſtendome*, by the vniuerſall extinguiſhment of the *Order of the Templars*, wrought about this time by the procurement of the *French King*, who being ſo gracious with Pope *Clement*, that formerly * *he ſent Ambaſſadors to craue of his Holineſſe, with great importunitie, that the bones of his Predeceſſor Pope* Boniface, *might be burnt, as being an Heretike*; ſo now alſo he ſo farre preuayled with him, that in the Councell at *Vienna*, this ſo highly eſteemed order, was vpon cleare proofe of their generall odious ſinnes, and ſcarſe credible impieties, vtterly aboliſhed through Chriſtendome. The *French King* * cauſed 54 of that Order, together with their *Great Maſter*, to be burnt at *Paris*; and though that King hoped to conuert all the Land of that Societie to his Sonnes vſe, whom hee intended to make King of Ieruſalem; yet the *Pope* and *Councell* annexed their poſſeſſions to the *Order of the Knights Hoſpitalers*, called commonly *Knights of the Rhodes*. Notwithſtanding, in *England* (where ſuch Papall commands went not alwaies for Lawes) the heires of the *Donours*, and ſuch as had endowed the Templars here with Lands, entred vpon thoſe parts of their ancient Patrimonies after the diſſolution of the Order, and (ſaith our * Courtier) detained them vntill not long after, they were by *Parliament* wholly transferred vnto the Knights of the *Rhodes*, * or of S^t. *Iohn of Ieruſalem*.

(13) *King Edward* was now at *Yorke*, and Earle *Thomas*, according to that which had beene concluded among the combined Lords, who reſolued to try all extremities, rather then any longer to endure *Peirs Gaueſton*, (as being perſwaded while that *kingbane* breathed, peace could neither be maintained in the Realme, nor the King abound in treaſure, nor the Queene enjoy his loue) ſent humble * petitions by honourable meſſengers to their Soueraigne, requeſting him to deliuer the man into their hands, or to driue him from his company out of *England*. But the ſelfe-wild King,* preferring the deareneſſe of one ſtranger before the loue of the whole Realme, would not condiſcend.

(14) Afterward, *Peirs* (whom * the Earles purſued with an Army) being * entruſted for his ſafeguard to *Aimerie de Valence* Earle of *Pembroke*, was left by him but one night at a Village or Manour called *Dathington* betweene *Oxford* and *Warwicke*, (being a place neither * farre enough off, nor ſtrong enough) pretending to haue conuaied him on the next day to the Caſtle of *Wallingford*, the ſaid *Aimerie* in the meane ſpace departing to lodge with his Counteſſe, who lay hard by: but, the ſaid *Aimerie* conniuing thereat (as our * Courtier chargeth him, who alſo writes, that he tooke a ſolemne Oath before the king to doe his beſt to ſafe conduct *Gaueſton*, the king purpoſing in the meane time to labour his peace with the Lords * vpon any conditions) *Guy* Earle of *Warwicke* with his people, ſurpriſed him the ſame night, and tooke him to his Caſtle of *Warwicke*, where in a place called *Blacklow* (afterward * *Gaueſhead*) his head was ſtricken off, at the commandement * and in the preſence of the Earles of *Lancaſter*, *Warwicke*, and *Hereford*,* as of one that had beene a ſubuerter of the Lawes, and an open Traytour to the Kingdome. In which bold attempt, themſelues (who yet pretended ſo much ſtanding for the liberties of the Land,) did moſt vnaduiſedly infringe a Capitall branch of the ſame Franchiſes, in putting to death an *Earle*, and ſo deare a friend of the Kings, * *without any iudiciall proceeding by trial of his Peeres, which cauſed a laſting hatred betwixt the King and his Nobles.*

(15) There wanted nothing now to King *Edward* but preſent meanes to reuenge the bloud of his friend, or rather of his halfe-ſelfe, the lacke whereof did encreaſe the ſorrow he tooke for his death; which being well knowne to the Lords, they reſolued not to lay downe Armes, till they had prouided for their ſecurity, and the performance of all ſuch poynts, as concerned the temperament of the *Regall power*, that (vnder colour thereof) the Nobles themſelues might finger ſome part of the Soueraigne gouernment. The King was then at *London*, and the Lords at *Dunſtaple*: but by the continuall inter-dealings of the Prelates, and of *Gilbert* Earle of *Gloceſter*, who ſtood neutrall, the kindling diſpleaſures were for the preſent allayed, vpon condition that the Lords ſhould reſtore to the King all ſuch things, once belonging to *Peirs Gaueſton*, as they had taken at *Newcaſtle*, which they accordingly did.

(16) King *Edward* neuertheleſſe, as if his Soule were ouer-caſt with ſome blacke Cloud, continued mourning, till it pleaſed GOD to enlighten the World with the birth of a young Prince, whoſe noble Acts did afterward redeeme all the blemiſhes wherewith his Fathers infelicities had darkened the brightneſſe of the *Engliſh* name, and at this preſent cleared the minde of the ſorrowfull King his father: for * vpon S^t. *Brices* day, *Iſabel* his Queene brought forth her firſt Sonne at *Windſor*, which cauſed great rejoycing through the Kingdome. Her *French* kindred and friends (which were there in good numbers of either ſex) and among them as chiefe, the Queenes owne brother, *Lewis* the *French Kings* ſonne, would haue had the Infant at his Baptiſme named *Lewis*, but the *Engliſh* Lords would * not permit, who therefore was after his Fathers and Grand-fathers name, called *Edward*. This was he who afterward rayſed the honour of *Engliſh* Cheualrie to ſo high a poynt, by his famous victories in *France* and elſewhere.

(17) The euill-will which the King bare in his minde againſt the Barons for their ouer-ruling his affections, and the death of *Gaueſton*, by ſundry bad offices and ſycophancies of the * *French* at *Windſor*, was rubd ſo hard vpon, that it grew raw againe before it was halfe healed. Therefore in a Parliament at *London*, the King ſharpely charged thoſe preſumptuous

* *Fabian.* * *Thom. Walſing.*
* *Act. & Mon. pag. 460.*
* *Tho. de la More.*
* *Continuator Triuet. M. S.*
* *Tho. Walſingh.*
* *John Stow.*
* *Nic. Triuet ad an. 1306.* In thoſe dayes it was thought the Pope might be an Heretike.
* *Fox Martyrolog. pag. 460.*
* *Tho. de la More.*
* *John Stow. Tpod. Neuſtriæ.*
An. D. 1312.
* *Tho. Walſingh.*
* *Act. & Mon. pag. 461. col. 1.*
Polyd. Virg. lib. 18. * *Chron. R. Auelburie.* *Tho. de la More.* *Tho. Walſingh.*
* *Tho. de la More.*
* *Tho. de la More.*
* *Ran. Ceſtr. l. 7. cap. 41.*
* *Act. & Mon. pag. 463.* * *Tho. de la More.*
* *Tho. Walſingh.*
* *Continuator Nic. Triuet.*
Edward of Windſor borne.
* *Ran. Ceſtr. lib. 7. cap. 41.* *Fabian.*
* *Act. & Mon. 462. col. 1.*
* *Thomas Walſing.*

presumptuous Lords with their contempt against him in the spoyles they had committed at *Newcastle*, and (which most afflicted his languishing spirit) in taking, & wickedly killing *Peirs Gaueston*. To al which, they stoutly answered, * that they had not offended in any poynt, but deserued his royall fauour, for that they had not gathered force against him, but against the publike enemie of the Realme, &c. Howbeit, to preuent the feared mischiefe of ciuill Armes, by the working of the young Queene, of the Prelates, and Earle of *Gloceſter*, the Lords in open Court at *Weſtminſter* humbled themselues to the King, praying grace; and the king granted to such of them, as would desire the same, his gracious pardon. The whole house of Parliament seeing the Kings wants, of their owne accord graunted a Fifteenth; and all parts hereupon returned with joy and peace, but not long after the Lord *Guy de Beuchampe* Earle of *Warwicke*, who in this Parliament was appoynted to be of Priuy-Councell with the King, deceased, being (as by the Barons wel-willers * it was saide) impoysoned by such of the Kings secret friends as did maligne him.

* All. & Mon.

* Tho. Walsingh.

An.D.1313. Scottish affaires.

(18) The mischieuous effects of the Kings former mis-gouernement, began now most perilously to discouer themselues. For the *Scots*, his neighbours, who could not be ignorant of all such griefes and maladies as festred in the heart and entrals of *England*, had long since made their timely vse thereof, adhering so to the vndaunted *Bruce*, that by degrees he had gotten a great strength, and was againe publikely receiued, and obeied for *King of Scotland*, from most places whereof hee * draue the *English*, and (in contempt of *Edward*) committed great spoyle, by slaughter of People, burning of Townes in *Northumberland*, and other Acts of Hostility. The principall charge of *Scotland* for King *Edward*, had beene entrusted to the Lord *Iohn Comin* a *Scot*, Earle of *Bucquhan*, whom * King *Robert* had vanquished in battle, and was now (while *Edward* sate bewitched with most vnworthy languishments) grown potent, sending his brother *Edward Bruce* to besiege the Castle of *Striueling*, which was in the hands of the *English*.

* Tho. de la More. This, according to *Hector Boetius*, lib. 14. hapned An.D. 1309.

* Hect. Boet. lib. 14. Geo. Bucananus.

An.D.1314. King *Edward* with a mightie Army in *Scotland*.

(19) The King of *England* awakened out of his slumbers with these Alarums, marched thereupon with a very great Army toward the said Castle. It pleaseth *Hector Boetius* (putting off, as it were the Historian) to report maruellous things of the numbers of Souldiers which came with King *Edward* in this journey; for (if he say true) there were not fewer then one hundreth and fifty thousand horse-men, and as many thousand foot-men; and that we may not suspect the multitude to be farre greater then eyther the cause required, or the realm of *England* could well afford, he informeth vs, that besides the *English* there were in his ayd at this time, *Hollanders*, *Zelanders*, *Brabanders*, *Flemings*, *Picards*, *Boloners*, *Gascoignes*, *Normans*, with much people of many other Regions; and that besides these three hundreth thousand men of warre, there were infinite families with their women, children, seruants, and household-stuffe: but because other Writers doe ingenuously grant, and containe probable matter enough for the honour of the *Scottish* Nation in this journey, we will as neere as we can, (being things to vs neither vp nor downe, in regard of the long time since these hostilities hapned,) truely and freely, though briefly, informe our selues hereof.

(20) The Earles of *Lancaster*, *Warren*, *Warwicke*, and *Arundel* (the greatest Peeres of the land) * refused to attend their King in this seruice, for that he had delayed to ratifie the poynts of their desired liberties, and prouisions for the pretended better gouernement of *England*, by himselfe so often consented vnto. In which as their loyall affection cannot be much admired; so it is certaine, that King *Edward* hereby vndertooke that voyage with farre the lesse force eyther of men or counsell. Neuertheless his hoast was great enough (if numbers did sway in such affaires, more then religion, discipline, and valour,) to haue effected more then it selfe did suffer. But King *Edward* and his people rather seemed to goe toward a *wedding*, or a *triumph*, then to a Battle, * adorning themselues with all sorts of riches, gold, siluer, and the like toyes, in a kind of wanton manner, correspondent to the humour of the Prince whom they followed.

* Thom. Walsing.

* Tho. de la More. Tho. Walsingh. Polyd Virg lib. 18. Bellind. the *Scottish* translator of Hect. Boe. lib. 14. cap. 11.

(21) In this journey it was made manifest, what true and sober valiancie could effect, against light brauery and insolency. King *Robert* lodged with his forces (being inferiour in numbers to the *English*) not farre off, where was nothing but a religious, * deuout, and modest care, quickned (after manifold calamities) with a most noble desire to recouer the liberty of their Country, and to settle the same, into the hope whereof they were the rather erected by a fresh victory, which they had obtayned that day vpon certaine of the *English* * horsemen. King *Edward* on the contrary part nothing esteeming so sleight a presage, resolued vpon the very next being *Midsommer*, or *Saint Iohn Baptists* day) to take a terrible reuenge vpon the Scots: but how to effect the same the care was not excessiue; for in his Campe, * *Wassaile*, and *Drinke-haile* were thundered extraordinarily, as accounting themselues sure of the victory: which kinde of impious selfe-trust, if God Almighty did not sometime scourge with just and terrible confusions, what out-rages would not bee executed?

* Hect. Boetius.

* Thom. Walsing. Hect. Bo. lib. 14.

* Tho. de la More.

(22) Farre otherwise the *Bruces* Army: which by his commaundement spent * the euening in making humble confession of their sinnes, that they might (saith our Authour) be ready on the morrow to receiue the blessed Sacrament, as accordingly they did: Moreouer, to leaue nothing vndone which might aduaunce their cause; the Scots had digged before their Battalions, certaine * Trenches or Dikes * three foote deepe, and three foote broad, which (hauing fixed * sharpe stakes in them with their poynts vpward) they couered so with * hurdles, that foote-men treading warily) might passe, but not troupes of Horse. Next to Gods anger against the English, (whom courtly *Pride* and *Sloth* had now effeminated) this stratageme was the cause of their ruine: for whereas they reposed much vpon their *Cauallerie*, in these *Pit-falles*, the fury of their charge was intercepted and broken, the riders being miserably slaine by the Scots, whom King *Robert* marching formost on foote, had presented most couragiously to the enemy.

* Bellind. transl. lib. 14. cap. 1.

* Hect. Boet. lib. 14. cap. 11.

* Tho. de la More.

* Hect. Boet. lo. quo. supra.

* Tho. de la More.

(23) The King of *England* not altogether careless, neyther yet by his care able to doe much (as one whom God was not well pleased with) had ordered his battels with some aduice, but vpon the dismall and vnexpected discomfiture of his Horse in those mischieuous holes or ditches, was enforced, (after some troubled resistance) to leaue to the Scots the greatest victory that euer they had before or after. * Hardly could King *Edward* be drawne to flie: the courage which it became such a Monarch to haue then first disclosing it selfe, till by his friends he was enforced to seeke his preseruation by that more necessary then noble meanes, and with him (besides others) the Lord *Hugh Spencer*) whom our * *Courtier* cals, *A faint-hearted Kite*) betooke himselfe to like remedy.

The English ouerthrowne at *Bannocks-bourne*.

* Tho. Walsing.

* Thom. de la More. *Veters Milues.*

(24) All things proued vnfortunate to the *English* in this journey, for when they perceiued their Cauallery thus miserably ouerthrowne in the ditches, they shot their Arrowes compasse, with purpose to kill or gall such Scots as came to the execution, but did them little or no harme, as they who were armed in the fore-parts, and in stead of that, * slew their friends, whose backes being toward them were vnarmed.

* Tho. de la More

(25) The losse fell much vpon the Noblest, for there were slaine in this battle, * *Gilbert* Earle of *Gloceſter* (a man of singular valour & wisdome) the Lord *Robert*

* Hect. Boe. li. 14. Tho. de la More. Ypodig. Neustr.

*Tho. Walsingh.

Robert de Clifford, and beſides other Lords, about *ſeuen hundreth Knights, Eſquiers, and men of Armories. Of the reſt the ſlaughter could not be but great, though much the leſſe, in regard the *Scots* fought on foote. *Hector* ſaith, that there were not ſlaine fewer then fiftie thouſand *Engliſh*, no Writer elſe, that hitherto we can meete with, exceedes the fifth part of that number; the Riches gotten by ſpoyles and ranſomes of the *Engliſh*, were doubtleſſe very great. Among the number of Priſoners, the principall was *Humfrey de Bohun* Earle of *Hereford*, but recouered afterward by exchange for King *Roberts* Wife, who all this while was detained in *England*. This battell was fought at *Banocksbourne* neere *Striueling* in *Scotland*.

(26) From this ouer-throw King *Edward* eſcaping to *Berwicke*, King *Robert* (who to his great glory, as hauing himſelfe beene trayned vp among the *Engliſh*, vſed ſuch as were taken Priſoners with ſingular * humanity) ſent thither to him the bodies of the Earle of *Gloſter*, & Lord *Clifford*, that they might receiue honourable interrement among their owne friends. But *Edward* (vnder whoſe vnfortunate leading the *Engliſh* name ſuſtayned ſo great diſhonour and dammage) with-drew to *Yorke*, reſoluing (therein onely *Prince-like*) to aſſemble new force, and either to be reuenged, or to die. But * all enterpriſes and attempts of that nature miſ-carried, for aboue twelue yeeres after; inſomuch that great feare raigned among the Northerne *Engliſh*, who lay open to the firſt brunts and violences of the *Scots*, ouer whom many faire dayes ſhone. And to augment the calamities of the North, many of the diſloyall *Engliſh* * conſpired with the enemie, and ioyntly ſpoyled the weſt parts of *Northumberland*, nothing being ſecure, but that which wals defended.

*Ypodig. Neuſtr.

* Polyd. Virg. lib. 7. cap. 42.

An. D. 1314.

* Tho. Walſingh. Ypodig. Neuſtr.

(27) God, to humble the *Engliſh*, who through long proſperities had forgotten both themſelues and him, drew not backe his heauy hand ſo; for ſeldome hath ſo terrible a famine beene heard of here, as ſucceeded to this ouer-throw: ſo that for moderation of prices, a *Parliament* was aſſembled at *London*: but (ſaith *Walſingham*) as if God had beene diſpleaſed at the ſaid rates (which not long after were repealed) things grew ſcarſer day by day: and the dearth was generally ſuch, that vpon Saint *Laurences* Eue, there was ſcarſely bread to be gotten for ſuſtentation of the Kings owne Family. This famine which laſted about two yeares was accompanied with much mortality of people.

An. D. 1315. The woefull eſtate of *England*, vnder the three plagues of Sword, Dearth and Peſtilence.

*Tho. de la More. Tho. Walſingh.

(28) But neither the diſhonors taken in Scotland, nor innumerable afflictions and diſcontentments at home, made *Edward* ſuſpend the celebration of his *Gaueſtons* Funerals; whoſe Body with great pompe hee cauſed to be transferred from the place of his former buriall, (which was among the *Friers Preachers* at *Oxford*) to *Kings-Langley* in *Hertfordſhire*, where he in perſon, with the Arch-biſhop of *Canterburie*, foure Biſhops, many Abbots, and principall Church-men, did honour the exequies, but few were preſent of the *Nobilitie*, whoſe great ſtomackes would not giue them leaue to attend. Somewhat alſo to ſweeten theſe generall acerbities, *Lewelin Bren* and his two ſonnes, were brought vp priſoners to *London*, hauing burnt many Townes vpon the Marches, and committed ſome murthers with their Welſh adherents.

Gaueſtons funerals.

An. D. 1316.

(29) Meane-while the ſtate of the Kingdome was miſerable, there being no loue betwixt the King and the Peeres, nor any great * care in him, or them, of the common affaires; neuertheleſſe they aſſembled at a Parliament in *London*, where no great matter was concluded: for the famine and peſtilence encreaſed. The famine was growne ſo terrible, that horſe, dogges, yea men and children, were ſtolne for food, and (which is horrible to thinke) the Theeues newly brought into the Gaoles, were torne in peeces, and eaten preſently halfe aliue, by ſuch as had beene longer there. In *London* it was proclaymed, that no Corne ſhould be conuerted to Brewers vſes, which Act the King (moued with compaſſion toward his Nation) imitating, cauſed to be executed through all the Kingdome; otherwiſe (ſaith *Walſingham*) the greater part of the people had dyed with penury of Bread. The bloudy-flux or diſſenterie, cauſed through raw and corrupt humours, engendred by euill meate and dyet, raged euery where, and together with other maladies brought ſuch multitudes of the poorer ſort to their end, that the liuing could ſcarſe ſuffice to bury the dead.

* Tho. Walſingh.

(30) The King was now in ſo great diſlike and diſtruſt with the Lords and Barons, that they would not appeare at *Clarendon*, where hee held a great Councell. To augment this fatall auerſion, a certaine Knight belonging to *Iohn* Earle *Warren*, ſtole away from *Caneford* in *Dorſetſhire*, the Wife of *Thomas* Earle of *Lancaſter* (chiefe of the Lords faction) not without the Kings conſent (as it was ſaid) and brought her to the ſaid Earle *Warrens* Caſtle at *Rigate*, with great pompe, and in deſpight of the Earle; whom one *Richard de Saint Maurice*, a wretched, lame, and bunch-backt Dwarfe challenged for Wife, pretending that he was formerly contracted, and had lien with her, which ſhe (the greateſt and nobleſt Inheritrix of her time) did openly confeſſe, to her immortall infamie, incurring alas (ſaith *Walſingham*) the publike note of a moſt filthy Strumpet. This deformed Elfe (hauing mightie Seconds) durſt hereupon claime the Earledomes of *Lincolne* and *Saliſburie* as in her right, and in the meane time, the name and honor of *Thomas* the great Earle was baffold, as it were, by a light and wicked woman.

An. D. 1317.

(31) The parts of *England* beyond *Humber*, were now more and more afflicted; for ſuch as till then had oppoſed themſelues againſt the *Scots* in defence of the Countrey, perceiuing all things left at large, in ſtead of Protectors became Tyrants, * ſaith our Authour; of defenders, deſtroyers; and of valiant Champions, treacherous Chapmen; ſo that as betweene the hammer and the anvile, the *Scots* vpon the one ſide, and theſe falſe *Engliſh* on the other, all was lamentable, and brought in a maner to nothing: and this face of things continued there about foure yeeres.

* Tho. Walſingh.

(32) Neither did the King ſeeme to haue any will or power to relieue the common calamities, but rather to conuert his whole both wits and forces vpon reuenges againſt the Lords, who vnder pretence of their extorted prouiſions, manifeſtly with-drew their loues, ſeruice and dueties from him: wherefore feeling himſelfe thus weake and diſfurniſhed, he beſought the ſpirituall aſſiſtance of Pope *Iohn* the two and twentieth; who thereupon ſent certaine Cardinals to ſet all things in quiet without bloud-ſhed. Betweene the King and the Earle of *Lancaſter*, they eſtabliſhed a peace, who, in a *certaine plaine neere *Leiceſter* met, embraced and kiſſed each other; but when they could not worke the like with the *Scots*, they put that Country vnder Interdict.

* Tho. de la More.

(33) For they (as it is the manner of proſperity) after the victory at *Banocksbourne*, which clearely got them Scotland, did begin to bethinke themſelues of gaining new Empire in *Ireland*. Thither *Edward Bruce*, Brother of King *Robert*, had paſſed with an Army, procuring * himſelfe to be crowned King thereof, by fauour of ſome of the *Iriſh* Nobility, whom neuertheleſſe about three yeeres from his firſt entrance, the *Engliſh* vnder the conduct of the Archbiſhop of *Armagh*, and of *Iohn* Lord *Brinningham* Iuſticiar of *Ireland*, valiantly encountred, where together with his late vſurped Kingdome, hee loſt his life. There were ſlaine in that battell many honourable Scots, beſides the new King *Edward*, and aboue * fiue thouſand others: his head was cut off *at *Dundalke* (ſaith *Walſingham*) but *Hector Boetius* writes that hee was ſlaine in the battle it ſelfe. Thus did God temper one with another, and the juſt rejoycement which the Scots had conceyued of their ſo

An. D. 1318. *Edward Bruce*, King of *Ireland*, vanquiſhed by the *Engliſh*, and ſlaine.

* Bellind. tranſl. lib. 14. cap. 12. * Thom. Walſing. * Tho. de la More. * Pol. Virg. lib. 18.

* Tho. Walſingh. * Ypodigm. Neuſtr. Polyd. Virg. lib. 18.

ſo happy victory ouer the *Engliſh* at *Banocksbourne*, was ſowred with this loſſe.

(34) But King *Robert* (as a moſt expert and vigilant Prince) did not ſuffer this joy to continue long to the *Engliſh*, for by practiſe with one * *Peter Spalding*, to whom King *Edward* had entruſted the keeping of *Berwicke*, he recouered it from the *Engliſh*, ſaith * *Harding*, *By treaty, with Peace, Spalding, and treaſon*; after it had remained twenty yeeres in their poſſeſſion; which when King *Edward* thought to haue wonne againe, the *Scots* diuerted him from the ſiege, with incurſions and ſlaughters of his people in other parts of *England*, not fayling much of ſurpriſing the Queene in a Village not farre from *Yorke*, where ſhe ſojourned during the ſiege at *Berwicke*, the plot being laide, and drawne betweene the *Scots* and ſome perfidious *Engliſh*, whom King *Robert* had monyed for that purpoſe. But *Spalding* after the treaſon done, had the reward of a * Traytour, for *King Robert* put him to death.

*Hect. Boet. lib. 14. Thom. Walſing. *Poly. Virg. lib. 18. cap. 172.

* John Stow. Harding cap. 172.

(35) To giue ſome breathings after theſe ſo manifold troubles, a truce was agreed vpon and confirmed betweene the two Kings of *England* and of *Scotland*, for the ſpace of two yeeres, which brought forth confuſion and not refreſhment. For thus it hapned; The King vpon the commendation of the * Lords themſelues, had made *Hugh de Spenſer* Lord *Chamberlaine*, who being at the leaſt of equall inſolence, vices, and ambition to *Gaueſton*, ſo wrought that he ſucceeded in ſhort time to all the graces of familiarity and power which euer *Gaueſton* enioyed, as in like ſort to all his hatred and enuy. *Hugh* his father, an ancient Knight, the better to ſtrengthen his Sonnes courſes, was likewiſe imployed, and grew in ſpeciall fauour with the King, who afterward alſo created him Earle of *Wincheſter*, but the Father in manners vnlike to the Sonne, was ruined rather by a naturall tenderneſſe, then any malicious will. The ſonne, as he was of ſhape moſt louely, ſo the very ſpirit it ſelfe of *pride*, and *rapine*, carried him to all ſorts of intollerable behauiours and oppreſſions, that *Gaueſton* might with good reaſon ſeeme to be wiſhed for againſt. Againe theſe two, who wholly ſwayed the vnfortunate King, *Thomas* Earle of *Lancaſter*, and in a manner all the Barons of the Kingdome, (who meant the King ſhould loue none but with their leaue, did ſwell with ſuch impatience, that (not contented with the waſt of their lands) they neuer reſted till (by the terrour of ciuill Armes) thoſe two Fauourites (father and ſonne) were baniſhed; they thus reuenging vnder publique pretexts both publique injuries and * their owne.

*Tho. de la More.

The beginning of ciuill warres.

The *Spenſers* baniſhed.

* Thom. Walſing.

An. D. 1321.

(36) In all contentions which hapned betweene the King and his Lords, Queene *Iſabel* had euer hithe to beene a maker of Peace, doing therein worthy offices, but the euill ſtarres of the Earles of *Lancaſter* and *Hereford* would not ſuffer her to continue any longer ſo: for the Queene being denyed lodging one night at the Caſtle of *Leedes* in *Kent*, which belonged to the Lord of *Badlesmere* (one of the Earles faction) ſhe with-drew her good conceit, and was an authour to the King of preſently reuenging that diſhonour, who vpon her complaint, came in perſon with many thouſand Souldiers before the Caſtle, tooke the * Captaine, and put both him and all the men therein to ſhamefull death. Moreouer, longing to be righted againſt the Lords for their late inſolencies, marched on to *Circeſter*, taking many Caſtles, and beſieging others: The Lords (who little ſuſpected any ſuch ſodaine aſſaults) prouiding in the meane time for their defence.

* Hollinſh. pa. 331. col. 2.

(37) Thither repaired to him (at his commandement) *Hugh Spenſer* the ſonne, who had houered vpon the Sea, expecting from thence the ſucceſſe of things vpon the Land. The Lords, who had faine from their Soueraignes good conceit, and wanting now their wonted Mediatrix the Queene, lay open to all the miſchiefe which enemies could worke them by the King, who (as taking his Regall power and authority to be in danger) reſolued wiſely & manfully, to die in the quarrell, or to bring the Lords to be at his commandement. Meane time the iudgement giuen againſt the *Spenſers* was reuerſed as erroneous, and their reuocation decreed at *London* by the * Archbiſhop of *Canterburie* and his Suffragans.

King *Edward* purſues the Lords. *Polyd. Virg. li. 8.*

An. D. 1322

* Tho. de la More.

(38) The Lords, not all of a like temper, began to miſdoubt, and many of them forſooke their Chiefe, (the Earle of *Lancaſter*) and rendred themſelues to the King, or were apprehended; among which were the two *Rogers Mortimers*, who were committed to the Tower of *London*, and others to *Wallingford* Caſtle. The faction weakened by this defection made head in the North, vnder the Earle of *Lancaſter*, who now was to fight for his life. Thither the King marcheth, and with the onely ſhew of his Armie, made the Earle to flie from *Burton vpon Trent*, whoſe forces in their retreat or flight behaued themſelues outragiouſly.

Tho. Walſing. Tho. de la More.

(39) But Gods heauie diſpleaſure, and the Arme of the Kings power left them not ſo: for at *Burrowbrigge*, *Humfrey de Bohun* was ſlaine by a *Welſhman*, who thruſt him into the body with a Speare from vnder the Bridge; and the Earle of *Lancaſter* himſelfe with other principall men, Barons and Knights, to the number of aboue * foureſcore and ten were taken priſoners, by a man of ſmall fortunes, *Andrew de Herckley* Captaine of the City of *Carleil*, and Sir *Simon Ward*, * Captaine of *Yorke*, who with great forces out of thoſe parts, ſtopt their farther paſſage at *Burrowbrigge*, as the Kings forces tooke all ſafegard from them behinde.

* Tho. de la More.

* Thom. Walſing.

(40) The third day after their apprehenſion, the * King in perſon being ſet in iudgement at *Pontfract*, and with him *Edmund* Earle of *Kent*, *Aymerie* Earle of *Pembroke*, *Iohn de Warren* Earle of *Surrey*, and among * others, the Lord *Hugh de Spenſer* the Father, as alſo * *Hugh Spenſer* his Sonne; the Earle of *Lancaſter* was brought before them, and had ſentence pronounced againſt him * by the ſaid *Andrew de Herckley* (created afterward Earle of *Carliel*) and the Kings *Iuſticiar*, the * Lord *Mapleſthorpe*, as againſt an *Arch-Traitour*; neuertheleſſe, for reuerence of his bloud (being the Kings neere Kinſman) drawing and hanging were remitted vnto him, but his head was ſtricken off the ſame day without the Towne of *Pontfract*.

* Thom. Walſing. Execution of Nobles.

* Holinſh. p. 330. col. 2.

* Tpod. Neuſt.

* Tho de la More.

+ Hollinſh. pa. 331. col. 1.

(41) Nor ſatisfied herewith, the King gaue full way to reuenge, putting to ſhamefull death, by drawing, hanging, and (as ſo ne write) * quartering in ſundry places, all the Barons (the Lord *Roger D'amarie* onely excepted, who died of his naturall death) with ſundry Baronets and Knights taken at *Burrowbrigge* and elſe where. The Lord *Badleſmere* (at whoſe houſe this tragicall fire beganne) was executed at *Canterbury*. And that ſo great and mighty a man as *Thomas* Earle of *Lancaſter*, ſhould not ſeeme to die without a bloudy complement ſutable to his condition; there were hanged and quartered vpon the ſame day at *Pontfract* * fiue or * ſixe Barons; and the next day at *Yorke* were hanged in yron chaines, the Lords *Clifford*, *Mowbray*, *Dey-uill*; and others afterward in other places, to the number in all (though all of them not Barons) of * twenty and two, the chiefeſt Captaines of the Realme ſuffered death for their diſloyalties. Threeſcore and twelue Knights more were diſperſed into ſundry priſons, who (ſaith *De la More*) vpon fines payd had, afterward their Liberties.

* Act. & Mon. pag. 463. col. 2. Iohn Stow. Thom. Walſing.

* Holinſh. p 331. col. 2.

* Iohn Stow.

* Act. & Mon. pa. 463. col. 2. Fabian.

* Continu. Nich. Triuet. M. S.

* Tho. de la More ſaith but about 18. & 5. baniſhed.

(42) As for the ſaid *Thomas Earle of Lancaſter*, there are ſo many reaſons why he cannot reaſonably be iudged either a good ſubiect or a good man, that we may worthily wonder why ſome at that time ſhould repute him a Saint. Certainely, the wiſe and diſcreet old Writers are not ſo opinionated of him; but note his priuate life for * vicious, himſelfe to be nothing * valorous, and of the publike * not well deſeruing, omitting his contumelious behauiours toward the King his Soueraigne Lord in his diſcom-

The quality of Earle *Thomas* deſcribed.

* Ranul. Higden. Monaſt. Ceſtrenſ. in. * Polych. li. 7. ca 42. * S. Tho. de la More. & Polych ib. * Thom. Walſing.

forts, which as *Walſingham* forgets not to relate, ſo thinks he that the like was worthily vſed toward that Earle himſelfe, who, when he was brought priſoner to *Pontfract* (his own Caſtle, but then ſurrendred) the whole multitude derided, and called him in ſcorne King *Arthur*: by which name he was deſigned (as * ſome write) in the *Scottiſh* Cypher intercepted, prouing a conſpiracy with *Scots*: but the very ſhop, where his and the other *Barons* originall Treaſons were forged, was the Parliament-houſe, wherein from time to time, they forced on the King preſumptuous and treaſonous Ordinations, whereby the Peeres challenged, * not onely to reforme the Kings houſe and Councell, and to place and diſplace all great Officers, at their pleaſure, but euen a joynt intereſt in the Regiment of the Kingdome, together with the King, which *William Inge* (a Iudge of the Common Law) with other like ſticklers, trayterouſly perſwading them to be according to Law.

* *Hollinſh.p.329. col.2.*

* *Continu. Nich. Triuet. M. S.*

(43) Of his ill-deſeruings toward the Common-Weale (who for the good thereof could not diſgeſt any indignity) let this be a kinde of demonſtration: for when king *Edward* hauing by ſtrait ſiege brought *Berwicke* neere to termes of yeelding, chanced once to breake forth (after his vaine manner) into theſe words; *The Lord* Hugh Spencer *ſhall be Captaine of the Caſtle, when it is taken*: the Earle forthwith with others of his affection abandoned the ſeruice: by reaſon of which departure, it was thought that *Berwicke* was not as then obtained, * and that the enemy thereby had great aduantage in all their attempts. The names of ſuch Barons (beſides Bannerets, and ſome few others of ſpecial note) as periſhed by hatchet and halter for this buſineſſe, as out of ſo great variety of Writers we could now gather them were,

Tho. Walſing. ad An. D. 1319.

* *Continu. Nich. Triuet. M. S.*

Tho. Walſing. Iohn Stow. Chron Wil. Riſanger. apud Walſing.

At * *Pontfract*,
- *Thomas Earle of Lancaſter.*
- *The Lord Warren Lile.*
- *The Lord William Tochet.*
- *The Lord Thomas Mandute.*
- *The Lord Henry de Bradburne.*
- *The L. Will. Fitz-Willi the yonger.*
- *The Lord William Cheyney.*

* *Iohn Stow.*

At * *Yorke.*
- *The Lord Roger Clifford, ſon of that Robert Lord Clifford, who was ſlaine by the Scots, with Gilbert Earle of Cloceſter, at the battell of Banocksbourne in the ſeruice of this King.*
- *The Lord Iohn Mowbray.*
- *The Lord Ioſceline Deynuile.*

*Hollinſh. pag. 331. col. 2.

At *Gloſter.* *The Lord* * *Iohn Gifford.*

* *Tho. Walſing.*

At *London.* *The Lord* * *Henry Teyes.*

* *Hollinſh. p. 331. col. 2.*

At *Windſor.* *The Lord Frances* * *de Aldenham.*

* *Tho Walſingh.* * *Hollinſh. qu. ſupra, and Fabian.*

At *Canterbury.*
- *The* * *L. Bartholmew de Badleſmere.*
- *The* * *L. Bartholm. de Aſhburnham.*

Neuer did *Engliſh* earth at one time drinke ſo much bloud of her Nobles in ſo vile manner ſhed as at this, which, whatſoeuer could be pretended (as doubtleſſe their offence was capitall) yet all was taken to be done as in the quarrell of the *Spenſers* onely, nor was it vnreuenged, as will appeare: in the mean ſpace their enemies not contented with their bloud, procured alſo the * confiſcation of their eſtates and inheritances.

* *Fabian. Hollinſh. p. 331. l. 1.*

(44) King *Edward* thinking that this exploit had made him terrible as well to the *Scots*, as it had done to the *Engliſh*, marcheth with a mighty hoaſt into *Scotland*, from whence not long after (for want of victuals) he was compelled to returne, without the honour of any atchieuement, and being * vpon his returne, was ſodainely by *Scots* aſſailed in the night, very narrowly eſcaping in his owne perſon, and with a few ſaued himſelf by flight, leauing his * treaſure & furniture for pillage, and ſo came ſorrowfull to *Yorke*. *Iohn de Britain* Earle of *Richmond*, was taken priſoner by the enemy, and the reſt of the Country defaced, with deſtructions as farre as to the wals of that City.

King *Edward* endangered by the Scots.

*Tho de la More.

* *Tho. Walſingh.*

* *Ypod. Neuſtr.*

(45) Thus * paſſed this yeere, to the *Engliſh* full of loſſe, reproach, and lamentation, by reaſon of their inteſtine diſcord and the ſhambles of their Nobles: to the King infamous, and hatefull alſo for his vnfortunate journey into the Northerne parts, &c. But theſe bloudy and tempeſtuous winds blew ſome to profit; for * during the ſpace of about fiue yeares after, the fortune of the *Spenſers* hugely encreaſed, and the Queenes decreaſed, who (for her relenting toward the Lords, & expreſſing ſome diſlikes of theſe ranckly-growing weeds) was grown to beare a ſhare in the perſecution. And that theſe with ſuch like violent men working vpon the Kings inclination, were the onely Authours of that ſharpe reuenge taken vpon the Lords, for their particular and inglorious enrichment (for what elſe can we call the ſame, ſince that they betraide thereby their Soueraignes Crowne and Life to ſpeedy deſtruction?) let it by this in part appeare, and moue the World the rather to pitty the ſeduced.

* *Thode la More.*

* *Fabian.*

An. D. 1323. *King Edward* moſt bitterly vpbraids the Earle of *Lancaſters* death.

(46) Among them who were condemned for riſing with the Earle of *Lancaſter*, there was one of a meane Family, for whoſe life neuertheleſſe, becauſe he had once ſerued in Court, and was pleaſing to ſome of the Grands, or Potent fauourites therein, many interceded, and preſſed the king ſo farre on his behalfe, that he brake out into theſe * moſt vehement words, *A plague vpon you, for curſed whiſperers, malicious back-biters, wicked counſellors, entreat you ſo for the life of a moſt notorious knaue, who would not ſpeake one word for the life of my neere Kinſman, that moſt noble Knight Earle* Thomas? *Had he liued, wee and our whole Realme ſhould haue had ſpeciall neede and vſe of him. This fellow the longer he liues, the more villanies he will commit, as hauing already filled my Kingdome with his deſperate outrages. By the Soule of God he ſhall therefore die the death he hath deſerued.*

* *Walſingham* cals them *verba impetij*

(47) By this then it is euident, that theſe tragedies againſt the Lords were exployted by others; in which it is plaine that the King (otherwiſe ſo deuout to GOD, ſo noble and ſo full of naturall good propenſions) was fatally ouer-wrought by wicked counſell; though hee therein be inexcuſable, for good nature (as we call it) cannot ſatisfie for publique errours. But the condemned man was forthwith put to death accordingly; the King being moſt highly offended, that none had entreated him on the Earles behalfe, whom (ſaith *Walſingham*) he did inwardly loue. Neuertheleſſe, he had not long before created the elder *Spenſer* Earle of *Wincheſter*, & deckt the plume of his fortunes with a top-feather taken out of the ſaide late Earle of *Lancaſters* eſtate, that is to ſay, with the Caſtle and honour of * *Donington*, parcell of the Earledome of *Lincolne*. Hauing thus farre ſhewed the originall of the miſchiefe, we will haſten now to the laſt Act or Cataſtrophe of our *Edwards* Tragedie, onely we will firſt remember ſome intercurring matters.

* *Tho. Walſingh.*

(48) You haue heard before, how that the Cardinals ſent from the Pope, had (in fauour of the *Engliſh*) put *Scotland* vnder Interdict; wherefore King *Robert* now at laſt diſpatched the Biſhop of *Glaſcow*, and *Thomas Randolfe* Earle of *Murrey* to *Rome*, for obtayning releaſe and abſolution, but they returned without effecting it. Whereupon King *Robert* moued to haue a truce for thirteene yeeres, which King *Edward* accordingly granted, and the Pope * then abſolued the *Scots*. The matters of *Scotland* ſeemed thus to be ſufficiently prouided for during that time, and the rather for that ſomewhat before the motion for truce, the King had cauſed the newly created Earle of *Carleil*, *Andrew de Herkley*, to be degraded, hanged, drawne and quartered for Treaſon, which hee was conuinced to haue entred into with the *Scots*,

* *Polyd. Virg. l. 18.*

Scots, vpon * whom he had before done ſpeciall ſeruices, as hauing for that cauſe the Caſtle and City of *Carleil* committed to his gouernement. The truce with *Scotland* being thus confirmed, the King makes his progreſſe through the * Counties of *Yorke* and *Lancaſter*, and the *Marches of Wales*, from whence the late ſeditious had their nouriſhments, taking wiſe & carefull courſes for miniſtration of Iuſtice there, and preuention of like inconueniences, by puniſhing their Authors ſeuerely. And Iuſtices * voyd of all corruption, were appointed elſe-where.

* Tho. Walſingh.

*Ypodig. Neuſtr.

* Chron. Dunſt. apud John Stow.

(49) In the meane ſpace, the new King of *France* *Charles* the fifth, a moſt earneſt enemy to the *Engliſh* mens poſſeſſions there, ſought occaſions of quarrell with King *Edward*, who while he conſulted at home how to order that affaire, the yong L. *Roger Mortimer*, one whom the Diuell (ſaith our * Courtier) reſerued to kindle new diſſention with, and to ſtirre vp a moſt miſerable ciuill warre, hauing corrupted his Keepers, or (as ſome others write) hauing potioned them with * a ſleepy drinke, eſcaped out of the Tower of *London*, getting ouer clearely without any empeachment into *France*.

An.D.1324. *Ann. Reg. 17.* The Lord *Roger Mortimer* eſcapes out of the Tower.

*Thom. de la More.

*Ypodigm. Neuſtr.

(50) The *Spenſers*, both father and ſonne, the one thus created Earle of *Wincheſter*, and the other Earle of *Gloceſter*, aſpiring to the fulneſſe of command, and deſirous to leaue nothing in their eye, which might ſtumble their ſway with the King, failed not to beget immortall enmities both againſt themſelues and the King. The Queene tooke their carriage ſo heinouſly, becauſe (beſides other things) they had abridged her meanes of maintenance, (while themſelues abounded in all riches and magnificence) as ſhee complayned; * That the daughter and ſole heire of the King of *France* was married to a gripple miſer, and that being promiſed to be a Queene, ſhee was become no better then a waiting woman, liuing vpon a penſion from the *Spenſers*.

*S. Th de la More.

(51) Thus was the matter, and as it were, the *Embrion*, of their common deſtruction laid, and begun in the impotencie of a womans will, to helpe out the which with ſhrewd drifts and directions, they encreaſe her ſide with *Adam* Biſhop of *Hereford*, by ſtripping him out of all his Temporalties as a Traytour, for that he had ſupported the *Mortimers* in the Barons quarrell. This *Adam* (ſaith our Knight) was a man of moſt ſubtile wit, and in all wordly pollicies profound, daring to doe great things, and factious withall, who for this cauſe conceiuing deepeſt hate, and therefore eaſily growing deare to the Queene, made a great ſecret party. To which *Henrie Burwaſh* Biſhop of *Lincolne*, who (for like cauſes) had beene kept from his temporalties (about two yeeres) joyned himſelfe. Neither would the *Spenſers* auarice ſuffer them to weaken the multitudes of their enemies, for they ſold the Kings gracious fauour to ſuch as had beene in the Barons quarrell, at ſo great rates that they by graunting away lands and Manours to the ſaid Lords *Spenſers* for their pardons, &c. very many of the Nobles were impoueriſhed. To be ſhort, the royall power being in the hands of the *Spenſers*, and *Roger Baldock* Chancellour, or of their Creatures and Fauourites; this other faction had the generall diſcontentments of the Realme to worke vpon for their aduantage.

An.D.1325.

(52) The King thus guiding himſelfe, and hauing ſent his Brother *Edmund* Earle of *Kent* (vpon notice of the firſt troubles) with Forces into *Gaſcoigne*, who gaue ſome little ſtay for a time to the *French* proceedings, till they might otherwiſe be prouided for, it came to this poynt at laſt: that whereas the King had a purpoſe to haue gone in perſon into *France*, the *Spenſers*, who were afraid to be ſeuered from his perſon, the onely reuerence whereof they knew to be their ſafegard, and yet not daring to attend him thither, or ſtay behinde, * perſwaded the King, contrary to the mindes of all the reſt, that the Queene (who ſought it) ſhould goe and negociate her husbands affaire in *France*. Shee did ſo; and whereas before her departure, things were in great extremity betweene the two Nations, inſomuch that all the *French* were baniſhed out of *England*, not they who were attendant on the Queen her ſelfe in neereſt place being ſpared, all matters by her negotiation and ſuite were quieted; vpon condition that King *Edward* ſhould giue to his Son *Edward* of *Windſor* (afterward King) the *Dutchy* of *Aquitaine*, and *Earledome* of *Pontine*, for which the King of *France* was pleaſed to accept his ſaid young *Nephewes* homage.

*Tho. Walſingh.

(53) This was done, and the Prince ſent ouer for that purpoſe to his mother, to the vtter vndoing of the King his Father, and of all his fauourites. For the heire of *England* being in forraine parts, among the contrary faction, all the conſultation was (vnder colour of ruining the *Spenſers*,) to accompliſh farther matters. The Prince, hauing (at *Boys de Vincens*) done his homage for that Dutchie and Countie to his vncle *Charles de Valois* King of *France*, was (as alſo the Queene his mother) ſent for backe by the King about *Michaelmas*; but the Queenes conſpiracy being not yet ripe, ſhe deferred to obay, detayning her ſonne ſtill.

(54) There went ouer with the young Prince, among many others, *Walter Stapleton*, Biſhop of *Exceſter*, who perceiuing into what familiarity the Lord *Roger Mortimer* was growne with the Queene, which * ſeemed greater then either ſtood with her honour or duetie, and ſeeing both him and other of the Kings enemies, and fugitiues, enioy that priuacie in counſell, which was aſſigned to himſelfe, who was now (as being none of theirs) * excluded, returned ſecretly (though vnſent-for) into *England*, faithfully (as it became a good man) declaring his knowledge.

Pol. Virg. lib. 18.

* Tho. Walſingh.

* Tho. de la More.

(55) The King now clearely beholding his errour, in his dangers, * ſolicited the King of *France* to ſend home his wife and ſonne, but that not ſucceeding, he cauſed them * openly in *London* to be proclaymed enemies of the Kingdome, baniſhing them with all their adherents out of the ſame. For his more aſſurance alſo hee cauſed the Ports to be moſt narrowly watcht. Finally, to draw all his dangers to a ſhort diſpatch, there was (as was ſuppoſed) a plot laide for * making away the Queene and Prince, but Gods will was to fruſtrate it.

* Polyd. Virg. l. 18. The Queene and Prince proclaimed Traitors.

* Thom. Walſing. Polyd. Virg. l. 18. Fabian. Their death plotted by the King.

* M. Fox. Act. & Mon. p. 464. col. 1.

(56) The Queen, on the other ſide, fearing that the * *Spenſers* Gold had laide traines to blow her whole proceedings vp in *France*, kept her ſelfe out of the way, till with the Prince, the Lord *Roger Mortimer*, and other their adherents, they were ſafely gotten into *Henault*: There might be ſome other reaſon alſo, and neceſſary, to moue Queene *Iſabel* to depart out of *France*, beſide the doubt of that kinde of corruption in the Peeres thereof: as to turne off a warre from thence being her natiue Countrey, which for her cauſe was afflicted in the Sea-ſtrengths thereof; for Sir *Iohn Oturwin*, Sir *Nicholas Kiried*, and Sir *Iohn de Felton*, with the Nauy of the Ports, and of other places, had by commiſſion from the King ſo ſcowred the narrow Seas, that they within a ſhort time brought into *England*, as lawfull prize, * an hundreth and twenty *Norman* Ships or Veſſels. Moreouer, whereas thoſe two Biſhops which the Pope had ſent, were returned ſorrowfull out of *England*, not onely without doing any good on her behalfe, but alſo without hope of doing any, ſhe might eaſily be perſwaded that the ſword muſt doe it, or nothing.

*Ypodig. Neuſtr.

The Engliſh ſcowre the narrow ſeas.

* Tho. Walſingh.

(57) But in *Henault* ſhe found moſt honourable and louing welcome of the Earle, where, therefore (without the conſent or aduiſe of the Peeres of *England*) ſhee enſured (ſaith our * Author) that delight and terrour of the whole World, her ſonne, being then about foureteene yeeres old, to *Philippa* the ſaid Earles daughter, and with the money of her portion waged ſouldiers out of *Henault*, and *Germanie*, to

An.D.1326. *An. Reg. 19.*

* Tho. de la More.

transport into *England*. There her friends expected her arriuall daily, of which the Bishops of *Hereford* and *Lincolne* were not meanest: Her men and Naue being now ready, she with her sonne the Prince, the Lord *Edmund* Earle of *Kent* his Vncle, * *Aimery de Valence* Earle of *Pembroke*, the Lord *Iohn* of *Henault*, the Earle of *Henaults* brother, (a valiant Gentleman) the Lord *Roger Mortimer*, and many other *English-men* of name and note, with aboue two thousand and seuen hundred *Henowayes* and *Germans*, vnder the leading of the said Lord *Iohn*, arriued at *Orwel* in *Suffolke* vpon the Friday before Saint *Michaels* day.

* *Harding.c.176.*

The Kings proceedings after the Queenes arriuall.

(58) Her arriuall being reported to the King (who was, poore Prince, not onely destitute of friends and meanes, but as it seemes, of courage, and counsell also) it did not at first seeme credible. The truth appearing, he demaunded assistance of the City of *London*, whose answere was, *That they would honor with all duty, the King, the Queene, and Prince, but would shut their gates against forreiners, and traytors to the Realme, and with all their powers withstand them.* In this answere the King and his few friends reposing no assurance, hee committed an errour worse then that former of sending his sonne out of *England*, by retiring himselfe into the West, with his inseparable fauorites the *Spensers*, *Baldocke* and others there, to raise a force against the Queene: but before hee went, hee left his other sonne, the Lord *Iohn* (called of *Eltham*) in the Tower of *London*, with the Countesse of *Gloceſter*, the Kings Neece, Wife to the younger *Spenser* Earle of *Gloceſter*, committing the Tower it selfe to Sir *Iohn de Weston*, who was well prouided of men and victuals. He commaunded all men also to destroy and kill the Queenes partakers, none excepted but her selfe, her sonne, and *Edmund* Earle of *Kent*, the Kings brother by the Father, and that none, vpon paine of death, and losse of all that they might leese, should aid or assist them: and that he should haue a thousand pound, who did bring the Lord *Mortimers* head. Thus tooke he his last leaue of *London*, and in a manner also of his Rule or Domination.

(59) On the contrary part, there repaired to the Queene the Earle *Marshall*, and *Henry* Earle of *Leicester*, the Bishops of *Lincolne*, *Hereford*, *Ely*, and of Barons, Knights, and armed Souldiers no small multitude, whom as well to retaine, as to draw more, letters and rumours flew about, declaring (though falsly) that the King of *France* had in the ayde of his Sister sent so many Dukes, Earles, and others, that *England* could scarse suffice to feed them. This, for such whom the opinion of warlike strength would winne: but those whom shew of Religion might moue, it was as cunningly, and as falsly spread, that the Pope had excommunicated all such as did take armes against the Queene, and (the more to countenance the fiction) that two Cardinals imployed about the Premisses, were seen in the Queens Campe. Then was it proclaymed, that the causes of her comming were to deliuer the Realme from the mis-leaders of the King, which were named to be the *Spensers*, *Roger Baldock* Bishop of *Norwich*, *Lord Chancellor*, and their Fautors; all others to be safe, and that nothing should be taken from any other subject without true payment; but finally, that he who brought the yonger *Spensers* head should haue two thousand pounds. These things first thus ordered, the Queene with her sonne and whole power pursues the King, (as it had beene agreed by the Councell of Warre) taking first her way to *Oxford*: where the * whole Vniuersitie being called together, in the presence of the Queene, the Prince, *Roger Mortimer*, and the rest of that troupe, the Bishop of *Hereford* (the Queenes bosome Counsellor) preaching to them on this Text, *2 King.c.4.v.19 * *My head, my head aketh*, deliuered to them the reasons of the Queenes comming with her army, concluding (more like a Butcher then a Diuine) that an aking and sick-head of a King-

Tho. de la More.

Ypod. Neustr.

* *Tho. de la More.*

dome, was of necessitie to be taken off, and not to be tampered with, by any other physicke.

The *Londoners* for the Queene.

(60) The *Londoners*, in fauour of the Queene, and hatred of the *Spensers*, committed sundry outrages, besides bloudy sacriledge in cutting off the bishop of *Excesters* head, and some others (whom the King had made Guardian of *London*) in their popular fury, among the which one of them was a Citizen of their owne *Iohn le Marchal*, who had beene of the yonger *Spensers* acquaintance. The Tower of *London* they get into their possession, placing and displacing the Garrison and Officers therein at their pleasure, vnder the name of the Lord *Iohn* of *Eltham*, the Kings second sonne, whom they proclaimed *Custos* of the Citie, and of the Land. They also set at liberty all prisoners, which by the popular Queenes commaundement was done through the whole Realme: and all banished men and Fugitiues were reuoked; who all * flocking vnto *London*, brought no small encrease to her forces.

* *Ex Hist. quæ Brut. dicitur. M.S.*

(61) Whither in the meane space doth wofull *Edward* flye? what force, what course, what way takes he poore Prince? O fearefull condition of so great a Monarches State, when a Wife, a Sonne, a Kingdome are not trusted, and those onely are trusted who had nothing strong, but a will to liue and die with him! The Queene passing from *Oxford* to *Gloceſter* (onward to the siege of *Bristow*-Castle) grew all the while in her strengths like a rowled snow-bal, or as a *Riuer*, which spreades still broader from the fountaine to the Ocean, * *vires acquirit eundo.* For thither repayred to her (for the loue of the young Prince) the Lord *Percy*, the Lord *Wake*, and others as well out of the North, as Marches of *Wales*. But *Edward* (hauing left the Earle of *Wincheſter*, the elder Lord *Spenser*, in the Castle of *Bristol* for the keeping thereof) meditates flight with a few into the Isle of *Lundie* in *Seuerne* Sea, or into *Ireland*, & while he wandreth about not finding where to rest safe, his royall credite, name, and power, (like a Cliffe which falling from the top of some huge rocke, breakes into the more pieces, the farther it rolles) are daily more and more diminisht as they scatter, till now at last they are come vnto a very nothing. After a weeke therefore spent vpon the Sea, Sir *Thomas Blunt* forsaking him, and comming to the Queene, he came on shore in *Glamorganshire*, where with his few friends he entrusted himselfe to God, and the faith of the *Welsh* (who indeed still loued him) lying hidden among them in the Abbey of * *Neath*.

* *Virg. Aene. 3.*

* *Ypod. Neustriæ. Tho. de la More.*

(62) Now had the Queene and her Sonne (for his name was abused to all sorts of turne-seruings) taken the elder Lord *Spenser* at the Castle of *Bristol*, who (without any forme of triall) was cruelly cut vp aliue and quartered (saith *de la More* our Knight) being * first at the clamours of the people, drawne and hanged in his proper Armories vpon the common Gallowes without the City: but his Grandchild *Hugolin* stood so valiantly in defence of himself within the Castle of *Kerfilli*, that he had his life and the liues of all his assistants saued.

The elder *Spenser* put to death.

* *Tho. Walsing. Historia quæ Brutus dicitur. M.S.*

(63) The King not appearing, Proclamations were euery day made in the Queenes Army, declaring, * That it was the common consent of the realme that he should returne, and * receiue the gouernement thereof, so as he would conforme himselfe to his people. This (whether Stratagem or Truth) not preuailing, *Henry* Earle of *Lancaster* the late Earles Brother, Sir *William la Zouch*, and *Rhese ap Howell* a *Welshman*, who all of them had Lands in those parts where the King concealed himselfe, were sent with coyne and forces to discouer and take him. The Queene and her people lay in the City of *Hereford*, the Episcopall See of that great * Arch-plotter of her courses *Adam de Ortlon*, where by aduise and consent of the Lords, her sonne the Duke of *Aquitaine* was made *High-Keeper of England*, and they as to the *Custos* of the same, did sweare him fealty. And here also the Bishop of *Norwich* was made Chancellor of

Proclamations re-calling the King.

* *Tho. Walsing.*

* *Act. & Mon. p. 465. col. 1.*

* *Tho. de la More* cals him, *omnis huius mali Architectum*, but the Actor was doubtlesse *Roger Mortimer.*

The Prince *Custos*, or high Keeper of *England.*

of the Realme, and the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* Treaſurer.

(65) What will not money, diligence and faire words doe; with corrupt diſpoſitions, euen to euerting of all bands of either religious or ciuill duties? By ſuch meanes therefore the deſolate, ſad, and vnfortunate King, * came into his coſen of *Lancaſters* hands, and with him the yonger Lord *Spenſer* Earle of *Gloceſter*, *Robert Baldock* Lord Chancellour, and *Simon de Reding*, there being no regard had to the detention of any other. The King was conueyed by the Earle from the place of his ſurpriſe to *Monmouth*, to *Ledbury*, and ſo to the Caſtle of *Kenelworth*, belonging to the Earle of *Leiceſter*, who was appointed to attend him, that is, to keepe him ſafe. The other three, *Spenſer*, *Baldock*, and *Reding*, were ſtrongly guarded to *Hereford*, there to bee diſpoſed of at the pleaſure of their moſt capitall enemies.

*16. Calend. Decēb.

(66) Before whoſe comming, to ſatisfie *Roger Mortimer*, the Lord *Edmund* Earle of *Arundel*, and two Gentlemen *Daniel* and *Micheldene* were beheaded at *Hereford*: The Lord *Mortimer* was ſo high in the Queenes fauour, that ſhe could doe no leſſe (as wee may ſuppoſe) then gratifie him with a few hated heads. But (*Mortimer*) there will be a time, when the cry of this, and other bloud ſacrificed to thy priuate reuenge (while thou abuſeſt the publike truſt) will neuer giue ouer the purſuit, till it hath deſeruedly drawne thine in lieu thereof.

(67) The Lord *Spenſer* and the reſt, * on whom *William Truſſell* the Iudge gaue ſentence of death, being now drawne to *Hereford*, the ſaid Lord being clad in his coat-armour, was moſt deſpightfully dragged to the place of execution, where, being firſt hung vpon a gallowes fifty foot high, hee was afterward headed, and cut into quarters; they who brought him to the Queene, hauing the promiſed ſumme of two thouſand pounds diſtributed among them for reward. His head was ſet vp at *London*, and his quarters in foure parts of the Kingdome. *Simon de Reding* was hanged ten foot lower then hee in the ſame place.

The yonger *Spenſer* put to death.
* *Continu. Nich. Triuet. M.S.*

(68) This Execution (ſaith *Walſingham*) was done vpon a Munday, in reuenge of the death of *Thomas* Earle of *Lancaſter*, whoſe bloud was likewiſe ſhed vpon a Munday. *Robert Baldock* late Lord Chancellor was committed to the keeping of the Biſhop of *Hereford*, who after a time cauſed him to bee brought vp to *Hereford-houſe* in *London*, where the tumultuous people (not without the Biſhoppe of *Herefords* ſecret approuement, as was ſaid) tooke him violently away, and though hee were a Prieſt) thruſt him into *Newgate*, where they vſed him ſo vnhandſomely, that albeit they had no accuſation, but onely for being faithfull to his Soueraigne, wherewith to * charge him, he not long after died in priuate; to whom (ſaith *De la More*) might be applied that of *Quintilian*, * *Torquentem vincit quiſquis occiditur.*

M. Fox Act. & Mon. pa. 465. col. 1.

* *Tho. de la More.*

* Whoſoeuer is kild by torment, ouercomes the Tormentor.

(69) The mourneſull King being at *Kenelworth* Caſtle, there repaired thither the Biſhops of * *Wincheſter*, *Hereford*, and *Lincolne*, * two Earles, two Abbots, foure Barons, * two Iuſtices, three Knights for euery County, and for *London*, and other principall places (chiefly for the fiue Ports) a certaine choſen number, ſelected by the Parliament, which then the Queene and her Sonne held at *London*. The Biſhops of *Wincheſter* and *Lincolne* (as it was agreed vpon) came thither before any of the reſt, aſwell to giue the King to vnderſtand what kinde of Embaſſage was approaching, as to prepare him, by the beſt Arguments they could to ſatisfie the deſire, and expectation, of their new-moulded common-weale, which could onely be by reſignation of the Crowne, that his Sonne (whom the body of the then confuſed State had elected) might raigne in his ſtead.

An. D. 1327. *An. Reg. 20. & vlt.*
King *Edward* yeelds to reſigne his Crowne.
**S. Tho. de la More.*
* *Tho. Walſingh.*
* *Polych. li. 7. c. 43.*

(70) When they were admitted to his preſence, (the Earle of *Leiceſter* being by) they together ſo wrought him, partly with ſhewing a neceſſity, partly with other reaſons drawne out of common plates, throughly ſtudied for that purpoſe, that (though not without many ſobs and teares) hee finally did not diſſent, if his anſwere were truely reported (which * ſome doubt of) vnto the Parliament.* For they told "him that the Common-weale had conceiued ſo ir- "reconciliable diſlikes of his gouernement, the par- "ticulars whereof had beene opened in the generall "aſſembly at *London*, that it was reſolued neuer to "endure him as King any longer. That notwithſtan- "ding thoſe diſlikes had not extended themſelues "ſo farre, as for his ſake to exclude his iſſue, but that "with vniuerſall applauſe, and ioy, the Common- "weale had in Parliament elected his eldeſt Sonne "the Lord *Edward* for King. That it would be a ve- "ry acceptable thing to God, willingly to giue o- "uer an earthly Kingdome, for the common-good "and quiet of his Countrey, which they ſaid could "not otherwiſe bee ſecured. That yet his honour "ſhould be no leſſe after the reſignation, then it was "before, onely him the common-weale would ne- "uer ſuffer to raigne any longer. They finally durſt "tell him, that vnleſſe hee did of himſelfe renounce "his Crowne and Scepter, the people would neither "endure him, nor any of his Children as their So- "ueraigne, but diſclaiming all homage and fealty, "would elect ſome * other for King, who ſhould not "be of the bloud.

Reaſons to perſwade his reſignation.

* *Hiſt. Bruti, M.S.*
* *Tho. de la More.*

* *Polyd. Virg. li. 18.*

(71) The whole Company ſent by the body of State (if it may be called a Body which then had no Head there) from *London*, where it attended their returne, being placed by the Biſhop of *Hereford*, according to their degrees, in the Preſence-Chamber at *Kenelworth* Caſtle, the King gowned in blacke came forth at laſt out of an inward roome, and preſented himſelfe to his vaſſals, where (as being Priuie to the errand) ſorrow ſtroke ſuch a chilneſſe into him, that hee fell to the earth, lying ſtretched forth in a deadly ſwown; The Earle of *Leiceſter*, and the Biſhoppe of *Wincheſter* beholding this, ranne vnto him, and with much labour recouered the halfe-dead King, ſetting him vpon his feet.* As rufull and heauy as this ſight was, we read not yet of any acts or effects of compaſſion expreſſed towards him at this preſent; ſo ſetled (as it ſeemed) was the hatred and auerſion. The King being now (we cannot ſay) come to himſelfe, but to the ſenſe of his miſery, the Biſhop of *Hereford* declares the cauſe of their preſent Embaſſie, and running ouer the former poynts, concludes as before, ſaying, (as in the perſon of the common-wealth) *That the King muſt reſigne his Diademe to his eldeſt Sonne, or, after the refuſall, ſuffer them to elect ſuch a perſon as themſelues ſhould iudge to be moſt fit and able to defend the Kingdome.*

Tho. de la More.

(72) The dolorous King hauing heard this ſpeech, brake forth into ſighes and teares, and being (ſaith his * moſt fauourable reporter) more ready to ſacrifice his body for Chriſts cauſe, then once to behold the diſinheriſon of his Sonnes, or (through his occaſion) the perpetuall diſturbance of the Kingdome, (as knowing, ſaith he, that a good ſhepheard ſhould giue his life for his flocke,) made at the laſt his an- "ſwere to this effect. * That hee knew that for his "many ſinnes hee was falne into this calamity, and "therefore had the leſſe cauſe to take it grieuouſly: "That much he ſorrowed for * this, that the people "of the Kingdome were ſo exaſperated againſt him, "as that they ſhould vtterly abhorre his any longer "rule and ſoueraignety: and therefore he beſought "all that were there preſent, to * forgiue and ſpare "him, being ſo afflicted. That neuertheleſſe * it was "* greatly to his good pleaſure and liking, (ſeeing it "* could none other be on his behalfe,) that his el- "deſt ſonne was ſo * gracious in their ſight, and there- "fore he gaue them * thanks for chooſing him to bee "their King.

* Sir *Tho. de la More*, his ſeruant.

* *Polyd. Virg. lib. 18*

* *Tho. Walſingh. Tho. de la More.*

* *Tho. Walſingh. Polyd Virg. lib. 18.*
* *Tho de la More.*
* *Tho. Walſingh.*
* *Tho. de la More.*
* *Thomas Walſing.*
* *Tho. de la More.*
* *Thom. Walſing. Polyd. Virg. lib. 18*

(73) This being ſaid, there was forthwith a proceeding to the ſhort ceremonies of his reſignation, which principally conſiſted in the ſurrender of his

Diadem

*Tho.de la More.

Diadem and Enſignes of Maieſty, to the vſe of his ſon the new King. Thereupon * Sir *William Truſſell* (as being a Iudge who could fit them with quirks of law to colour ſo lawleſſe and treaſonable a fact) on the behalfe of the whole Realme renounced all homage and allegiance to the Lord *Edward of Caernaruon* late King.

*Polych.lib.7.c.43.

(74) The forme of that renunciation, as being obſolete, you ſhall haue in the like * obſolete words of *Treuiſa*, which was this; *I William Truſſel, in name of all men of the land of England, and of all the Parliament Procurator, reſigne to thee Edward, the homage that was made to thee ſometime; and from this time forward now following, I defie thee, and priue thee of all royall power, and I ſhall neuer be tendant to thee as for King after this time.* Which being done, *Sir Thomas Blunt* Knight, Steward of the houſhold, by breaking his ſtaffe, reſigned his office, and declared that the late Kings family was diſcharged.

*Tho.Walſingh.

(75) *Edward* being thus de-kinged, the Embaſſie rode ioyfully backe to *London* to the Parliament, with the reſigned * Enſignes, and diſpatch of their employment. Here (for that this ſeemes the laſt houre of his raigne and kingly ſtate) we will make a ſtop, referring you for the reſt to the next Kings life, vnder whoſe name and abuſed authority they were acted.

*Tho.Walſingh.

(76) Notwithſtanding, we may not forget in all theſe doings to call to minde, who it was that ſate at the helme of State, ouer-looking, and ouer-ſwaying Queene, Prince and all; to wit, the moſt ambitious and vindicatiue man liuing, *Roger* Lord *Mortimer* of *Wigmor*: for, as for the * Queene, when ſhee was (God knowes how farre guilty,) aduertiſed of her husbands dethronization, ſhee outwardly expreſſed ſo great extremity of paſſion (notwithſtanding that at the ſame time ſhee was tolde of her ſonnes ſurrogation) as if ſhee had beene diſtraught in her wittes: which the Prince her ſonne (then about fifteen yeares of age) beholding, hee made an oath, neuer to accept of the Crowne againſt his Fathers good will; and therupon it was (ſaith *Walſingham* a Writer worthy of beliefe) that the ſaid Embaſſie was ſent to *Kenelworth* Caſtle, (where the now no more a King remained) to worke his aſſent, *whoſe anſwer therunto* (ſaith * another) *was by thoſe Meſſengers related at full, and fuller then in truth it was* ſent by the King; but the Peeres then in Parliament made their vſe thereof, in procuring ſuch a Prince to take the rule of them, whom they hoped, by reaſon of his tender yeares, themſelues ſhould be able to rule and ouer-maſter.

* Hiſt.Bruti.M.S.

His Wife.

(77) *Iſabel*, daughter to *Philip* the Faire, King of *France* (ſiſter to *Lodowicke Hutin*, *Philip the Long*, & *Charles the Faire*, all kings of *France*) was married to *Edward* the ſecond, at twelue yeares of age, in our Lady Church of *Bulloigne*, the 22. of Ianuary, 1308. Shee was his wife twenty yeres, and his widow thirty, and liued threeſcore and three yeares. Shee died at *Riſings* neere *London*, the two and twentieth of *Auguſt* 1357. and was buried in the middeſt of the *Gray-Fryers Quire* in *London*, the 27. of *September* following.

His Iſſue.

(78) *Edward* (ſurnamed of *Windſor*) the eldeſt ſon of K. *Edward* & Queene *Iſabel* his wife, was borne at the Caſtle of *Windſor*, the thirteenth of *October*, the yeere of Chriſt, 1312. and the ſixt of his Fathers raigne: He was created Prince of *Wales*, and Duke of *Aquitaine*, in a Parliament holden at *Yorke*, *Anno.* 1322. and in the troubles of the Realme, and abſence of his Father, in an aſſembly of Lords, met at *Hereford*, and in preſence of the Queene, was made L. *Warden* of *England* by a common decree: vnto whom all the Lords made their fealty, in receiuing an Oath of Allegiance to be faithfull and loyall vnto him as to the Lord *Warden* of the Realme: and ſhortly after, the Father depoſed, hee was crowned King of *England*, by the name of *Edward* the third.

(79) *Iohn* (ſurnamed of *Eltham*) the ſecond ſonne of King *Edward* and Queene *Iſabel* his Wife, was borne at *Eltham* in *Kent*, the 15. of *Auguſt*, and yeare of Chriſt, 1315. and at twelue yeares of age was created Earle of *Cornewall* in a Parliament, Anno. 1327. and third yeare of the raigne of King *Edward* his brother: he dyed in *Scotland* vnmarried, in the flower of his youth, the tenth of his brothers raigne, and yeare of Chriſt, 1334.

(80) *Ioan* the eldeſt daughter, and third childe of King *Edward* and Queene *Iſabel*, was borne in the Tower of *London*; ſhee was married being a child at *Barwicke* the eighteenth day of *Iuly*, in the ſecond yeare of the raigne of King *Edward* her brother, 1329 to *Dauid* Prince of *Scotland*, ſonne and heire apparent of King *Robert Bruce*, whom he ſucceeded within one yeare after in the Kingdome, being but ſeauen yeares of age, and was the ſecond King of *Scotland* of the name of *Dauid*; ſhe was his Wife twenty and eight yeares, and being come into *England* to viſite her brother, ſhe deceaſed here without Iſſue, in the two and thirtieth yeare of his Raigne, 1357. and was buried at the *Gray-Fryers* in *London*.

(81) *Elenor*, the ſecond and yongeſt daughter, & fourth child of King *Edward* and Queene *Iſabel*, was the ſecond wife of *Reynald* the ſecond, Earle of *Gelder*, married vnto him with a portion of fifteene thouſand pounds 1332. being the ſixt yeare of the raigne of king *Edward* her brother, who being the Vicar-generall of the Empire, to the Emperour *Lewis* of *Bauar*, created him firſt Duke of *Gelder*: ſhee had iſſue by him *Reinald* and *Edward* both Dukes ſucceſſiuely after their Father, without Iſſue; the latter of them leauing his Dutchie and his wife to his Nephew *William* Duke of *Gulik* his halfe ſiſters Sonne.

Edward III.

EDWARD THE THIRD, KING OF ENGLAND, AND FRANCE, LORD OF IRELAND, &c. THE FORTIE-NINTH MONARCH OF ENGLAND, HIS RAIGNE, ACTS, AND ISSVE.

Monarch 49

CHAPTER XII.

The happy change vnder King *Edward* 3.

THe ſickneſſe and wounds which the commonwelth ſuſtained by the raigne of the late depoſed king, vpon the change of her Leach and Phyſitian, recouered not onely health and ſtrength, but beauty alſo and ornament; and the elements themſelues, which in the former times ſeemed to ſuffer and ſympathize with the publike grieuances of the *Engliſh*, grew* gratious and propitious to the vſe of man, the Aire becomming more healthfull, the earth more fruitfull, as if Nature herſelfe were priuy to the worth of the ſucceeding Prince. But this his worth did not diſplay it ſelfe, vntill hee had plucked the ſway of things out of the hands of the Queene his Mother, and of that aſpiring danger and tempeſt of *England*, *Roger Mortimer*, who wholly poſſeſſed her.

* *Ranulph. Ceſt. Tho. Walſingh.*

(2) This *Edward* of *Windſor*, being not fifteene yeeres of age, when (without any guilty thought in him) his throne was thus eſtabliſhed vpon his Fathers ruine, tooke the beginning of his raign by publike ſanction at the* twentieth day of *Ianuary*, and by direction of ſuch as ſought to colour their treaſons againſt their depoſed Soueraigne, proclaimed "his peace in theſe words. *Edward* by the grace of "God, King of *England*, Lord of *Ireland*, and Duke "of *Aquitaine*, to *N.N.* our Sheriffe of *S.* Greeting. "Becauſe the Lord *Edward* our Father, late King of "*England*, by the common Counſell and Aſſent of "the Prelates, Earles, Barons, and other the chiefe "men, and the whole Comminalty of the King-"dome, did voluntarily remooue himſelfe from the "gouernment thereof, willing and granting that wee "as his eldeſt ſonne and heire, ſhould take vpon vs "the rule and regiment of the ſame, and we with the "counſell and aduiſe of the Prelates, Earles & Barons "before ſaid, yeelding therein to our Fathers good

* *Tho. Walſingh.*

pleaſure.

" pleasure, and will, haue taken vpon vs the gouer-
" nance of the said Kingdome, and as the manner is,
" haue receiued the Fealties and Homages of the said
" Prelates and Peeres. We therefore desirous that
" our peace, for the quiet and calme estate of our peo-
" ple, should be inuiolably obserued, doe will and
" commaund you, that presently vpon sight of these
" presents, you cause our Peace to be openly proclai-
" claimed through your whole Bailywicke, forbid-
" ding all and euery one on our behalfe, vnder paine
" and perill of disinherison, & losse of life and limbes,
" not to presume to violate or infringe our said peace,
" but that euery one pursue or follow his actions,
" and complaints, without any manner of out-rage,
" according to the lawes and customes of our King-
" dome: for we are ready, and alwaies will be, to
" administer full right to all & singular complainants,
" aswell poore as rich in our Courts of Iustice. Wit-
" nesse our selfe, &c. in the * Kalends of *February*
" vpon *Sunday* being *Candlemas Eue*.

* 1 Februa.

(3) Vpon the Candlemas day it selfe, the young King receiuing the Order of Knight-hoode, by the hands of the Earle of *Lancaster*, and vpon the same day the Crowne of *England* at *Westminster*, *Walter* Archbishop of *Canterbury* performing the offices accustomed therein, iudged nothing to bee sooner thought vpon then to recouer the honour of his Nation vpon the Northerne enemies, whom his vnexperienced youth, and their former happinesse had emboldened; in which preparation while he was busied, the Queene his Mother, and her *Mortimer*, forgat not other things tending to their owne benefite and assurance.

King *Edward* prouided for warres with *Scotland*.

(4) First therefore there was procured for the Queene-mother so great a Dowry, that the young King had scarce a * third part of the Kingdome left for his maintenance; which excessiue estate, in title the Queenes, in the vse was *Mortimers*, and from this treasonable defalcation and weakening of the royall meanes, hee sinewed his owne deuises with authority and riches; so that his hatred against *Spenser* was not on behalfe of the Common-weale, but for that any one should abuse it for his priuate but himselfe. Lastly, when they had certaine intelligence, that sundry great persons and others, as the whole order of Fryers-Preachers, tooke pitty of the late Kings captiuity, and seemed to consult for his deliuerance, they knowing that by recouery of his former estate, their iust confusion must follow, they resolued to strengthen (as men supposed) their other impieties with murther.

Mortimers high practises.

* *Ypodig. Neust.*

(5) For albeit the Queene in her outward gestures pretended nothing but sorrow for her Lord and husbands distresse, yet in stead of bringing to him her person (which the deposed Prince did wonderfully * loue) shee onely sent vnto him fine * apparell and kinde letters, but contrary to the lawes of God and man, with-drew her selfe from nuptiall duties, bestowing them (as the fame went, which will blab of Princes as freely as of meaner Dames) vpon the bloudy Adulterer *Mortimer*, fathering her absence vpon the *State*, which (she fained) would not suffer her to come vnto him. The desolate Prince was hereupon taken from *Kenelworth* Castle, by expresse order from the * young King, at their procurement, for that the Earle of *Lancaster* (Lord of that peece) was suspected to pitty too much his calamity, Hee was deliuered by * Indenture, to Sir *Thomas de Gournay* the elder, and Sir *Iohn Mattrauers*, two mercilesse and most vnworthy Knights.

* *Tho. de la More.*
* *Thom. Walsingh.*

* *Grafton.*

* *Grafton.*

Tho. de la More.

(6) These two Instruments of the Diuell, hauing conducted him first to the Castle of *Corf*, then to *Bristol*, and lastly in great secresie, and with more villanous despite, then it became either Knights, or the lewdest varlets in the world, as (out of Sir *Thomas de la More*, you may reade at large in the Collections of * *Iohn Stow*) to the Castle of *Barkley*, where after many vile deuises, executed vpon him in vaine, they * more then barbarously murthered him.

The late King *Edward* murthered.

* *Annals.*

* *Hector. Boet. & omnes.*

(7) Neuer was the fallacy of pointings, or ambiguity of Phrase more mischieuously vsed, to the destruction of a King, or defence of the Contriuers, then in this hainous Parricide, for it is said that abloudy *Sophisme*, conceiued in these words, was sent;

A bloudy fallacy or Sophisme.

* *Edwardum occidere nolite timere bonum est.*

* *Tho. de la More. Iob. Stow.*

To shed King Edwards *bloud,*
Refuse to feare I count it good.

Where the Comma or pause being put after *Nolite*, bid them not to make him away, but after *timere*, insinuates a plaine encouragement to the fact.

(8) The *Sphynx*, who is said to be the Author of this ambiguous Riddle, sent by the Lord * *Mortimer*, was *Adam de Torleton*, who * vtterly denyed any such intention, when the Murtherers for their owne iustification, produced the writing it selfe, vnder Queene *Isabels* Seale, and the seales of the other Conspirators, and therefore the said Bishop *Adam* was the cause, why *Gorney* and *Mattrauers* were with terrible menaces shaken vp, pursued and out-lawed, who more pursued with the memory and conscience of so hainous a Tragedy, fled out of *England*. *Gorney* after three yeares banishment, being discouered at *Massels* in *Fraunce*, and apprehended, was conuayed backe, but had his head taken off at Sea, in his passage, * lest he should reueale too much at his arriuall, but *Mattrauers* lay hidden in *Germany* a long time, doing pennance.

The Actors forced to flie the Country.
* *Lanquet. Grafton. Fabian.*
* *Tho. de la More.*

* *Tho. de la More. Tho. Walsingh.*

(9) This Parricide was committed about S. *Mathews* day, and (that you may note what confidence they had in their Art of secret murther, as also an ordinary mockage of the people in like cases) the noble body was layde forth, and * many Abbots, Pryors, Knights, and Burgesses of *Bristoll* and *Gloucester* were sent for to see the same; vpon which, although there appeared no manifest outward signe of violent death, but the skinne all ouer whole and vnbroken, yet the cry of murther could not so bee smothered, but the meanes and manner came to light. This happinesse certainely the poore Prince had, that after his emprisonment hee reformed his life into so pious and Christian sort, that it gaue occasion when hee was dead of disputation, whether * hee were not to bee reputed a *Saint*, euen as (say our Authors) there was the like Question concerning *Thomas* Earle of *Lancaster*, though beheaded for apparant Treasons. His body without * any funerall pompe was buried among the *Benedictins* in their Abbey at *Gloucester*, and so (saith * our passionate author) the stately height of the Angels Kingdome receiued this Scholler, and Disciple of Christ, thus reft and spoyled of his *English* Kingdome.

The murthered *Edwards* body layd to view.

* *Walsingham.*

* *Ranulp. Cest. Thom. Walsi. Fabian.*

* *Polyd. Virg. l. 18.*

* *Tho. de la More.*

(10) The yong King was now vpon the borders of *Scotland* with a puissant Armie, where also the Queene mother, and *Mortimer*, with many other Nobles were present, and hauing enuironed the Scots (who had pierced into *England* with inuasiue armes) in the woods of *Wiridale* and *Stanhope* Parke, made sure account of a certaine victory; but by the treason of the said Lord *Mortimer* (as afterward was layd to his charge) they were suffered to escape out of that mischiefe, and the young King with griefe returned inglorious, after an huge waste of treasure, and perill of his owne person.

The Scots enuironed, escape.

Adam Merimouth. Holinsh. Act. & Mon.

(11) For while the English hoast thus held the Scots, as it were, besieged Sir *Iames Dowglasse* in the dead of night, with about * two hundreth swift horse assailed the Kings owne Pauilion, and missed so little of killing him, that a Priest his Chaplaine, a stout and loyall man was slaine in his defence, and Sir *Iames* escaped backe without hurt, but not without honour for his bold attempt. In the Scots Campe * one noteth, that the English found fiue hundreth great Oxen and Kine ready killed, a thousand spits full of flesh, ready to be roasted, fiue hundred Cawdrons made of beasts skins, full of flesh, ouer the fire seething, and

* *Froissard. Ypodig. Neustr. Hect. Boet.*

* *Fox in Acts & Mon.*

about

about * ten thouſand paire of raw-leather ſhooes, the haire ſtill vpon them. In King *Edwards* Armie were (as * ſome write) thirty thouſand Archers, and fiue hundreth good men of Armes, which perhaps is one of the greateſt hoaſts that you ſhall lightly reade to haue beene of our Nation, and the reaſon was, for that the world conceiued ſuch hope of the young King, that many more went * voluntrary then conſtrained. All which puiſſance was notwithſtanding thus eluded.

* *Hect. Boe.*

* *Graſton.*

* *Thom. Walſing.*

An. D. 1328. *Thom. Walſing. in Edward. 3. Hect. Boetius* writes that King *Robert* dyed the 7. Iun. A. D. 1329. *An. Reg.* 24. whom we haue therein reaſon to believe.

(12) About this time died ſtrucken with leprie, *Robert Bruce* King, and recouerer of *Scotland*, and the moſt approued Warriour of the World in that age, by whoſe loſſe it was ſoone found, how much the vertue and fortune of one man are worth in any Nation. But before hee dyed, that peace was made with the *Scots*, by the meanes of the Queene and the Lord *Mortimer*, which is ſo much diſpraiſed by our Writers, and in the end proued capitall to the principall Actor *Mortimer*.

The peace with *Scotland* at the Parliament of *Northampton*.

(13) For at this treaty it was, that the King (then in his Minority) ſealed Charters to the *Scots* at *Northampton*, whoſe contents were contriued by the Queene, the ſaid Lord *Mortimer*, and Sir *Iames Dowglaſſe*, without he priuity of the *Engliſh*. There was alſo deliuered to them that famous Euidence called the * *Ragman-Roll*, and the King acquited them of all * claime and pretence of right to the Superiority of *Scotland*, rendring backe ſundrie Iewels taken by the *Engliſh* from the *Scots*, among the which was one ſpeciall, called the *Black Croſſe of Scotland*. There was it alſo granted, that all * Engliſhmen ſhould leeſe their lands in *Scotland*, vnleſſe they would inhabite vpon them, and become Liege-men to the King therof, beſides many other things, to the high diſcontentation (as was the humor of thoſe times) of the Engliſh Subiects. Moreouer, vnder the ſpecious colour of reſtitution of dammages, King *Robert* was to pay to King *Edward* thirtie thouſand Markes ſterling, with which (as the meed of treaſon) the Lord *Mortimer* was afterward publikely charged, and for the ſame, and other his crimes, was executed as a Traitour. Finally, vpon the ſeauenth of Iuly, *Dauid Bruce* Prince of *Scotland*, a Childe of ſeauen or eight yeares old, and ſonne and heire to King *Robert*, married *Ioan*, ſiſter to K. *Edward*, at *Berwicke*: by which peace the *Engliſh* were made obnoxious to ſome reproaches, the *Scottiſh* Nation in ſcorne, calling the ſaid Lady, *Iane Make-peace*.

Tho. Walſingh.
* *Act. & Mon.*
* *Geor. Buchan.*
Hect. Boetius.

(14) And therefore ſaith one of this part of King *Edwards* raigne: *that drawne aſide with euill aduiſe, by reaſon of his age, he committed many foule errors in State, at the beginning of his Gouernment*: which is alſo the generall opinion of all our Writers, whereunto this verſe is by * ſome applied;

E. S. lib. 3. commentariol. de rebus geſtis. Brit.

* *Fox. Fabian. Graſton.*

Væ pueri terræ, ſæpiſſimè ſunt ibi guerræ.

Where Children Rulers are,
There oft is woe and war.

(15) There died likewiſe about this time *Charles the Faire*, King of *France*, (to whom K. *Edward* had not long before done homage for his Dutchie of *Gaſcoigne*) the third and laſt ſonne of *Philip the Faire*, King of *France*, by whoſe deceaſe the Crown of that noble Kingdome, deuolued to this our *Edward* King of *England*, in right of his mother Queene *Iſabel*: And becauſe vpon this * Title King *Edward* did afterward claime the ſaid Crowne, wee will here once for all inſtruct you in the iuſtice thereof.

* *Polyd. Virg.*

(16) Three ſonnes there were of King *Philip the Faire* (to wit, *Lewis Hutin*, *Philip le long*, & *Charles the Faire*) who all ſucceſſiuely raigned in *France* one after the other; and none of them leauing any Iſſue, at ſuch time as King *Edward* made his claime, the whole right ſeemed to be in *Iſabel* the onely Childe of the ſaid *Philip* which had any Iſſue, for an other ſiſter which ſhe had died an Infant.

(17) The caſe thus ſeeming plaine, was not for ſuch accepted by the *French*, who receiued to the Crowne *Philip of Valoys*, whoſe Father *Charles* of *Valoys* was yonger Brother to *Philip the Faire*, aduancing the Brothers ſonne before the daughters ſonne, not following the propinquitie or deſcent of bloud, but the melioritie of ſexe, vpon which ground they had alſo freſhly put-by *Ioan* daughter of *Lewis Hutin*, preferring *Philip le long* her vncle. The French inbarre her intereſt, pretended a fundamentall law or entaile, by which * *no woman was inheritable to the Crowne of France*, & in defence of that opinion withſtood King *Edward* afterward with ſo much loſſe & calamity, though that very law made *Edwards* title the ſtronger (* as himſelfe truely pleaded) hee being the *Male*, albeit his right deſcended by the *Female*.

* *Lex Salica*, which law, as their greateſt Lawyers ſince acknowledge, no whit concerneth the French Crowne. *Hottomanni Francogallia. cap. 8.*
* *Chart. Original. Ed. 3. de iure ſuo in Reg. Gal.*
* *Ypod. Neuſt. & in Edw. 2.*

(18) This Title to ſo glorious a Monarchy though it accrewed to the *Engliſh*, by this match with Queen *Iſabel*, yet doth *Walſingham** freely pronounce; *That neither that affinitie, nor any other contracts with the French, was euer auaileable or brought any benefit to England*: which opinion, as it may ſeeme ſtrange, ſo will it anſwere a wiſe Readers paine in the fruit, to obſerue through, the courſe of our ſtories, whether the ſaid graue Writer had iuſt occaſion ſo to ſpeake or no. Another conceit there was of this *Edwards* marriage with *Philippa* the Earle of *Henaults* daughter, which about this time was conſummated, though *Philip de Valoys* (King of *France*, by intruſion as our Annales repute him) was her vncle, her Mother being his owne ſiſter.

King *Edward* marries *Philippa* the Earle of *Henaults* daughter.

(19) There ſtood now at home againſt the ſtream of the Queene, and her Lord *Mortimers* abſolute ſway, ſome great perſonages, who did not wholly allow their doings, among which was the Kings vncle, *Edmund* Earle of *Kent*, whoſe death they ſhortly procured. Meane-while, the more to deſpite and dare their ouer-lookers, *Roger Mortimer* was created Earle of the Marches of *Wales*, at a Parliament holden at *Salisburie*: at which time alſo *Iohn* of *Eltham* the Kings Brother, was made Earle of *Cornwall*, and the Lord *Butler* of *Ireland* Earle of *Ormond*. From whence the Lord *Henry* Earle of *Lancaſter*, and ſundry other of the Peeres, ſeeing the King * troden (as it ſeemed to them) vnder foot, did abſent themſelues, meditating ciuill armes for redreſſe, who notwithſtanding (by the labour of *Simon de Mepham* Archbiſhop of *Canterburie*) was reconciled: This Archbiſhop very worthily alſo excommunicated all ſuch as had any hand in the ſacrilegious parricide of that * noble and loyall Prelate *Walter* Biſhop of *Exceter*, or any wayes violated him, their ayders, complices, or abettors whoſoeuer. But after the Coronation of *Philippa* the yong Queene, in another Parliament at *Wincheſter*, the ſaid Earle *Edmund* was condemned for conſpiring to deliuer his brother, late King of *England*, whom (likely inough by *Mortimers* practiſe) he was drawne into an abſurd beliefe to be ſtill aliue. Thus, for deuiſing to ſet a dead man at liberty, this noble Earle *Edmund* the Kings halfe-vncle had his head ſtrucken off, though from * Noone till ſiue at night, he ſtood at the place of death without the Caſtle-gates, none being found to behead him, till a baſe wretch of the Marſhal-ſea was ſent, and did it: ſo little conſcience did the malice and ambition of his potent aduerſaries make of ſhedding the Royal bloud, which by Gods iuſter iudgement was not long vnreuenged.

* *Thom. Walſing. in fine Edw. 2.*

* This worthy Prelate founded *Exceter Colledge*, and alſo *Hart-hall* in *Oxford*.

Edmund Earle of *Kent* the Kings vncle put to death by practiſe.

* *Tho. Walſingh. Harding.*

(20) To ſupply which loſſe to the regall ſtemme, with a very large amends, the yong Queene *Philippa* at *Woodſtocke* in *Oxfordſhire*, vpon *15. Iune*, being Friday, brought forth her firſt begotten ſonne, the amiable and famous *Edward*, by-named (not of his colour, but of his dreaded Acts in battell) the *Blacke Prince*. King *Edward* not long after, with a ſmall company went into *France*, and did homage to *Philip de Valoys* for his Dutchie of *Gaſcoigne*.

An. D. 1329. The Blacke Prince borne. *Adam Merim.*

(21) *Nemeſis*, or rather Gods vengeance, with ſwift

The fall of *Mortimer*.

pace did now approach and ſummon *Mortimer* to a bloudie account; for the yong King addicting himſelfe to ſerious thoughts, and putting on the Man before his yeeres required, eaſily ſaw his owne perill in the others potencie. The Queene his Mother (to the common diſhonour and griefe of the Kingdome) being generally bruted to be with-childe by *Mortimer*, hee vpon ripe aduiſe ſodainely and aduenturouſly ſurpriſed the proud man at a Parliament holden in *Nottingham*; with whom were taken the L. *Geofrey Mortimer* his ſonne, and Sir *Simon de* **Bedford* Knight, and *Iohn Deuerel* Eſquier, aſwell for expiation of the late King *Edwards* death, as in complement, as it were of ſo great a mans fall, whoſe liues doe ſeldome, or neuer periſh ſingle.

* *Bedford* ſaith *Adam Merimouth*. *Bereford* ſaith *Holinſhead*. *Burford* ſaith *Stow*.

(24) Now came *Scotlands* turne about to ſuffer againe moſt grieuous loſſes and afflictions, an ordinary effect of *Childrens* gouernment, whether *Children* in age, or in diſcretion: for the Lord *Edward Baliol* hearing of King *Roberts* death, and the tenderage of King *Dauid* as ſon and heire of that *Baliol*, to whom K. *Edward* the firſt had adiudged the *Scotiſh* crowne, with ſuch voluntaries as hee could raiſe (though his Father the Lord *Iohn* had * releaſed his claime to king *Robert*, and though King *Edward* in fauour of his ſiſter *Ioan* Queen of *Scotland*, would not openly at firſt ſupport him) embarkt himſelfe in *Yorkeſhire*, and inuaded that Realme, where, vpon his landing, he ſlew *Alexander Setoun* at *Kingorn*, & about nine hundred others, putting the reſt to flight. Not long after (that no miſchiefe might come alone) neere to the water of *Ern*, at a place called *Dupline*, where the Earles of *Mar* and *March*, with two puiſſant armies of Scots, for the defence of their yong King *Dauid* lay encamped, the ſaid Lord *Edward* (whoſe ſmall numbers, not exceeding three thouſand Engliſh, the Earles as ſecurely and as fatally contemned, as the Engliſh vnder *Edward* the ſecond had contemned the *Bruce* and his Scots) obtained of them a wonderfull victory. *Boetius* (who neuer, or rarely, leaues any ouerthrow purely to the manhood of the Engliſh) will needs haue this diſcomfiture effected by a *Camiſado*, the *Baliol* and his Engliſh with others paſſing the water of *Erne* by a Foorde in the night, when the enemy little ſuſpected it.

* *Hect. Boet. Ypodig. Neuſtr. Hect. Boet.*

The *Baliols* two victories againſt the *Scots*.

(25) The ſlaughter euen by his report was miſerable: for there were ſlaine (ſaith he) the Earles of *Marre* and *Carricke*, and three thouſand of the Nobles, beſide Commons. Our * Writers agree that this Foord was paſſed in the night, but that the fight endured from Sunne-riſing till three of the Clocke afternoone, and that, beſides the Earles of *Marre*, and *Carricke*, three other Earles, *Menteth*, *Athol*, and *Murrey*, twelue Barons, eight hundreth Knights and men of Armes, beſide aboue thirteene thouſand other, loſt there their liues. Of the Engliſh there were only ſlaine thirtie and three * Eſquiers: ſo that not without cauſe this victorie was attributed rather to power diuine, then humane.

The great ſlaughter of *Scots* at *Dupline*, or the water of *Erne*.
* *Adam Merim. Tho. Walſingh.*

* *Scutifers.*

(26) Yet this was but the beginning of farther calamities to the *Scotiſh* Nation, which was in it ſelfe diuided into factions, the one for *Bruce*, the other for *Baliol*. The Lord *Edward* making vſe of his good fortune, got himſelfe to be crowned King of *Scotland* at *Scone*. But King *Dauid Bruce* with his Queene fled into *France* to *Philip de Valoys*, who raigned there, and entertained them with much compaſſion and honor, giuing them Caſtle-*Galliard* for the place of their abode, till fairer fortune ſhone. Meane-time the *Scots* ſuſtained new dammages; for a prime man among them, the Lord *William Dowglaſſe*, was taken priſoner by the *Engliſh*, not without loſſe of many his men. Before which time, by * no honourable meanes, the new King of *Scotland* was driuen to ſeeke his ſafety by flight into *England*.

The *Baliol* crowned King of *Scotland*.
Hect. Boetius. Georg. Buch.
* *Adam Merim. Tho. Walſing.*

(27) King *Edward* conſidering thoſe foiles which his Father had endured, and the oportunity of the time, neither holding himſelfe lyable in honour to that contract made on his behalfe by the predominant ſway of his mother and her Paramour *Mortimer*, as wherein hee tooke both himſelfe, and the rights of his Crowne to haue beene wronged in his minority, which in poynt of gouernment hee was more bound to reſpect then his Siſters eſtate, and for that hee was informed that the Towne and Caſtle of *Berwicke* belonged to the Crowne of his Realme; hee raiſed his power, and hauing with him *Edward* the new-crowned of *Scotland*, hee laid ſiege to that Towne and Caſtle in *May*. But before hee did this, there is who writes, that he ſummoned his brother

Berwick beſieged by the *Engliſh*.
Rich. Graſton.

The manner of *Mortimers* ſurpriſe at *Nottingham*.

Vide Iohn Stowes Annals.

(23) The cauſes for which hee was condemned in open Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, theſe ragged *verſes following comprehend, which without any diſparagement to their makers iudgement, might very well haue beene in Proſe, but for breuity and change we haue here inſerted them.

* *Mirr. of Mag.*

Fiue hainous crimes againſt him ſoone were had,
1 *Firſt that he cauſde the King to yeeld the Scot*
(To make a peace) townes that were from him got.
And therewithall the Charter called Ragman;
2 *That of the Scots he had bribed priuy gaine.*
3 *That through his meanes* Sr. Edward *of Carnaruon;*
In Barkley *Caſtle moſt traiterouſly was ſlaine.*
4 *That with his Princes mother he had laine,*
5 *And finally with polling at his pleaſure,*
Had robd the King and Commons of their treaſure.

But the moſt barbarous murther of the Kings father, and ſpecially the diſhonourable peace and contract with the then-profeſſed enemies of *England*, were principally inſiſted vpon, as hainous treaſon. He was after ſentence ignominiouſly drawne to *Tyburne*, the common place of execution, then called the Elmes, and there vpon the common Gallowes was as ignominiouſly executed, hanging (by the Kings commandement) two dayes and two nights, a publike & gladſome ſpectacle. There died with him Sir *Simon*

brother in law King *Dauid*, to doe homage and fealty vnto him, which when *Dauid* would not yeeld to doe, nor confesse he ought, no more then his Father King *Robert*, he made that a ground for the iustice of his warre, as reputing the Acts and releases at *Northhampton* void.

King *Edwards* victory at *Halydon-hill*.

(28) To the rescues of *Berwicke*, *Archimbald Dowglas* Earle of *Angus*, Gouernour of *Scotland* for King *Dauid*, came with a puissant Armie, and gaue K. *Edward* battell at *Halydon-hill*, where with a lamentable slaughter of his people hee was vanquished and slaine. This battell deuoured in a manner all the remainders of the Scottish Nobles which preserued themselues at *Dupline* by retrait, or by absence from that field. There * perished besides *Archimbald*, the Earles of *Ros*, *Sutherland*, & *Carricke*, three sonnes of the Lord *Walter Steward* (whose issue afterward raigned in *Scotland*, when warre and death had made way to that line, by extirpation of the Male-Competitors in the races of *Bruce* and *Baliol*) and at least foureteene thousand others, with the losse (say some) of one Knight, and ten other Englishmen. Our * Writers affirme that the Scots were at this battell, threescore thousand strong, and that there * were slaine eight Earles, 1500. horsemen, and of the common Souldiers fiue and thirtie thousand; which is not improbable, for so much as *Hector* confesseth they were stopped in their flight, and put to the sword vpon all sides without mercy.

* Hect. Boet.

* Adam Merim. Walsingham. * Ypodig. Neustr.

Berwicke rendred.

(29) Hereupon *Berwicke* was rendred, which the King of *England* detained as a supposed parcell of his Patrimony, and dismissed the *Baliol* to the gouernment of the Scottish Kingdome, with sundry Lords and others of the English. And now the bloudy tallies and cruell scores seemed euen betweene the two puissant (though then vnkind) neighbour-Nations, and *Edward* throughly redeemed the dishonour sustained at *Banocksbourne* by his late Father, deliuering his yonger yeares from that contempt, in which his enemies might otherwise haue holden him, as they had done at the entrance of his raigne, playing vpon the English with Truffes and Rounds; of which this one is euery where noted;

Fabian.

Long beards heartlesse, Painted hoods witlesse,
Gay coates graceleſſe, make England *thriftleſſe.*

(30) As for the subornation of poysoning Earle *Thomas Randall*, and the hanging of Sir *Alexander Setons* two sonnes, contrary to faith & law of Armes, at *Berwicke*, with the like staines, which * one would faine leaue vpon this victorious Prince, we haue found no colour of warrant but his owne liberty of auouching, which therefore our freedome of not believing him shall as easily take away and cancell. Neither would wee so farre haue touched this iarring string of discord betweene these two Nations, but that each out of their owne harmes of olde, may haue the more true sense of their felicity, by their new harmonicall concordance.

* Hect. Boet.

An. D. 1333. * Hector Boet.

(31) After that the * Nobles of *Scotland* had vnanimously confirmed *Baliol* in the Kingdome thereof, and sworne vnto him faith and allegiance at *Perth*, hee repaired to the King of *England* at *Newcastle* vpon *Tine*, where hee * submitted to *Edward* King of *England*, as his Father had done to *Edward* the first, and with the like successe; for by occasion of such his submission, our Writers say, the *Scots* (as before they had done) fell off againe. Which auersion, or defection was augmented vpon * priuate quarrels, and titles of inheritance to lands of great value, betweene powerfull Competitors, and by other particular reuenges, to which a people so continually exercised in fight and battels were not slowly prone.

* Adam Merim. Ypod. Neustr.

* Hect. Boet.

Edward King of England againe in Scotland with an Armie. * Hect. Boet.

(32) Notwithstanding all which (the *Baliols* party hauing once had all the Holds of *Scotland* at their commandement, * fiue onely excepted, *Dumbritaine*, *Loughleijm*, *Kildrummie*, *Vrwhart*, and the pile of *Lowdon*) *Edward* king of *England* hauing with him the *Baliol*, and a sufficient Army, preuailed so much, that there was no appearance of rebellion; whereupon he tooke backe with him the Lord *Edward Baliol* late crowned king of *Scotland* (of whose stedfastnesse he was (saith *Hector*) alwayes iealous, and returned, leauing * *Dauid Cumin* Earle of *Athol*, gouernour for the parts beyond the Scottish sea, with sufficient force and authority (as was iudged) to take in such strengths as yet stood out, but needed not his royall power or presence for their expugnation.

* Adam Merim.

The Lord *Robert Stewart* against the *Baliol*.

(33) The King of *England* hoping now that all was well there, had newes brought vnto him not long after, at the Parliament at *London*, that the Scots were out in Armes againe; whereupon he obtaines ayde of money from his Subiects for repressing their attempts, promising to goe against them in person. * The Lord *Robert Stewart*, sonne of the Lady *Marjorie Bruce*, daughter of King *Robert* (vpon whose line the remainder of the Crowne of *Scotland* had beene estated) was the man that first lifted vp the head of his Country in this dangerous, sad, and desolate condition (though put into action vpon a priuate iniury done vnto him by the Earle of *Athol*) to whom diuers did adhere, though the quarrell seemed properly to be the said Lord *Roberts*, for that if the *Bruces* were cut off, his hopes perished in them. The Earle of *Murray*, and he, were then chosen gouernours for King *Dauids* party, but by reason of the diligence and power of *Dauid* Earle of *Athol*, they were not able as yet to conuene, or effect any thing against the English: neuertheless it was not long before they slew the said Earle *Dauid*. At this Parliament the King of *England* purposed to * goe vpon his owne charge into the *Holy-Land*, and to send the Archbishop of *Canterbury* to deale with *Philip de Valoys* King of *France*, for appointing a certain time, wherein they two with their vnited forces, might take their voyage thither, from which the desire of obtaining the Crowne of *France*, vpon the fore-mentioned title, did quickely diuert him.

* Hector Boet.

* Adam Merim. King *Edwards* ouerture for the Holy-Land.

The King of *England* once more with an Armie in *Scotland*.

(34) Mean-while, in accomplishment of the Parliaments expectation, King *Edward* after * *Michaelmas* marched againe into *Scotland* with an Armie, and sent his Nauie to the *Forth*: The Sea-force whereof spoyled the Coasts on both sides of the *Forth*, or Scottish Sea, and putting on land in Saint *Colms*, they spoyled the Abbey; which Sacrilege, * *Hector* notes was seuerely punished, the whole Fleete being battered with tempest, and some of the ships perishing. At another time also the like sacrilege being perpetrated there, (hee saith) that the ship wherein the vnlawfull prize was, sunke sodainely to the Sea-ground without any tempest. The King himselfe comming to * *Perth*, to order the Scottish affaires, whiles he abode there, the Earle of *Murray* one of the Gouernors was taken prisoner, who was after * deliuered vpon Exchange for the Earle of *Namur*, (whom the Scots by like art had taken) or as *Hector* will haue it, for the Earle of *Salisbury*.

* Ypodig. Neustr.

* Lib. 15. Sacriledge punished.

* Hect. Boet.

* *Fabian* out of the French Stories. *Grafton. Holinsh.*

An. D. 1334. King *Edward* the fourth time in *Scotland* with an Armie.

(35) By the mediation of the French, the Scots had a short truce granted them. But about the end of *May*, the King sent his cosen the Lord *Henrie*, sonne to *Henrie* Earle of *Lancaster*, with a great Army to the aid and seruice of the Lord *Edward Baliol* King of *Scotland*, which wasted all the Countries about *Perth*; where, while they lay, the King with a very small Company came sodainely vnto them, and from thence pierced farther one way then euer his Grand-father *Edward* had done, suffering fire and death (the common furies of warre) to worke vpon all that might suffer destruction, to establish a Conquest. Hee marcht vp as farre as * *Elgin* and *Buquhan*, and in his returne to *Marre*, * burnt the Towne of *Aberden*, in reuenge for Sir * *Thomas Rosselin*, a Knight, whom the Townes-men thereof had slaine, The Lord *Robert Stewart* had great lands in those parts, for *Murray* and *Buquhan* were his, which also might

* Adam Merim. * Hect. Boet. * Adam Merim.

Bellind. transl. of Hect. Boet. lib. 15. cap. 7.

might the rather moue this ſeuere proceeding: which done, King *Edward* hauing repaired ſundry Caſtles there, and leauing *Scotland* to the new King thereof with forces competent, came backe into *England*. But * at this and other times, the *Baliol*, in requitall of this aide and friendſhip, graunted to King *Edward* and his Succeſſors ſundry Caſtles, as *Edenbrough*, *Hedſtone*, *Pebles*, and two thouſand pounds yearely rent for the Fee-farme of *Rocksbrough*, *Iedworth*, and other places; laſt of all, his whole intereſt in ampleſt manner, reſeruing onely to himſelfe, a certaine yearely penſion from the King of *England*.

*Notes of record taken by Sir *Robert Cotton* Knight.

(36) Who to enlarge the magnificence of his roiall eſtate and amplitude, as meditating farre greater matters then thoſe vnprofitable warres (the bodies and treaſure which were employed and ſpent therein, being able to compaſſe farre more noble atchieuements) * created Prince *Edward* his eldeſt Son Earle of *Cheſter*, and Duke of *Cornwall*, and at the ſame ſolemnity ſix other Earles, and * twenty Knights, one of which Knights was *Thomas de la More*, whoſe name hath beene often cited as an Author.

Creation of States.

* *Adam Merim.*

* *Holliſh.*

(37) There was in ſpeciall credite with King *Edward*, one Sir *Robert de Artoys*, who being baniſhed by the French King out of thoſe parts, and made (by King *Edward*) Earle of *Richmond*, laboured earneſtly (vpon hatred to the French King for his priuate diſcontentments) to draw him to claime the Crowne of *France* as his moſt lawfull right, and as that which would indeed enrich his people with ſpoyles, and treble his owne greatneſſe by the Conqueſt: The motion though by reaſon of the highneſſe and difficulty of the enterpriſe, it did not at firſt preuaile; yet at laſt by the euill fate of *France* wrought out to it ſelfe a wonderfull allowance. Many conſultations paſſing of the matter, it could not be ſo concealed, but that the ſmoake thereof diſcouered the breeding fire. This in the preſent was very happy for the ſtate of *Scotland, which* * (ſaith *Hector*) *was in appearance ſo enfeebled, that if the King of* England *had continued his warres, it ſhould haue come without any hope of reliefe to vtter ruine.* It was alſo a cauſe, why the French (who hitherto had ſupported the Scots, but not as if it ſo neerely concerned themſelues) put in the more fully and roundly, ſeeking by all meanes to weaken and annoy the Engliſh, aſwell in *Scotland*, as in *Gaſcoigne*, and where elſe ſoeuer.

The French war in the yolke thereof or Embrion.

Froiſhard.
Grafton.

* *Lib.* 15.

(38) That we may with the leſſe confuſion, and fewer interruptions, deliuer our ſelues of the French warre, which now approached, wee will here in one view tender vnto you the Scottiſh affaires, from this time for ſeauen or eight yeares, till about the ſiege of *Calis* by K. *Edward*, who was ſcarſe alighted in *England* from the former expedition, but the *Brucean* party (vnder their chiefe leader *Andrew Murray*) iſſued from the Loughes, Mountaines, and other their places of retreat and faſtneſſe, to re-aduance their cauſe. King *Edward* once or twice ſent Armies, vnder valiant Generals to ſupport the *Baliols* poſſeſſion againſt their violence, whoſe ſucceſſe was variable till the death of *Murray*. After whom the Lord *Stewart* tooke charge for the *Brucean* ſide, and (vpon the aduantage of King *Edwards* ſlackneſſe, to finiſh his Scottiſh affaires, the matter of *France* ſo far preponderating it) endeauoured to prepare a quiet entrance for King *Dauid*. The aide of the Lord *William Dowglas* to that purpoſe was very auailable, howbeit not alwayes fortunate, being ouerthrowne in a ſet battell by Sir *Thomas Berckley* at *Blackbourne*, hauing there with him King *Edwards* power. To the vp-ſhot, and as it were deciding ſtroke of theſe late miſeries, there arriued great ſtore of munition out of *France*, at ſuch time as the Lord *Robert Stewart* hauing lien ten weeks at the ſiege of *Perth*, was almoſt ready to haue abandoned the ſame in deſpaire. *Perth* being rendred, the *Baliol* (whoſe the quarrell was) betooke himſelfe into *England*, hauing ſmall ſtrength of his owne in the hearts and affections of the Scots, who reuolted daily from him. Vpon ſure intelligence of all theſe matters, King *Dauid*, his Queene, and many honourable French, and Scots, returne, and till the quarrell of *Philip de Valoys* put him into vnfortunate Armes againſt the Engliſh, the afflicted Realme of *Scotland* enioyed a kinde of reſt and quiet.

The matters for *Scotland* for 7. or 8. yeares ſummarily ſet downe.

The L. *Robert Stewart.*

Heſt. Boëtius
Geor. Buchan.
Fordon.

(39) It was not now the iuſtice of his Title to the Crowne of *France*, which onely made King *Edward* vnſheath his conquering Sword againſt the French; for *Philip de Valoys* King of *France* iniuriouſly with-held ſundry Townes and places in *Gaſcoigne*. To remedy which violent wrongs the King of *England* had addreſſed * Ambaſſadors, though without any good ſucceſſe.

The firſt proceeding in the French affaires.

Ranulph. Ceſt.

* *Adam Merim. Thom. Walſing. in Edw.* 3. and *Ypodig. Neuſtr.*

(40) But, that the world might take true notice of his iuſt proceedings, the maine cauſes for iuſtification of his deſigne vpon *France* (whereby the common cauſe againſt the Turke was neglected) himſelfe in a copious Epiſtle, directed to the Colledge of Cardinals, doth * publikely declare to be theſe;

The grounds of King *Edwards* iuſtification for making warre.

* In that Epiſtle he doth acknowledge the excluſion of women from Soueraignty in *France*, and therefore claimes as the neereſt Male.

1 *His Title to the Crowne of* France, *which* Philip de Valoys *vniuſtly detained, for that himſelfe, of any Male liuing, was the neereſt in bloud to the late King* Charles *his Vncle.*

2 *That his Agents and Ambaſſadors deſiring to put the cauſe to ciuill triall, were not onely not admitted to be heard, but were driuen away with feare of their liues.*

3 *That the Court of the Twelue Peeres, in giuing the Crowne from him, (who was then vnder age,) did therein leaue the office of Iudges, and were no better then robbers. And therefore their proceſſe made to his preiudice during his minority, was by all lawes void and fruſtrate.*

4 *That* Philip de Valoys *inuaded the Dutchie of* Aquitaine, *which belonged to the Crowne of* England, *and added ſuch places and lands as he had ſo wrongfully gotten, to thoſe which he had as wrongfully withholden, detaining all alike.*

5 *That he had aided and aſſiſted the Scots in their riſings againſt him, when as by reaſon of neare kindred he ſhould rather haue holpen him; and finally declared by his doings, that his honour, power, and life it ſelfe, were hated of him.*

(41) King *Edward* neuertheleſſe (knowing that words were little worth in ſuch a caſe) to ſtrengthen his quarrell with friends, by the aduiſe of his counſell, and of his Father in law, the Lord *William* Earle of *Henault*, ſought to confederate and vnite vnto him the *High* and *Low Dutch*, Princes and people, which lay moſt commodiouſly for his vſes. But the better to hold them together, he was aduiſed to ſeeke the amity of the Emperour *Lewis* of *Bauare*, with whom he made (as by the euent was manifeſt) but an * vnprofitable confederation, though for the preſent it ſeemed to ſerue his vſes with the countenance: more to his aduantage were the ſingular endeauours of ſome other his priuate inſtruments, as chiefly of *Iames de Arteuile*, a wealthy Burger of *Gaunt*, one of a rare dexterity of wit, and ſo popularly acceptable among the *Flemings*, that he ſeemed to ſway *Flaunders* more by far then the Earle thereof, whom they had expelled. By the ſpeciall diligence of this *Iaques van Arteuile*, and of one * *Sigar de Courtray*, a Nobleman of *Flaunders*, there was prepared among the Artizans of thoſe parts (whoſe chiefe enrichments depended vpon the handling of Engliſh-wooll, as Cloth-workers, Weauers, and the like) a mighty party for the Engliſh againſt the French. This amity with *England* (as moſt profitable for the common benefite, and weale of his Country) the ſaid *Iames* moſt conſtantly ſupported to the death.

* *Grafton.*

* *Ypod. Neuſt.*

* *Ia. Meir.*

(42) Meane-while King *Edward* (the life of this high affaire) proceeded in all things with ripe deliberation and iudgement. Therefore to let the *Flemings* know the want of his friendſhip, he had for ſome yeares before inhibited the tranſportation of his Wools; which, and for that the Engliſh were

The league with the *Flemings.*

in

in a manner become all one with them, by King *Edwards* marriage with the Lady *Philippa*, not a little aduaunced the practiſe of *Iames* on his behalfe; which was ſped at laſt, by occaſion of * an ouerthrow giuen to the French-Flemings, who vnder the conduct of *Guy*, the Baſtard of *Flanders*, brother to the Earle (both of them being wholly *French*) were placed in the Iſle of *Cadſant*, to empeach the arriuall of the Engliſh, who tooke the ſaid *Guy*, and ſlew the moſt part of his people. This victory was atchieued, in the quarrell of the King of *England*, by the Earle of *Derby*, the Lord *Beauchampe*, the Lord *Reynald Cobham*, the Lord *Walter de Manny* (an *Hennoway*) and other of the Engliſh Captaines: Of the fame and lucky fortune whereof the ſaid D'*Arteuile*, and other of the Kings friends, made ſo wiſe and ſeaſonable vſe, by letting them ſee the Engliſh were able to protect them, that the *Flemings* (without any great ſtay) became his firme confederates; in preſence of the Earle of *Gelder*, at *Gaunt*, notwithſtanding that at the ſame time the great *K.* of *France*, and their owne naturall Lord, the Earle, laboured all they could to the contrary.

* *Froſſard. Ia. Meir. Thom. Walſing.*

King *Edwards* care for the common-good, aſwell as for the warre.

(43) But as King *Edward* was (in the mean ſpace) wholly intent, vpon furniſhing himſelfe with all conuenient things fit for his warre, (hauing Captaines and Souldiers, ſuch as his owne noble heart could wiſh,) ſo when he found that the induſtrious Dutch by their manuall labours, grew to ſo great ſtrength and opulencie, that their friendſhip bred riuality in puiſſant Monarches, he, like a father, regarding the publike weale of his Country, ordained that all Cloth-workers, who would repaire hither out of forraine parts, and exerciſe their Trades, ſhould haue free acceſſe and ſundry priuiledges. By which inuitation as very many were drawne, ſo was it the principall cauſe of aduancing that honeſt, beſt and moſt beneficiall Trade in the Kingdome, to the great enrichment, ſtrength, and honour thereof. The Engliſh Nation was very deſirous to ſet forward this Warre, and therefore contributed plentifully, and the King made bold with Lombards, and the moueable goods of ſuch Priories in *England*, as were Cels to Monaſteries in *France*, thereby to make his coffers fuller.

Cloth-making.

The *French* burne *Southampton.*

An.D.1337.

(44) The warre which all this while ſeemed but to be talked of, did now begin to blaze (and indeed a *blazing ſtarre* of 30. dayes continuance, was ſuppoſed by ſome to fore-ſhew it) whoſe firſt torch was lighted by the * *French* at *Southampton*, which they almoſt wholly conſumed to aſhes, but they with loſſe of their Captaine, (a yonger ſonne to the *Sicilian* King) and about three hundreth others, * were driuen away the next morrow. The *French* had ſundry ſhips of Warre or Gallies, which vnder colour of paſſing to the *Holy-Land*, the King of *France* had (with purpoſe to aſſaile our Coaſts) aſſembled, as the * King of *England* chargeth him: which loſſe, yet was not long vn-requited, either Nation greeuing other with mutuall miſchiefes.

* *Tho. Walſingh. in Edw. 3. and Ypodig. Neuſtr.*

* *Iohn Stow.*

* *In literis ſuis ad Bened. Pont. M. S.*

An.D.1338.

(45) To appeaſe and extinguiſh this deadly quarrell, there came from Pope *Benedict* the 12. two Cardinals hither; but one of them in a ſpeech to the Clergie, ſeeming to fauour the French faction; *Iohn* Archbiſhop of *Canterburie* immediately ſtood vp, and proteſted, that the *Cardinals* Arguments were vaine and friuolous: whereupon they ſoone after departed, and it was euery where publiſhed through *England*, *that the King had right to the Crowne of France, which alſo hee meant by honourable force to proſecute*. Notwithſtanding, King *Edward* for auoyding Chriſtian bloud-ſhed, gaue inſtructions to the Cardinals, that vpon certaine equall conditions, he was willing to make an euerlaſting peace with the *French*, and would haue beene very glad (the hazards of warre conſidered) to haue taken any honeſt or proportionable offers; one impediment whereof was this, that the French would include the *Scots* within the Treatie, whom King *Edward* would not admit thereunto, as purpoſing (when he had ſingled them from ſupplies) to make a full and abſolute annexation of their obediences to the Engliſh Scepter: ſo the labour and hopes of the *Cardinals* proued vaine.

Iohn Stow.

The *French* kings reaſons for reſiſtance.

(46) *Philip de Valoys*, in poſſeſſion king of *France*, had ſundry great and high motiues to embolden his ſtanding-off. Firſt, the regard of honour, and profit, and the abundant meanes which he had, hauing the whole puiſſance of *France* (the faireſt Kingdome vnder Heauen) at his commandement. Then a confidence which he reaſonably conceiued ſo to diuert, or diſtract the Engliſh forces, by the aſſured aid of the *Scots*, as that it ſhould finally ruine the whole enterpriſe, if not alſo the principall Actor *Edward* himſelfe. Againe, conſidering the vaſtneſſe of the enterpriſe, hee judged King *Edwards* wealth not to be proportionable, but did well hope, that a ſhort dalliance would conſume his treaſures. Moreouer, he judged perhaps, that the very thought it ſelfe of conquering *France*, was no better in *Edward* then a young mans dreame, conſidering the Realme of *England* was farre inferiour in bigneſſe, and multitudes of Subjects, and that there was a Sea betweene, the croſſing whereof muſt double the charge. Laſtly, for the friends which King *Edward* had procured in *Dutchland* with wonderfull largeſſe, he knew, would not be held together but with infinite coſt and expence, and that by ſome good meanes or other, he ſhould make them in whole, or in part vnprofitable.

Arguments for juſtification of his reſiſtance.

(47) For juſtification of his cauſe, he had no ſlender colours, or reaſons. As the before alledged law or cuſtome of *France*, which they call the *Salick*, by the which the French exclude * *Gyneiocracie*, or *Womens Gouernement* in chiefe. Then an Act of the whole *French* State, by which his right was acknowledged and eſtabliſhed. Thirdly, king *Edwards* birthplace, by which he ſeemed to them a ſtranger, and for that cauſe was farre the leſſe capable, or rather was directly incapable of popular good-will among the French. Laſtly, for that King *Edward* in the * beginning of his raigne (though when he was as yet vnder age,) did in his owne perſon, both doe his Homage to this very *Philip de Valoys*, as to the King of *France*, for his Dutchie of *Aquitaine*, and alſo * by his Letters-Patents vnder ſeale did teſtifie as much. This homage, (the more to be remembred becauſe * ſome attribute much of King *Edwards* diſcontentment to the hautie manner of *Philip* in taking the ſame) was performed at *Amiens* in *Picardie*. It troubled King *Edward* greatly, to ſee himſelfe making ſubmiſſion to the vſurper of that Soueraignetie, which he thought belonged to himſelfe; but to let the French ſee what kinde of Prince he was, he came in ſo royall manner appointed, as if he meant to haue ſtrucken them with feare or admiration: Earles, Barons, and 1000. Horſe he had in his retinue. At the day, his robe was of Crimſon Veluet, powdered with Golden Leopards, his Crowne on his head, a Sword by his ſide, and Golden ſpurres on his heeles. To receiue this Duke for the Dutchie of *Guyen*, and Earledome of *Ponthieu*, *Philip de Valoys* ſate crowned in violet Veluet, ſemined with golden lillies, with all the other Enſignes of royall Majeſtie, but the homage was done only by word (if * one ſay true) and not in that full manner which *Serres* mentioneth. Probable it is, that the haughty carriage of *Philip* did greatly incenſe the Spirit of King *Edward*, being one of the moſt gallant in the World.

* *Bodin. de Rep.*

* A.D. 1329. and *An. Reg. 3.*

* *Adam Merimouth*

* *Fox. Act. & Mon. pag. 474. Ioan de Serres, Inuentaire de France. in 50. R.*

* *Froiſard. Grafton.*

(48) There is among Writers much time, and labour ſpent in deſcription of King *Edwards* journey, ſtay and contracts of amity made in *Dutchland*; but in regard that no greater matter was effected thereby, then the purchaſe of an opinion of magnificence and nobleneſſe among the Queenes Countrymen and Dutch-landers, few lines ſhall ſerue to comprehend the narration. The King (hauing firſt in * Parliament prouided for the gouernance of his Kingdome) with the Queene (then great with Child) the

* At *S. Edmundſ-Bury. Walſingh.*

the young Prince *Edward*, many Earles and great Captaines, with a gallant Company of men of warre, * ſayled to *Antwerpe*, whom *Lewis* the Emperour met at the Citie of *Colein*, where amity was confirmed, and King *Edward* was conſtituted his Lieutenant, with full authority to gouerne in his name on this ſide *Colein*. By reaſon of which Vicegerencie King *Edward* * made out his commaundements, and did many things to his aduantage and profit. Howſoeuer it neither laſted long (for *Lewis* within a while diſhonourably reuoked it,) & did vndoubtedly ſcarce quit the coſt: for the brauery of that meeting was ſo exceeding great, as *Edward* eaſily wan the generall opinion of a very noble and puiſſant King. * *Polydor* writes, that *Edward* refuſed not the office, yet would not exerciſe the ſame, becauſe he would not diſpleaſe Pope *Benedict*, whoſe enemy the *Bauarian* was.

* *In Iuly.*

* *Fabian.*

* *Hiſt. lib. 19.*

(49) This Emperour (whom belike the Pope hated, for being as proud as himſelfe) tooke it ill, (as report went) that the King of *England* humbled not himſelfe (at their meeting) to the kiſſe of his foote. But it was anſwered; that the King of *England* was a King annointed, and had life and member in his power, and therefore ought not to ſubmit himſelfe, ſo much as another King that was not annoynted. After his returne to *Antwerpe* with his new power, he ſeriouſly proſecuted his affaire of confederation with the Lords and people of *Duchland*, among whom (with great loue and fauour) hee and his royall family abode aboue an whole yeare. The principall Nobles which entred into this league againſt the French, were theſe: *The Archbiſhop of Colein Prince Elector*; *The Duke of Brabant*; *The Duke of Gelderland, (who had married the Lady Iſabel king Edwards owne ſiſter, and about this ſeaſon was of an Earle created a Duke*; *The Marqueſſe of Gulick, &c. And finally, the Hanſe townes.*

The King of *Englands* prerogatiue. *Tho. Walſingh.*

(50) The Flemings, being the moſt neceſſary part of this aſſociation, in regard of their neereneſſe to the *French*, would not engage themſelues in an offenſiue warre againſt the Crowne of *France*, vnleſſe King *Edward* would firſt aſſume the Title and Armories of that Realme, as the onely lawfull King thereof. This Propoſition was throughly debated, and the law of Armes allowing it, he with the common aſſent of the Flemings and others, tooke the Stile, and quartered the Flower de Lize with the Leopards, or Lions of *England*, as here we ſee annexed; albeit we ſee his former Seale alſo adorned with two Lize or Lillies; whether in token of his mothers French deſcent, or as a couert note of his own right to the French crown it is vncertaine.

Polyd. Virg. l. 19. An. D. 1338. The firſt quartering of the *French* Armories with the *Engliſh*.

* *Adam Merim. Thom. Walſing. in Edw 3. Ypodig. Neuſt.*

(51) *Polydor* * *Virgil* muſt haue a warie and fauourable Reader, or he will be thought to be of opinion, that *William* the *Conquerour* bare his Leopards quartered, then which nothing is more vntrue, nor more vnlikely. Others againe may ſuppoſe, that we haue not heere deſcribed them according to their right bearing, as certainly according to their preſent bearing we haue not; but the truth is, the golden Lillies of *France*, which now are borne in triangle, were in thoſe daies borne, and aduanced *Semi*.

* *In Guliel. 1. lib. 9.*

The Armes of *England* ſet before thoſe of *France* at the firſt. Sir *Robert Cotton* hath ſuch a Seale of Qu. *Iſabel*.

(52) And whereas the Armories of *France* are placed here in the *dexter* and more honorable quarter, yet there are probabilities, that it was not ſo at this their firſt conjunction. For in the * Seale of Queen *Iſabel* (this King *Edwards* mother) the Armories of *England*, as being the Armories of the husbands line (and therefore to haue precedence) were marſhalled where now the Flower de Lizes ſhine. But whether to gratifie the French, or becauſe that was the more ancient and greater Monarchie, they were in this Kings raigne diſpoſed as here we ſee.

(53) When King *Edward* had thus aſſumed the Title and Armes of that Realme, he publiſhed the ſame vnder his ſeale, ſetting the name of *England* firſt, and ſent his *Letters Patents* to the Frontiers of the enemies Dominions, fixing them vpon the doores of Churches, as well to declare the right and reaſon of his doings, as to exempt ſuch from the daunger of the comming ſtorme, who vpon this notice would acknowledge him their Lord and rightfull Soueraigne. Theſe Proclamations or admoniſhments thus diuulged, he burnt and ſpoyled the North parts of *France* vp as farre as * *Turwin*, though the time of the yeere were very vnſeaſonable, and contenting himſelfe therewith for a beginning, gaue place to the ſharpeneſſe of Winter, returning to the Queene his Wife at *Antwerpe*, where he kept a royall Chriſtmas. In which City this yeere was *Lionel* (afterward Duke of *Clarence*) borne.

* *Adam Merim. Tho. Walſingh.*

(54) His affaires growing ripe in thoſe parts, he leaues his Queene and Children in *Brabant*, as an aſſured pledge of his returne, and about Candlemas Ships himſelfe for *England*; where, in a Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, he obtayned liberall aydes for ſupportation of his intended Conqueſt. In lieu of which louing aſſiſtances, he granted a generall large pardon both for treſpaſſes, and of all *Aides* for making his ſonne Knight, and for *marriage* of his daughter during all his time; forgiuing alſo all arrerages of Farmers and Accountants till the tenth yeere of his Raigne, and all olde debts due to any of his Predeceſſors. Finally, he confirmed that famous *Magna Charta*, and of the *Forreſt*, with ſome other.

King *Edwards* pardons and grants in lieu of his Subjects contributions.

(55) There was no talke now but of conquering *France*; Muſters taken throughout the Kingdome, Armourers and Trades of Warre (to be cheriſhed euen in the ſecureſt peace) were full of employment, and the deſire of Battle waxt feruent euery where.

Meane-

Meane while, to hold the world in ſuſpenſe of the ſucceſſe, God diſtributed the fortune of attempts diuerſly. *Burdeaux* (the capitall Citie of *Aquitaine*, and then *Engliſh*) gaue an excellent teſtimony of her loyalty, nor leſſe of martiall wit and valour. For the French Army comming before her, ſhe to abuſe their hope, ſet open her gates, and diſplayed vpon her Towers the golden Lillies, as if ſhe were theirs; but the *French* which ſecurely entred, found little good hoſpitality. Sir *Oliuer de Ingham* was Captain and Lord Warden there for King *Edward*, who with his Garriſon-Souldiers, and ayde of the inhabitants, ſlew of them great multitudes, and preſerued *Burdeaux*. But in the oppoſite parts, *William Montacute* Earle of *Salisbury*, and *Robert Vfford* Earle of *Suffolke*, * after many honourable deedes performed for aduancement of King *Edwards* affaire, were by the French taken Priſoners, while preſuming too much vpon their courages and fortune, they * ran too farre into their danger, at the Towne of *Lile* in *Flanders*.

A Stratagem of the loyall.

* *Tho. Walſingh.*

(56) But King *Edward* being ready now to repaſſe the Seas, had certaine intelligence that the French lay in waite about *Sluice* in *Flanders*, to intercept him, with a mightie Nauie of 400. Ships; who therefore prepared accordingly, intending to open his way by force. He ſet ſaile from *Harwich* vpon Saint *Iohn Baptiſts Eue*, toward the Coaſt where his enemies attended, ſtrengthning himſelfe with the Northerne Nauie of *England*, which the L. *Robert Morley* brought vnto him, ſo as he had in all about two or three hundreth ſayle. His battels hauing the aduauntages of windes and ſunne, he ſet on the French with incredible fury and force, in the very mouth of the Hauen of *Sluice* vpon Midſommer day, where began a moſt bloudy and terrible fight, the end whereof ſet the Garland vpon King *Edwards* head. Himſelfe was * wounded in that fight, and loſt * foure valiant Knights (*Monthermer, Latimer, Boteler, Poynings*) with ſundry other of his Engliſh ſlayne therein. But the ſlaughters of the French party were lamentable, for thirty thouſand are confeſſed to haue periſhed, not halfe of their ſhips eſcaped vntaken or vnſuncke. A greater glory then this, the Engliſh are ſcarſe found to haue atchieued at any battle at Sea.

Gagiun. Serres.

Tho. Walſing.

A very great victory at Sea obtained by King *Edward.*

* *Serres. Hollinſh.* * *Rich. Southw.*

(57) The Crowne of *France* ſeemed already to be placed vpon King *Edwards* Temples, ſo much was attributed to this great victory; but ſuch a Conqueſt was not the worke of one day. Which King *Edward* well vnderſtanding, refreſhed his victorious Armie, and augmenting it with his Confederates forces (which repaired to him on all ſides) marched forth, hauing one of the moſt puiſſant hoſts that euer any King of *England* led, as wherein were neere an hundreth thouſand Souldiers *Engliſh*, and *Dutch*. He had alſo in his Company the Dukes of *Brabant* and *Gelder*, and many other potent members of the Empire, and (as * ſome write) the imperiall Eagles diſplayed in the head of his Army, as he that was Vice-gerent of the ſacred Roman Empire. In this wiſe he approached the Northerly parts of *France*, where expoſing all to ſpoyle and fire, he ſate downe with his whole Forces about *Tourney*, meaning to take in the ſame, as well to be a ſeate of Warre, as place of ſure retreat and refuge.

* *Serres.*

(58) *Philip*, though juſtly grieued with his wofull loſſe ſuſtained at Sea, yet to encounter, and cruſh ſo great an euill in the firſt approaches thereof, had prouided ſuch an Army, as beſeemed the Majeſty and greatneſſe of that renowned Kingdome. Writers ſpeake of an hundreth thouſand fighting men aſſembled vnder his commaund, and that beſides Princes, Dukes, Earles, and other illuſtrious Perſons, there was the valiant olde King of *Bohemia*, and * *Lewis* King of *Nauarre*. King *Edward* hearing the ſame, drew forth his people into the open field, with purpoſe to giue battle.

* *Polyd. Virg. l. 19.*

(59) It may ſeeme a thing greatly tending to King *Edwards* glory, to remember the * offer which he ſent to King *Philip* before he laide his ſiege to *Tourney*. In which, without ſaluting him by any other title then of *Philip* of *Valoys*, he challengeth him, for auoyding the effuſion of Chriſtian bloud, to fight with him hand to hand in ſingle battle; or (if that miſliked) then each to bring an hundreth to the Field, and try the euent with ſo ſmall an hazard; or otherwiſe, within ten dayes to joyne full battle with all their forces neere to *Tourney*. Whereupon *Philip* made no direct anſwere, neither with his honour could, alledging that the letters were not ſent to him, *the King of France*, but barely to *Philip* of *Valoys*. Neuertheleſſe, he gaue him to vnderſtand, that his meaning was to beat him out of *France*, hauing hope in Chriſt (from whom hee deriued his power) ſo to doe.

* *Thom. Walſing.*

(60) The honour of the warre in thoſe ages cannot be enough commended, in which the noble olde formes of hoſtility were put in practiſe, by defiances, Heraldes, and publique aſſignations of day and place of fight, and not by skulking ſurpriſes and vnder-hand ſtealthes, more neerely reſembling highway robberies, then lawfull battle.

(61) Theſe two huge hoaſts (which had they beene vnited for the good of Chriſtendome, might haue worthily made the Turke looke pale) being now in ſight, and the Cloud of Warre ready in a manner to diſſolue it ſelfe into ſhowers of Bloud, doe neuertheleſſe without one ſtroake fall off, and returne to their ſeuerall Countries, not without the wonder and rejoycement of peaceable men, but not of the Engliſh and German Souldiers, who propounded to themſelues death with glory, or riches by Conqueſt and victory, who now had ſcarſe their wages.

(62) It is not meete that the name of that perſon who did performe ſo bleſſed an office, ſhould be concealed. It was a woman of honour (but at that time a profeſſed * Nunne in the Abbey of *Fontenels*) the Lady *Iane* of *Valoys*, ſiſter to this *Philip*, widdow of *William* late Earle of *Henault*, and mother to King *Edwards* wife; her charitable endeauors were ſtrongly holpen by * two Cardinals, who ſolicited peace together with her. Great intereſt of mediation ſhe had in either reſpect, heere a brother, there a ſonne in Law, and ſhe fayled not to ply them both. The Truce was concluded; the rather for that King *Philip* was aduiſed from all parts, not to ſet his whole fortunes vpon the Die and chance of a Battle. And *Edward* (on the other ſide) meaning nothing leſſe, then not to haue proſecuted the warre vpon the encouragement of his late Sea-victorie, was ſo deſtitute of money through the fault of his Officers in *England*, as he was the ſooner drawne, if not enforced to embrace ſo honeſt a colour of returning from the ſiege of *Tourney*; which neuertheleſſe did but deferre the miſeries of *France*, not determine them: and whereas that glory, which the vpper hand in this journey would haue brought, could not haue beene pure and meere vnto him, becauſe the *Dutch* (whoſe ayde he vſed) would haue claimed no ſmall ſhare therein, the Engliſh Cheualry onely had the name and burthen of ſuch great Acts as after followed.

* *Serres.*

* *Ypodig. Neuſtr.*

(63) The chiefe Articles of the Truce were; That it ſhould endure till Midſommer day then next enſuing, and that the Priſoners ſhould be ſet at libertie without any ranſome on both ſides, vpon condition to render themſelues againe, or pay their ſeuerall ranſomes, if peace were not in the meane time concluded. By vertue of this treaty and Truce, the Earles of *Salisburie* and *Suffolke* were deliuered. Heere it troubled our * *Walſingham*, that King *Edward* ſhould be left ſo deſtitute, and needy, by the auarice or fraud of his Officers at home, as for that reſpect to giue ouer ſo faire an opportunity, by which he might as it were by a continued line, and by inſiſting and preſſing vpon the ſteps of his late ſucceſſe,

The chief points of the Truce.

* *Walſingham.*

succeſſe haue happily proceeded, when as yet his friends were vncorrupted, and in preſence; and therfore be-mones the vnworthineſſe thereof towards ſo worthy a Prince, adding; * *That if in very deed they had ſcanned and exactly weighed with themſelues the Acts of all the Engliſh Kings paſt, from the very firſt Monarch, they would not haue found that euer this Iland brought forth a Prince of ſuch excellency at ſo* * *vnripened yeeres.*

* *Walſingham.*

* 28. *Annorum.*

(64) *King Edward* greatly diſcontented with ſuch of his officers, through whoſe default he was thus in a manner conſtrayned to let ſlip the preſent proſecution of his deſigne, returned with his Queene into *England*, to take reuenge of their miſdemeanors, where he committed * ſome to priſon, put others from their places, and ſo beſtirred himſelfe, that by occaſion thereof much diſpleaſure grew betweene the King and *Iohn Archbiſhop* of *Canterbury*, who complained of *manifeſt violences done againſt the Liberties of the Church and Engliſh Nation, comprehended in Magna Charta.* And whereas the King did openly charge the Archbiſhop to haue beene a principall perſwader of his entring into league with the Almaines, againſt the *French, willing him to take no care for treaſure, becauſe himſelfe would ſee him abundantly furniſhed from England, out of the leuy of granted Subſidies, and profits of the Crowne:* and that through defect of the Archbiſhops performance, he was not onely conſtrayned to giue ouer his hold for the preſent, but alſo to embogge himſelfe in the Bankers and Vſurers bookes, the Archbiſhop thereunto made anſwere: *That he deſired in open Parliament it might appeare, through whoſe default the city of Tourney was not taken, and directly laide the whole blame from himſelfe, and from his, vpon ſuch as were daily Courtiers,* (whom *Walſingham* cals *Anglici regij, Engliſhmen for the king*) *who ſeruing their own turnes with the generall abuſe, would expoſe him, and his, vnjuſtly to the enuy of their fact.* Yea, ſome there are, who more then ſo, will haue the Archbiſhop ſeeme to practiſe againſt the Kings farther good fortunes in *France*; which, if it be true, it is no hard matter to finde out the principall motiue thereunto.

* *Rob. Auesburie.*

Punishment of officers that had abuſed the King in his treaſure.

The Arch-biſhop of *Canterburie* accuſeth the Courtiers.

(65) For certainely the Pope (*Benedict 12.*) was nothing pleaſed with the ſucceſſes of *Edward*, at leaſtwiſe with the war it ſelfe, as pretending it was pernicious to *Chriſtendome*; the blame wherof the *French* charged vpon the *Engliſh*, as vnlawfully clayming, as the *Engliſh* did vpon the *French* for vnlawfully detayning. This Pope therefore interpoſeth himſelfe, and puts * *Flanders* vnder *Interdict*, as hauing diſloyally left their owne Earle, and their chiefe Lord *Philip* King of *France*, contrary to their Oath and Allegiance; but they for their defence and iuſtification anſwered, that *Edward* was the onely lawfull King of *France*, and *Philip* (to whom they had ſworn) a meere *vſurper*, and therefore notwithſtanding that Interdict, or the Papall deciſion of the controuerſie, they perſiſted ſtill in their adherence.

Flanders interdicted for hauing left her Earle, and the *French.*

* *Typodigm. Neuſtr.*

(66) But the more to draine and weaken the mightie ſtreame of the *Engliſh* ſupportations, *Lewis* of *Bauar* the Emperour, ſodainely (by ſuch practiſes as were vſed on behalfe of the *French*) re-called his Vicar-ſhip or delegation, which he had made to *Edward*, to exerciſe imperiall power in lower *Germany*, offering his beſt helpe notwithſtanding, (as hauing power from *Philip* to that purpoſe,) to procure him honourable conditions, as a Mediatour betweene them. The pretence of his falling from King *Edward*, and concluding amity with his enemy, was for that King *Edward* without his priuity, had conſented to a Truce at the City of *Tourney* with *Philip*.

The Vicarſhip of the Empire taken from King *Edward.*

An. D. 1342.

(67) To theſe reuocatorie lines King *Edward* "made this wiſe and noble anſwere; That the Em-"perours zeale to make attonement, he could not but "greatly commend, wiſhing, that at the inſtance of "ſo potent a Mediator, an honourable Peace (if that "were poſſible) might be made; but his Title being "cleare enough, he meant not to make doubtfull by "putting it to any arbitration. That it could not but "be admired, why he ſhould now enter amitie with "*Philip de Valoys* the wrong-doer, ſith, hauing ſeene "his apparant right, he had entred with him into "league, againſt the ſaid *Philip*: That it was alſo a-"greed, that he might conclude any temporary Truce "(though not a finall accord) without his conſent, if "neede ſhould be, as in this caſe at *Tourney* it was. "That this reuocation ſeemed to be made ſomewhat "abortiuely, for ſo much as the *Imperialiſts* had "promiſed the Vicar-ſhip ſhould ſtand good till hee "had conquered *France*, or the greater portion there-"of. Dated thus; *Londini, Anno regni noſtri Franciæ, 2. Regni verò noſtri Angliæ, 15.* But *Lewis* of *Bauar* to *Edward* thus * inconſtant, and faith-breaking, continued toward *Philip* ſtedfaſt, without either amending *Philips* fortunes thereby, or himſelfe increaſing in Iuſtice or honeſtie, that it might eaſily be ſeene he was endued with qualities, which ill became the Imperiall height.

King *Edwards* anſwere to *Lewis* Emperour.

Adam. Merim. in Edw. 3.

* *Typodig. Neuſtr.*

(68) You haue heard a part of great king *Edwards* victorious fortunes in battle, both by land and ſea; be not ignorant of his *Pietie* (the ſoueraigne ornament and ſafetie of Soueraigne Princes,) whereof in one act of his, we will tender vnto you in the ſtile of that age an Eſſay and taſte. He hauing a purpoſe to purſue his enterpriſe for *France*, after ſundry Chriſtian and holy conſiderations of Gods judgements, and of his owne eſtate and rightfull cauſe, he turnes his ſpeech to his Biſhops in theſe words: *Cum "igitur conſtituti ſitis, &c.* Seeing therefore you are "ordayned of God, on the behalfe of men, that you "ſhould offer gifts and ſacrifices for ſinne, liſten we "beſeech you to the premiſſes, and not to our one-"ly, but to the publiqué dangers, powring forth "prayers to the moſt High for our happy ſucceſſe, "ſupplying the place of *Moſes*, ſo that we and ours "may preuayle againſt aduerſaries, in the lifting of "your hands to heauen; and that God would be "the rather pleaſed to enlarge his fauour towards "vs, (the number of Interceſſors being multiplyed,) "cauſe preachings, and proceſſion, and other offices "of appeaſing his diſpleaſure, to be mercifully exer-"ciſed through our Cities and Dioceſſes, that the "God of mercies would extend ouer vs, and our Ar-"mies, the hand of his Benediction, and ſo direct our "Acts in his good pleaſure, that they may redound "to his glory and our profit, and to the commodi-"tie and quiet of all our faithfull ſubjects. This, *O Edward*, was indeede to begin at the right end; for euen the Heathen taught, * *to begin with God*, and thy following ſucceſſes declared that thy prayers were acceptable.

Publike interceſſions required of the Biſhops by the King.

* *Ab Ioue principium.*

(69) And now once againe the *French* and *Engliſh* powers were at poynt to try their fortunes by battle, vpon ſiding with other Claimes, as erſt they had done for their owne. The quarrell was founded vpon a title to the Dutchie of little *Britaine*. *Arthur* Duke thereof had two Wiues; by *Beatrix* his firſt wife, he had two ſonnes, *Iohn* (afterward Duke) and *Guy*; and by *Iolant* his ſecond Wife, he had *Iohn* of *Montfort*. Duke *Iohn* liuing without Iſſue, aſſured to *Iane* (daughter of his brother *Guy*, who dyed before him) the Ducall Crowne of little *Britaine*: vpon which entaile, *Charles* of *Bloys* (Nephew to *Philip* King of *France*) marrieth the Lady *Iane*, who in the life time of Duke *Iohn*, was (by agreement) put into full poſſeſſion: but Duke *Iohn* being once dead, *Iohn* of *Montfort* raiſeth warre, as the ſuruiuing heire male. *Philip* king of *France* took part with *Charles of Blois*, and *Edward* king of *England*, with the Lord *Iohn* of *Montfort*.

(70) Great and bloudy miſchiefes ſprang out of theſe ſtrongly ſupported factions, which had now drawne king *Edward* thither in perſon; and little *Britaine* (which may well in a ſort be called *Wales* in *France*, the *Britons*, chiefly the *Britons Britonant*, or ruder *Britons*, declaring at this preſent by the language, and ſundry locall Names, as *Lanion*, *Triguier*, &c.

A kinde of *Wales* in *France.*

&c. That their kinſmen are in *Wales* and *Cornwal)* was become the field of *Mars* and martiall Furies. But the powers of thoſe two mightie Kings being vpon poynt, before the Citie of *Nants* in high *Britaine*, to cut out their diuers ſhares in fortunes Patrimony, with the edge of the Sword, loe againe God inclined their hearts (as if he would faine haue done nothing but ſhew his vengeance in the Scabbard) by the carefull diligence of two Cardinals, to accept of a truce, which was concluded Ianuary the 19. at the Priory of *Maleſtret*, vpon ſundry poynts, whereof theſe (as to the purpoſe of our Story) are the principall.

(71) That the two Kings of *England* and *France* ſhould ſend certaine of their Bloud-royall to the Court of *Rome* (by a day certaine) there to argue their ſeuerall titles, and rights to the French Monarchy, not as before a *Iudge*, but as a *friend* * indifferent to both, and that the King of Scots, and the Earle of *Henault*, ſhould likewiſe ſend to giue their aſſent for ſo much as concerned them.

* How was he indifferent, who interdicted *Flanders* for ſiding with *Edward*?

(72) That eithers friends, adherents, and ſequels, ſhould be comprehended in the Truce, and that the truce ſhould extend it ſelfe to the titlers in *Britaine* and their ſides; and that the Cardinals ſhould doe their beſt to obtaine abſolution from the ſentence of Interdict executed vpon the Countrey of *Flaunders*.

(73) That the Truce ſhould continue for three yeeres; that priſoners or moueables taken on eyther ſide ſhould be mutually diſcharged; that traffique and paſſages ſhould be open; and that all other things ſhould ſtand as they did at the time of the Truce made: which being fairely engroſſed in an * Inſtrument, two great Peeres of each part, tooke oathes vpon perill of the Soules of their Kings, to obſerue the contents ſincerely.

An.D.1342. * Thomas Walſing. Harding.

(74) The poſſeſſion of the Citie of *Vannes* in baſe *Brittain*, the Engliſhmen ſtill kept, that (if ſetled peace followed not vpon this Truce) they might haue ſome hold and certaine footing-place, from whence to make head againe, and march into the heart of *France*. In this Warre *Robert de Artois* Earle of *Richmond*, a principall inſtigatour of King *Edward*, died of a wound, and *Iohn* of *Montford* did not long ouer-liue this truce, after whoſe death moſt part of *Britaine* came into the hands of * *Charles* of *Bloys*.

* Fabian.

An.D.1343. *Ann. Reg.17.* The Statute of Prouiſors. * Platina. * Tho. Walſingh.

(75) King *Edward* returning home after the Truce, neglected not his domeſticke affaires, but enacted the *Statute of Prouiſors*, vpon this occaſion. Pope *Benedict* being dead, *Clement* the 6. ſucceeded; a man of * ſingular learning, but * extreamely profuſe in giuing, who, by way of *Prouiſion*, had beſtowed ſundry choyſe Benefices in *England* vpon Forreiners. For preuention whereof (as of a thing which the King and Peeres would not endure,) it was made *high Treaſon* by law, for any to bring ſuch Papal prouiſions into the Kingdome. And for juſtification of his ſo doing, he directed that * letter vnto the Pope which was ſo * excellently pen'd, as did not onely moue admiration, but aſtoniſhment; and indeede this pruned age affords few ſo graue and ſolide. In which Parliament alſo the Lord *Edward*, the Kings eldeſt ſonne, was created Prince of *Wales*. He was ſo renowned a Gentlemen, why doe we ſay he was, as if he coûld at any time ceaſe to be, whom fame hath made immortall?) that the high praiſe before giuen by *Walſingham* to his father, *as * excelling all the Princes which went before him*, may be paralelled in the Sonne, as ſurpaſſing in martiall deeds, all the Princes that haue liued after him.

Treaſon to bring in any Papall Prouiſions. * This letter is in *Walſingham*, in *Edw.3.* * *Ypodigm. Neuſtr.*

Edward created Prince of *Wales*.

* *Walſingham.*

(76) His noble father King *Edward* (who had ſtill his eye fixed vpon *France*, as the marke of his Conqueſt) hauing notice among other things, by a meſſenger from the Pope, that *Lewis* of *Bauar* had wholly ſubmitted himſelfe, and was fully abſolued from all cenſures, with confirmation vnto him of the Imperiall Diademe: the King, that you may by his courage know him worthy of ſuch a Sonne,) brake irefully forth into theſe words. Though *Lewis* take the French Kings part, I will fight with them both. And whether he were inuited with the fame of King *Arthurs* Table, and the Knights aduenterous thereof, or for that he knew honourable Company and exerciſe in Armes, to be the naturall parents of excellent Souldiers, it is agreed, that he erected a building at his Caſtle of *Windſore*; which ſhould be called the *Round Table*, whoſe circumference was ſixe hundred foote, where Knights and men of warre ſhould haue their entertainement of dyet, at his charge by one hundred pounds by the Weeke, though afterward, through occaſion of his Warres, he abated that ſumme to twentie pounds weekely. In emulation whereof, *Philip de Valoys* (knowing that all this tended but to preparations againſt him,) erected the like in his Court, to inuite the Knights and men at Armes of *Almaine*, and of *Italie*, from repayring to King *Edward*. One thing *Philip* did ſhrewdly and politiquely, in giuing leaue to his ſubjects to fell downe his woods freely for building of *Ships*, whereby his Nauy was greatly augmented, and the rather wrought much miſchiefe afterward. About this time one of the chiefe ſtarres in the Firmament of the Engliſh Cheualry fell into the Graue, *William Montacute* King of *Man*, and Marſhall of *England*, of * whoſe noble acts to write worthily were a commendable matter.

An.D.1344. *Ypodig. Neuſtr.*

Round Tables erected for men at Armes.

* *Ypodig. Neuſtr.*

(77) But the French King, perceiuing that a terrible tempeſt was likely to fall vpon him from forth of *England*, waxed cruell in his jealouſie, and * put ſundry principall men of *Normandy*, *Picardy*, and *Guyen* to death, for no other crime, but that they were Engliſh in affection; among whom are reckoned Sir *Oliuer de Cliſſon*, * *Bacco*, *Perſie*, and *Geoffrey* of *Maleſtroict*, Knights of the beſt note; Sir *Godfrey* of *Harecourt*, brother to the Earle of *Harecourt*, being alſo ſummoned to *Paris*, appeared in *England*, whither hee fled, and became a ſpeciall fire-brand in the approaching combuſtion.

* *Serres.*

* *Poly. Virg. lib.19.*

(78) It was not Pope *Clements* mediation, or diligence in diſcuſſing the Titles and Pretences of theſe two puiſſant Monarkes, which could preuent the fatall puniſhment of *France*, yet according to the Articles of the Treatiſe at *Maleſtroict*, eyther Prince ſent his particular Orators, where the difficulties roſe ſo thicke and intricate, as *Clement* * diſpairing to cleare them, put ouer their farther view till another time. But King *Edward* affirming the truce to be manifeſtly broken, * by the beheading and perſecuting of his friends in *Normandy* & elſwhere, ſignifies ſo much to the Pope, that Battle and not Parlance ſhould determine his right, and title. His prouiſions of Men, of Ships, of weapons, of victuals, of treaſure, of all things, needfull to ſo braue and daring an enterprize, were worthy of the greatneſſe, courage, ſtrength, riches, and majeſty of a King of *England*. Into *Gaſcoigne* he ſends that valiant great Lord *Henry* of *Lancaſter*, Earle of *Derby*, with a gallant company of leaders and troupes of ſouldiers, where he atchieued many great things, for the defence and enlargement of that Dutchie, taking Cities, Caſtles, and Townes, of which *Iohn* the French Kings eldeſt ſonne recouered diuers not long after; and diſcomfited the enemy in battle. The Scots attempting againſt the Weſt Marches of *England*, by the vigilancy and proweſſe of ſuch as were in truſt for thoſe parts, as the Biſhop of *Carleil*, the Lords *Percie*, *Neuile*, and *Lucie*, very gallant gentlemen, were forced to * retire into *Scotland*. It was the practiſe of either Prince to diuert and diſtract eithers puiſſance, we *Philips* in *Gaſcoigne*, and he ours, by his perpetuall, and conſtant confederates, the Scots. Our *Edward* notwithſtanding could doe it the leſſe, for that his conſtant friend *Iaques van Arteuile* (who was become as it were the popular Tribune of *Flanders*) was * ſlaine in a mutiny by ſuch as were of the *French* faction.

King *Edward* declares the Truce with *France* broken.

* *Polyd. Virg.*

* *Thom. Walſing.*

* *Ypodig. Neuſtr.*

* *Iaco. Meir.*

(79) *Edward* not being able to re-call his ſlaine friend

The most noble Order of the *Garter* instituted.

friend to life, gaue life notwithstanding about this time to an inuention, which as for the present it serued (he hauing so great vse thereof for his *French* enterprises) as a vehement Incentiue to martiall valour, and a golden band of vnitie, so the same is continued with likelihood of perennity, and multiplication of splendor in these our daies. It was the foundation of the *English* Order, worthily called the most noble Order of the Garter. The causes why our *Edward* erected it, are not euident, though there could none be greater or better, then those before recited; Honour expressed by externall and illustrious ensignes, deuised by a victorious Author, and appropriated to a fellowship of most exemplar and eminent persons, being in nature like a flame, to kindle in the apt and worthy, all heroicke affections. The vulgar opinion is, that whatsoeuer the remoter causes were which moued to this foundation, the neere cause, or the occasion was, a Garter of his owne Queene (or as * some say) of the Lady *Ioan*, Countesse of *Salisburie* (wonder of that age for shape and beautie) which slipping off in a dance, King *Edward* stooped, and tooke vp. Such of the Nobles as were present, smiling, and * playing in sport with that action of the Kings, as amorous, hee seriously said, it should not be long before *there should Soueraigne honour be done to that silken tie*. Whereupon he afterward added the *French* Motte, or Symbolicall word,

HONI SOIT QVI MAL Y PENSE,

as well in complement of the whole inuention, as in retort or checke of his Courtiers sinister suspition. *Polydor Virgil* troubleth himselfe to make an Apologie for the coursenesse of this Originall, if (without injurie) an office of honourable loue in so renowned a Monarch, may vndergoe the note of coursenesse; but the same *Polydor* among his other defences therof truely saith;

Nobilitas sub amore iacet.

An. D. 1350. *Ann. Reg. 24.* The Patent of the foundation beares date 22. *Reg. Edw. 3.* saith *Stow*, who neuertheless placeth the first feast thereof at this yeare.

* *Cambd. Brit. in Barksh.*

* *Iocose cauillationibus, Polyd. Virg. l. 19. in Edw. 3.*

There want not some who conjecture, that hee entituled it the Order of the Garter, for that in a battle wherein he was victorious, he had giuen the word Garter, for the word or signe. But if credite may be attributed to the originall * Booke of the Institution, the inuention is deduced from times more ancient, "and that when *Richard* the first King of *England*, set "forward against the Turkes and Sarazens to *Cyprus* "and *Acon*, and waxed weary of longer delay, while "the siege of *Acon* was with wonderfull care protra- "cted, courage at the length (by the comming of St. "*George* among them as it was thought) quickning "in him, it came into his minde to tie about the legs "of certaine his choyse Knights, a Garter or small "thong of Leather, the onely stuffe fit for such a "purpose, which he had then at hand, to the in- "tent that they (as it were by joynt consent) being "mindfull of future glory, if they were victorious, "might be stirred vp, to demeane themselues nobly, "after the example of the Romans, with whom "that varietie of Crownes or Garlands giuen for "sundry causes as honourable Ensignes to the Soul- "dier was in vse; to the intent, that by such incite- "ments, they might shake off sloath, and the spirit "of courage might rise, and breake forth the more "feruently.

* *Penes D. Gulielmum Dethick, Equitem auratum, olim Garter, principalem Armorum Regem. Cambden in Brit.*

(80) And into this opinion of stirring vp vertue thereby, the * Author of the *Britannia* seemeth to passe, where he saith, that King *Edward* the third founded this Order, to * *adorne Martiall vertue with honors, rewards, and splendor.*

* *Cambden.*

* *Vt militarem virtutem honoribus, præmijs, atque splendore decoraret.*

(81) There was in the Castle of *Windsor* (the ordayned seat of the Order now first to be consummated) before King *Edward* did accomplish his intention, in honour of God, * our Lady, and S. *George*, a * Chappell erected by King *Henry* the first, and other Progenitors of *Edward*, with an allowance for eight Canons, to whose Colledge this Prince added a Deane, fifteene Canons more, and twenty and foure poore impotent Knights, with other officers and seruants, as appeareth by his Charter. These were to pray for the good estate of the Soueraigne and Brethren of the most noble Order. The Soueraigne and Knights themselues had their particular lawes and constitutions, which they were by solemne oath bound to obserue, of which one * was, *That they should defend and assist one the other:* which afterward made *Alphonse* Duke of *Calabria* receiue the habite of that Order with so exceeding reuerence at *Naples*, as erroniously thinking himselfe secured therby from the *French*, who claimed that kingdome. But that custome of mutuall assistance (saith * *Polydor*) was then worne out of vse, and discontinued euery-where; for those *Italian Potentates* who (within the memory of *Polydor*) being driuen forth of their Country, and imploring aide of those orders, whereof themselues were companions, found no supporture, either from the *French* or *Burgundians*, who had formerly elected them. Besides Lawes and Officers, King *Edward* also deuised particular Ceremonies and distinctiue habites and ensignements, whereof the principall was the azure Garter, wherein the *French* Motte of the Order was wrought in letters of Gold, and the Garter it selfe fastned a little vnder the left knee with a buckle of Gold, in * token of Concord. There are speciall Manuscript-Bookes of the Constitutions, and other things peculiar to this Order, to which (this place being not aptly capable of their re-capitulation) we must referre the curious. Saint *George* the * esteemed patterne of Christian fortitude, is intituled to the Patronage of this Order, and the beauteous Chappel in *Windsor-Castle* (where his * day is yeerely celebrated) consecrated by King *Edward* to his memory. The fortune of this inuention hath beene such, that the most mighty Princes of the Christian World haue thought themselues most highly honoured, in being chosen thereunto, so that there haue beene about two and twentie forraine Emperours and Kings (besides many others of most noble quality) since the first institution thereof, elected and admitted Companions of the Garter. The Kings of *England* are in their seueral times Soueraignes of the Order, and the whole number of Knights is circumscribed in twenty and six, whereof the Soueraigne is one. The names of the first twenty and sixe (who are also styled Founders of the Order) you shall finde intabled in our Map of *Barkeshire*.

* *Polydor. Virg. in Edw. 3.*

* *Hist. Angl. lib. 26. in Hen. 7.*

* *In Concordiæ symbolum*, saith *Cambden.*

* *Ioh. Cantacuz. Imperat. Constant. in Apolog. 3.*

* *23. Apr. Cambd. quâ supra.*

(82) Our *Edward* * hauing thus honoured S. *Georges* memory, assigned to his Image, mounted in Armour vpon horse-backe, a siluer Shield with a crosse Gules (* *the deare remembrance of his dying Lord*) and * appoynted his Souldiers to weare white Coats or Iackets, with a red Crosse before and behinde ouer their Armor that it was not onely a comely, but a stately sight to behold the *English* Battles, like the rising Sunne to glitter farre off in that pure hew; when the Souldiers of other Nations in their baser weedes could not be discerned. The glory therefore of this Order seemed such to one, no * vnlearned Poet, that in an Apostrophe to *Windsor*, speaking of the Garter, he breakes forth into these scarse Hyberbolicall Verses.

Folio 28.

* *Polyd. Virg.*

* *Faer. Qu. Can. 1. lib. 1.*

* *Polyd. Virg. in Edw. 3.*

* *Epitha. Thamis. apud Cambden.*

---Cappadocis quanquam sis clara Georgî
Militia, &c.

Far spreads thy fame, wherewith S. Georges knights
Hath made thee glorious; where rich-robed Peeres,
Whose manly Legs the Golden Garter *dights,*
Combine that light which through all lands appears.
That now Burgundians *scorne their* Fliece of Gold;
The French, *th'* Escalopt Collar *set with grace;*
Their Crosse'd weedes, Rhodes, Elba, Alcala, *hold*
As worth-lesse all matcht with thy George, *are base.*

(83) Let vs not dwell too-long in the lesser things: It was the moneth of July, and King *Edward* was now vpon the Sea with about a thousand Saile,

* Saile. No man is ſaid to know whether he bent his courſe, ſo well he could truſt himſelfe, and ſo wiſely free his Councels from the poſſibilitie of diſcouery. He went not to warre by rote, but by book; *wiſdome* was Herbenger and marſhall of his valour; who ſhall ſay hee knew not how to conquer? It was not long but hee came to anchor in the Hauen of *Hogy Saint Vaſt*, in *Conſtantine*, a great cape of Land or penile in *Normandy*. His * land-forces did muſter twenty and fiue hundred horſe, and thirty thouſand foote, moſt of which were Archers. The lights, and glories of his Armie, were the *Prince of Wales* (then about ſixteene yeeres old, who was then by his father knighted) many braue Earles, Lords, Knights, and expert Chiefs, the Engliſh going cheerefully, as hauing gotten ſuch a King as anſwered their warlike diſpoſitions. The Earle of *Huntington* had charge of his Nauy: himſelfe takes ſeuere reuenge for the bloud of his friends vpon the Norman Townes and people, proteſting he ſacrificed them * to *Cliſſon, Baro, Percy*, and the reſt. Their heads were ſet vpon the chiefe Gate of *Carentine*, for which cauſe hee ſlew all that could be found therein, and turning the whole towne into Cinders, gaue it to their funerall. He tooke the populous and rich City of *Caen*, & with his dreadfull Hoſte burning and ſpoiling round about, marched vp almoſt as farre as the very Walls of *Paris*, brauing King *Philip* ſo neere.

(74) Who had not ſlept all this while, but was * purueyed of one of the fulleſt Armies which euer were ſeene in *France*. King *Edwards* people rich with ſpoile ſeemed not vnwilling to return. They were now in the enemies Country between the two good riuers of *Sein* & *Some*, for they had paſſed the *Sein* at *Poiſſie*, whoſe Bridge (as all other betweene *Roan* and *Paris*) had beene broken downe by the *French*, and now (notwithſtanding any oppoſition) in a ſhort ſpace repayred. It was thought fit to ſeeke paſſage out of theſe ſtraights, which could not be by Bridges, for they were broken by the French. This ſearch for paſſage, was by the enemy interpreted a kinde of flight, and *Edward* could not but be willing to nouriſh their temeritie, to draw them on ſecurely to deſtruction by ſuch a ſeeming feare.

(85) The riuer of *Some*, betweene *Albeuille* and the Sea, at a low water hath a paſſable and grauelly foord, knowne by the name of *Blanch Taque*; this was diſcouered to him by one *Gobin* a priſoner. But the *French* King (beſt acquainted in his owne Countrey) to empeach this paſſage, had before ſent thether a *Norman* Baron of ſpeciall note, one *Godmar du Foy*, and a thouſand horſe, with at leaſt 6000. foote; but *Edward* (whom as obſtacles made impetuous, ſo nothing could diſmay,) enters himſelfe into the Foord, * crying, *He that loues me, let him follow mee*, as one that reſolued either to paſſe, or die. Who can tell the efficacy of ſuch a *Generals* ſpirit, but they, who haue had the happineſſe to follow vnder the conduct? This paſſage wanne, and *Du Foy* defeated in a manner, before he was almoſt fought with, (the incomparable courage of his enemies appalling him,) hee brought to king *Philip* fewer by a paire of thouſands, then he carried forth, beſides terrour, and an euill ſigne of that which followed. The Engliſh, who knew not what it meant to runne away, but were before reſolued to liue and dye with ſuch a Soueraigne, had reaſon now much more to reſolue the ſame.

(86) King *Edward* was neere to *Creſcie* in the County *Ponthieu*, lying betweene the riuers of *Some* and *Anthy* (which vnqueſtionably belonged vnto him in right of his Mother,) there moſt vigilantly prouides hee for his defence. King *Philip*, ſet on fire with this diſaſter, precipitates to battell for accompliſhment of Gods anger againſt *France*; being the rather drawne, by the vnruly vanitie of his huge multitudes, (for by what other words doe * an hundred or ſix-ſcore thouſand men deſerue to be called?) who neuer left ouer-taking one the other, till the view of the *Engliſh* banners and battles put them to ſtand. We profeſſe that the nature of our vndertakings will not brooke deſcriptions at large; you ſhall haue it as we may, that is, as remembring, that innumerable great atchieuements reſt behinde, ſomewhat impatiently attending their relation.

(87) Therefore, the holy name of God firſt ritely inuocated, King *Edward*, without ſhewing the leaſt ſigne of perturbation, but full of an Heroicke aſſuredneſſe, had ordered his people in three battles, with their wings and ſuccours. The *Vaward* diſpoſed into the forme of an Hearſe, where the Archers ſtood in Front, and the men of Armes in the bottome was vnder the young Lyon of *Wales*, Prince *Edward*, and with him many of the prime and ſageſt Captaines: *Beauchamp Earle of Warwicke, Godfrey of Harecourt, The Lords, Stafford, Laware, Bourchier, Clifford, Cobham, Holland, &c.* In the ſecond Battle were, the Earles of *Northampton, and Arundell*; *the Lords, Roſſe, Willoughby, Baſſet, Saint Albine, Multon, &c.* The third and laſt battle was commanded in chiefe by King *Edward* himſelfe, with the reſidue of his Nobles and people. In euery one of theſe battels, beſide the wings, were a juſt proportion of men at Armes and Archers, but nothing ſo thin and few as ſome of our * Writers alledge, who mention not aboue 9000. all together, who were at leaſt thrice as many in their whole numbers, and not without neede.

(88) King *Edward* cloſed his battles at their back, (as if hee meant to barricado them from flying,) by felling and plaſhing of Trees, placing his carriages there, and other impediments whatſoeuer, hauing commaunded * all men to put from them their Horſes, which were left among the carriages. Thus all waies of ſafetie by flight being preuented, the neceſſitie did vndoubtedly double their courages. Thus placed to the beſt aduantage, King *Edward* viſiteth the rankes in perſon, riding vpon a pleaſant * Hobby, (hauing onely a white rod in his hand, as if hee would chaſtiſe fortune,) betweene the two Marſhals of his Field; whoſe very preſence, with a few ſeaſonable and vn-enforced words on behalfe of God and his right, in ſteed of long Orations, did inſpire the fainteſt hearts among them with freſheſt vigour and alacritie.

(89) Our writers deſcribe not vnto vs the quality or face of the ground of *Creſcy* where this battle was determined (though very much doth depend vpon choyſe of place,) neyther the exact figures, or ſeuerall numbers of euery ſeuerall battle, their diſtances, wings, or other warlike formes, nor finally what *Palliſado*, Trench, or other deuiſe was in this or that quarter vſed, to keepe off and breake the furious charge of Men of Armes, before they came at the Archers, principall worke-men at this bloudy journey. But thus lamely are things commended to Poſterity, where the Actors themſelues take no care to ſee the particulars orderly and according to the truth delineated; but eyther are vnlearned, or giue themſelues to the bodily fruition of their paſſed trauels', rather then to exerciſe their mindes in profiting themſelues and others by ſuch relations as are made with life and art. This wee finde, that the place of the Engliſhmens battles was the Towne of *Creſcie*, and Foreſt, and therefore apt with ſmall labour to be made in-acceſſible, or at leaſtwiſe difficult for horſe to enter vpon; that alſo the Engliſh Battles were marſhalled to the moſt aduantage for giuing ſuccour one vnto the other; and that there were * Shields, or Pauiſes, to ſhelter our Archers from the Genowaies ſhot.

(90) By this time King *Philip* (whoſe countenance is * ſaid to haue changed thereat,) was in ſight of the Engliſh. He had with him the two Kings of *Boheme* and *Maiorca*, and almoſt innumerable other great Princes, Dukes, Earles, Barons, and Gentlemen of inferiour marke bearing Armes; nor thoſe only French, but very many of them Almains and Dutch, leſt you ſhould ſuppoſe, he had drawne away *Lewis*

* *Serres.*
King *Edward* in *France* with bloudy colours. *Froiſſard.*
* *Gion. Villain.*
* *Serres.*
* *Polyd. Virg. de rerum.*
* *Serres.*
The great battle of *Creſſie.*
* *Serres* ſaith but 60000.
The Engliſh put into battle.
Froiſſard.
Hollinſh. Graſton.
* *Graſton.*
Not an Engliſhman on horſebacke in this battle.
* *Graſton.*
* *Froiſſard.*
The culpable ignorance and negligence of Generals.
* *Polyd. Virg. li. 19.*
* *Graſton.*

the Emperour from the friendſhip of King *Edward*, to little purpoſe. The * night before the battle, there alighted in the *French hoaſt*, with intention to lop off one branch of Laurell from the Tree of victorie (though it fell out to be *Cypreſſe* and *Taxus*) *Amie* Earle of *Sauoy*, with a thouſand men of Armes; ſo that all things ſeemed to concurre and nouriſh fury for a ſodaine ruine. We neede not deſcribe the order of the *French*, where diſorder was a principall Actor: The * King of *Bohem*, and *Charles* Earle of *Alanſon*, King *Philips* brother-German, had charge of the point, or vantgard, King *Philip* himſelfe was in the maine battle, and the Earle of *Sauoy* had chiefe command in the Rere.

* *Serres.*

* *Hollinſh.*
* *Serres.*

The Auriflambe of *France*, and Dragon of *England*.

(92) That is almoſt ridiculous, which *one writes of the etymologie of the *Oiliflame* (as he cals it) aduaunced at this battle, as a ſigne of taking none to mercy, no more (as he ſaith) then *Oile* doth vſe to extinguiſh fire; when indeed it was an hallowed * Banner of red-ſilke, whereof the *French* had a wonderfull high conceit, as of that which was ſent from heauen, and called *Oreflame* or *Auriflames*. King *Edward* on the contrary ſide, is reported for ſigne of like rigour, to haue erected there his vnconquered Standard of the *Dragon-Gules*. *Lewis* of *Luxemburg*, the moſt valiant old King of *Bohemia*, being either blind or very badly ſighted, hearing in what goodly order the *Engliſh* (like ſober *Spartan* Souldiers) attended the charge, ſaid plainly (contrary to their ouer-weening iudgements who had giuen out of their flight,) *Here will the Engliſh end their daies, or conquer.* And euen as the firſt wounds were ready in a manner to be giuen and taken, behold, God, to let them know he was awake, and that there was one aboue to whom ſo many thouſands ſhould within a few minutes appeare, to giue an account of their whole liues till that preſent; he cauſed the blacke cloudes to poure downe vpon them ſtore of funerall teares, enarching the ayre with a ſpatious * Raine-bow, and diſcharging ſundry tire and peales of Thunder: the Sunne alſo, at the ſame time drawing neere to ſet, would gladly haue hid his face, by thruſting it vnder a partill * Eclypſe; but God (who meant good to the *Engliſh*) would not ſuffer him to withdraw his more neceſſary office, ſo that freed from that temporary ſhadow, he ſhone directly into the Frenchmens eyes. At the ſame time alſo * ſholes and cloudes of balefull Rauens, and other birdes of prey and rauin, as foreſhewing the harueſt of carkaſes at hand, came flying ouer the French hoaſt.

* *Paul. Aemyl. in Philip. 6. Serres. Hollinſh.*

* *Serres.*

* *Hollinſh. Froiſſard.*

* *Walſingham.*

(93) The ſigne of battle being giuen by King *Philip*, and entertained with ſhoutes and clamors, all things ſhewing the horror of war, Drums and Trumpets ſounding to a charge, Banners flying in the winde, and euery-where ſhining weapons, menacing braue extremitie, reaſon her-ſelfe acknowledged it onely ſafe to leaue them to their brute faculties, paſſion, and furie, and the euent it ſelfe to God. The French calamities began at their *Genowayes*, who vnder *Carolo Grimaldi*, and *Antonio Dorta* their Coronels, being all of them Croſſe-bowmen, were to open a way for the French horſe with their ſhot. This was the ſucceſſe of their ſeruice: Their Croſſe-bow ſtrings wet with the late raine, their bodies weary with a long march, their rankes (after the *Engliſh* had intercepted vpon * Targets their firſt volue,) filled with innumerable gaps, occaſioned by the fall of their fellowes ſlaine, or ouerthrowne with home-drawne Arrowes, were laſtly moſt outragiouſly ſcattered by *Charles* Earle of *Alanſon*, at whoſe commandement (deriued from King * *Philip* himſelfe) his Horſe gaue in among them, to driue them by plaine murther from the honour of hauing the point, vpon onely pretence that they hindered their race. This hot young Count (contrary to good diſcipline,) had alſo otherwiſe vniuſtly diſcontented and diſgraced them, euen when they were ready to ioyne in battle, whoſe bodies (being as moſt write about twelue thouſand) by bearing the firſt brunt might haue beene of great vſe, if in nothing elſe, but in ſeruing as Buts and Quiuers, to take into them the chiefe firſt ſtormes of the Engliſh Arrowes. Whereas now they themſelues were not onely thus moſt miſerably troden vnder foot, and put to the ſword, but many of the *French* Gallants by that occaſion mingled among them, were ouerthrowne by the Engliſh Arrowes, who equally purſued the deſtruction both of French and Genowayes, ſhooting thickeſt where the tumult and confuſion were greateſt. Some * raſcals alſo following the Engliſh Armie, as they ſaw opportunity, ſtept in among them, and holpe to cut throates, ſparing neither Lord nor lozell.

* *Gio Villam.*

The Genowayes defeated.

* *Polyd. Virg. l. 19.*

The Earle of *Alanſons* furious temerity.

* *Serres.*

The firſt confuſion of the enemy.

* *Grafton.*

(94) The French men of Armes halfe out of breath with head-long haſte, and terribly diſordered with the perpetuall ſtormes of ſinging arrowes, were now at hand-ſtrokes with the Princes battle; neither was it long, but that the ſhining Battle-axes, ſwords, lances, and other weapons of our Nation had loſt their ſplendor, being couered with humane gore, which hauing thirſtily drunke out of enemies wounds, they let fall in bloudy teares. The fight was ſharpe and fierce: but to what purpoſe ſerues writing, if the high reſolution of the King of *Bohemia* ſhould be vnremembred? hee (as onely ſeeking an honourable graue for his old age) put himſelfe into the firſt ranke of his owne horſemen, and with full randome charging the Engliſh, was ſlaine with Sword in hand, the troupe of his faithfull followers with their ſlaughtered bodies couering him euen in death. There lay this Trophea of the Engliſh Cheualrie, by whoſe fall (euidently ſeene in the ruine of the Bohemian Standard,) his noble ſonne, the Lord *Charles* of *Boheme* (lately elected Emperour, whilſt King *Lewis* was as * yet aliue) was wiſely warned to prouide for himſelfe, the matter appearing deſperate. For now was *Philip* himſelfe in perſon, with the full power of his Armie, come to the reſcues of his brother and friends, who were hard at worke (while they had breath) about their dreamed victory, but finding the mettall infinitely more tough which they had to deale vpon, then they could poſſibly haue ſuppoſed, were beaten to the earth in great numbers. The young Prince neuertheleſſe was not without danger, though now the ſecond battell of the *Engliſh*, for preſeruation of their Prince, daſhing in among the enemies, fought moſt couragiouſly.

The French horſe charge the Engliſh battalions.

Battell.

The King of *Bohemia's* high reſolution and death.

* *Lanquet.*

(95) Therefore King *Edward* himſelfe was ſent vnto, whoſe battle houered like a tempeſt in a cloud, ouer which, vpon the hillocke of a Wind-mill, with his Helmet on, (which neuer came off till all was done) he iudiciouſly watcht, beholding the whole field, and ready to enter into the conflict when juſt neceſſitie ſhould inuite. You ſhall heare a moſt noble anſwere: The meſſenger diſpatched from the Earle of *Northampton* and others *vpon a tender reſpect to their young Princes ſafety, hauing declared to the King, that the Lords required his preſence, for that his ſonne was in danger, *he bad him returne and ſay; *Let them ſend no more to me for any aduenture that may befall, while my ſonne is aliue; but let him either vanquiſh or die, becauſe the honour of this braue day ſhall be his, if GOD ſuffer him to ſuruiue.*

King *Edward* refuſeth to ayde his ſonne the Prince.

* *Paul. Aemyl. in Philip. 6. Serres. Hollinſh.*

His moſt noble anſwere.

* *Paul. Aemil. in Philip. 6. Serres. Hollinſh.*

(96) The Meſſenger returned, and though hee brought not Men to their ſuccours, hee brought ſuch acceſſion of courage and ſpirite, as hee that ſhould ſay that King *Edward* fayled them at their neede, ſhould neyther vnderſtand what belongs to magnanimitie, nor the effect of ſuch a checke from ſo excellent a Generall: who neuertheleſſe, was maturely watchfull ouer the good of his Childe and people: On the other ſide King *Philip* (whoſe quarrell it was) did not forſake the duetie of a noble *Chiefe*: but ſo long contended in his owne perſon, till his horſe was * ſlaine vnder him with arrowes, himſelfe * twice diſmounted, and wounded both in the necke and thigh: but then the Lord *Iohn of Henault*, Earle of

*King *Philips* perſon farre engaged, eſcapes by flight.

* *Serres. Ypodig. Neuſtr. Adam Merim.*

Serres saith, that King Edward came at last to the battell, and with his comming made an end thereof. The former words sent to his sonne (which are also in Serres) insinuate nothing lesse.

of *Beaumont*, (who had long since quit King *Edwards* seruice) sets him againe on horsebacke, and the *French* (out of a loyall desire to his preseruation) cried to retire him out of the fight, who rather seemed willing to end his dayes in so noble companie: which voyce was as it were the vp-shot and last Gaspe of that most cruell conflict, where none as yet were taken to mercy vpon any termes.

After their King had preserued himselfe, the whole power of the *French* gaue away, and sought to saue it selfe by flight, whom the *English*, warely fighting vpon the defensiue, and loath to hazard such a victory, by breaking their rancks to pursue the enemie too farre in the night time, (which now was come vpon them,) suffered them to be holden in chase by their owne iust feare, contented to make good their ground, by standing still vpon their guard according to true discipline. For they saw not as yet the bottome of their danger, and knew that there were so many escaped, as might well serue to ouerwhelme their Army with their multitudes.

Hollinsh.

King *Edward* and the Prince meet.

(97) King *Edward* seeing the coast for the present cleare of all his enemies, aduanceth with his vntoucht battell towards his victorious sonne, & most affectionately embracing and kissing him, said; *Faire Sonne, God send you good perseuerance to so prosperous beginnings; you haue nobly acquit your selfe, and are well worthy to haue the Gouernance of a Kingdome entrusted vnto you for your valour.* To which the most cheualrous of young Princes replyed in silence, most humbly falling on his knees, before his triumphant father.

The modest and wise behauiour of the English.

(98) Here there may be some controuersie, whether the exemplary manhood of the *English*, or their singular piety, were more to be commended: but who will not infinitely preferre the latter, chiefly in Souldiers, among whom it is vsually most wanting? Great was the victorie, great was their prowesse, and great the glory; but they like true Christian knights and Souldiers, forbare all boast, referring the whole thankes and honour of their preseruation to God the true Author thereof. The night was so very darke, as if it had mourned for the day-times bloudshed, therefore they made * store of fires, lighted torches, and candles, carefully tending their wounded companions, and modestly reioycing in their owne faire aduenture.

* *Grafton.*

(99) But the next morning presented new worke; for such a mist hauing ouer-spread the earth, that they could scarse see hard at hand, yet were * new swarmes of *French* abroad, who came from sundry Cities and good townes, as *Roan*, *Beauois*, &c. to haue ioyned with King *Philip* in the designed spoile of the *English*; these being mette-with by King *Edwards* people, were in sundry places ouerthrowne and slaine, and multitudes of such as had lost their way in the last flight, were seuerely put to the sword, as the *English* chanced vpon them, * where they lay lurking in hedges, bushes, and by-wayes: The Earles of *Northampton*, * *Suffolke*, and *Norfolke*, * had the execution of the *French* which fled from this last ouerthrow, for the space of about nine miles *English* from the ground where they encountred.

* *Ypodig. Neustr. Hollinsh.* The French are againe encountred, and vtterly broken. *Paul. Aemyl.* saith that the English set vp French Banners, and by that stratagem drew them to destruction. * *Froissard.* * *Will. Northbrough apud Rob. de Auesburie.* * *Ypodig Neustr.*

The field viewed by Heralds.

(100) There was leasure now to take an account of the slaine; which vpon the enemies side amounted, not onely in the number to very many, but in their qualitie to very great. For search hereof King *Edward* caused certaine principall commanders, and three Heralds, (who by the Coat-Armours might iudge of the persons, it being then a thing perpetuall and solemne not to fight without those signes of Noblesse,) to take an exact view of the field, who about supper-time returning, made report to the King, that they found the dead bodies of * eleauen great Princes, and of Barons, Knights, and men of Armes, aboue * one thousand, and fiue hundreth. Among the owners of such bodies as were beaten to the Earth vpon the first day, these are worthily reckoned chiefe: The * King of *Bohemia*, the King of * *Maiorca*, * *Charles* Earle of *Alanson*, brother-German to King *Philip*, the Duke of *Lorain*, * the Duke of *Burbon*, the * Earle of *Flanders*, the * Earle of *Sauoy* (both great Princes,) * the *Dolphin* of *Viennois*, son to *Himbert*, the Earle of *Sancerre*, and *Harecourt*, (whose brother *Godfrey* in pittie of his house, his two Nephewes being slaine with their father, forsooke the King of *England* after this battell, and returned into Grace with the *French*,) the * Earles of *Aumarl*, *Neuers*, *&c.* sixe Earles of *Almaine*; beside others of great account of all sorts. Vpon the second day, the *Grand Prior* of *France*, who with his Archbishop of *Roan*, had on the behalfe of their Prince and Countrey put on Armes. Of the Commons, in * both of these blacke dayes, there fell about thirty thousand, and some say, foure times more in this last, then in the other.

* *Sir Thom. de la More apud Iohn Stow. Harding.* * *Serres.* * *Iohn Stow.* * *Polyd. Virg.* * *Will. Northb.* * *Serres*, who also reckons *Charles* Earle of *Blois* slaine at this battell, who was aliue sundry yeares after. * *Will. Northb.*

* *26. & 27. Aug.* An.D.1346.

(101) We finde not one man of honour, or note slaine vpon the *English* side, so that this victorie may safely bee accounted among the wonderfull. The * spoiles of the Enemies bodies and carriages, King *Edward* gaue wholy to his well-deseruing souldiers. The rule of their safety (they being in a most opulous enemy Countrie) would not permit them to vse much curtesie to others, as that which might haue proued cruelty to themselues, but vpon the second day they tooke many * prisoners, though none of great name, for they were spent in the day before. It pleased the conquerour to proclaime a truce now for three dayes in the Countrey about, that the people might come in to burie their dead; but the bodies of the most Noble, hee himselfe caused to be conueyed to *Monstreal*, and there (in his March towards *Calis*) enterred.

* *Polyd. Virgil.*

* *Will. Northb.*

(102) Thus by Gods fauour, and the vnresistable force of the *English* Archers, (who in a manner did * onely fight) was King *Edward* put into a full and peaceable possession of a perfect victory; which after hee had one night onely enioyed in the Forrest of *Crescie*, hee dislodged with his conquering hoast, & marched straight toward *Calis*, which hee * presently inuested, hauing decreed neuer to rise with his Armie from before it, till without assault hee had carried the same. For which cause he entrenched and fortified his Campe on all sides, built vp * Sheds couered with Reed and Broome, and other places and offices as to dwell in, and stopping all reliefe by Sea, (whereof he was Master) with his Nauie. There commanded in *Calis* for the *French*, Sir *Iohn de Vienne*, * *Marshall* of *France*, and the Lord *Dandreghan*, with a very strong Garrison, who concluded, like good men of war, to trie all extremities, rather then to surrender the Piece, which was so strong, that to assault the same, otherwise then with famine, had beene friuolous. These great Captaines seeing King *Edwards* resolution, thrust forth of the Towne (for sparing of food) their poorer people, aboue fifteene hundreth; whom hee, like a true Christian Prince, turned not backe vpon the Towne, but releeued for Gods cause with fresh victuals, and two pence sterling each; permitting them freely and securely to passe through his Campe, to his great glory, and (vndoubtedly) profit also, hauing their hearty prayers for his happy successe, and God for pay-master, and rewarder of such his Beneficence.

Calis besieged.

* *Serres* saith 30. September. An.D.1346.

* *Grafton.*

* *Serres.*

King *Edwards* Charity.

(103) Many wayes were thought vpon by King *Philip* to raise this obstinate siege: two principall; an Army of *French* to fight with King *Edward*, and a diuersion by inuasion, wherein the *Scots* (their perpetuall allies) were forward. Both in their seuerall times, were put into execution: That of the *Scottish* inuasion was first, but with such successe, as well declared it was Gods will (all people hauing their encreasings, zeniths, and declinations) that the *English* name should now be brought to the verticall poynt thereof without any thing being able to resist it.

The French deuise to succour *Calis*.

(104) For *Dauid* the *second* King of *Scots*, to gratifie

The Scots inuade *England*, and are vanquished in battell.

gratifie his most deare friends the French, comming with a very great armie of threescore and two thousand into *England*, as far as *Durham*, supposing none but Priests and Shepheards were left at home, (considering what great numbers were abroad vpon seruice in *Picardie*, *Britaine*, and *Gascoigne*,) was (vpon * Saint *Lukes* Eue) vndertaken and fought withall, his whole armie by faire force vanquished, and himselfe taken prisoner at a place by *Durham* called *Neuiles Crosse*. Cheiefes among the English at this triumphant iourney were, * the Archbishop of *Yorke*, *Gilbert Vmfreuile* Earle of *Angos*, *William* Lord *la Zouch*, with eight other Lords, *Percy*, *Mowbray*, *Neuile*, *Deincourt*, *Mauley*, *Leyburne*, *Scroop*, & *Musgraue*. Sir *Robert de Bertram* Sheriffe of *Northumberland*, and other noble Banerets. In this battell also were many * Priests and Clergy-men of *England*, to whom necessity for defence of their Countrey, made the bloudy vse of Iron and Steele warrantable: nor could the Scots be accused to haue lost any thing for want of manhood, specially the King himselfe, who had two speares hanging in his body, his leg almost incurably wounded with an arrow, his sword and weapons beaten out of his hand; who disdeining captiuitie, inuited the English by opprobrious words to kill him, and when *Iohn Copland* (an Esquire of the North-country, * Captaine of the Castle of *Roxborough* in *Scotland*,) aduised him to yeeld, he stroke him on the face with his Gantlet so fiercely, as that two of his great teeth were smitten out therewith: but seeing he could not force a death but must be Prisoner, *Iohn Copland* conueied him away with eight of his owne seruants out of this field. There lay dead vpon the ground the * Earles of *Murray* and *Stratherne*, the Constable, Marshall, Chamberlaine, and Chancellour of *Scotland*, with many other Nobles. There were taken Prisoners (beside the King) the Earles of *Dowglasse*, *Fife*, *Southerland*, *Wigion*, and *Menteith*. Thus the fortune of King *Edward*, by the vertue of his valiant subiects, preuailed in euery place.

* 17. October. *Fabian.* *Hect. Boetius. l. 15.*

* *Ypodigm. Neustr.*

* *Pol. Virg. lib. 19.* *Hect. Boetius. lib. 15.*

(105) It could not be excused, if we forgat the Offices of Queene *Philip* in her Husbands absence; who * being then in *England*, and great with-Childe of a Daughter (afterward called * *Margaret*) rode in Person about the battels of the English, encouraging them with so wise, princely and gracious words, as did not a little sharpen and assure their otherwise feruent courages: which done, shee retired her selfe to *Newcastle* vpon *Tine*, there to attend the successe which God would send. After the battell, vnderstanding that King *Dauid* was taken, shee by letters willed the Esquier to render vp his royall Prisoner; which he refusing, she (impatient) sends ouer a complaint to King *Edward*: At * whose commandement, repairing to the Campe before *Calis*, he so discreetly answered, that he was sent back into *England* with the reward of * 500. pounds land by the yeare, (to lie * where *Copland* himselfe should chuse, neere to his owne dwelling,) and warrant to deliuer vp his Prisoner to the Queene, which he accordingly did at the City of *Yorke*, with so sober and honest an Apology, as both she, & the Lords of the Councell were satisfied. This *Copland* (who had lands of King *Edwards* gift at * *Vlnerston* in *Lancashire*) was also aduanced, for this most valiant atchieuement, to the dignity of a Knight *Baneret*, which writers corruptly call a *Baronet*, *Honour* hauing at that time no such kinde of creature. King *Dauid* was lodged vnder sure guard in the Tower of *London*.

* *Froisard.* Philip Queene of *England* her princely demeanour.

* *Ypodig. Neustr.*

* *Grafton.*

* *Records.*

* *Grafton.*

*Copland a knight Baneret. *Camden* in *Lancashire.*

(106) Wonder it is to consider, with what golden linckes one good hap was annexed to another, in this full moone as it were of King *Edwards* raigne. For within a small compasse of time, all these great atchieuements fell. Sir *Thomas Dagworth* like another * *Machabee* (saith an Author) with 8. hundreth men of Armes, and one hundred Archers, in *Britain* ouerthrew the Lord *Charles* of *Bloys*, who hauing twice in one day with incredible ods in the numbers, (as of aboue thirty for one,) assailed that braue knight, was beaten out of the field with maruellous losse of Nobles, and others slaine or taken. Not long after that, the same Sir *Thomas* also hauing onely three hundred men of Armes, and foure hundred Archers in his company, assailed the same Lord *Charles*, lying at siege of *Roch-Darien*, with twelue hundred Knights and Esquiers, sixe hundred other armed men, two thousand *Steel-bow-men*, & of other Infantery great store; and tooke Prisoner the said Lord *Charles* of *Bloys* (who as you haue heard claimed the Dutchie of *Britaine* against *Montford*) driuing his whole forces with admirable manhood and great destruction out of the field. This in *Britaine*.

Sir *Thomas Dagworth* a Machabean prowesse in *Britaine*.

Holrsh.

(107) In *Gascoigne* the magnificent and noble *Henry* Earle of *Derby*, and now (by his Fathers late death) Earle of *Lancaster* also, pursuing his faire fortunes in *Aquitain*, *Xanctoing*, &c. draue *Iohn* Duke of *Normandy*, eldest sonne of King *Philip*, vnfought with, from the siege of *Aquillon*; though it is said, he left it, as * commanded to repaire to his father for the reliefe of *Calis*; hee also tooke sundry places of speciall importance, some by render, some by assault, many profitable prisoners, and rich spoiles, and with triumph returned safe to *Burdeaux*. Not long before this, at the taking of the good Towne of *Brigerac* by assault, he had permitted euery souldier to seise any house, and conuert all therein to his proper benefit. Hereupon it hapned, that a certaine * knight or souldier called * *Reth*, had broken into a Tenement, where the moniers had for safety stowed the money of that Countrey in great long sackes, who (thinking it was not the Generals intention that such a treasure should come to a priuate share) acquainted the Lord *Henrie* therewith: what was his answere? he with a kingly magnificence told him; "*That the House, and* "*all therein were his, according as he had at first pro-* "*claimed, let them be worth (saith hee) what they* "*would.* The party returnes, and while he is busie in counting his new riches, behold, he finds so much more pure siluer in Coine, that hee could not but once againe acquaint his Generall therewith. What can be added to the honour of the answere which to this effect he now the second time made? *Why tellest* "*thou me of the greatnesse of the treasure? goe, take* "*and enioy it: For to giue, and then to take it backe* "*againe, is childes-play: I haue once said it, and my* "*word passed, may not with my honour be reuoked,* "*were it neuer so much.*

The Earle of *Lancasters* atchieuements in *Gascoigne* and *Guien.*

* *Sorrel.*

* *Tho. Walsing.*

* *Quidam miles.*

A Generall worth the seruing.

(108) *Iohn* Duke of *Normandy*, comming into *Picardy*, had two repulses and foiles, being driuen from the Towne of * *Cassels*, and *Lile*, so that King *Edwards* fortune was auailable, aswell to his Confederates as to his owne People: and now, to consummate his glory, the whole power of *France*, led forth by King *Philip* to preserue that eye of his Empire, *Calis*, returned without doing any thing. For when mediators could effect nothing, and *Philip* would not set vp his trust vpon battell, least while hee sought to saue a Towne, he should leese a Kingdome, hee mournefully retired himselfe with losse-full hast into the bosome of *France*, leauing his desperate Captaines and people in *Calis* to the Conquerours mercie. So *Edward* had the Towne deliuered vnto him, when he had almost abidden in leaguer before it one whole yeare. The piety of Queene * *Philip* toward the prisoners selected to die, and the worthy deuouement of some *Calisian* Townesmen, to that certaine perill, for satisfaction of King *Edwards* incensed minde, declaring themselues thereby to bee good, true and loyall *French-men*, are by all Authors celebrated, finding both pitty then, and honour for euer. King *Edward* hauing as wisely taken order for safe-keeping of this pretious piece, as he had constantly endured to carry it, drawing ouer a substantiall Colony of English-men into it, set saile at last for *England*, whether with much trouble at Sea (tempests sodenly rising) he at last arriued safe: It is * obserued, that hee had alwaies faire weather at his passage into *France*,

* *Sorrel.*

Calis yeelded, 3 August. An. D. 1347. *Ann. Reg. 21.* * *Ypod. Neust.* *Holinshead.*

* *Tho. Walsingh.*

France, and foule vpon his returne.

An.D.1348. (109) Neuer was the Engliſh Name ſo great, and glorious as at this time, nor did *England* her ſelfe in any fore-going age enioy a King more renowned for wiſedome, chiualry, and felicity in actions; the iuſt brightneſſe of his irradiant vertues, not onely adorning her with Garlands, conquered Spoyles, and Trophees, but ſeeming alſo (ſuch was the abundance of all things) to infuſe fertility into the earth it ſelfe, like ſome * new-ſhining Sunne. Meane-while faire *France* (whoſe wofull turne it was) ſate mournefully weeping, and with great anxietie of mind prouided the beſt ſhee could againſt ſuch a deluge of calamities. Neither yet was King *Edwards* glory at the higheſt, for God was inclined to make him yet more bounden and beholden. Howbeit as it is a mighty worke to aſcend to ſuch an eminencie of renowne, yet when the moſt of man is knowne and done, let none therefore loue themſelues, or admire others, for neither hath this world any thing permanent to truſt vpon, and to God alone belongs the honour. This was found and felt when the celeſtiall Maieſtie ſaw the abuſe of his good gifts. It rained from Midſommer till Chriſtmas, and ſo terrible a plague ranne through the world, that the earth was filled with graues, and the aire with cries: which was ſeconded with murren of Cattle, and dearth of all things. The plague began among the Turkes, and pierced by degrees into *France*, where it mowed downe many thouſands. In *London* it had ſo quicke and ſharpe an edge, that in one yeares ſpace, there were buried in * one Church-yard (commonly called the Ciſtertian, or Charter-houſe) aboue fifty thouſand. The French notwithſtanding practiſe to recouer *Calais* by bribery, but treaſon being not true to it ſelfe, King *Edward* came ſodainely in perſon, and preſerued the ineſtimable Iewell by policie, and princely manhoode, killing many of them who came vpon that blinde aduenture.

* Tho. Walſingh.

An vniuerſall plague.

* Rob. Auesbury. Ioh. Stow. Fabian. Holinſhead.

An.D.1350. (110) This inuincible King (one great Act ouer-taking another) hearing that certaine Spaniſh men of warre, who had in the yeare before cruelly * ſlaine ſundry Engliſhmen, and taken away their Wines, and other wares, were come into his Seas, hee like a Martial *Neptune* encountred them not farre from *Winchel-ſea* in perſon, with ſuch ſhips as could then be had; and after a moſt bloudy fight, (for there was few or none eſcaped vnmarkt) tooke twenty and ſixe of their principall veſſels, ſunke others, and draue the reſt away. The gallantry and ſpirit of the *Spaniards* was ſuch, that diſdaining to ouer-liue the diſgrace of hauing preſerued their liues by yeelding, they * all of them to a man either dyed vpon the Engliſh weapons, or were drowned in the waues. Thus was King *Edward* dignified with another Nauall Crowne. In this * yeare *Philip de Valoys* hauing raigned about three and twenty yeares, dyed. And the yeare enſuing, King *Edward*, as formerly hee had changed the ſtampe of his Seale, ſo changed the ſtampe of his Coines, coining (by aduiſe of *William de Edingdon* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and High Treaſurer of *England*) the groat, & halfe-groat, whereas before there was * no ſiluer-coine, but the ſteelings onely.

* Ypodig. Neuſtr.

A Fleet of Spaniſh men of war vanquiſht by K. Edward.

The Spaniards rather die then yeeld.

* Tho. Walſingh. Rob. Auesbury. Holinſh.

* Serres.

An.D.1351.

* Holinſh.

(111) Let vs draw King *Edwards* manifold actions cloſer together: vnder his fortune and auſpicie, Sir *Walter de* * *Bendeley* had in little *Britaine* (whereof he was * Warden) a faire day of the Marſhall of *France*, putting his puiſſance to flight with much ſlaughter. Thirteene Lords, one hundreth and forty Knights, one hundreth Eſquiers, and ſtore of common Souldiers were killed: nine Lords, and one hundreth, and forty Knights and Eſquiers taken priſoners; which bred great aſtoniſhment among all King *Edwards* enemies. Neither had the French in other places better fortune, ſauing that ſomewhat before, Sir * *Raoul de Cahors* ſlew in a skirmiſh the thrice valiant Sir *Thomas Dagworth*, and about one hundreth men of Armes with him. *Henry* Earle of

Sir Walter Bentleys great victory.

* Thom. Walſingh.

* Holinſh. John Fox.

* Froiſſard.

Lancaſter and *Derby*, in honour of his princely bloud, and reward of ſeruice, was created Duke of *Lancaſter*: the new Dukes firſt peaceable employment, was his iourney, together with *Richard* Earle of *Arundel*, the Biſhops of *London* and *Norwich*, & *Guy de Brian*, to the Romane Court, there to ſee that Inſtrument of a finall peace, which had beene drawn and ſworne vnto betweene the two Kings, confirmed (as it was agreed) before the Pope; but by the Couen of the French (as our * Writers impute) and the Popes Conniuency, who fauoured the keeping of *France* entire, all proued but vapour, and the voyage fruitleſſe. King *Edward* greatly kindled herewith, determined to take deepe reuenge, and (as *Walſingham* and others write) entred then preſently with an Armie, and waſted *France*.

The firſt Duke of Lancaſter.

An.D.1353. Ypodig. Neuſt. Holinſh.

An.D.1354. * Tho. Walſingh. Rob. Auesb.

Froiſſard.

(112) The Staple of Wools which had been in *Flanders*, King *Edward* about this time reuoked, eſtabliſhing the ſame in *Weſtminſter*, *Canterbury*, *Chicheſter*, *Briſtoll*, *Lincolne*, and *Hull*. He did not this (as is probable) without ſome ſpleene, aſwell for the * death of his deare friend *Iaques Arteuile*, as for that the young Earle of *Flanders* had diſhonoured him, by * flying into *France* out of *Gaunt*, when hee ſhould haue married his daughter.

* Supra. §.

* Serres.

An.D.1335. (113) It had moreouer beene ſignified to King *Edward*, that *Iohn* the new King of *France* (his Father being dead) had giuen to *Charles* the Dolphin the Dutchie of *Aquitaine*: whereupon being exceedingly incenſed, hee beſtowed the ſame vpon his own ſonne, the Prince of *Wales*; commanding him to defend that right with his ſword againſt his aduerſaries. All things being ready for his voyage, and hauing the Earles of *Warwicke*, *Suffolke*, *Salisbury*, and *Oxford*; the Lords * *Chandoys*, *Audley*, * *Buteford*, *Lile*, *&c.* a thouſand men of Armes, as many Archers, with others, hee ſet ſaile towards *Aquitaine*, where he betooke himſelfe to doe things worthy of his Name and courage.

The Prince of *Wales* ſailes to take poſſeſſion of *Aquitaine*.

* Sir Io. Wingfields letters, apud Holinſh.

(113) On the other ſide King *Edward*, ſtirred with a falſe Alarum, croſt ouer the Seas, in hope to find his enemy King *Iohn* at *Saint Omers*, but failing thereof, hee burnt vp to *Heſdin*, and came backe into *England* to recouer *Berwicke*, which the Scots had gotten with * mutuall ſlaughter by ſurpriſe. He called a Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, where toward the furniture of his hoſtile deſignes, hee had extraordinary Subſidy granted vnto him for ſixe yeeres next to come. But *Berwicke* before King *Edward* could preſent himſelfe before it with his mighty hoaſt, was * burnt and diſmantled, and then by the Scots abandoned. The French had ſent into *Scotland* fortie thouſand Crownes of the Sunne, and ſome men of Armes to maintaine them, in enmity againſt the Engliſh, while as yet their king *Dauid* the ſecond was priſoner; but King *Edward*, not contented to haue re-gained his own, vnleſſe hee made his aduerſaries ſmart for their prouocations, proceeded in hoſtile manner againſt the Scots, both by land and ſea. At *Roxbrough* the *Baliol* * ſurrendred to King *Edward* all the right and title which hee had to the Crowne of *Scotland*, or any the appurtenances, reſeruing only to himſelfe a yearely penſion of * two thouſand and fifty pounds.

Berwicke ſurpriſed & re-gained. * Hect. Boet.

* Hect. Boet.

* Tho. Walſingh. The Baliol conuaies his Title to the Crowne of Scotland to King Edward.

(114) The Prince of *Wales* as it were in emulation of his Fathers glorie, doth wonders in *France*; for with his victorious Armie, hee recouered multitudes of Townes and Priſoners (while the * Earle of *Gloſter* with the *Engliſh*, on behalfe of *Charles* king of *Nauarre*, preuailes greatly in *Normandy*, piercing like a thunderbolt through *Languedoc*, till hee came to the City of * *Narbon*, in ſight of the Mid-land ſea, which City (being little leſſe then *London*) hee tooke by force, as (beſide many others) he had done *Carcaſſon*, which for bigneſſe, ſtrength and beautie, excelled (ſaith our Author) *Yorke* in *England*. The dammage done to the French King in this voyage was exceeding great, for out of theſe Countries hee drew a yearely reuenue of about foure hundreth thouſand

* Record. Let. Patent. 25. Ian. An.D.1356. The Prince of Wales his high atchieuement in France.

* Serres.

* Sir Iohn Wingfields letters, apud Rob. Aueſ.

ſand olde Crownes. The Pope ſending a Meſſenger from *Auignion*, with an ouerture to intercede for a peace, had anſwere, that the meſſage muſt bee ſent to the King his Father, for he could not meddle without commandement from him. Meane-while hee diſpoſed of things without impeachment, and returnes laden with honor and ſpoyles to *Burdeaux*, where the Winter being ſpent, hee ſets forth to new aduentures. He had in his Army about eight thouſand braue, expert, and well diſciplined Souldiers, and with them aduanceth through *Perigort*, and *Limoſin* into the boſome of *France*, vp to the very gates of *Burgeſſe* in *Berie*; the terror of his name flying before, to his great aduantage. Thus ſatisfied for the preſent, he wheeles about with purpoſe to returne by *Remorantine* in *Blaſois* (which hee tooke) and ſo through the Country of *Turain*, *Poictou*, and *Saintoin* to his chiefe City *Burdeaux*. But *Iohn* King of *France* (haſting to goe beyond his father in misfortune) hauing aſſembled a compleat hoaſt, followed, and about the City of *Poictiers* ouertooke the inuincible Prince.

The English victory at *Poictiers*, 19. *Septem.* 1356.

(115) When the Armies (with the ods of ſixe to one againſt the Engliſh) were embattelled, two Cardinals ſent from Pope * *Clement*, laboured (as they had done before) to take vp the quarrell without ſtroke, whereunto the Prince was with reaſon yeelding enough, but King *Iohn* fatally preſuming on his aduantage, propounded ſuch conditions, as if in a manner the Prince of *Wales* had already beene at his commaund; which with iuſt indignation were reiected. It came hereupon to a moſt bloudy triall, where (if euer) the Prince and Engliſh gaue full experiment of their valour; for after long conflict and abſolute diſcomfiture of all the 3. French battels, (the leaſt of which exceeded all the Princes numbers) the King himſelfe valiantly fighting, and *Philip* his * yongeſt ſonne (who with ſuch boldneſſe and zeale defended his diſtreſſed father, as it purchaſed vnto him the Honourable ſurname of *Hardie*) were taken priſoners.

* *Serres.* *Polyd Virg.* ſaith his name was *Innocentius.*

The French king taken priſoner.

(116) The Engliſh whoſe valiancy was moſt conſpicuous, were the Earles of *Warwicke*, *Suffolke*, *Salisburie*, *Oxford*, and *Stafford*, the Lords *Cobham*, *Spenſer*, *Audley*, *Berkley*, *Baſſet*, *&c.* of *Gaſcoigne*, ſubiects to the Crowne of *England*, the *Capitall de Beuf*, the Lord *Pumier*, *Chaumont*, with others of lower title, but not of vnequall valour. * *Iames* Lord *Audley* wanne immortall renowne at this bloudy battell, where hee receiued many wounds, and ſhared the Princes gift of 500. Markes land in Fee-ſimple, to his foure Eſquiers, who had continued with him in all the brunt and fury of danger. It is the misfortune or glory of the French Nobles, that in all great battels the loſſe fals heauily vpon them. In this moſt diaſtrous ouerthrow, there fell * fifty and two Lords, and about ſeauenteene hundreth knights, Eſquiers, and Gentlemen bearing coates of Armes: The chiefe Lords were *Peter of Bourbon Duke of Athens*, *high Conſtable of France*, *Iohn Clermont Marſhall*, *George of Charney*, *Lord great Chamberlaine*, *&c.* and as many other as made vp the former account. * Sir *Reginold Camian*, who that day bare the *Oriflamb*, was likewiſe ſlaine: of the common Souldiers there died about ſix thouſand: Great God of victories, how abundantly diddeſt thou in theſe daies bleſſe thine Engliſh? The liſt of Priſoners comprehended theſe great names, *Iohn*, *King of France*; *Philip his ſonne*, *afterward Duke of Burgoin*; *The Archbiſhop of Sens*; *Iames of Burbon*, *Earle of Ponthieu*; *Iohn of Artoys*, *Earle of Eu*; *Charles his brother*, *Earle of Longueuile*; *Charles*, *Earle of Vendoſme*; *The Earles of Tankeruile*, *Salbruch*, *Naſſaw*, *Dampmartine*, *La Roch*, and many other great Lords, and about * two thouſand Knights, Eſquiers, and Gentlemen bearing Armories. The Engliſh at this iourney tooke an * hundreth Enſignes.

* *Froiſſard.*

* *Serres.*

* *Fabian* out of the French Chronicles.

* *Ypod. Neuſtriæ.*

* *Serres.*

(117) Now albeit nothing wanted to the title of a perfect victory, yet in two poynts the incomparable Prince out-went that fame and merite; for hauing vanquiſhed the perſon of the French Monarch by force of battell, hee much more ouercame his heart with true and princely curteſie, deliuering his minde in a ſtile and kinde of eloquence ſo ponderous, proper, graue, and naturall, and with that ſtately humility, as onely the beſt ſoule, with the beſt breeding could be capable of; and yet * hee ſpake not more officiouſly then hee performed really. More then all this. The next day cauſing his Chapleins and the other Prieſts of the Armie, to celebrate diuine ſeruice, hee put off from himſelfe the whole glory, and gaue it moſt deuoutly to * God; which being firſt done, he, in the ſight and hearing of the Priſoners, highly commends, and moſt heartily thankes his Souldiers, with ſpeeches full of ſincerity and life, ſealing his words to euery one, as his preſent meanes would permit, with liberall deeds and largeſſe.

The Prince doth things more commendable then his victory.

* *Paul. Aemyl.*

* *Polyd. Virg. l. 19.*

(118) Then hauing ſetled all other things, hee marcheth with ioy and iuſt triumph to * *Burdeaux*, the Archiepiſcopall See, and chiefe City of his dominions in *France*. How the newes were entertained in all places of the Engliſh Empire, is not hard to coniecture, but ſpecially by King *Edward*, who tooke ſpeedy order by *Simon* Archbiſhop of *Canterburie*, that eight dayes together ſhould be * ſpent in giuing God the thankes and glory. But the Prince hauing ſufficiently refreſhed, and reſted his people, ſet ſaile for *England* with his Priſoners, where he happily arriued in * *Plimmouth*, & was moſt ioyfully welcome euery where. At his comming to *London* (where at that time a magnificent Citizen, *Henry Picard*, hee, who afterward at one time ſo nobly feaſted the 4. Kings of *England*, *France*, *Scotland*, and *Cyprus*, was Lord Maior,) which receiued him with exquiſite honour; the multitudes of people comming to ſee the victorious Prince, the French King, and his ſonne the Lord *Philip*, and the reſt, were ſuch, that they could hardly get to *Weſtminſter*, betweene three of the clock in the morning & noone: but who will thinke the humour of the gazing vulgar worth the noting?

* *Holinſh. & omnes.*

* *Polyd. Virg. li. 19.*

* 5 *Maij. A.D.* 1357. *Ypodig. Neuſtr.*

A Lord Maior feaſted foure kings at once.

(119) Great *Edward*, ſauing that hee forgat not the Maieſty of a Conquerour, and of a King of *England*, omitted no kinde of noble curteſie towards the Priſoners: King *Iohn* and his ſonne were lodged vnder a ſure guarde at the *Sauoy*, being then a goodly Pallace belonging to *Henry* Duke of *Lancaſter*; the reſt in other places: *Dauid* King of Scots was at this time ſtraitly kept at the Caſtle of * *Odiam*, but not long after, when hee had endured about eleauen yeares impriſonment, at the inceſſant ſuit of Queene *Ioan* his wife (ſiſter to king *Edward*,) was deliuered: his * ranſome was one hundreth thouſand Markes ſtriueling, and a condition to raze certaine Caſtles.

The two priſoner kings lodged.

* *Adam Merim.*

King *Dauid* ſet at liberty after 11. yeares durance, * *Fourdon.*

(120) About this time *Iſabel* Queene *Dowager* of *England*, and mother of King *Edward*, (hauing firſt ſeene her ſonne the moſt reſpected King of all Chriſtendome,) * deceaſed, and was interred at *London*, in the Church of the Friers-Minors there. To her birth *France* was ſlenderly beholding, as being about this time in moſt woefull and broken ſtate, through occaſion of that title which the Engliſh challenged by her, it ſuffering more by farre vnder their puiſſance, then * euer it did ſince the times of the *Romans*. * *Charles* the Dolphin, Duke of *Normandy*, who had eſcaped from the battell of *Poictiers*, gouerned during his Fathers impriſonment; but by the dangerous practiſes of *Charles* King of *Nauarre*, and bad diſpoſition of the Pariſians, toward the deliuery of their Soueraigne, hee was lamentably encumbred, and beſet with miſchiefes, not being able to worke as yet his fathers liberty. Moreouer, the Engliſh vnder Sir *Robert Knowles*, Sir *Iames Pype*, and *Thomalin Foulk*, and others, did commit great waſts, and heaped huge wealth by incurſions, ranſomes, and other warlike licence, in *Britaine*, and *Normandy*, vnder

An. D. 1357.

* 27. *Nouem.*

* *Guil. Tillius.*

* *Serres.* *Tillius.*

An. D. 1358. *An. Reg.* 32.

vnder the title of ſeruing the *Nauarrois*. To be briefe, all *France* ſwarmed with diſſolute ſouldiers of ſundry Nations, which hauing no Generall, made hauocke at their pleaſure. They were called people without an head, and by innumerable inſolencies made the wretchedneſſe of *Anarchy* apparant. In *England* alſo ſwarmed another ſort, no leſſe burthenous to the Common-wealth and Church, which were the *foure orders* of *Franciſcan Friers*, whom the * *Engliſh Clergie* found to be ſo pernicious to the regiment of the Church, that they ſelected that renowned Clerk, *Richard Fitz-Ralph* (who was *Chancelour* of the Vniuerſity of *Oxford*, Archbiſhop of *Armagh*, and Primate of *Ireland*) to appeare in perſon before the Pope, and there alleage the * intollerable harmes by them accrewing to the *Laity*, the *Clergy*, and the *Vniuerſities*, together with their *diſobedience to Gods word*, their *auarice*, and *pride*. All which that noble Prelate learnedly performed, as appeareth by the handling of his 9. propoſitions againſt them, which are extant. In his ſecond propoſition, he ſheweth, how ordinary a matter it was with them, to allure youth, without conſent of their parents, to enter their Orders; which made men withdraw their ſons from the Vniuerſities, leſt the Fryars ſhould ſo ſteale them away; wherby (ſaith he) it came to paſſe, that * *whereas in his owne time there were thirty thouſand Students in Oxford, ſoone after there were left but ſixe thouſand.* But how infinitely theſe Friarly ſwarmes encreaſed in all lands, may appeare by that * ſtrange offer made by the *Generall* of this one *Order*, to Pope *Pius, who promiſed to bring him (being then about a Turkiſh Expedition) thirty thouſand cunning warriors, out of the number of Saint Francis Fryars, & yet enough ſhould remaine at home to performe the deuotions.* But the Pope had ſuch vſe of thoſe Fryars, that *Armachanus* preuailed not in the matter, * *though he proued the cauſe ſtoutly and manifeſtly againſt them, becauſe (ah for pitie,* ſaith our Authour) *the Clergy ſtucke not cloſe as they promiſed, and the Fryars had great ſtore of money to procure fauour in the Court of Rome.* But here in the *Engliſh* Court, two Cardinals, (one of them, he of *Pierregoſt*, who had ſo diligently trauelled for a concluſion at the battell of *Poictiers*) could not with two yeares labour, draw any thing to ſuch an head, as the French would, for their Kings deliuerance, performe; which put King *Edward* into a new reſolution againſt *France*.

(121) King *Edward* (holding himſelfe deluded by the *French*) with a fleete of eleauen hundred Saile paſſeth ouer from *Sandwich* to a new inuaſion. Hee arriued at *Callis*, from whence he ſet forward in three great battels, whereof the firſt, being leaſt, was vnder *Henry* Duke of *Lancaſter*, the ſecond being greater, vnder the braue Prince of *Wales*, and the laſt which was greateſt, was led by King *Edward* himſelfe. They marched through * *Artois* to the Citie of *Rheims* in *Champain*, where the kings of *France* vſe to be crowned and annoynted. The City of * *Sens* (an Archbiſhops See) and *Neuers* doe yeeld without reſiſtance. The * Duke of *Burgundy*, for two * hundreth thouſand florens of gold, obtained that all *Burgundy* was ſpared from ſackage or ſpoile. It was told the King, that the *Normans* had landed at *Winchelſea* in the time of diuine ſeruice, and among other their moſt impious outrages, a like execrable villanie, as that which the *Gibeonites*, (ſons of *Beliall*) are recorded to haue committed vpon the * *Leuites* wife, was more wickedly perpetrated by them in the Church it ſelfe, where the woman, being of ſingular beauty, was by their inſatiable violations murthered; and they got backe to their Ships before the Countrey could riſe vpon them to take due vengeance. Hereupon * King *Edward* preſently raiſed his Standard, and ſet forth out of *Champain*, (where not farre from the City of *Rheims* he had * kept his Chriſtmas) toward *Paris*.

(122) Hee came before it with his armie diuide into * nine Battalions, where hee honoured foure hundred Eſquiers and Gentlemen with the Order of Knighthood. *Charles* the Dolphin, Regent of *France*, was within *Paris* with a great force, but could not by any meanes bee drawne to hazard battell. There were ample conditions in humble manner tendred to *Edward*, but hee was yet inflexible and deafe againſt any other, then ſuch as himſelfe (like a Conquerour) propounded. *Paris* (vp to whoſe * very wals King *Edward* ranne) not being feſible, he * retires into *Britaine* to refreſh his Army, but vpon his returne finding it ſtronger then before, hee turnes his wrath into the very bowels of *France*, exerciſing hoſtile Actions vp as farre as * *Charters*, and *Orleans*, and as yet continued inexorable. God was diſpleaſed thereat, and to let *Edward* know ſo much, he cauſed the Miniſter of his wrath, a terrible tempeſt, to aſſaile his Hoaſt, and * to kill therein many both men and horſes. King *Edward* is * ſaid, vpon this occaſion, to be ſo wounded with remorſe, that repairing to our Lady-Church of *Charters*, hee proſtrated himſelf to God, and ſorrowing for the bloud-ſhed and waſt-full burning which hee had made, vowed to giue quiet to the Chriſtian world vpon equall conditions. This, and the Duke of *Lancaſters* perſwaſions, ſofined him ſo, that finally (by mediation of the Popes * *Legat*, one *Simon de Langres*) a peace was concluded at *Bretagnie* neere to *Charters* vpon the * eight of May; and in Nouember following K. *Iohn* himſelfe was tranſported to *Callis*, and there by King *Edward* (according to the Capitulations of the Treatie) ſet at liberty, after hee had beene a priſoner aboue foure yeares.

(123) Articles of this accord, ſo neceſſary for the diſtreſſed Eſtate of *France* were theſe. 1. *That (to the intent theſe conditions which the French condeſcended vnto, ſhould be more forceable, & not ſeeme to be extorted by aduantage, ods, or iniquitie of the times) the two Edwards, Father and Sonne, ſhould for euer releaſe to King Iohn, and to his heires, all the right and claime which they had to the * Crowne of France, * to the Dutchy and Eſtates of Normandy, Aniou, Turain, & Main, as alſo to the homages of Britain, Armorick, and the Earledome of Flanders.* 2. *That King Iohn and his ſonne, for them and their heires, ſhould by a day certaine reſtore, and releaſe to K. Edward and his heires, &c. the whole Country of Aquitain, enlarged with the bordering and ſpacious Countries of Santoin, Poictou, Pierregoſt, Limoſin, Quercie, Angoleſme, Rouergne, &c. with all the Cities, Caſtles, and appurtenances, to be holden free, without any dependency but of God.* 3. *That the * County of Ponthieu* (the proper inheritance of *Iſabel* late Queene *Dowager* of *England* mother of King *Edward*) *the Townes, Countries, and Lordſhips of Callis, Guines, Mountril, Haim, Wale, Oye, Merck, S. Valary, &c. and all the Ilands which either the Engliſh then held, or which lay before any of the Premiſſes, with onely certaine limitations concerning priuate mens intereſt, ſhould remaine in like freedome as the reſt of the premiſſes to the Crowne of* England. 4. *That King Iohn ſhould pay for his ranſome* (part thereof to be in hand, & part vpon dayes) *the ſumme of * thirty hundreth thouſand ſcutes of Gold, euery two of which ſhould be * ſixe ſhillings and eight pence ſterling. And that for aſſurance there ſhould be aſſigned a certain number of Hoſtages (by King* Edward *named) to remaine in* England. 5. *That the French ſhould not aid, nor aſſiſt the Scots againſt the Engliſh, nor they the Flemings againſt the French.* 6. *That it ſhould be lawfull for either King notwithſtanding to aide the Titlers for the Dutchie of Britaine at their pleaſures.* There were ſundry other Articles, as in caſes of ſo tranſcendent quality muſt needs happen, but, as theſe were principall, ſo the moſt of them might haue beene well left out here, vnleſſe they had more exactly beene obſerued by the French. Yet were they ratified with hands, ſcales, and Oathes at * *Callis*, where the two Kings, in ſtead of kiſſing the Pax at Maſſe (either hauing for honours-ſake refuſed to take it firſt) * ſaluted each the other with a

* Walſing. in Edward 3. fol. 173.

* Armachan. in Defenſorio curatorum. Fox Martyrolog. in Edward 3.

* Idem ib.

* Sabelli. Ennead. 9. l. 6.

* Thom. Walſing. in Edward 3.

King Edward againe in France.

24. October.

* Paul. Aemil.

* Serres.

* Paradine in his Annals de Burgo. * Froiſſard. Paul. Aemilius ſaith 100000. crownes.

* Iudg. 19. 11. 25. and 26.

* Tho. Walſ.

* Polyd. Virg. li. 19.

An. D. 1360.

* Thom. Walſ.

The Engliſh before Paris. Foure hundred Knights made at one time.

* Polyd. Virg. * Serres, and Polyd. Virg.

* Paul. Aemyl. * Tho. Walſingh.

* Serres. Paul. Aemyl. * Tho. Walſingh. Ran. Ceſtr.

* Fabian.

* Tillius.

Articles of peace.

* Paul. Aemyl. in Iohan. 1. * Serres. Fabian. Hollinſh. Paul. Aemyl.

* Thom. Walſing.

The huge ranſome of *Iohn* King of *France*. * Paul. Aemyl. Polyd. Virg. Froiſſard. * Tho. Walſingh. Fabian. The City of *Paris* gaue toward this ranſome one hundreth thouſand roials. Edw. Grimſton his Engliſh Seres.

* 24. October. 1360.

* Fabian par. 7. Caxton.

The Freneh hoſtages.
* This Duke of *Anion* diſhonourably fled away, after he had giuen faith to be tru: priſoner.
* *Paul. Aemyl. Polyd. Virg. Serres. Walſingham.*
* *Serres.*
* *Froiſſard.*
* *Ypod. Neuſt.*

An. D. 1361.

most brotherly embracement and louing kiſſe.

(124) The Hoſtages were abſolutely of the greateſt Princes, and Lords of *France*, * *Lewis Duke of Anion, and Iohn Duke of Bery, ſonnes to King Iohn; Philip Duke of Orleance, the kings brother, and Philip Duke of Burgoin:* beſides * nine principall Earles, twelue great Lords, and certaine * Burgeſſes out of euery good Towne; which were all to remaine in *England*, and accordingly did remaine: and Ambaſſadors were ſent from both the Kings, to aduertiſe the * Pope of the whole happy concluſion.

(125) Not long after, the Prince of *Wales* was created Duke of *Aquitaine*, and for the ſame did homage and fealty to his Father; ſo that hee was Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Aquitaine*, and *Cornwall*, and Earle of *Cheſter* and *Kent*; this laſt by *Ioane* his wife, daughter and heire of *Edmund* Earle of *Kent*. Laden with this new honour, he, together with his deareſt wife, and whole Court, ſailed into *Gaſcoigne*, where at *Burdeaux* he remained.

King *Edwards* Chriſtian Iubile.
* *Ypodigm. Neuſtr.*

(126) Now was this renowned Monarch *Edward* the Great, King of *England*, vpon the day of Saint *Brice*, (the day * on which by King *Etheldreds* commandement all the *Danes* in *England* were murthered,) aged fifty yeares; at which time a Parliament (where * none were permitted to appeare by Proxie) was holden at *Weſtminſter* vpon prorogation. Therefore to make the memory of his birth-day acceptable by acts of gracious gouernment, as in a yeare of Iubile, he granted his generall and ſpeciall pardon to offenders without fine or Fee-paying for the Seale, ſet Priſoners at liberty, reuoked ſuch as were in baniſhment. Moreouer, vpon the grieuances of his people, peſtred with the doublings of Lawyers, hee commaunded, that * Pleas ſhould from thenceforth be made in Engliſh, not in French, a neceſſary Law, if it had beene as carefully obſerued, eſpecially, if withall hee had ordered the ſame ſhould not be written alſo in *French*, that his people might know their owne duties. It is obſerued that the Law of *Magna Charta* (confirmed alſo in this Parliament) was about a dozen ſeuerall times confirmed by this King during the yeares of his raigne. That which * another notes by occaſion of this *Iubile*, we would not omit; for the famous cuſtome of our Kings, who vpon *Maundy Thurſday* in imitation of Chriſt, waſh, feede and cloath as many poore, as themſelues are yeares olde, is referred to this celebration which King *Edward* made of his fiftieth yeare, in regard of the number fed, which number hee cals the *Iubile* of their ages: but as he imparted Grace to his people, ſo hee alſo tooke order to repleniſh his purſe. That ſeldome or neuer the poore Commons haue any thing which they pay not for.

* *Tho. Walſingh. Will. Lambard* in his Peramb.

An. D. 1362.

* *Pol. Virg. lib. 19.* The firſt rule of the number fed by our Kings vpon Maundy-Thurſday.

Statut. 36. Edw. 3.

* *Holinſhead.*

(127) The eſtate of our great *Edward* thus flouriſhing, hither (vpon ſundry occaſions) *Iohn* King of *France*, *Dauid* King of *Scots*, who had lately both of them been Priſoners in *England*, and *Guy* of *Luſignian*, King of *Cyprus* came in perſon. The French kings affaire was, the more commodiouſly to tranſact for the remaine of his ranſome, the diſcharge of his pledges, and other things. *Guy* of *Luſignian* King of *Cyprus* (by that right which as you haue * heard before, his Anceſtor had by donation and inueſtiture from *Richard* the firſt, king of *England*) negotiated his own reliefe, vnder the iuſt Title of the common cauſe of Chriſtianity, ſo fearefully by the preuailing Turkes empaired in the Eaſterne world, and not long after departed hence. *Iohn* King of *France* * had promiſed to Pope *Vrban* (at *Auinion*) his perſonall aide in the holy warre, but was preuented by death, which * ſeiſed vpon him here in *England* at the *Sauoy*. From whence by the piety of *Charles* his ſonne, then King of *France*, his body was in moſt royall manner conuaied to *Douer*, at the King of *Englands* voluntary charge, and entombed among his fore-fathers at S. *Denys* with all funerall maieſty, not farre off from the Soueraigne City *Paris*, ſeat of the *French Monarches*, as the other their place of Sepulture. Like-

An. D. 1363.
Ann. Reg. 36.
Three kings viſit King *Edward.*

An. D. 1364.
* *Hugh* of *Luſignian* ſaith *Platina in June 6.* *Peter* ſaith *Aemyl. in Charles 5.*
* *In Richard 1.*
* *Serres Innen.* of *France.*
Iohn King of *France* dieth in *England.*
This Pope *Vrban* ſaith *Walſingham* was an Engliſh man by birth, meaning belike that he was borne vnder the obedience of the King of *England*, when *Limoſin* was Engliſh, of which country he was, ſaith *Platina.*

wiſe *Iane* Queene of *Scots*, comming into *England* (with her husband belike) * deceaſed here.

* *Heſt Beet.*

(128) That King *Edwards* fortune was not onely auaileable to himſelfe, or to his Lieutenants, but alſo to his friends and fauourites, appeared in the great quarrell about the title of *Britaine Armoricke*, which about this time was determined by the death of the Lord *Charles* Earle of *Bloys*, head of the one faction, (but willing to haue ended it by word, not by the ſword, if hee could haue preuailed with his wife) who was ſlaine in an encounter made againſt the Lord *Iohn de Montford*, head of the other ſide, where the * Lord *William Latimer*, * Sir *Iohn Chandoys*, Sir *Hugh Caluerley*, with other of the *Engliſh*, which ſtucke to *Montford*, wanne much honour. This field was fought at *Aurpy* not farre from *Vannes* in low *Britaine*. After * which (hauing performed certaine eſtates to the widow of the L. *Charles*, a man of ſingular ſanctimony and integrity of life) hee did homage to *Charles* King of *France*, and was accepted Duke of *Britaine*, with conſent of the King of *England*, his ſpeciall raiſer and protectour. The * loſſe was great vpon the enemies ſide; for there were ſlaine beſides the ſaid *Earle of Bloys*, (*Montfords* competitor) the Lord *Iohn* his brother, and ſixe Lords with many other of ſpeciall note, * *Walſingham* ſaith about a thouſand men of Armes and Eſquiers: and there were taken *Iohn* and *Guy* the Earles ſonnes, and nine other Lords, and of thoſe whoſe fame for cheualry counteruailed halfe the reſt: Sir *Bertram de Glequin Marſhall of France*, vnder the banner of Sir *Iohn Chandoys*.

Ann. 1364.
The Earle of *Bloys* ſlaine in battell by the Engliſh looſeth the Dukedome of *Britaine.*

* *Tho. Walſing.*
* *Serres. Hollinſh.*

* *Paul. Amyl. Guil. Tillius.*

* *Innen.* of *Franc.* by *Serres.*

* *Tho. Walſ.* ſaith 2. Earles and 27. Lords.

(129) In the * meane ſpace, from what part of the World did not the *Engliſh* bring teſtimonies of their valour? for ſuch as had warred vnder the *Cypriot* King againſt the Turkes, and taken a part of *Alexandria* in *Ægypt*, returned with much riches in cloths of gold, velues, and pretious ſtone. About theſe times and long after alſo, Sir *Iohn Haucut* (or *Hareskropd*) that valiant man of Armes, made his owne name, and his Countrimens the Engliſh, very honourable by martiall vertue in ſundry parts of *Italy*. And as their valour was one way ſeene beyond the Alpes, ſo there fell out occaſions not long after, which made it knowne another way, beyond the mountaines *Pyrenen.*

* *Ypodig. Neuſtr.* The ſucceſſe of ſome Engliſh voluntaries in Egypt and Italy.

An. D. 1365.
Bap. Plati. in Urba. 5. Greg. 11. &c.

(130) The family of the Lord *Edward*, Prince of *Wales*, who liued in *Burdeaux*, was now with great honour encreaſed: for his dearely loued wife, who the laſt yeare bare vnto him *Edward* his firſt borne, (which liued but ſeauen yeares after) bare vnto him a ſecond ſonne, for whom *Richard* King of *Nauarre*, and * *Iames* King of *Maiorca* vndertooke, as Godfathers, giuing him to name *Richard*. The companies of Souldiers, moſt of whoſe Chiefes were Engliſh by birth or obedience, hauing now no employment, becauſe the warres of *Britaine* were appeaſed for the preſent, ranged deſperately ouer *France*; but it was not long before Sir *Bertram de Glequin* (hauing paid his ranſome) had meanes to draw the more part of that military Peſtilence into another Coaſt: for, by the aſſiſtance of *Peter* King of *Arragon*, the baniſhed Earles, and the power of *Glequin*, with the floting Bands, called the Companions or Aduenturers; *Peter* King of *Caſtile* and *Leon* was driuen out of his Kingdome, his baſtard brother *Henry* choſen and crowned King of *Spaine* at *Burgos*.

An. D. 1366.
Richard of *Burdeaux*, afterward King of *England*, borne.

* *Tho. Walſingh. Holinſh.*

(131) This *Peter* was * ſonne to *Alfonſe* the eleauenth king of *Caſtile*, and had to wife a French Lady called *Blanch*, daughter to *Peter* Duke of *Burbon*, who was father alſo of *Ioan* the French Kings wife. His tyrannicall cruelties, by the Spaniſh Stories, are reported ſo foule, and ſo many, that they * ſcarce ſuffer *Nero* or *Caligula* to goe before him; though hee were otherwiſe a Prince, who had ſuch parts of mind (ſaith *Rodericus*) as doe ſet forth and adorne the Owner, but cannot make him happy. His naturall bloud-thirſtineſſe was encreaſed and precipitated, ſome ſay, by the magicall practiſes of *Maria de Padilla*

The originall of the Engliſh wars in *Spaine.*
* *Franc. Tarapha. Ptolomie de Luca.*

* *Roder. San. Hiſt. Hiſpan. par. 4.*

* Paul. Aemyl. in Carol. 5.

* Rode. San. vbi supra.

* Genes. cap. 7. 11

The causes of K. Peters disinherison.

* Tho. Walsingh.

Padilla his concubine, who (calumniously * charging the Queene with that which her selfe acted,) by meanes of a Iew so enchanted a rich Girdle of King *Peters*, which Queene *Blanch* had giuen him, that the next time he ware it, the same * appeared to himselfe and the beholders like a snake. This cursed disciple of * *Iannez* and *Iambrez* hated the vertuous Queene, for that she had so preuailed with *Don Pedro* her husband, that no Iew was suffered to beare office, or enioy any fauours in Court, neither wanted shee much of expelling them wholly out of *Spaine*. But by this practise *Maria de Padilla* (who * some erroneously say was a Iew) got al the king to her self, and so persecuted the innocent Queene, that it was not long before she dyed, the Popes intercessions failing to effect any good with the Tyrant. The Nobles of *Spaine*, who laboured to haue brought her againe into deserued grace, are by him pursued as fautors of her supposed witchcrafts. Other things also whetted him to sauage and Turkish Butcheries, as thirst of Gold, and somewhat which had by diuellish arts beene fore-told him concerning his end. His brothers, kinsfolke, Nobles, and others, he causelesly massacreth or forceth to seeke their safeguard by flight, among which the Lord *Henry*, his foresaid bastard brother was one. *Peter* notwithstanding was in the truth and right of bloud King of *Spaine*, but his said brother (a Gentleman in whom nothing was to be taxed, but that which he was not to be blamed for, his birth) being worthily popular and potent, had now obtained both the Title of King and possession of the Crowne.

King Peters Mistresse became his wife.
* Alfons. à Cartag. Reg. Hisp. Anacephal. cap. 88.
* Polyd. Virg. l. 19. makes Beatrix eldest.
* Rod. 4. cap. 22. shewes Constance eldest.

(132) *Peter*, before this hapned, so soon as his wife Queene *Blanch* was dead childlesse, * married his late Concubine *Maria de Padilla*, a woman of a noble house, though not so rarely honest, as to refuse the vnlawfull loue of a King: who hauing issue by her *Alfonso* a sonne (who dyed yong) and three daughters * *Constance*, *Beatrix*, and *Isabel*, made to her and them the best amends he could for what was passed. It is the fitter this truth should appeare, for that within a few yeares after, *Iohn* Duke of *Lancaster*, one of the sonnes of *England*, married *Constance* the eldest sister, claiming the Crowne of *Castilia* in her right, as * the Earle of *Cambridge* had another, and for that * some (either through hatred of a wicked Tyrant, or through hast or misinformation) haue in many points foully erred, and in particular, vntruly leauing vpon the Lady the Title of a Strumpet, who was honested by lawfull matrimony. Diuers notwithstanding of * the Spanish Lords, like good subiects acknowledged their duty to *Peter* (though a most violent Prince) nor could the vsurper *Henrie*, but by deepely impairing the reuenewes of the Crowne of *Spaine* with immoderate gifts, winne any of them. *Peter* thus driuen from his kingdome, with his Wife, Children, and (if * some say true) but one seruant, repaires to the Prince of *Wales* (at * *Bayon*) that is, to honour and humanity it selfe: who seeing it a dangerous president against all lawfull Kings, that any one should be so dethroned, and not looking into his vices but his right; signified the same to his father: who enioynes him to aid *Don Peter*, so that now the Prince, (burning with desire of renowne) (vpon trust of pay for his Armie and of other commodities by King *Peter*, when hee should be re-established in his throne) is ready to passe into *Spaine*.

Prince of Wales Mistresse.
* Diuers Lords.
* Bayon.

An. D. 1367.

The Prince of *Wales* with an Armie in *Spaine*.
* Paul. Aemyl. Serres.

(133) Hee makes his way through the famous straights of *Rounceuallux* in *Nauarre* by permission of the King thereof, who * yet suffered himselfe (as most men write) to be taken prisoner by the *French*, and carried into *Castile*, that he might not in person seeme to crosse the *French* Kings designes on the behalfe of the vsurper *Henry*. The Prince of *Wales* had with him an armie of about thirty thousand men, and in his company, besides most of all the prime Captaines of the English, there were in person two Kings, *Peter* of *Castile*, whose the quarrell was, and the King of *Maiorca*, & *Iohn* Duke of *Lancaster*, who some while after *Don Pedro* his death writ himselfe King of *Castile* and *Leon*. On the other side K. *Henry* for defence of his new Diadem, had assembled a very great number, aswell of French (vnder *Glequin* their famous Captaine) as of *Castilians* and other, both Christians and Sarazens, not fewer then foure-score, or an hundreth thousand. Vpon the Borders of *Castile* it came to a battell; where the Prince of *Wales* obtained a very great victory, killing many thousands of his enemies. *Henry* himselfe * was wounded in the groine, but escaped. There were taken the Earle of *Dene*, * *Bertram de Glequin* himselfe (who shortly after by paying a great ransome had liberty) the Marshall *Dandrehen* and many others. Neither was it lesse worth to King *Peter* then a Kingdome; for the most noble *Edward* left him not, til he had set him in *Burgus* vpon his throne againe.

* Tho. Walsingan Edward 3.
* Paul. Aemyl. Iohan. Tillius.

King Peters falshood and death.

(134) But his falshood and ingratitude were monstrous: For the Prince notwithstanding his so great goodnesse extended towards him, was enforced to returne to *Burdeaux* without mony wherewith to pay his army, which was the cause of exceeding great mischiefe to himselfe, and to the English dominions beyond the Seas; as if God had beene displeased for succouring such a *Tyrant*. The Prince to pay his souldiers (who were not able to tarry King *Peters* leasure) coyned euen his plate, and when all would not serue, sought to lay vpon his Subiects in *Gascoigne* and thereabout, a new taxation, which bred a most dangerous reuolt. God notwithstanding found out *Peter*, for it was not long but his bastard brother *Henry* returned with new forces, and by the aid of *Glequin* and the *French*, hee both thrust him againe from the Throne, and * murthered him also with his owne hand. The Prince of *Wales* himselfe was in this iourney poisoned (as * was thought) for he neuer after had his health. Duke *Iohn* his brother is not freed * from the suspition of hauing hastened the Princes end, but whether it is meant of any practise at this time or no, appeares not.

* Fran. Tarapha de regibus Hisp. & omnes. Tho. Walsing. in Edward 3. and Tpod. Neust.
* Fran. Thyn. apud Hollinsh. in Edward 6. pag. 770.

(135) Now began the peace betweene *England* and *France* to vnsettle and vntwine. For while King *Edward* reioyced in the excellent vertues and actions of his sonnes and people; *Charles* the fifth, king of *France*, warned by so manifold calamities, as his Dominions had sustained by the English in faire warre, and yet most earnestly coueting to recouer the honour of his Nation, betakes himselfe wholly to other arts and traines; neuer aduenturing his owne person, but executing all his designes by Deputy, wherein the seruice of *Bertram de Glequin Constable of France* stood him most in stead: neither neglected hee before hand to lay vp colours wherewith to ouer-paint his * collusions and deuises for sauing his honour; insomuch that when it came to scanning, the losse was clearely vpon King *Edwards* side, and the cause of the breach made at least-wise doubtfull. His practises notwithstanding were palpable, and it must be confessed that our truely noble King (without suspition of craft) reposing himselfe vpon the rules of * magnanimity, did not reape the stable effects of so great and important victories, nor of a peace so ceremoniously made, that (in the worlds opinion) it might neuer bee infringed without the manifest breach vpon one side of all bonds both diuine and humane. The Prince of *Wales* by letters aduiseth his father not to trust to any faire words, nor ouertures of farther amity made by the French, because he said they entertained practises vnder-hand, in euery place against him. But the Prince was * iudged to speake out of a restlesse humour, delighting in warre, and therefore preuailed not. The effects disclosed that his words were true.

* Tho. Walsingh. in Edward 3.
* Bap. Platina in Innocent. 6.
* Tho. Walsingh. in Edward 3.

The English forreigne Empire vndermined by practise of the French.

(136) For now king *Charles* surnamed the wise, hauing by quicke paiments, and by one meanes or other gotten home all the hostages which had bin empledged for performance of the Articles of peace before mentioned, sets all his wits on worke to

abuſe the King of *Englands* credulity, till he had gotten before-hand as farre as diſſimulations could aduance: He courts the good old Prince with louing letters and preſents, while in the meane time his plots ripen abroad, and the County of *Ponthieu* (the King of *Englands* vndeniable inheritance) was firſt ſurpriſed before King *Edward* heard thereof. And whereas the Prince of *Wales* had at a Parliament in *Gaſcoigne* propounded a demaund for fowage, or of money to be leuied by the Chimney, the Earles of *Armignac* and *Cominges*, and other Lords the Princes ſubiects, bearing no ſound affections toward the Engliſh Empire (the leſſe for that by the pollicy of *Glequin*, and the Chancellor of *France* **Dourmauns*, all or moſt of the Countries and Townes (which by vertue of the peace made at *Bretigney*) were annexed thereunto, were cunningly wrought to returne to their olde Lords) repaire to the *French* Court at *Paris*, there to purſue an appeale for redreſſe of this oppreſſion againſt the Prince (who was not ſo happy as to follow the counſell of Sir *Robert Knols*, and other wiſeſt Captaines, who diſſwaded this impoſition,) pretending that he was to anſwere before King *Charles* as before his ſuperiour Lord, of whom (they ſaid) hee held by homage and fealtie. This practiſe of the diſloyall Lords (for what could they be elſe? ſeeing King *Edward* and his heires were abſolutely freed (by vertue of the ſaid Treaty) from all manner of ſeruice for any of their Dominions in *France*) King *Charles* did openly at laſt entertaine, and vpon hope to recouer by ſurpriſe, and plot, what the Engliſh had wonne by dint of ſword and perfect manhood) proceeded to ſummon the Prince of *Wales* to *Paris*, there to anſwere ſuch accuſations as his ſubiects made againſt him.

* Inuentory of *France* in *Charles* the 5. *Serres*.

(137) To encreaſe the indignity of theſe deuices, you ſhould heare the French kings Orators before the Pope and Emperour, to whom king *Edward* had ſeuerally ſent Ambaſſadors, full of complaints againſt King *Charles*, laying wholly vpon the French the blame of the new warre, as vpon open breakers of faith, and violaters of the league, moſt confidently on the contrary part charge the Engliſh.

Paul. Aemyl. in Char. 5.

"We had ſuffered the French hoſtages to viſit their "friends at home vpon the French Kings word, that "they ſhould come back by a day, contrary to which "word, they, nor any of them, either were, or are "returned. That not ſo much as the Law of Nations "was kept with vs, which tyes Princes to demaund "reſtitution by their Officers of Armes, or vpon "deniall to defie them, but where (ſay wee) are "the * Heralds which King *Charles* did ſend? We "ſay, that without notice hee ſurpriſeth by ſtealth "the Earledome of *Ponthieu*, King *Edwards* vnque-"ſtionable right, and hath diſſeiſed vs in *Aquitaine*, "which doth no leſſe belong vnto vs then *Ponthieu*. "That * *Margaret* the Inheritrice of *Flanders*, which "had beene promiſed to the Lord *Edmund*, one of "our Kings Sonnes, was by their iniurious practiſe "wonne away, and beſtowed in marriage vpon *Phi-"lip* Duke of *Burgundy*. Finally, we ſay, that *Lewis* "Duke of *Aniou*, one of the pledges, making an "eſcape by that, contrary to honour, and the league, "was by them receiued, and not returned, which "poynts being all of tranſcendent qualitie, are (ſay "wee) directly contrary to the Treatie and ſworne "agreement at *Bretigny*.

* *Serres* raſhly affirmes he did.

* *Pol. Virg. in Ed. 3*

The French hereunto anſwere, and charge vpon vs, to ſhew the fault of firſt breach, not theirs, but ours.

"That we by vertue of the ſaid Treaty were bound "immediately to withdraw our Armie out of *France*, "which yet (they ſaid) we did not during all the raign "of *Iohn* their King.

"That the peace was made thereby more noyous, "and hurtfull then the warre, and that they were "faine to purchaſe the departure of our Souldiers "with a greater charge then would haue maintained "a very gallant Armie: That this breach was ours,

The poynts charged vpon the Engliſh.

"becauſe the Souldiers were ours. That *King Ed-"ward* was bound in an open aſſembly of the States "of both Realmes, to renounce his right in the "Crowne of *France*: when (ſay they) was this done?

In Charles 5. Serres.

Thus they, and *Serres* addes that the Eſtates of thoſe Countries which had beene aſſigned by the Treatie to the Engliſh aſſeuered, that it was againſt the fundamentall lawes of *France* to alien any part, & that they neither could, nor would ceaſe to be members of that Crowne.

(138) So ye behold that the fortune of the great is neuer to want friends to ſpeake for them, nor occaſions to ſlip out or in, whenſoeuer profit and aduantage doe inuite. Memorable (if true) is that part of the *Frenchmens* defence, in that polite and learned Italian, *P. Aemylius*, where it being obiected with what honour and clemency King *Iohn* was vſed by vs, they breake out and affirme, that wee (being their Beneficiaries or Free-holders for ſuch Countries as wee held in *France*) tooke more gold for the onely ranſome of King *Iohn*, then they payed to redeeme *S. Lewis* their King, & his brother, the Peeres, and whole French Army captiuated in the Chriſtian warres by the barbarous Souldan. But (good *Aemylius*) ſay that were ſo, yet cannot you ſay, that the ſumme wee tooke was worth the leaſt Countrie in *France*, and when all *France* was ours, was it not great bountie to take ſo ſmall a pittance? If you replye that wee had many Countries beſides, wee reioyne and truely ſay, that wee quit more then we acquired. But let vs proceed: for now all claimes and quarrels were as open, as if no obſtacle had euer beene interpoſed: the ignominie of their late terrible foyles wounded all true French hearts, and they deſire (king *Edward* growne aged) not to ſeeme by ſitting ſtill vpon ſo many thornes of diſgrace, & loſſe, to haue beene out-warred, though ouer-warred, and though in two or three battels inferiour, yet not to haue beene clearely debellated.

The dealings of the Engliſh defended againſt *Paul. Aemylius*.

(139) What doth our King *Edward* now? Hee * cals a Parliament, declares the breach, prayes aide, obtaines it, and claimes the crowne of *France* afreſh. *Iohn* Duke of *Lancaſter*, and *Humfrey de Bohun* Earle of *Hereford*, are ſent ouer to *Calis* with a great force, to inuade *France*. No great matter as then enſued. * *Thomas Beuchamp* Earle of *Warwicke* comming ouer in hope to haue worke for his Curtelax, for the *French* affronted our armie vnder the conduct of Duke *Philip le Hardy* (though at this time ſcarce ſhewing himſelfe worthy that ſurname) but roſe vpon the Earles arriuall, and retyred, accuſed the Lords for ſloath, and ſware he would abroad among them to find fighting, while *Engliſh* bread was as yet vndigeſted in his Souldiers ſtomackes. Somewhat he did, but death by a peſtilentiall dart preuented the reſt. This Earle had with him a learned man (as *Scipio* had *Polybius*) to regiſter the acts which he ſaw done: A worthy example ill followed by poſterity. The * Duke of *Lancaſter* pierced vp with his army ſo farre as *Roan*. The ſame *Polydor* wondering why they of *Ponthieu* hauing for an hundreth and twelue yeares (that is, euer ſince King *Edward* the firſt had it giuen to him with his wife) beene ours, ſhould reuolt, onely daring the greatneſſe of the Engliſh, can finde no other reaſon for their doings but this pleaſant one, that as diſperſed cattell gather to their owne heard, ſo Frenchmen flock to the French, and Engliſh follow Engliſh.

An. D. 1369. *Iohn* Duke of *Lancaſter* ſent to inuade *France*.

* *Poly. Virg. in Edward 3. Froiſſard.*

* *Ypod. Neuſtriæ.*

* *Poly. Virg. lib. 19. Holinſh. in Edw. 3.*

(140) Stirring Princes cannot containe themſelues within their owne quietly poſſeſſed rights: Otherwiſe, who ſees not how much better it is for the people, that their Princes ſhould manage well that which they haue, rather then graſpe at more? For King *Edward* (notwithſtanding his continuall manifold victories) comes backe to the Subiect (who yet had gained hugely by the warres, and therefore might the better doe it) for ſupportation: and they yeeld it, but his age was abuſed, for the money was not expended as the pretences were made. Priuate

An. D. 1370. Sir *Robert Knols* ſent Generall into the parts about *Britaine*.

turnes

turnes were serued with publicke loanes. Neuertheleſſe, *after Midſommer day, that renowned Captaine Sir *Robert Knols*, whom martiall vertue had rayſed from the loweſt rancke to the higheſt reputation (though ſome alſo affirme him * borne noble) was ſent by King *Edward* into *France* with an Armie, where (while obedience laſted to his direction) all things proſpered. But by the inſtigation of one Sir *Iohn** *Menſterworth* the yong Lords Grand-ſonne, and *Fitzwalter*, and other, vainely ſcorning to be vnder *Knols*, for that they held themſelues his betters, and thereupon diuiding themſelues after they had done ſundry exploits, marching vp euen to *Paris*, were beaten and foild by the French vnder *Glequins* conduct, but *Knols* wintred ſafe in *Britaine*. *Menſterworth* comes into *England*, and knowing accuſers haue the vantage, complaines to King *Edward* of *Knols*: but not altogether beleeued; he ads treaſon to vntruth, and turning French becomes a wicked enemy to his King and Countrey, * promiſing the French to procure the *Caſtilian* Nauie to inuade *England*, for which being in the laſt yeere of King *Edwards* raigne taken, he by due courſe was condemned and cut in pieces, dying the death he had deſerued. He was laide hold vpon in the Citie of *Pampeline* in *Nauarre*, and from thence conueighed to *London*, vpon whoſe bridge his wicked head ſtood Sentinell.

(141) * Pope *Vrban* the fifth, comming from *Rome* to *Auinion* with purpoſe to vnite theſe two mighty Kings, their wils, and mights, againſt the common enemy of Chriſtendome, put off mortality at *Marſils*, and ſo that holy intention ceaſed for the preſent: but the ſame being * continued by his next ſucceſſor *Gregory 11.* yet tooke no effect, no more then that which the Emperour to like cauſe would haue vndergone: which the * French impute to King *Edward*, who confident by reaſon of his former atchieuements, would trie it out by the ſword. Wherein he ſeemed to forget the mutable condition of warre, the ſearneſſe of his body, and the greenneſſe of his Grand-Childe young *Richard*, who was to ſucceede, if the Prince of *Wales* died, as ſhortly after he did. Neither did God ſeeme to approue his opinion herein, for that croſſes came faſt vpon him, both at home and abroad. There is no greater wiſdome nor happineſſe then to know when we are well, and then to preſerue without hazard or empairement, that honour, wealth, or quiet which we already haue.

(142) Among the States and Townes (aſſigned to the *Engliſh* by vertue of the treatie at *Bretigny*) which had reuolted to the *French*, was the Citie of *Limoges* in *Limoſin*, whither the Prince marcheth, & ſits downe with his armie before it. Thither * came vnto him out of *England* his brethren the D. of *Lancaſter* & the Earle of *Cambridge*, with a freſh ſupply of valiant Chiefes and Souldiers. The City ſtood it out to the vttermoſt, and was forceably entred, where mercy had nothing to ſaue nor ſpare, the ſword and fire for terror to other killing and defacing in a manner all. Hee * who writes that the Prince flew vp neere to *Paris*, and ſcarſely, by reaſon of *Glequins* valour, got backe to *Burdeaux*, ſeemes to haue miſtaken therein, as in many other things concerning vs of great importance. After this ſeruice, the Prince, (health failing him more & more) leaues his Brethren in *Aquitaine*, and ſailes into *England*.

(143) The French in the meane time wonne townes & places in *Aquitaine*, gathering new hopes after ſo long and perpetuall infelicities. The loſſe of that expert Captaine Sir *Iohn Chandoys* (vnfortunately ſlaine) was a great aduantage to their deſires, whoſe whole care for warre reſted vpon *Glequin*, not long before aduanced for his military vertue from low eſtate to ſo great eminencie, as to be Conſtable of *France*, the chiefeſt officer for warre which that Kingdome hath) and he a man of much proofe, in good and euill fortune, ſo tempered his courage with diſcretion, that he onely firſt bad his Country riſe againe, and endeauour in deſpite of euill fortune to re-flouriſh.

(144) The Prince of *Wales* (wanting health) vpon comming to his fathers ſight, rendred vp the Dutchie of *Aquitaine*, to be diſpoſed of, as to his roiall pleaſure ſeemed good. While King *Edward* was at *Clarendon*, there repaired to him the factious king of *Nauarre*, whoſe errand was to make an ouerture of aſſociation againſt the *French*; but as his offers were acceptable, ſo his cautions not ſeeming ſufficient, he returned (after great entertainement) without concluding.

(145) *Iohn* Duke of *Lancaſter*, and his brother the Earle of *Cambridge*, doe now returne out of *Aquitaine*, with the Ladies *Conſtance* and *Iſabel*, daughters of *Don Pedro* late King of *Spaine*, whom they married: The Duke thereupon inſtiling himſelfe King, and his wife Queene of *Caſtile* and *Leon*. Nor was the *Engliſh* name onely encreaſed in titularie honours; for about this time, the *Flemings* (who had prouoked vs) were vanquiſht by the * Earle of *Hereford* at ſea in a ſharpe fight, * about twentie and fiue of their Shippes being taken, and all the men ſlaine. The ſweete of this victorie was ſowred not long after with a grieuous loſſe: for the *French* hauing beſieged the ſtrong City of *Rochel* in *Santoin*, with the ayde by Sea of *Henry* King of *Caſtile*; to relieue the *Engliſh*, *Iohn* Earle of *Pembroke* was ſent with about fortie Shippes, men, victuals, munition, and mony, to the value of twenty thouſand marks, for the vſes of the Warre; but being ſodainely aſſailed with the *Spaniſh Armado*, which conſiſted of many great Shippes, vnder the commaund of *Ambroſe Buccanigra* and others, the Engliſh after a long and cruell conflict were vtterly diſtreſſed, the Earle taken priſoner, and almoſt all the reſt either taken, or put to the ſword. * *Rochel* held out notwithſtanding, to whoſe relieſe while King *Edward* himſelfe in perſon, with an extraordinary force ſet ſaile, the winde (alwayes till that time fauourable to his voyages for *France*) came Eaſterly, and draue him backe into *England* with great griefe, and the waſte (they write) of * nine hundred thouſand pounds ſterling. Neither did hee ſo giue ouer the care of that ſtrong Peece, which the Engliſh moſt manfully made good againſt the enemie.

(146) * *Rochel* thus perſiſting in loyall reſolution, *Iohn* Duke of *Britaine*, (who had married the Lady *Marie* daughter of King *Edward*) a Gentleman of much gratitude toward the Engliſh, the authors of his fortunes, reſolues to aduenture his ſtate in their quarrell; ſhips away for *England*: hath ayde miniſtred vnto him: hee returnes, and warres with various euent. But *Iohn* Duke of *Lancaſter* with a very great Armie comes to *Callis*, and from thence marcheth ouer the whole face of *France*, and (though with loſſe of many thouſand * Horſe in the deſert countries of *Auuergn* through famin) came ſafe, but with an almoſt-hunger-ſtarued Army to *Burdeaux*. Not long after he drew into the field, and a day was appointed betweene him and the Duke of *Anion*, the French Kings brother, to haue tried the quarrell of their Nations by ſet-battle, before the city of *Tholouz* in *Languedoc*, but by an vntimely and a pernitious ſhort truce (to which King *Edward* yeelded, becauſe his ſon the Prince lay dangerouſly ſick) the hoped victory not onely ſlipt out of the Engliſhmens hands, but almoſt all aduantage alſo of doing any thing elſe ſeaſonably. The French boaſted * themſelues as of a Conqueſt, who notwithſtanding did helpe out their valiancy with policie. *Glequin* makes his vſe of all occaſions, and workes much harme to the Engliſh partie in *Guien* and *Britaine*: But in *Britaine* Sir *Robert Knols* did ſo nobly acquit himſelfe on the behalfe of his Soueraignes ſonne in law the Duke, that he onely ſeemed a fit parallel to *Glequin*, like as hee ſtopt the current of his fortune.

Neuer-

*Tho. Walſing. in Edw. 3.

*Paul. Emyl. in Chr. 5.

*Paul Emyl. Iac. Meir. Hollinſh.

*Tho. Walſing. in fine Edw. 3.

*Tho. Walſing. in Edward 3.

*Hollinſh.

*Serres.

*Hollinſh.

*Serres (an Author) diſtruſted.

The Flemiſh Nauie diſtreſſed by the Engliſh.
*Holinſhed.
*Ypodig. Neuſtr.

Rochel beſieged by the French.

The Engliſh Nauie diſtreſſed by the Caſtilian.

*Polyd. Virg. li. 19.

King *Edward* at ſea to relieue *Rochel*, is blowne backe.

*Tho. Walſingh.

An. D. 1372.

An. D. 1373.
Rochel continueth Engliſh.
*Polyd. Virg. li. 19.

*Tho. Walſing.

*Tho. Walſ. lib. 19.

*I. Tillius Chr. n.

Neuertheleſſe the doings of *Glequin* are ſo extolled by the French, that *Tillius* enters them into his Chronology with theſe words, *victoriæ, &c. the victories, fortunes, and triumphes of Bertram Glequin in Aquitaine and Britaine*, though their owne ſelues make no mention of any defeate of the Engliſh, which afforded them matter for the ſhadow of ſuch gloriations.

An.D.1374. (147) The next yeere the Duke of *Lancaſter* returned into *England*, after whoſe departure all *Aquitaine* almoſt reuolted, and fell to the French, who by the aduantage of King *Edwards* age, the Princes pining maladie (which ſome ſay was not poyſon but a * dropſie) and the ſucceſſe of their practiſes more then of their valour, were growne braue againe: A treatie of peace was holden at *Bruges*, all was but painted: for euen then the French moſt of all prepared vnder-hand for new attempts. Chiefe commiſſioners for the Engliſh at that conference was *Iohn* Duke of *Lancaſter*, and for the French the Duke of *Anion*. The effects hatched nothing but a ſhort truce for our euils to breed in.

* Sowr.

An.D.1375. (148) Among the parties which were preiudiced by this hurtfull truce, the Duke of *Britaine* was chiefe. He had obtained great aſſiſtance from King *Edward*, & was now with * the Earles of *Cambridge*, *March*, *Warwicke*, and *Stafford*, with many other noble gentlemen and ſouldiers returned into *Britaine*, making to themſelues a faire way for their maine enterprize, which was to ſettle the Duke, and by the commoditie of his Dutchies ſituation to annoy the common enemy, and the better to recouer the Engliſh dominions in *Aquitaine*: But this treatie did that which *Glequin*, their indeed braue Generall, had not as yet in any ſort effected: for the Duke of *Britaine* had * driuen the French Kings army out of his territories. But who wonders at this truce? The Prince of *Wales* was likely to die; plots on foot at home; the Duke of *Lancaſter* had an eye to the Succeſſion; things grew troubled: the Kings age was abuſed by dame *Alice Peirs* (a moſt buſie Court-flie) who (after Queene *Philips* death) kept the old man warme, and the French ſaw all theſe matters and ſlept not.

* Vpodig. Neuſtr.

* Tillius.

An.D.1376. (149) King *Edward* calling a Parliament, vnfoulding his eſtate, and wants, with demand of ſupplies, the bodie of the aſſembly in ſtead of contributions exhibits complaints, directly chargeth the Kings Officers with fraud, and humbly prayeth, that *Iohn Duke* of *Lancaſter*, the Lord *Latimer*, then Lord *Chamberlain*, Dame *Alice Peirs* (whoſe * behauiours they painted forth as moſt intollerable, for that ſhe, reſpectleſſe of her Sexes frailty, would in perſon, ſaid they, come into all Courts of Iuſtice, and ſometime ſitting by the Iudges or Doctors, would alſo after a moſt inſolent manner perſwade or diſſwade for her moſt aduantage) and with theſe one Sir *Richard Sturry* might be remoued from the perſon of the King. Neuertheleſſe the Parliament made offer, that if the King were indeed out of money, they would liberally aduance toward his vſes. The * Prince of *Wales* fauoured their free dealing, and all the ſaid perſons were remoued, others more acceptable (ſuch as the Prince and Peeres thought fitter) being ſurrogated in their places.

* Tho. Walſing. in Edward 3. Alice Peirs the old Kings Concubine a moſt inſolent woman.

* Holinſh.

(150) While this Parliament (called the *Good*) laſted at *Weſtminſter*, the noble ſoule of *Edward* Prince of *Wales* vpon *Trinity Sunday* (which euery yeere he vſed to celebrate with the greateſt honour that might be in due veneration of ſo diuine a myſtery) was preſented to the holy and bleſſed Trinity, after he had liued therein * about 46. yeeres. In ſteed of Epitaph or mention of obſequies, the words of *Walſingham* ſhall ſerue vs for the preſent, of whoſe death he writes thus. *Quo obeunte, &c. With whom dying, died all the hope of Engliſhmen; during whoſe life, the Engliſh feared no inuaſion of the enemy, nor any encounter in Battell: For he aſſailed no Nation which he ouercame not, he beſieged no Citie which he tooke not.* And when this lampe was put out, the effect of this Parliament was extinguiſhed. His mortall parts were interred at *Canterburie*, where his monument ſtandeth, but the renowne of his inimitable vertues haue as large an extent, & ſpace to moue in, as the wide World. The King of *France* moſt * reuerently celebrated his Exequies within the Chappell of his Palace at *Paris*. But in *England* there was a generall ſorrow, as for one whoſe worth had begotten a iuſt hope that he would out-goe * his Anceſtors in glorie. Death preuenting that experiment of him, he is notwithſtanding in full poſſeſſion of loue and praiſe * among all men for that which was paſſed. The cauſe of this domeſticke mourning encreaſed with the effects of his loſſe, which forthwith diſcloſed themſelues. The King recals ſuch perſons as at the petition of the Lords and Commons had beene remoued, and *Peter de la Mare* ſpeaker of the laſt Parliament, who had eloquently expreſt the minde of the houſe in the foreſaid reformations, was, at the * ſuite of the ſaide bolde Dame *Alice Peirs*, condemned by the King to perpetuall impriſonment at * *Nottingham*, though within two yeares after by the importune ſuite of friends hee re-gained libertie. Meane while *Iohn* Duke of *Lancaſter* * gets the gouernance of the Kingdome to be intruſted to him by his father.

* Thom. Walſingh.

* Holinſh.

* Fran. Thyn in his collect. of the Protectors apud Holinſh. and Polyd. Virg. lib. 19.

(151) *Richard* the eldeſt ſonne of the late moſt noble Prince of *Wales*, for preuention of all debates about the right of ſucceſſion to the Crowne of *England*, was by his Grand-father firſt made Earle of *Cheſter*, and not long after Prince of *Wales*: but for more aſſurance (leſt the ſonnes deceaſe before the fathers ſhould prejudice the Grand-Childe) King *Edward* * cauſed all the Nobles of the Realme to take an Oath to accept and defend Prince *Richard*, as lawfull heire and King of *England*, after himſelfe was dead: Neither did his * Vncles, though famous Captaines, repugne. Finally, the good olde King, to comfort himſelfe in honouring the liuing Image of his nobleſt Childe, the late Prince *Edward*, and to giue the minde of his *Grand-childe* a feeling of future majeſtie, that by the ſodaine inſolency of the ſplendor, it might not afterward too much abuſe his tender judgement, and to make his Vncles acquainted with reſpect of his perſon, he cauſed him to ſit openly at his Table aboue all his owne Children in Chriſtmas.

Richard made Prince of *Wales* and the nobles ſworne to his ſucceſſion.

* Caxton apud Holinſhead.

* Paul. Aemyl. Serres.

An.D.1377. *An.Reg.51.* (152) About this time the famous Doctor *Iohn Wiclef*, a man of ſharpe wit, profound learning, and great iudgement, did in the Vniuerſitie of *Oxford* publiquely maintaine ſundry propoſitions and dogmaticall points againſt the Church of *Rome*, of which the Pope (fore-ſeeing the hazard hanging ouer his Triple-Crowne) condemned * three and twentie as hereticall; whereupon the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury* and Biſhop of *London* hauing attached the body of the ſaid *Wiclef*, did in the preſence of the Duke of *Lancaſter* and the Lord *Henry Peircy* (* his great fauourers,) declare the iudgement of the Pope concerning *Wiclefs* Doctrine, which had then taken deepe roote both in the Vniuerſitie, Court, and Countrey. So for a while all was quiet. But (vpon ſome ſecret encouragements) hee held not peace long. His followers were, in the phraſe of thoſe darke dayes, called * *Lolards*, whereas, in truth, they endeauoured to extirpate all pernitious weedes, which through time, ſloath, and fraude, had crept into the field of Gods Church. The Duke of *Lancaſter* (the rather, ſome thinke, vpon priuate emulations againſt *Courtney* Biſhop of *London*) was engaged ſo farre in his protection, that he and the Lord *Peircy* hardly eſcaped the fury of the *Londoners*, who would without queſtion haue hewed them in pieces in reuenge of ſome diſgracefull ſpeech vttered by him againſt their Biſhop. He notwithſtanding diſſwaded all violence, and kept them from firing his Palace of the *Sauoy*, but they neuertheleſſe did in moſt deſpitefull manner reuerſe his Armories in the open Market: A diſhonour not to be borne, as that in which the dignitie

* Tho. Walſing.

Criſpinus in Act. Martyrum.

* *Lolium* ſignifieth cockle and ſuch like weedes.

dignity of his royall bloud was empaired. By this outrage the people (a moſt dangerous and heady water when once it is out) made knowne, what he, and the Lord *Percie* were to haue hoped, if they could haue fingred them, before they had gotten to *Kenington* to Prince *Richard*, who there remained with his mother: The Duke for this bare the *Londoners* much euill-will; neither reſted till (for a commencement of reuenge) hee had procured the Major and Aldermen to be thruſt from their places, and ſubſtituted others in their ſtead.

(153) *France* in the meane time erected with new hopes, breathes nothing but warre. Prouiſions in that reſpect were not neglected here. One of the laſt publique acts of the old Kings life, was the triumphall celebration of Saint *Georges* Feaſt at *Windſor*, where himſelfe had founded the Order of the Garter; and at this ſolemnitie hee beſtowed vpon his deareſt Grandchild Prince *Richard* the dignity of Knighthood, which onely thing in all the patrimony of honour could not diſcend vnto him.

(154) Not long after enſued the ſentence of diuorce which God pronounced betweene the Soule and Body of this mighty and martiall King, who left the World in the moneth of Iune, at his Manour of *Shene* in *Surrey*: his Acts may giue you a perfect Character of his minde: few Princes that had ſo great and heroicke vertues, had fewer vices: therefore it was a fault of thoſe times, which abounding in learned men, and among them *Geffrey Chaucer* Prince of *Poets*) afforded no better an Epitaph then that which we are faine with pitty to reade vpon his Monument at *Weſtminſter*: the ſtuffe neuertheleſſe is worthy, though the forme be rude.

Hic decus Anglorum, flos regum præteritorum,
Forma futurorum, Rex clemens, pax populorum;
Tertius Edwardus, regni complens Iubilæum,
Inuictus Pardus, pollens bellis Machabæum.*

Here Englands grace, the flower of Princes paſt,
Patterne of future, Edward the third is plaſte,
Milde Monarch, Subiects peace, warres Machabee;
*Victorious * Pard, his raigne a Iubilee.*

* He meanes more able in battle then *Machabæus*, you muſt beare with the breaking of Priſcians head, for it is written of a King that vſed to breake many.

* He alludes to the Leopards in the Armories of *England*.

No man of his time could by better experience teach, what a vaine thing worldly glory (to the height whereof hee had aſpired) ought to ſeeme. His minde (by ſundry great checkes of Gods prouidence) re-called to conſider of the foure laſt things; Death, Iudgement, Heauen and Hell, made him betake himſelfe to Acts of benignitie and deuotion. The Chappell at the end of the Abbey-Church at *Weſtminſter*, (ſince moſt magnificently enlarged by King *Henrie* the ſeauenth) was of his building. The holy quiet of ſtudies, and aduancement of good Arts, hee ſo proſperouſly fauoured, that beſides other great priuiledges granted to the Vniuerſitie of *Oxford*, * where himſelfe had in his youth beene trained vp vnder the learned *Walter Burley*) *he conferrred *the chiefe rule of that whole Citie vpon the Chancellor of the Vniuerſitie*, ſubordinating the Maior and Citizens to his gouernement, in regard of their iniuries offered to the Students. This moſt mightie Monarch that euer ware the Crowne of *England*, in many other felicities excelled his Anceſtors, as in the victorious valour of his Children, their obedience to him, and loue among themſelues. A Ladie to his wife (their mother) of ſuch excellent vertue and gouernment, as that then King *Edwards* fortunes ſeemed to fall into Eclypſe when ſhe was hidden in her Sepulchre. Such and greater was this *Edward*, whoſe name among the ſuruiuing ſplendors of his actions, is iuſtly tranſmitted with honour to all poſteritie. Hee raigned almoſt one and fiftie yeeres, and *liued about threeſcore and fiue.

* Iob. *Anglicus.*
* Tho. *Walſing.*

* Fran. *Thyn.*

His Wife.

(155) *Philip*, wife of King *Edward*, was daughter of *William* Earle of *Henault* and *Holland*, ſiſter of Earle *William* the laſt of that houſe, and of *Margaret* the Empreſſe that ſucceeded him; her mother was **Ioan*, ſiſter of *Philip* of *Valoys* king of *France*, daughter of *Charles* Earle of *Valoys*, who was ſonne to king *Philip the Hardie*. Shee was married vnto him at *Yorke*, Ianuary 24. crowned at *Weſtminſter* the firſt Sunday of *Lent* following, 1327. Shee was a Ladie of great vertue, and a conſtant true-hearted louer of our Nation, was his wife two and forty yeeres, died Auguſt 15. Anno 1369. of her husbands raigne, 43. and was buried at *Weſtminſter*, where ſhee hath a faire Tombe, at the foote of her husband, of blacke Touch ſtone, with the garniſhing about it, and the portraiture ouer it of Alablaſter: but ſhee built to her ſelfe a Monument of more glory and durability, by founding, and richly endowing, the *Colledge*, called of her the *Queenes* in *Oxford*, which, if it had beene finiſhed according to the proiect, had beene a foundation of marueilous ſtate and magnificence.

* *Mary*, ſaith *Miller.*

His Iſſue.

(156) *Edward*, their eldeſt ſonne and firſt childe, borne at *Woodſtocke*, Iuly 15. in the third yeere of his Fathers raigne, Anno 1329. was created Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Aquitaine* and *Cornwall*, and Earle of *Cheſter*; hee was alſo Earle of *Kent* in right of his wife *Ioan* (the moſt admired Ladie of that age) daughter of *Edmund* Earle of *Kent*, brother, by the fathers ſide, to King *Edward* the ſecond. Shee had beene twice married before, firſt to the valiant Earle of *Saliſburie*, from whom ſhe was diuorced, next to the Lord *Thomas Holland*, after whoſe deceaſe, this Prince paſſionately louing her, did marrie her: by her he had Iſſue two ſonnes, *Edward* the eldeſt, borne at *Angoleſme*, who died at ſeauen yeeres of age, and *Richard* borne at *Burdeaux*, who, after his father was *Prince of Wales*, and after his Grand-father King of *England*. This Prince had alſo naturall Iſſue, Sir *Iohn Sounder*, and Sir *Roger Clarendon* Knights; the latter being attainted in the raigne of *Henrie* the fourth, is thought to haue beene anceſtor to the houſe of *Smythes* in *Eſſex*. He died at *Canterburie* on Trinity Sunday, Iune 8. *ætat. 46*. of his fathers raigne 49. and was buried at Chriſt-Church there, 1376.

(157) *William* their ſecond ſonne, and fourth child, was borne 1335. the ninth of his fathers raigne, at *Hatfield* in the County of *Hertford*, taking his Chriſtian name from *William* Earle of *Henault* his Grand-father, and his ſurname from the place of his Natiuitie; is reported to haue deceaſed in his childehood, and to be buried at *Yorke*.

(158) *Lionel*, their third ſonne and fift childe, was borne at the Citie of *Antwerpe*, 29. Nouember, the twelfth of his fathers raigne, Anno 1338. he married firſt *Elizabeth*, the daughter and heire of *William Burgh* Earle of *Vlſter* in *Ireland*, in whoſe right hee was firſt created Earle of *Vlſter*; and becauſe he had with her the honour of *Clare* in the counties of *Townmond*, as parcell of the inheritance of her Grand-mother *Elizabeth*, (the ſiſter and co-heire of the laſt earle *Gilbert Clare*,) he was in a Parliament, An. 1362. created Duke of *Clarence*, as it were of the Country about the Towne Caſtle and honour of *Clare*: from which Dutchie the name of *Clarentieux* (being the Title of the *King of Armes* for the South parts of *England*) is deriued. This Duke had Iſſue by her one onely daughter, named *Philip*, afterward wife of *Edmund Mortimer* Earle of *March*, mother of Earle *Roger*, Father of *Anne* Counteſſe of *Cambridge*, and ſhee was the mother of *Richard* duke of *Yorke*, Father of King *Edward* the 4. The ſecond marriage of this Duke was in *Lumbardie* at *Millaine*, with the Lady * *Violanta* Daughter of *Galeacio* the ſecond Duke thereof; but through intemperance, he liued not long after.

* *Iolantis*, ſaith *Polyd. Virg.*

(159) *Iohn*, their fourth ſonne and ſixt Childe was

was borne at *Gaunt* the chiefe Towne of *Flaunders*, Anno 1340. and foureteenth of his fathers raigne. In his Childhood hee was created Earle of *Richmond*, which title was afterward re-called in, and bestowed vpon *Iohn* Duke of *Britanny*, who married his sister, to whose Dutchy it had formerly belonged. He had three wiues; the first, *Blanch*, daughter and Coheire, and in the end the sole heire of *Henry* Duke of *Lancaster* (sonne of *Edmund* surnamed *Crooch-back*) in whose right he was at the first Earle, and after Duke of the same, and with that Dutchy also Earle of *Leicester*, *Derby*, and *Lincolne*, and *high Steward* of *England*. He had issue by her, *Henry* of *Bullingbrooke* Earle of *Derbie*, after Duke of *Hereford*, and lastly King of *England*, named *Henry the fourth*, who first placed the Crowne in the house of *Lancaster*; *Philip*, wife of *Iohn* the first, King of *Portugall*; and *Elizabeth*, married first to *Iohn Holland* Earle of *Huntingdon*, (brother of *Thomas* Duke of *Surrey*) and after him, to Sir *Iohn Cornwall* Baron of *Fanhope*. His second wife was *Constance*, the eldest daughter of *Peter* King of *Castile* and *Leon*, in whose right for the time he entituled himself *King* of both those realmes; by her he had issue one onely daughter, named *Katherine*, married to *Henrie* the third, sonne of King *Iohn*, in possession before, and in her right, after, King of both the said realmes. His third wife was *Katherine*, the widow of Sir *Hugh Swinford*, a Knight of *Lincolnshire*, eldest daughter and Coheire of *Payn Roet* a *Gascoigne*, called *Guien* King of Armes, for that Countrey, * his yonger daughter being married to Sir *Geoffrey Chaucer*, our Laureat Poet. By her he had issue (borne before matrimony, and made legitimate afterward by Parliament holden in the twentieth yeere of King *Richard* the second,) *Iohn* Earle of *Sommerset*, *Thomas* Duke of *Excester*, *Henry* Bishop of *Winchester* and Cardinall; and *Ioane*, who was first married to *Robert Ferrers* (Baron of *Wemme* and *Oueſley*, in the Counties of *Salop* and *Warwicke*) and secondly to *Ralph Neuil* the first, Earle of *Westmerland*. Shee and all her brethren were surnamed *Beaufort*, of a Castle which the Duke had in *France* * where they were all borne,) and in regard thereof bare the *Porculleys* of a Castle for the Cognizance of their family. This Duke in the thirteenth yeere of his Nephew King *Richard*, at a Parliament holden at *London*, was created Duke of *Aquitaine*, but in the sixt yeere after, he was called home, and this Title re-called, in the third yeere after, the sixtieth of his age, An. 1399. he died at *Ely-house* in *Holborne*, and lyeth honourably entombed in the Quire of Saint *Paul*.

* *Millet*, p. 992.

* *Idem ib.*

Edmond, their fift sonne, surnamed of *Langley*, was created Earle of *Cambridge* Anno 1362. in the same Parliament, wherein *Lionel* was created Duke of *Clarence*. Hee was afterward made Duke of *Yorke*, Anno 1386. and married *Isabel* daughter and Coheire to *Peter*, King of *Castile* and *Leon*. His sonne *Richard Plantagenet* Duke of *Yorke*, tooke to wife *Anne Mortimer* heire of the foresaid *Lionel*, elder brother to *Edmund Langley*.

William, another of their sonnes, surnamed of *Windsor* where he was borne, died young, and is buried at *Westminster*.

Thomas, the youngest sonne of King *Edward* and Queene *Philip*, surnamed of *Woodstocke*, (where he was borne) was first Earle of *Buckingham*, created by his Nephew King *Richard* the second on his Coronation day, An. 1377. by whom, after also he was made Duke of *Gloceſter*, 1385. The Earledomes also of *Essex* and *Northampton*, and the Constableship of *England*, fell to him by right of his wife *Eleanor*, the onely daughter and heire of *Humfrey de Bohun* Earle of *Hereford* and *Essex*. He was a man of valour, wisdome, and vigilancy, for the behoofe of the King his Nephew and the State, but those noble vertues (distempered with too much wilfulnesse and froward obstinacie) bred him, first Enuy, and after ruine. For the King surmising him to be a too seuere obseruer of his doings, consulted with *Thomas Mowbray* Duke of *Norfolke* how to make him away; whom *Mowbray* vnawares surprizing, conuaied secretly to *Callis*, where he was strangled 1397. the twentieth of his Nephews raigne. Himselfe in his life had prouided a goodly Tombe at *Playsie* in *Essex*, (his owne Towne, and * the vsuall seat of the *great Constables* of *England*) * where he founded a Colledge; whither his body was brought, and layde with all funerall pompe, but afterward it was translated to *Westminster*, where also lyeth *Eleanor* his wife, who dyed 1399. Their issue was *Humfrey* Earle of *Buckingham*, * who dyed at *Chester* of the pestilence, An. 1400. *Anne* (married first to *Edmund* Earle of *Stafford*, by whom she had *Humfrey* Duke of *Buckingham*, secondly to *William Bourchier* Earle of *Eue*, by whom she had *Henry* Earle of *Essex*,) *Ioane* married to *Gilbert L. Talbot*, and had issue by him a daughter, who died young; *Philip* and *Isabel* both dying issueless.

* *Lib. Eliens.* * *Cambd. Brit. in Essex.*

* *Miller*, p. 381.

Isabel, the eldest daughter and second childe of King *Edward* and Queene *Philip*, was married at *Windsor* with great pompe, to *Ingelram* of *Guisnes*, Lord of *Coucy*, Earle of *Soysons*, and after Arch-Duke of *Austria*, whom K. *Edward* (his father in law) created also Earle of *Bedford* 1365. by whom she was mother of * two daughters, *Mary*, (married to *Henry* of *Barre*, to whom she bare *Robert de Barre*, and *Ioane*, the wife of *Lewis* of *Luxemburg*, Earle of S. *Paul*) & *Philip*, the wife of *Robert de Veere* Earle of *Oxford*, Duke of *Ireland*, and Marquesse of *Dublyn*; this *Robert* in the height of his fortunes forsooke his noble Ladie, and married one * *Lancerona* a Ioyners daughter (by report) which came with King *Richard* the seconds wife out of *Boheme*; and being, for his pride and abusing the Kings eare, to the hurt of the State, driuen out of the Land by the Nobles, he died at *Louain*, in great vexation of minde, and extreame penury, Ann. 1392. *Isabel* his Wiues mother was buried in the Church of *Fryars Minorites* neere *Algate* in *London*.

Idem, p. 412.

* *Miller*, p. 411.

* *Idem*, p. 689.

Ioane, their second daughter and third childe, was borne the ninth of her fathers raigne, An. 1335. Being foureteene yeeres of age, she was desired in marriage by solemne Embassage, from *Alphons* the eleauenth King of *Castile* and *Leon*, sonne of King *Ferdinando* the fourth, was espoused by *Proxie*, intituled Queene of *Spaine*, and conueyed into that Country, where she presently deceased of a great plague that then raigned; so as the King comming to meete her to solemnize the espousals, with great griefe accompanyed her to Church onely at her funerall the two and twentieth of her fathers raigne, An. 1348.

Blanch, their third daughter, died young, and lieth buried at *Westminster*.

Mary, their fourth daughter, was married to *Iohn Montfort* Duke of *Britaine*.

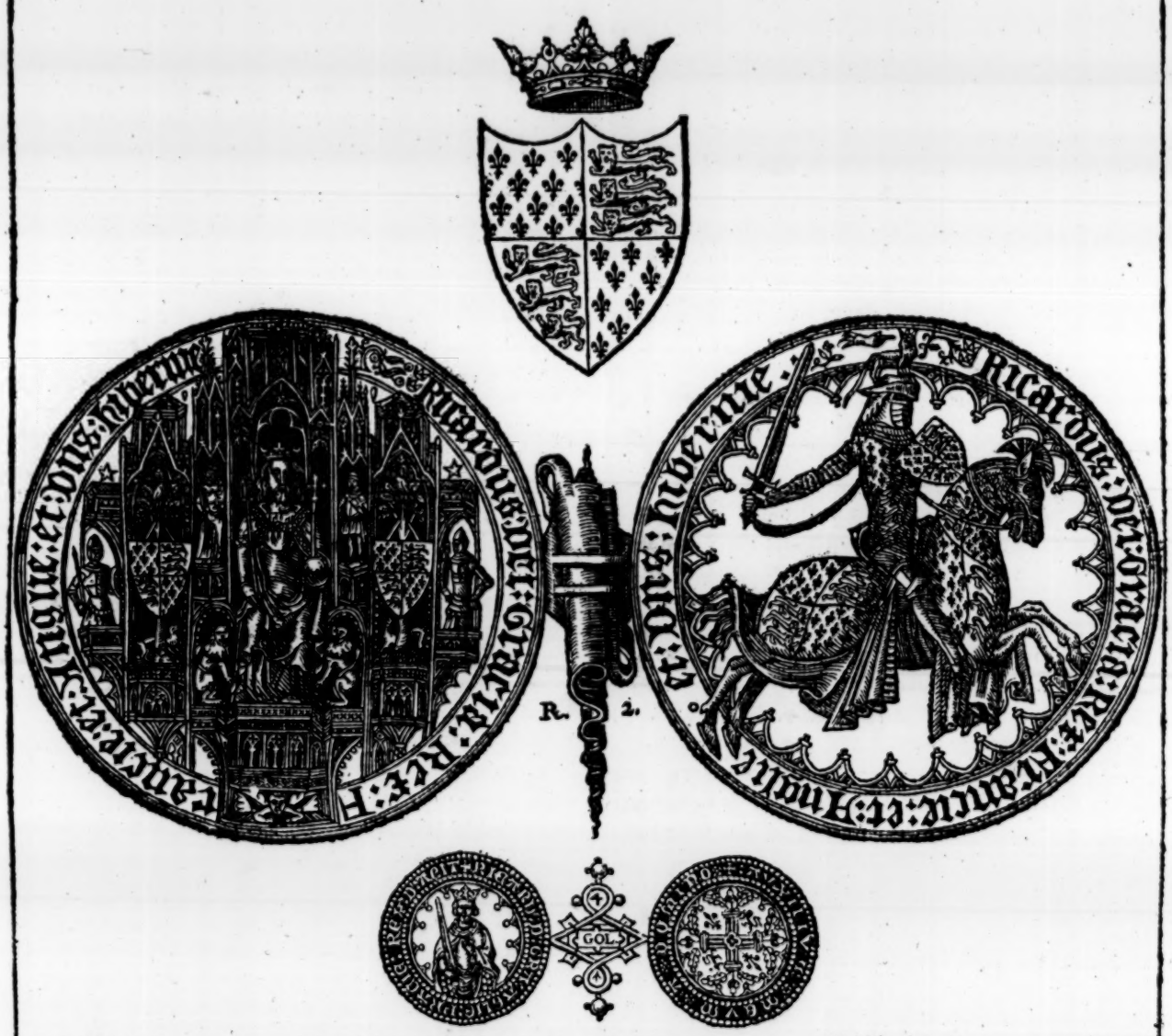
Margaret their youngest daughter, borne in *Callis*, was the first wife of *Iohn de Hastings* Earle of *Pembroke*, but she died without issue.

RICHARD

Richard II.

RICHARD THE SECOND, KING OF ENGLAND, AND FRANCE, LORD OF IRELAND: THE FIFTIETH MONARCH OF ENGLAND, HIS RAIGNE, ACTS, AND TROVBLES.

Monarch 50.



CHAPTER XIII.

An. D. 1378.

RIchard of *Burdeaux*, ſonne to that *Great Starre* of *Engliſh* Cheualrie, *Edward*, by-named the *Blacke Prince*, and grand-Childe to the moſt renowned *Edward the third*, (both of them lately deceaſed) was crowned in the eleuenth yeare of his age, and vpon the ſixteenth day of Iuly. Seldome hath beene ſeene ſo magnificent a Coronation, as that of this yong King, but the thing which gaue a better luſtre of hope at his beginning, then the ſhine and maieſty of that publike Act, was the wiſe courſe which in this his child-hood was taken; *to wit*, the reconciliation of the Lord *Iohn* Duke of *Lancaſter*, and the Citizens of *London*, with the reſtitution of Sir *Peter de la Mare* knight, *Speaker* in the late Parliament (whom King *Edward* had committed to priſon, at the inſtigation of Dame *Alice Pierce* now baniſht, and confiſcated) not onely to former libertie, but likewiſe to fauour and honour extraordinary.

The Coronation of the King.

(2) At this Coronation, (which, as matters not vnworthy to be kept aliue, we following the immethodicall order of the Record, haue here for perpetuall memory thought good to abridge out of authentike Monuments) *Iohn* the Kings eldeſt vncle, vnder the ſtile of *Iohn* King of *Caſtile* and *Leon*, and *Duke* of *Lancaſter*, by humble petition to the King, claimed to be now Steward of *England*, in right of his Earledome of *Leiceſter*; and as he was Duke of *Lancaſter*, to beare the Kings chiefe Sword called *Curtana*; and as Earle of *Lincolne*, to cut and carue at the royall Table before the King. His petitions being found iuſt, were confirmed to him, and to his Aſſignes, the two Earles of *Derby* and *Stafford*, the firſt to beare the *Sword*, while the Duke ſhould be buſied about other offices as *Steward*, and the other to cut and carue. The Duke then in great eſtate, held this the Kings high Court of *Stewardſhip* in the *White-hall* of the Kings Pallace at *Weſtminſter*, where

Ex M. S. apud T. Rob. Cotton.

Seruices by reaſon of tenures, at the Coronation, found and allowed in that Court.

The Court of high Stewardſhip.

neere to the Chappell of the ſaide Palace, vpon the Thurſday, before the Coronation, which was alſo vpon a Thurſday. There *Thomas* of *Woodſtocke* the Kings Vncle, was admitted to exerciſe the office of *Conſtable of England*, in right of his wife, one of the daughters and heires of *Humfrey de Bohun*, late Earle of *Hereford*, and *Conſtable of England*. *Henrie de Percie* (Lord *Percie*) was by the Kings conſent and writ authorized to exerciſe the place of *Marſhall of England* for that time, ſauing to euery one their right, for that by reaſon of the times ſhortneſſe, the claime, which *Margaret* daughter and heire to *Thomas* of *Brotherton*, late Earle of *Norfolke*, and *Marſhall of England*, laid thereunto, could not bee diſcuſſed. *Robert de Veere* Earle of *Oxford*, though then in minority, being notwithſtanding found to haue right in Fee, was by the Kings ſpeciall conſent allowed to haue, and vſe, the office of *Chamberlaine*. Hee was alſo admitted to his right of powring out water for the King to waſh with, when he went to meate, at the Coronation. *Iohn Wiltſhire*, Citizen of *London*, by reaſon of certaine tenements (heretofore the poſſeſſion of *Iohn Picot*) being a Mo tie of the Mannour of *Heydon*, and holden in Serjeantie, had his right, to hold a *Towell* for the King to wipe with, when hee went to meate, found and allowed, and *Edmund* Earle of Kent appoynted to ſerue as his Deputy. *Thomas Beauchampe* Earle of *Warwicke* was found to haue right, and admitted thereupon to beare the third ſword of eſtate before the King at the Coronation, as alſo to exerciſe the office of *Pantler*, and to enjoy all ſuch fees as to the ſame appertayned. Sir *Iohn de Argenthem* Knight, by reaſon of the tenure of his Manour of *Wimondley* in the County of *Hertford*, was admitted to ſerue the King at his *Cup*, vpon the day of the Coronation, and for his Fee to haue that * Cuppe of Siluer wherewith hee then ſerued the King in his royalty. *William* Lord *Furniuall*, for his Mannour of *Farnham* and *Hamlet* of *Cere*, was proued to haue right to ſupport the Kings right arme, when it held the *Scepter* royall therein, at the day of Coronation; which ſeruice, beeing firſt * honourably knighted by the King at *Kenington*, hee was admitted accordingly to performe. *Anne*, late wife of *Iohn de Haſtings* earle of *Pembroke*, for her Manour of *Aſhele* in *Norfolke*, was admitted by her Deputy Sir *Thomas Blunt* Knight, to vſe the office of *Naperer*, and to enjoy the fees thereof. *Edmund*, Earle of *March*, was aſſigned to carry the Kings *great gilt Spurres*, ſauing to euery one their right; for *Iohn*, the ſonne of *Iohn de Haſtings* late Earle of *Pembroke*, claimed that office to be his, as *William le Marſhall* his Anceſtor held the ſame at the Coronation of King *Edward* the ſecond; but by reaſon he was vnder age, and in Wardſhip, the King for that time diſpoſed it to the Earle of *March*: Who alſo, with the ſaide *Spurres* was aſſigned to beare the *ſecond Sword* before the King; for which, the ſaid young Earle of *Pembroke*, and the Earle of *Arundel* (in the right of his Anceſtor the Earle of *Surrey*) contending, it was adjudged to *Pembroke*, for his Caſtles and Townes of *Pembroke* and *Tenby*, *&c.* but the execution of that honourable place was aſſigned by the King as before. *Richard* Earle of *Arundel*, for the Manour of B. in *Kent*, was admitted to bee chiefe Butler at the Coronation, for that (after the ſale thereof) the Earles Anceſtors had exerciſed that office at Coronations, and the claime of *Edmund Staplegate*, who then had that manour as ſonne & heire of *Edmund Staplegate* (ward to *Ieffrey Chaucer*, who had freed him for one hundreth and foure pounds) for that time put off his right to him, in the meane time ſaued notwithſtanding. The Lord Maior and Citizens of *London* (ſuch as were choſen for that high daies ſeruice among themſelues) were found by good Record to haue their ſeuerall rights. The *Maior* to attend in his owne perſon as chiefe Cup-waiter, (charged with the Cupbord-royall) aſwell in the Hall at dinner, to ſerue the King in a cup of gold with ſpices, and for his Fees to haue the ſaid Cup, and a * Water-ſpout-pot of gold thereunto belonging, when he tooke his leaue at night. The *Citizens*, to helpe their Lord Maior in his office of chiefe *Pincern* or Cup-waiter, and to miniſter or ſerue the Lords aſwell at Dinner in the Hall, as in the Chamber after dinner. *Whereupon the King*, (ſaith the Record) *perpendens gratitudinem magnam & ſubſidium quæ Progenitores ſui, &c. weighing with himſelfe the great gratitude and ayde which his Progenitors had heretofore abundantly found in the Citizens aforeſaid, and hoping himſelfe to finde in them the like gratitude and aide hereafter, and to the intent that they might with the more ioyfull hearts performe loyall obedience to the King, and more earneſtly helpe him in his occaſions, he being heartily deſirous to content them, did will and ordaine that the ſelected Citizens ſhould exerciſe their ſaid attendance.* Sir *Iohn Dymmocke* Knight, in the right of *Margaret* his wife, for the Manour of *Scryuelby*, and Sir *Baldwine de Freuile* Knight, as couſen and next heire to *Philip Marmion*, by *Lionneſſe* daughter of the ſaid *Philip*, for the Caſtle of *Tamworth* in the Countie of *Warwicke*, contended each of them to haue the office, and Fees belonging to the *Kings Champion* vpon that roiall day; but becauſe the ſaid *Iohn* ſhewed better Records then *Baldwine*, and for that King *Edward* and the late Prince of *Wales*, were often heard to ſay that *Iohn* ought to doe that ſeruice for the ſaide manour of *Scryuelby*, he was admitted for that time, and day was giuen to *Baldwine* to ſhew farther cauſe of his claime within three Weekes after the Feaſt of Saint *Hilarie* next, or elſe for euer to bee vtterly excluded.

This *Champion* is to haue for accompliſhment of that ſeruice (and the ſame alſo for his Fees) one of the beſt Horſes of warre and Capariſons, which the King hath, one ſaddle plated with Iron, and one compleate armour with the whole furniture, in ſuch ſort as the King himſelfe vſeth, *when hee is to goe into a mortall battle (Sil deuſt aler*, ſaith the Record, *en une battaile mortele)* in which ſort being mounted, he is to ride before the King in proceſſion to his Coronation, and to crie thrice to the people before all the world; *That there is no man of high or low eſtate, who will ſay, that our liege Lord Richard, Couſen and heire of Edward, late King of England, ought not to be crowned King of England, againſt whom he the champion is not ready with his body to maintain, and will maintaine that he doth falſly lie as a Traitor.* *William de Latimer*, and *Iohn* the ſonne and heire of *Iohn Mowbray* of *Axholm*, the Kings Ward, ioyntly petitioned at the ſame Court, to be admitted in the right of *William Beauchampe* of *Bedford* (whoſe Lands the King held in right of the ſaide Wardſhip, and *William de Latimer* in his owne right,) to haue the office of *Almoner* at the Coronation, and to enioy the Fees thereof. And becauſe in the redde Booke of the Exchequer it appeared, that the ſaide *William Beauchampe*, (late deceaſed) vſed the ſaide office; *William de Latimer* was there admitted, aſwell for himſelfe, as for the ſaide heire, to exerciſe the ſame, and for his Fee to haue the Siluer-platter of Almes which ſtood before the King as he ſate at the Table vpon that day; and if afterward it ſhould reaſonably appeare, that they likewiſe ought to haue an * Hogſhead of wine, they ſhould haue it.

William Bardolf ſhewed by petition (as all the reſt did) *to the right noble, and right redoubted Lord, the King of Caſtile and Leon, Duke of Lancaſter, & Steward of England*, that certaine of the ſaid *William* his Fee-ſimple Lands in his Towne of *A.* were holden of the King in chiefe by Serjeantie. The words of the petition, ſhewing the ſeruice, which we (fearing to erre) leaue for other to interpret, are theſe: *De trouuer le jour due Coronnement noſtre treſredoubte Seigneur le Roy, vng homme de faire vne meſſe queſt appelle Dilgirunt*, & ſi apponatur ſanguineum *adonques il eſt appelle*

The Lord high Conſtable of *England*.

The Lord high Marſhall of *England*.

The Lord high Chamberlaine of *England*.

The Earle of *Kent* Deputie to a Citizen of *London* at the Coronation.

The Earle of *Warwicks* ſeruice.

Sir *Iohn de Argenthem* (or *Argenton*) his ſeruice

* This name bare three cups *Argent* in a Field gules, that you may know that ancient coat-Armors had their cauſes of bearing.

The L. *Furniuals* honourable ſeruice.

* *Honorificè.*

The Counteſſe Dowager of *Pembroke* her claime to ſeruice.

The Earle of March.

The Seruices of *Haſtings* Earle of *Pembroke*.

Lord Chiefe Butler.

The ſeruices of the L. Maior of *London*, and the ſelected Citizens

* *Cum Aquario*, an Ewer.

The Kings Champion.

The ſeruice and fees of the Kings Champion at that time.

The office of chiefe Eleemoſynar at the *Coronation*.

* *Tunellum vini.*

appelle Milpygeryn en la Cuiſin de Roy. And accordingly the ſaid *William* was admitted to that ſeruice by his Deputie. *Richard Lyons*, as Tenant of the Manour of L. which *Iohn de Lyſton*, and his Anceſtors held by the ſeruice of making Wafers for the King at the day of Coronation, was accordingly thereunto admitted. The Barons of the *Cinque Ports*, vpon their petition and claime, the matter being euident, were admitted to beare (and to haue for their Fees) the Kings Canapy of cloth of Gold, (or of what other ſtuffe elſe it pleaſed the King) vpon foure ſtaues of ſiluer ouer the Kings head vpon the day of Coronation, and alſo to ſit at meat in the Hall at the higheſt Table on the Kings right hand. *Iohn Fitz-Iohn*, in right of his wife, ſhewed, that the Manour of S. in *Norfolke* was holden of the King by the ſeruice of Chiefe *Larderer* at his Coronation, and that *Geffrey Burdeleys* did exerciſe the ſame at the Coronation of King *Edward* the third; whereupon *Iohn Fitz-Iohn* was admitted to exerciſe that office by himſelfe and his Deputies. *Richard Hering* for the Mannor of C. in the County of *Surrey*, in the right of *Agnes* his wife, claymed to be Vſher of the Kings Chamber; but becauſe that claime did no way concerne the Coronation of the King, hee was left otherwiſe to purſue his intereſt if he ſo thought good. Theſe are the ſeruices which were then claymed before the D. of *Lancaſter*, Steward of *England*, which hee with his * owne hands deliuered into the Kings Chancery there to bee enrowled. At the ſame Coronation alſo *Thomas* of *Wodſtocke*, youngeſt ſonne of the late King, was created Earle of *Buckingham*, *Thomas Mowbray* Earle of *Nottingham*, *Guychard d'Angolem* Earle of *Huntington*, and *Henrie Percie* Earle of *Northumberland*. Thus the bounty of the young Monarch imparted large rayes of his imperiall Splendor to theſe eminent perſons of his Kingdome: Howſoeuer, theſe and the like honours haue not in our Common-wealth eyther alwayes beene fortunate to the Receiuers, or without repentance to the Donors.

The Kings Wiferer.

The honourable ſeruice of the Barons of the fiue Ports.

Chiefe Larderer.

* *Ex Chirographo D. Rob. Cotton.*

Creation of States.

(3) But the generall State of the Kingdome being implicated, before the late King *Edwards* deceaſe, by reaſon of that opportunitie and aduauntage to their deſignes, which the Neighbour-enemies of the Crowne of *England* found in the old age of that victorious Monarch, was now no leſſe entangled through the contempt of King *Richards* youth. For before his Coronation, the French with fiftie Ships (as *Walſingham* cals them) thruſt into the Hauen of *Rie)* the Towne whereof they rifled, and conſumed with fire. The Crowne of *England* was ſcarſe ſetled on his head, when the *Scots* at the other end of *England* ſet fire vpon the Towne of *Rockesbrough*: but the French (encouraged by their late exploit at *Rie)* arriued in their Gallies, and tooke the whole Iſle of Wight, the Caſtle (which Sir *Hugh Tyrell* manfully defended,) onely excepted, leuying vpon the inhabitants one thouſand Markes in lieu of ſparing their houſes from the rage of warre, and flame. Neither was it long before they landed at *Winchelſey*, though being from thence repulſed, they burnt the Towne of *Haſtings* at that preſent.

The firſt attempts of the French and Scots.

(4) Theſe petty braues thus giuen to the King, were farther fortunated with a little victory. For they, emboldened with ſuch ſucceſſes (diſhonourable and dangerous to King *Richard*, who ſeemed to haue loſt the Soueraigntie of the *Engliſh* Ocean, where Pyrates durſt ſo reuell, and alſo to haue had as little counſell, courage, or forces, left about him vpon the Land) come on Shore at *Rotingdene* in *Suſſex*. The Prior of *Lewis* with ſome ſlight tumultuarie Forces, raſhly aduentures himſelfe againſt them, where he with two knights, & ſome few others were taken priſoners, and about 100. Engliſh ſlaine, but of the French many more, who returned with their Priſoners to their Nauie.

The French take the Abbot of *Lewis* and others Priſoners in *Suſſex*.

An.D.1378.

(5) The chiefe charge of affaires lay vpon the Duke of *Lancaſter*, the Kings Vncle, or vpon ſome ſuch as he did put about him, through whoſe want of care, things declining to a ſhamefull change, and the glorious atchieuements of the two late *Edwards* falling vnder Eclypſe, there was onely found one priuate Citizen of *London*, that (without regard to the enuy of the ſloathfull Lords, or his owne hazards, or of any thing elſe, ſo much as the good of his neglected Countrey) put his whole ſtrengths to ſupport the ſame. This was the worthy *Iohn Philpot*, who at his owne charges mans out a Fleete to the Sea, raignes by them therein, and guardes both water and land from their intollerable violences. Nor did his ſo great pietie fayle of happy euent, for God (who fauours all vertuous actions) had put into his hands within a ſhort ſpace 15. *Spaniſh* Ships fraught with rich Merchandize, which the right of warre made his, wherby his great charges were abundantly repayed. Let vs ſee his Statue erected now at laſt, with the Statues of *Walworth*, and other honourable Citizens in *London*.

The immortall deſerts of Sir *Iohn Philpot* Citizen of *London*.

(6) What therefore the loue of their Prince and Countrey could not ſtirre vp in the Lords, that very ſhame and indignation doe. There is conſultation had, and the King of *Nauarre* (an vnquiet ſubiect of the Crowne of *France*) morgageth the Hauentowne of *Cheirbrough* in *Normandy* to king *Richard*. The occaſion was the rather not omitted, for that, by thruſting into it a good Garriſon (which was forthwith done, and firſt Sir *Robert Rous*, then Sir *Iohn* of *Harleſton*, both worthy Knights, made Captaines there) the ſame would at all times ſerue to giue quiet entrance to an inuaſion of *France* which now was meditated.

(7) How looſely, the meane while, the affaires of the State and Iuſtice were managed, by reaſon of the vnripe yeeres of the King, may appeare by a bloudy outrage then perpetrated and vnreuenged. The occaſion this. In the warres of *Spaine*, (which *Edward* the late Prince of *Wales* made for reſtoring *Peter* to the Crowne,) the Earle of *Dean* was taken and adjudged Priſoner (from all others clayming that honour) to two valiant Eſquires *Robert Haule* and *Iohn Shakel*, who both of them belonged to that martiall Knight Sir *Iohn Chandoys*. They free the Earle, taking his ſonne and heire for aſſurance of performances. This young Gentleman (vtterly neglected hitherto by his diſhonourable Father,) was now demanded of them in the Kings name, by the Duke of *Lancaſter*, with a purpoſe (as was thought) the rather either to aduaunce thereby his (the ſaid Dukes) title to the Crowne of *Spaine*, or to make a peace there, with the better conditions. The Eſquires refuſe, and ſhift their Hoſtage out of the way; are thruſt therefore into the Tower of *London*; but eſcaping from thence, take Sanctuary in *Weſtminſter*. Thither with fifty armed men doth *Sir Alan de Bruxhull* ſecretly repaire, drawes *Shakel* by a wile out of the priuiledge of the Church, and expoſtulates the matter with *Haule* in the Kings name; vpon whom (proteſting againſt the abuſe offered to that Maieſtie in his tender yeeres, and freely taxing his Counſellours with injuſtice, auarice, and euill aduice,) while they ſought to lay hands, he with his ſhort ſword valiantly made them all flye off, but in the end they moſt wickedly murthered him in the Chancell: commending himſelfe, in his laſt words, *to God reuenger of ſuch iniuries, and to the liberty of our holy mother the Church.* With him was murthered a ſeruant of his, thruſt in with a Iauelin at the backe. This is that *Haule* whoſe body lies buried vnder a braſſe-plated ſtone in the Abbey Church at *Weſtminſter*, whoſe bloud (by the violence of the ſaid Duke) found not that fulneſſe of legall vengeance, which ſo hainous an homicide required.

The ſacrilegious murther of *Robert Haule*.

(8) The North parts of *England* were about this time greeuouſly viſited with the ſtroake of peſtilence, and their lamentable affliction encreaſed by the inroads and outrages of the Scots; who had now ſurprized *Berwicke*, killing *Sir Robert Boynton* Knight,

Berwick ſurprized and recouered within nine daies.

Knight the Conſtable thereof; which yet the Earle of *Northumberland* vpon the ninth day after recouered by force, putting thoſe, who had ſurprized it, to the Sword.

An.D.1379. (9) Neither was the ſpirit of the Engliſh (after it began to re-quicken) idle elſewhere; for as *Sir Robert Rous* had diuers waies vexed the French, and taken *Oliuer* (the brother of that renowned *Bertram de Glequin*) priſoner, ſo *Sir Iohn de Harleſtone*, Captaine of *Cherbrough* after him, ſlew and took diuers French in a skirmiſh. Theſe the few fore-going drops of greater approaching ſhowers. For *Sir Hugh Caluerley* and Sir *Thomas Percy*, made admirals of the narrow Seas, tooke many rich prizes, and exploited ſundry other things very praiſeworthily, bringing home the acceptable newes of the diſlike which the *Britons* had conceyued againſt the *French* Kings Gouernment; for hee commaunded them to render vp to him all their ſtrengths, Caſtles, and walled Townes, and many of them, who refuſed to obey, he put to death.

The *Britons* diſlike of the French Gouernment: matter of new troubles.

(10) Theſe employments, and freſh deſignes for other like, found neede of pecuniary ſupplies; whereupon, in a Parliament holden at *London*, it was agreed, that for ſupply of the Kings wants, the Commons ſhould be ſpared, and the burthen be wholly vndergone by the able. The rates then of that taxe were theſe; Dukes, Archbiſhops, Earles and Biſhops at tenne markes each, mitred *Abbots* at as much, beſides fortie pence for euery Monke vnder their ſubjection. Briefly (ſaith *Thomas Walſingham*) there was no religious perſon, man or woman, *Iuſtitiar*, Sheriffe, Knight, Eſquire, Parſon, Vicar, or * Chauntry Prieſt free from this taxe rated according to the value of their yeerely receipts.

The Commons ſpared in the Subſidie.

* *Simplex Capellanus. Walſingh.*

(11) We formerly mentioned, how *Iohn Shakell* (the other companion of *Robert Haulee*, ſo execrably murdered in Gods-houſe) was taken. He now vpon condition that the King (beſides 500. markes in money) ſhould giue him Lands to the yeerely value of one hundreth markes, and ſhould alſo found and ſufficiently endow, at the Kings coſts, a Chantrie with fiue Prieſts for their ſoules, whom the Kings Officers had wickedly murthered, he rendred vp his Hoſtage, the eldeſt (but naturall) ſonne of the ſaide Earle of *Dean*. At the diſcouery and bringing-forth of whom, all men were ſtroken with wonderfull loue and admiration: for the young Gentleman (hauing giuen his faith not to diſcloſe himſelfe,) appeared in the ſhape of a baſe groome, in which (vnknowne to all the World but his Maſter) he had of his owne accord lurked. An example of ſuch a poynt of perfect honeſty as cannot be forgotten without injurie.

A memorable example of a noble yong gentlemans faith-keeping.

(12) The ſame yeere, the Lord *Iohn Mountford*, whom the French had driuen out, being inuited home by his Barons, returned into his Dutchy of *Britaine*, accompanied with the valiant Knights *Caluerley* and *Percy* aforeſaid, where he, his friends, and followers were receiued with ſingular honor. Soone after *Sir Iohn* of *Arundell*, brother to the Earle of *Arundell*, being ſent into *Britaine* to aid the Duke, was with many other valiant Knights and Eſquires drowned. It is imputed by our Author to a juſt effect of Gods anger againſt the ſaide *Sir Iohn*, and his houſhold, for their manifold vices and outrages, practiſed by him and them, before they ſet out from *England*, for which they had the bitter curſes of the people; and the Angell of deſtruction to execute thoſe imprecations vpon the delinquents.

Aids ſent into *Britain* drowned.

(13) But the action of aiding did more deepely import, then that it ſhould be abandoned for the loſſe of that vnfortunate fellowſhip, and the exceeding riches which were with them: therefore the Lord *Thomas* of *Woodſtock* earle of *Buckingham*, with *Caluerley*, *Percy*, *Knols*, *Windleſhores* (or *Windſor*) very valiant Knights, and other competent forces, was ſent to aſſiſt the Duke of *Britaine*. But becauſe the French Galleys houered vpon the narrow Seas, they landed at *Callis*, and from thence march through *France*, ſpoyling Countries, burning townes, the *French* not * daring to empeach them, and killing people, till they and their whole equipage came ſafe into *Britaine*.

Other aides pierce into *Britaine* from *Callis* by land.

An.D.1380.

* *Io. Vill. in Chron.*

(14) There were about theſe times ciuill diuiſions in *France*; for the Duke of *Burgundie*, younger brother of King *Charles* (lately dead) being made Guardian of the perſon and dominions of his Nephew *Charles* then in minority, had the Duke of *Anion* (being an elder brother to the Duke of *Burgundie*) a mortall enemie. Their bloudie quarrels fell out luckily for the Engliſh aydes in the Dutchie of *Britaine*, out of which as Duke *Iohn* had beene driuen for adhering to his father in law the late King *Edward*, ſo the Engliſh did their beſt to vphold him in it, as there was cauſe.

French troubles profitable to the Engliſh.

(15) The French in theſe extreames are releeued by their ancient diuerſion: for the Scots entring about that time with fire and ſword into *Cumberland* and *Weſtmerland*, and the forreſt of *Inglewood*, draue away much Cattle, ſlew the Inhabitants, rifled the booths and houſes of *Perith* in the Faire time, killing and taking many, and driuing away the reſt. The Earle of *Northumberland* preparing a bloudy reuenge, was (not without wonder) prohibited ſo to doe by letters from the King, that is, from ſuch as were about the King.

The Earle of *Northumberland* countermanded from purſuit of the *Scots*.

(16) But how coldly ſoeuer the publike affaires were followed, the want of money for ſupplies was ſtill pretended. And therefore in a Parliament holden at *Northampton*, was granted to the King a generall ſupply of money; the pretended occaſion of monſtrous miſchiefe which followed, by reaſon of a clauſe in that grant of Subſidie, that euery one of ech ſexe, being aboue a certain age, ſhould pay by the head, or *per Pol* as they call it, twelue pence.

The Parliament at *Northampton*.

(17) The Engliſh Cheualry began now againe to diſplay it ſelfe farre off, to gratifie the priuate ends of *Iohn Duke of Lancaſter*, who claimed the Crowne of *Caſtile* and *Leon*, in right of *Conſtance* his wife: For *Iohn* King of *Portugal* had a defenſiue warre againſt *Iohn* then King of *Caſtile*, who challenged the Crowne of *Portugall* * in right of *Beatrix* his Wife, (by whom he had no iſſue) the onely daughter of *Ferdinand* King of *Portugal*, which this other *Iohn* (a baſtard ſonne of *Ferdinands*) had by faction vſurped. There were ſent to his aide the Lord *Edmund de Langley*, Earle of *Cambridge*, the Kings Vncle, and ſundry Knights and others of good experience with an Armie. Theſe arriuing in *Portugall* valiantly defended the ſame for about two yeares, and were the chiefe cauſe of giuing the *Spaniards* an ouerthrow in battle, where they loſt * tenne thouſand men. At laſt the two Kings agreeing together bare the charges of conueighing home the *Engliſh* in common, that their Countries might be freed from them, being both alike jealous of their puiſſance. In this time *Edward* ſonne to the Earle of *Cambridge*, vncle to *Richard* King of *England*, married the daughter of the King of *Portugall*, but afterward neither would the Earle leaue his ſonne behinde, as ſuſpecting the Portugeſes faith, nor the other entruſt his daughter to the Earle, ſo as they remained diſioyned in body, howſoeuer vnited by Ceremonie.

An.D.1381. The Earle of *Cambridge* ſent with an Armie into *Portugall*.

* *Ruder. Sanctius part. 4. hiſt. Hiſp. cap. 21.*

* *Polyd. Virg. hiſt. lib. 20.*

(18) Not long after the time of that Earles imployment into *Spaine*, there fell out accidents which doe plainely conuince their error to be great, who thinke that any madneſſe is like that of an armed and vngouerned multitude, whereof theſe times (by a kind of Fate proper to childrens raigne) gaue a moſt dangerous document. The extreame hatred borne by the people to *Iohn* Duke of *Lancaſter*, calling himſelfe King of *Caſtile* and *Leon*, and the diſcontentment taken at an extraordinary taxe, leuied *per Pol*, vpon all ſorts of people, who were aboue ſixteene yeers of age, which (as all other the euils of the time) they imputed to the Duke (the maner being to count them the authors of euils, who are ſuppoſed to haue the greateſt power of doing them) mooued the enraged

The dangerous rebellions of *Wat. Tyler*, *Iacke Straw*, & others.

enraged multitudes vpon ſlight and ſmall beginnings to runne together in ſo fearefull a Torrent, that it ſeemed the King and kingdome were ſodainely falne vnder their moſt wicked fury. There were in this moſt rebellious inſurrection, the Commons and Bond-men (who aſpiring by force to a free manumiſſion) principally thoſe of *Kent* and *Eſſex*, whoſe example was followed in the Neighbour-Shires of *Surrey*, * *Suffolke*, *Norfolke*, *Cambridge*, and other places by incredible heards and droues of like qualified people, who (ſpecially in *Norfolke*) forced ſundry principall Gentlemen to attend them in their madding.

* *L.S.Alban.M.S.*

(19) They of *Kent* embattelled themſelues vnder two Banners of Saint *George*, and about threeſcore and tenne Penons, vpon *Black-heath* by *Greenewich*, and from thence came to *London*, where, the generality of people inclining to them, they are maſters. The Priory of *S. Iohns* without *Smithfield* they kept burning for about ſeauen daies, and the goodly Palace of the *Sauoy*, belonging to the Duke, with all the riches therein, they conſumed by fire, in a kinde of holy outrage, for they threw one of their fellowes into the flame, who had thruſt a peece of ſtolne Plate into his boſome. The Rebels of *Eſſex* came to *Lambeth*, burnt all the Archbiſhops goods, and defaced all the Writings, Rowles, Records and Monuments of the *Chancerie*, as hauing a ſpeciall hatred to the Lawyers, little to their diſgrace, for that they ſhared herein with good men alſo, whom they hated. But their deſperate wickedneſſe extended it ſelfe beyond the ſpoyle of houſes and ſubſtance, laying bloudy hands vpon the moſt eminent and worthy men in the kingdome, for that they had diſſwaded the King to put himſelfe into their hands at *Greenewich*, where he talked with them out of his Barge, and thereby had their maine deſigne diſappointed. *Simon Tibald* Archbiſhoppe of *Canterburie*, and Chancellour of *England*, a right worthy Prelate, and Sir *Robert Hales* a Knight of high courage, Lord Prior of Saint *Iohns*, and Treaſurer of *England*, with others, they without reſpect to the Maieſty of the King, or priuiledge of their moſt honourable dignities, moſt barbarouſly murthered by beheading them vpon *Tower-hill*, among infernall ſhoutes and diuelliſh yels. For the *Tower* it ſelfe (from whence they had haled them, the young King being there in perſon) was open to their execrable inſolencies. Neither doth the authority of * *Polyd. Virgil*, affirming that they were not haled forth, but onely ſtayed by the Rebels, to whom (hee ſaith) they were ſent, induce vs rather to credite him, then Authours liuing about thoſe very times. There was no little ſtore of other innocent bloud ſhed by them in theſe tumults. Nor was the Kings owne perſon without manifeſt perill, againſt whoſe life they had damnably conſpired. It were long to reckon vppe the kindes of ſuch villanies as they wrought, but endleſſe to recount the particulars. The common * Annals ſet forth this whole Tragicall buſineſſe very diligently.

* *Hiſt. Ang. l. 20.*

* *Iohn Stow.*

Wat. Tyler the Idol of the Clownes.

(20) They had many Captaines of miſchiefe, but two principall, *Wat Tyler* of *Maidſtone* in *Kent*, (whom *Walſingham* pretily cals the *Idoll of Clownes*) and *Iacke Straw*, who together had followers to the number (as they were eſtimated) of about one hundreth thouſand, and at one Sermon made to them by *Iohn Ball*, *Walſingham* ſaith, there were about twiſe as many. Their Petitions were full of pride and malice, but eaſily graunted by the King, the neceſſity of the times extorting them. They had a Chaplaine as graceleſſe as themſelues, one *Iohn Ball* an excommunicated Prieſt, who with his wicked doctrine nouriſhed in them their ſeditious furies, to his own iuſt deſtruction in the end: but when a great multitude accepting the Kings mercy were gone, *Wat Tyler* and his Campe departed not, but vpon pretence of diſliking the Articles of peace, ſought to winne time till he might put into full execution his incredible Treaſons, which (as *Iacke Straw* at the time of his execution confeſſed) were vpon that very night of the day, wherein *Wat Tyler* was ſlain, to murder the King, and chiefe men, and to erect pettie Tyrannies to themſelues in euery ſhire: and already one *Iohn Littiſtar* a Dyer in *Norwich*; had taken vpon him at *Northwalſham* in *Norfolke*, the name of the King of the Commons, and *Robert Weſtbroome* in *Suffolke*, to whom *Iohn Wraw* another lewd Prieſt had aſſigned it.

(21) Neuer was the kingly race and Commonweale ſo neare to an vtter extirpation, as at this preſent, which was (wee may truely ſay) miraculouſly preuented. The yong King in theſe feares and dangers repairing to *Weſtminſter*, moſt deuoutly commended his Crowne, Life, and whole eſtate to God, nor that in vaine. For *Wat Tyler* with his Campe of Raſcals eſteemed to be ten or twenty thouſand (according to the Kings Proclamation, attending in *Smithfield*, but cauilling of purpoſe vpon the conditions of peace, as hee that meant a farther miſchiefe, though they of *Eſſex* were returned) was entreated to ride to the King, who alſo ſate on horſebacke before Saint *Bartholmewes*, in whoſe company was that renowned Lord Mayor of *London*, *William Walworth*, with many other men of birth and place.

(22) *Wat Tylar* ſcarſe at the laſt comming, behaued himſelfe ſo inſolently, offering to murther one of the Kings knights, Sir *Iohn Newton*, for omiſſion of ſome *punto* of reſpect, which he arrogated to himſelfe in more then a kingly manner; was (vpon leaue giuen him by the king) boldly arreſted with a drawn weapon by the Lord Maior, a man (ſay Writers) of incomparable courage, which blow was ſeconded by the ſaid Lord, and others, ſo ſpeedily, that there this prodigie of a Traitour was feld and ſlaine. A death too worthy, for that he dyed by the ſwords of honourable perſons, for whom the axe of an Hangman had beene far too good.

(23) The Commons perceiuing the fall of their Captaine, prepared to vſe extreme reuenge, when the moſt hopefull yong King with a preſent wit and courage (it being for his life and kingdome) ſpurred forth his horſe, and bad them follow him, without being grieued for the loſſe of a ribauld and traitour, for now he himſelfe would be their Captaine. Hereupon they thronged after him into the field, there to haue whatſoeuer they deſired. But the moſt worthy of all *Londoners*, *Walworth*, ſpeedes with one man onely into the Citty, raiſeth a thouſand Citizens in armour, brings them (being led in good array by Sir *Robert Knolles* and others) with *Wat Tylers* head (which the Lord Maior had commanded to be chopt off from his dead carkaſe) borne before him vpon a Speare to the King. That very head, the curſed tongue whereof had dared to ſay, *That all the lawes of England ſhould come out of his mouth.*

(24) This act reſtored the Crowne (as it were) & Realme to king *Richard*, for the Rebels ſeeing themſelues girt-in with armed men, partly fled, partly fell vpon their knees, and (throwing away all hope in weapon) they anſwerably to their baſeneſſe, begged their liues, who, but euen now reputed themſelues Maſters of the field, and of the King. And albeit there was a generall deſire in the hearts of loyall men to expiate ſo many villanies with the bloud of the Actors, yet things abroad in the Realme being as yet vnſetled, they had a generall Charter of pardon ſealed, and were ſo ſent home into their Countries.

(25) Certainely although the Cittie of *London* (the moſt noble and able part of the Engliſh Empire) hath otherwiſe deſerued of the Kings of this land very well, yet the honour of this ſeruice worthily ſtands higheſt in the many great praiſes therof. Which the King did thankefully and publikely teſtifie by knighting *Walworth*, and by beſtowing vpon him (when he modeſtly excuſed his vnworthineſſe and

and in-abilitie) one hundreth pounds land by the yeare in fee-ſimple. Hee alſo at the ſame time beſtowed the ſame honour vpon that right worthy Citizen and Patriot, *Sir Iohn Philpot*, and two other Aldermen, Sir *Nicholas Brember*, & Sr. *Robert Launde*, to each of which he gaue a like eſtate of 40. pounds. There be who write that hee then alſo knighted *Nicholas Twiford*, and *Robert Gayton* Citizens. The memories of theſe and other ſuch, deſerue and ought to be honoured with ſtatues, aduanced in the moſt conſpicuous place of that great Citie, leaſt otherwiſe ſhee be holden ingratefull to them, from whom ſhee deriues ſo honourable ſplendor. That the beauteous Armories of *London* were at this time augmented with that weapon which we ſee in the *dexter Canton* thereof, in remembrance of this ſeruice done by *Walworth* is affirmed by * ſome, but with what warrant let themſelues ſhew.

* *Holinſhead. in Richard. 2.*

(26) The young King, after this fortunate concluſion giuen to ſo helliſh vproares about his principall Citie, repaired in good array to * *Tower Royall*, or the *Queenes ward-robe*, a Palace then in the boſome of *London*. There the *Queene-mother* had remained in very great feare and griefe for the ſpace of three daies, and two nights; but the ſight of her ſonne, and relation of his good ſpeed, blotted out of her memory the ſorrowes formerly ſuſtained.

* *Survey of London.*

(27) It was not long, but that the King (ſurpriſed before with that popular innundation) had ſure notice that the diuelliſh rebels were in all other places diſſipated, but neither till themſelues had done much miſchiefe, and ſuffered iuſt puniſhment. Memorable was the ſeruice of *Henry le Spercer* the ſtout Biſhop of *Norwich* againſt the Bondmen and Peſants of *Norfolke*, whom he draue out of their Trenches, ſlew diuers, and cauſed their muſhrom King *Iohn Litteſtar* to be hanged, drawne and headed. But that which vniuerſally moſt of all preuailed to the reduction of theſe audacious wretches to due obedience, was the death of *Wat Tyler*, and the certaine newes of their diſſipation who were aſſembled about *London*, where for a few daies they had moſt barbarouſly tyrannized. In *Hertfordſhire* at S. *Albans*, *Barnet*, *&c.* in *Suffolke*, *Cambridgeſhire*, and the Iſle of *Elye* the popular outrages were now in a manner appeaſed. Yet wonderfull is it, that all theſe execrable furies, being in ſo many ſeuerall places, with ſo great forces in each, (for at *Bury*, where *Iohn Weſtbroome* kinged it, they are reported to haue beene about fifty thouſand, making it their ſauage ſport, to cauſe the heads of great perſons, which they had cut off and fixed on Poles, to kiſſe and whiſper as it were one in the others eare) laſted not in the high ſpeed and full rage thereof the ſpace of eight dayes, (being not long before Midſommer, as if it had been a ſyderall infection or generall Lunacy) and the whole time thereof from the beginning to the end, is accounted, by Act of Parliament, but from the firſt of May till Midſommer, the Feaſt of Saint *Iohn Baptiſt*.

Statut. An. 6. *Rich.* 2. Seſſion 1. cap. 13.
The royall power like the Sun after a long darkneſſe puts forth it ſelfe againe.

(28) The royall power which had thus beene foilde, and trodden vnderfoote, could not longer brooke ſo intollerable debaſement, but to repaire and eſtabliſh it ſelfe, there was proclamation made, that all men who had horſe and armour, and loued the King, ſhould forthwith come to *London* in their beſt manner. There were neuer ſeene together ſo great a multitude of horſe-men in *England*. The muſters were taken vpon *Black-heath*, where the king himſelfe, being mounted on a goodly courſer among the armed men, and hauing his Standard royall aduanced before him, daily rode forth to view his people, reioycing to bee ſeene among them, and acknowledged their Lord. It is ſaid, that within three dayes ſpace there appeared vpon that heath for the Kings ſeruice, not fewer then forty thouſand horſemen moſt brauely appointed.

Forty thouſand Engliſh horſemen in field together.

(29) This force had beene employed againſt the Kentiſh-men, euen to the vtter rooting out of all the guiltie, who againe began to ſtirre, but that the King was perſwaded by the Nobility and Gentlemen of that Countie, to proceede by ordinarie iuſtice; which was done. The Kings peace was alſo proclaimed in euery place according to his letters dated at *London* 17. *Iune*, in the fourth yeare of his reigne, to the great encouragement of good ſubiects, and confuſion of the wicked. There were executed about one * thouſand and fiue hundreth in all places, beſides fiue of a new forlorne Companie; which hauing deſperately dared to gather head againe in *Eſſex* about *Billericai*, had tendered to the King certaine inſolent demaunds, which were iuſtly reiected, and they ſlaine. The Lord *Thomas* of *Woodſtocke*, Earle of *Buckingham*, the Kings Vncle, with Sir *Thomas Percy* brother to the *Count Northumberland*, were ſent with force againſt them. The Rebels being many in number, were notwithſtanding broken at the very firſt with a Charge made vpon them by a rancke in front of ten men of Armes or Lances. There were taken eight hundreth horſes belonging to the Rebels. Sir *Robert Treſilian* was principall Actor in the matters of Iuſtice, which hee rightly and ſeuerely adminiſtred. The King himſelfe had ſo great a force of horſe-men with him, that (as Sir *Walter* at *Lee* knight, ſaid in his ſpeech to Saint *Albans*-men) there was neither graſſe nor blade of Corne, old or new, left within fiue miles compaſſe of the Kings perſon.

* *Holinſh. in Rich. 2.*

(30) And leaſt the miſchieuous multitude ſhould, to the Kings diſhonour and common hurt of the Church and Kingdome, enioy any the leaſt benefit by their late vnſpeakeable villanies; the King, by aduiſe of his Councell, ſent letters reuocatorie into the Shires about, by which he commands, that no man ſhall enioy any freedome or profit by vertue of any extorted graunts, during the time of the Inſurrections: but yet that his Maieſties purpoſe was by the aduiſe of his Councell to grant to his ſubiects (notwithſtanding their ſo heinous treaſons) ſuch mercy as ſhould bee pleaſing to God, and profitable to him, and to the Kingdome. After which, ſundry executions were done at Saint *Albans*, and elſewhere. And this end for the preſent had theſe infernall attempts of the baſer people, in which we may cleerely behold the hideous face of *Anarchie* and *Plebeian* furie.

All grants of pardon and manumiſſion reuoked.

(31) Which fearefull conuulſion in this State, ſome imputed to Gods wrath on this Land for the generall coldneſſe and neglect of their duties in the chiefe Prelates of the kingdome; others to the great vices, and irreligious tyrannies of the great ones; others to the abounding ſinnes of the common people. But * our Author iudgeth, that *the full heape of thoſe cauſes of Gods vengeance, was made-vp by the begging Fryars, who* (ſaith he) *to purchaſe wealth, contrary to their owne Oaths, did ſooth the great men in their vices, and nouriſhed the vulgar in their errours, feeding on the ſinnes of both: calling good euill, and euill good, ſeducing Princes by flatteries, and the common ſort with lies, carrying both headlong with themſelues aſtray. For their outward profeſſion of truth they haue ſo defiled with their wicked life, as that it is now in euery mans mouth a good Argument, holding in matter and forme; This is a Fryar*, Ergo, *a lyar; euen as true as to ſay: This is white*; Ergo, *it is colour'd.*

* *Walſ. in Rich. 2. pag. 266.*

(32) The Duke of *Lancaſter*, at the firſt breaking forth of theſe Rebellions, was vpon the borders, about ſetling of a truce with the *Scots*, who therefore did ſhut vp the matter ſpeedily before the *Scots* had any intelligence, ſetling a two yeares abſtinence from Hoſtilitie. The *Scots* (though they were ſorrie that by the peace ſo concluded, they had loſt an opportunitie of making a dangerous impreſſion vpon the Engliſh,) vnderſtanding the Dukes perill, offred him twentie thouſand men to defend his honour, but he loyally refuſing that, they gaue him leaue to come and goe at his pleaſure with all other rites of ſacred Hoſpitality.

Humanity of the Scots toward *Iohn* Duke of *Lancaſter* in his greateſt dangers.

(33) After

An.D.1382. *An. Reg. 5. Walsingham* begins the yeare at Christmas day inclusiuely.

(33) After Christmas King *Richard* tooke to wife the Lady *Anne*, daughter to the Emperour *Charles* the fourth, and sister to *Wenceslaus* King of *Bohemia*, called *Emperour*; which Lady by the Duke of *Tassill*, was in the name of her said Father, formerly promised and assured vnto him, as one whom the King did specially affect, though the daughter of *Barnabas* Duke of *Millaine* was also offered with a farre greater summe of gold. Shee was with great pompe and glorie at the same time crowned Queene, by the hand of *William Courtney* (a yonger sonne of the Earle of *Deuonshire*) Bishop of *London*, lately promoued from *London* to the See of *Canterbury*. The Nuptials and Coronation of the beauteous Queene being, the Parliament (which by this great Ladies arriuall was interrupted and prorogued) began againe. Where many things concerning the excesse of apparrell, transportation of Coine, &c. were wholesomely enacted. *Sed quid iuuant Statuta Parliamentorum? &c. but to what purpose* (saith *Walsingham*) *are Acts of Parliament, when after they are once past, they take no manner of effect?* For the King with his priuate Councell, was wont (saith he) to change, or abolish all things, which by the whole Commons and Nobility of the kingdome had in former Parliaments been agreed vpon.

(34) Neuertheless, it was then prouided, that such as had done any thing in their owne defence against the Rebels, or to their suppression, without the ordinarie formes of processe in law, should sustaine no dammage thereby, but for euer bee as cleare as if they therefore had enioyed their particular pardons; and that all releases, feoffements, and other acts done in the late rebellions, (during the *hurling times*, for so they were called) by way of constraint or duresse, should be vtterly voide.

The hurling times.

(35) With the good liking of this Parliament, Sir *Richard Scrope* Knight, was made Chancellor of the Realme, and Sir *Hugh Segraue* Treasurer; but it was not long before the Chancellour, denying to passe such large gifts vnder the *Great Seale*; as the King in his youthfull humor had imprudently granted, therewith to gratifie his still crauing Courtiers, fell into the Kings vndeserued displeasure. For albeit he alledged important causes of such his deniall, (as, *that the King was greatly in debt*) and therefore such largesses were fitter to be imployed in discharging some of his Creditors, that knowing how the King was intangled with Creditors, such crauers were not truely well affected to him, as regarding their owne priuate auarice more then the Kings profite, or the publike wants; that those selfe-same crauers had formerly receiued such gifts of his Maiestie, as were (at least) answerable to their deseruings; and that himselfe, if he should seale those grants (made in the Kings childhood) was like to haue small thankes of him, when hee should come to riper iudgement; yet thereupon he was twice or thrice willed to send the Seale to the King, who comming in person surrendred the same, with such like words, *That hee would alwayes be loyall and true to his Maiestie, but neuer beare any office vnder him againe.* Not long after which surrender, *Robert Braybroke* Bishop of *London* was made Chancellor in his place. This act of the Kings was displeasant to the whole Realme, and one of the first things by which hee fell into dislike, it being among the infelicities of King *Richard*, that those times were too full of sower and impatient censors, for a Prince of so calme a temper, and as yet vnseasoned yeares.

Tho. Walsingh.

An.D.1383. (36) *Henry le Spenser* the warlike Bishop of *Norwich*, being drawne on by Pope *Vrban* to preach the *Crusado*, and to be *Generall* against *Clement* (whom sundry Cardinals and great Prelates had also elected Pope) hauing a Fifteenth granted to him for that purpose by Parliament, (after strong * opposition of *almost all the Nobles who resisted this businesse of the Crosse*) went with forces into *Flaunders* to support the cause of *Vrban* against the *Antipape*; from whence after he had performed sundry things very happily, taken *Graueling*, *Burbrough*, *Dunkirke* by assault, and beene victor in a set battell against thirty thousand abettors of *Clements* claime, he was enforced to returne, as destitute of those farther succours which were expected out of *England*. But the King vpon pretence that he had not obeyed his royall mandate, by which he required him, (before hee transported) to returne, for a while seised vpon all his temporalities.

* *Tho. walsing. pag. 297.*

(37) But K. *Richard* hauing before giuen the realme discontentment, by remouing *Scrope* from the Chancellorship, encreased the same by some manifest signes of leuitie and prodigality toward Strangers, then which nothing makes a Prince lesse pleasing to the English: for, in the progresse which with his beloued Queene he made to *Bury*, *Thetford*, *Norwich*, and other places, gifts were taken on all hands by the king, and they againe through the Queene were powred forth to enrich her Bohemians.

The Kings enrichment of the Bohemians displeasant.

(38) *Iohn* Duke of *Lancaster* embrakt himselfe for *France*, where hee concluded a truce to endure betweene the two Nations English and French, from the present Christmas till Midsommer. At his returne, he and his brother *Thomas* of *Woodstocke* Earle of *Buckingham*, went with an Armie into *Scotland*, to reuenge the breach of truce: but as it seemes by some, the Duke had rather an hoast of men, then an hostile minde; for hee so ordered the matter (as not forgetfull perhaps of curtesies shewed to him in his late dangers, when the Commons were out in Armes,) that the Scots hauing had time inough to withdraw both their goods and persons, and his army suffering farre more losse by penurie and cold, then it could inflict vpon the enemy, returned * fruitlesse and inglorious.

An.D.1384.

* *Iohn Stow.*

(39) Not long after his returne, he was encountred with a more capitall and dangerous enemy, then those in Armes: for a certaine Carmelite Fryer, by birth an Irishman, deliuered to the King (in the time of Parliament at *Salisbury*) a writing, which contained therein a heinous accusation of the Duke of *Lancaster*, *that he had conspired to murther the King, & to crowne himselfe*. The accuser discouered the day, place, and other circumstances, to induce a beliefe of the pretended intention, and tooke his oath vpon the Sacrament, which that day he had receiued, that no one word in that scroll was vntrue. The Dukes Apologie and fauour with the King, preuailed aboue the accusers confidence; whervpon the Fryer is committed, at the Dukes request, to the Lord *Iohn Holland* (the Kings halfe-brother by his mother) and a day appointed, wherein the accuser was to shew a cause of his crimination.

The Duke of Lancaster accused of highest Treason.

(40) But in the night which next fore-went the designed day, the said Lord *Iohn Holland* (if a man may beleeue, that a thing so villanous could be done by men of honour) and one Sir *Henry Greene* knight, are reported to haue trussed vp the Fryer in a cord by the necke, and parts of generation, laying vpon his breast a stone of great weight to breake the chine of his backe; and that they also scorcht the soles of his feet. By which miserable and quadruple manner of death, without triall or conuiction, (as also without * recantation of any thing which hee had vttered against the Duke) he is said to haue breathed his last. Neither was his death smothered, for the next day they caused his strangled carkase to bee dragged through the City, that it might not be thought hee had perished vniustly. But the Lord *Thomas* of *Woodstocke* (the same who was afterward Duke of *Glocester*) went farther, for hee rushed into the Chamber where the King was, and bound his words with a "terrible oath, That hee would kill any one liuing "who durst lay treason to his brothers charge; neither did hee except the King himselfe: In which speeches, as piety and zeale for his brothers honour and safety were not wanting, so certainely duty to his Prince was exceedingly forgotten.

* *Iohn Stow.*

(41) That

(41) That which followed, may giue vs iuſt cauſe to ſuſpect the truth of that Fryars accuſation: for the Lord *William la Zouch* was alſo by the Fryar accuſed, of hauing beene the Inuenter, broacher, and prouoker of him, to ſet downe all that which was comprehended in the accuſation; who therevpon ſent for to *Salisbury* (though then very ſicke of the gowte) repaired thither in a Horſe-litter, where hee was compelled to anſwere to all ſuch poynts as were obiected, like a Felon, or a Traitour, ſtanding bare-headed: but the priuitie, or leaſt thought of any ſuch matter as the Fryar affirmed againſt the Duke, hee confidently forſware, and was therevpon acquitted and diſmiſſed. Howbeit (ſaith *Walſingham*) *La Zouch* was from that time forward a profeſſed enemie, not onely of Carmelites, but of all other orders of Fryars whatſoeuer. But theſe diſgraces came vnſeaſonably vpon the Duke, whoſe head was vndoubtedly full of deſignes, and of cares, how to atchieue to himſelfe the crowne of *Spaine*.

(42) There were then ſundry incurſions made by the Engliſh and Scots, each into the others Countrie, the Earle of *Northumberland* being leader to the Engliſh, with little aduantage to either. But to take away the very cauſe of this continuall bad neighbourhood, or to leſſen it by an eſtabliſhed peace with *France*, the Duke of *Lancaſter* ſailed to *Callis*, about the beginning of *Auguſt*, there to treate with the Duke of *Berrie*, on behalfe of the young French King *Charles 6.* but after he had in that voyage expended (as was ſaid) fiftie thouſand Markes, he brought into *England* nothing backe, except onely a truce, to continue till the firſt day of *May* next. His deſire to haue procured a ſurer peace both with the French and Scots, ſeemes to haue beene great, that ſo hee might the more freely purſue the conqueſt of *Spaine* which he intended.

John Cumbertowne, once Lord Maior of *London*, confined and confiſcated.

(43) Whiles hee was abſent in this Ambaſſage, there enſued the arraignement of a great fauourite of the Dukes, *Iohn Northampton*, alias, *Comberton*, whom his aduerſaries by-named *Cumber-towne*. This man is by them reported to haue exceedingly troubled the Citie of *London*, during his late Maioralty there, nor leſſe afterward; for that being followed with many abettors, hee publikely diſturbed Sir *Nicholas Bramble* his ſucceſſor, (but a * bloudy minded man by report,) and wrought other maſteries, till Sir *Robert Knowls* cauſed one of the buſieſt companions to be drawne out of his houſe, and (as ſome ſay) ſhortned by the head. This *Comberton* was by his houſhold Clerke accuſed, as priuie to ſome practiſes, in preiudice as well of the King, as the Citie; and when ſentence was to be pronounced in the kings preſence (being then with great ſtore of his Nobles at *Reading*,) hee durſt (as is ſaid) affirme, That ſuch iudgement ought not to proceed againſt him in the abſence of his Lord the Duke. This again vnraked the burning coales of enuie, and ſuſpition againſt the ſaid Lord Duke; and perhaps malice to the Duke procured this hatred againſt his fauourite. Whereupon hee was confined to the Caſtle of *Tyntagel* in *Cornwall*, and all his goods ſeiſed vpon by the Kings Seruants, whom *Walſingham* expreſſeth, by calling them after the name of thoſe Poetical rauenous Birds, *Harpyes*.

* *Tho. Walſing. Ypodig. Neuſtr.*

Polydor. Virgil. not to be raſhly beleeued.

(44) That here which *Polydor Virgil* (aſſigning cauſes to actions, not alwayes ſuch as are, but ſuch as ſeemed to him moſt probable, not ſeldome confounding and changing perſons, times, names, and things) tells vs, concerning a combate within liſts, betweene Sir *Iohn Anſley* Knight, and one *Carton* hath little ground, (ſo farre as we can find) in hiſtory. He ſaith they were *teterrima capita*, both very wicked men, and that there was a real plot to murther the king. We can neither find the crime nor the men: there had beene a ſolemne combate long before, betweene ſuch a Knight and one * *Katrington* an Eſquire, in which the Knight was Challenger and victor, but the crime was not treaſon againſt the Kings perſon, nor for any thing done in his time, but in his noble Grandfathers. Neither was *Anſley*, *teterrimum caput*, but a valiant and loyall man of Armes. The crime which he obiected to that Eſquire (his kinſman) was, *that for money he had traiterouſly giuen ouer the Caſtle of Saint Sauiour, in the Land of Conſtantine in Normandy, when he had ſtore of victuall and munition.* The Eſquire was vanquiſhed in faire fight, and dyed franticke the next day. *Polydors* errour therefore is ioyned with manifeſt wrong to the Knights name, wherein we ought to be very circumſpect, for that, honour is ineſtimable and deſcendeth to poſterity. There was indeed at the time he ſpeakes of, another combat, fought alſo within liſts before the king, (for *Duels* then were performed, not on priuate choiſe or quarrell, but on publike appointment) betweene one *Iohn Weſh* an Eſquire of *England*, and one * *Martilet* a Gentleman *Nauarrois*, who in reuenge againſt *Welſh*, for hauing at *Cheirbrough* (where the ſaid Eſquire was vnder-captain) committed (as *Martilet* ſaid) adultery with his wife, accuſed him of high treaſon againſt the King and Realme. But *Welſh* preuailed; and the *Nauarrois*, at his execution (for hee was * drawne and hanged after he had beene foild in battell,) confeſſed the cauſe of his euill will, and the innocency of *Welſh* in the matter of treaſon.

* *Henry Knighton Can. of Leic. Abb. apud Holinſh.*

* *Tho. Walſing. in Richard 2.*

Sir *Iohn Anſleys* reputation redeemed from ſlander.

* *Rethton* he is called, *Ypodig. Neuſt. An. 1380.*

(45) The Scots had this while by practiſe and money gotten the Caſtle of *Berwicke*, whereof the Cuſtody belonged to the Lord *Henry Percy* Earle of *Northumberland*. The Duke of *Lancaſter* was not ſad at this, but ſo purſued the matter, that the Earle (as if by his negligence and priuity the ſame royall Caſtle had been loſt) was condemned in Parliament. But the King relieued him with extenſion of fauour. This was a great cauſe of confirming the rancour already kindled in the hearts of theſe two principall Peeres. But the Earle to wipe away all blemiſhes of diſgrace, encloſeth the Caſtle with a ſiege both of force and large proffers, ſo that after ſome time ſpent therein, he had it re-deliuered vpon paiment of two thouſand markes.

Hatred increaſeth betweene the Duke and Count Northumberland.

Berwicke recouered by the Earle.

(46) The Flemmings had heretofore in the fift yeere of this King, ſent Ambaſſadors at the time of Parliament, to ſubmit themſelues and their Country to his Dominion, renouncing alleageance to their naturall Lord the Earle, whom they had by force of Armes expelled, vpon pretence of oppreſſion vſed by him, and for other cauſes; but becauſe they ſeemed not either perſons ſufficient, or ſufficiently inſtructed with authority, to tranſact with the King in a matter of ſo high nature, they were commanded to returne, and fetch more ample power, and to bring certaine men of euery good Towne in *Flaunders*. Now againe, the Citizens of *Gaunt*, though they had in battell againſt the French King, (who was there in perſon on behalfe of the Earle,) * loſt twenty * thouſand men not long before, deſired of K. *Richard*, that they might haue an Engliſh General to command in their warres; to whom was ſent a wiſe and valiant Gentleman, the Lord *Edward le Bourſer*, who demeaned himſelfe in that charge with much commendation. But when afterwards he went more abundantly and ſtrongly to haue ſupported them, they ſodainly turned French, ſhewing *Se neſcire* (ſaith * *Walſingham*) *vni amico, vel domino, fidem diu ſeruare.*

An. D. 1385. The Soueraignty of *Flanders* offered to king *Richard* by the Flemmings.

* *Iohn Tylius in Chron.*

* *Paul. Aemyl.* ſaith 40000. in fight, and in flight, and that in thoſe whole ciuill warres there periſhed 200000.

(47) The Duke of *Lancaſter* (whoſe, or the like greatneſſe may perhaps ſeeme more then can ſtand with the narrow limits of *England*, which, without danger to the Common-wealth, can hardly affoord ſuch a proportion of eſtate to any Subiect) was about this time enformed, that the King had a purpoſe to arreſt his perſon, and to trie him vpon capitall poynts before Sir *Robert Triſilian*, his Chiefe Iuſtitiar, a man ready, (vnder the Kings protection) to deliuer iudgement without reſpect to Titles. The King was nouriſhed in this * deliberation by young men, who combined againſt the Dukes life. This being diſcouered, the Duke (a potent Prince) withdrawes vpon his guard to his Caſtle of *Pomfret* in the

* *In Rich. 2. ad* An. D. 1386.

The Duke of *Lancaſter* ſtands vpon his keeping.

* *Tho. Walſing. in Rich. 2. ad hunc ann.*

the *North*; neuertheleſſe the hopes of wicked men, delighting in their Countries miſeries, and ciuill combuſtions, were made voide by the great diligence of the Kings mother, the Princeſſe *Ioan*, who ſpared not her continuall paines and expenſes, in trauailing betweene the King and the Duke, (albeit ſhe was exceeding tender of complexion, and ſcarce able to beare her own bodies weight through corpulency) till they were fully reconciled.

(48) It had indeed beene a moſt wretched time for a ciuill warre, not onely becauſe the French Admirall, *Iohn de Vienna*, had beene ſent with forces, embarckt in threeſcore ſaile of Ships, to be employed out of *Scotland* againſt the Engliſh, but for that the French prepared a generall inuaſion of *England*, hauing in hope already as it were deuoured it. There reigned at that time in *France*, *Charles the ſixt*, a yong and fooliſh Prince, (ſaith *Tillius*) who hauing in his treaſurie, left to him by his prudent Father, * eighteene millions of Crownes, (and not onely eighteene hundred thouſand, * as ſome, fearing perhaps that the other ſumme might ſeeme incredible, haue written,) and being moreouer ſet on fire with an inconſiderate loue of glory, rather then vpon any ſound aduiſe (though * ſome impute the Counſell to the ſaid *Admirall*) would needs vndertake the conqueſt of our Countrey. Theſe newes ſtirred all the limbes and humours thereof, though the euent (God not fauouring the enterprize) was but like that of the Mountaine, which after long trauaile brought forth a ridiculous Mouſe, neuertheleſſe it had beene a moſt deſperate ſeaſon for a ciuill warre to haue broken forth in *England*.

(49) The preparations of the French doe hold notwithſtanding, and the generall *Rendeuou* of their huge forces was at *Sluſe*, in the Port whereof, and other places about, there were aſſigned to aſſemble for their tranſportation, * twelue hundreth ſaile of ſhips. At the ſame time (as if the two young Kings had beene riuals in ſhew of men) *Richard* raiſeth ſo great an Army to ouer-runne *Scotland*, as the like for beauty and number was neuer ſeene together, conſiſting wholly of Engliſhmen. But may we beleeue that *England* could ſpare three hundreth thouſand men, and as many horſes for the vſe of a warre? Certainely a needleſſe multitude, but onely to terrifie the French with the fame; for there might haue beene fewer, for any great Act which *Richard* (full of iealouſie againſt his Vncle of *Lancaſter*, wherewith his head and heart were full,) effected. But wee may the rather beleeue the account, for that *Walſingham* voucheth * Serueants at Armes (if he meane not Heralds by thoſe words) whoſe office (hee ſaith) it was to number the Hoaſt, and they affirmed the ſame. This is ſure, that * among other the arguments vſed by the Duke of *Bury* (one of the French Kings Vncles) to fruſtrate this enterprize, he alleaged, that the King of *England* had muſtred ten thouſand Horſemen, and one hundreth thouſand Archers for his defence; whereas the Admirall *Iohn de Vienna* affirmed, that hauing ſeene the forces of the Engliſh, they were but eight thouſand horſemen and threeſcore thouſand foot; and he might well ſay *hauing ſeene*: for, though *Æmylius* bring him in ſpeaking to the French King, and vaunting that hee had encountred them, yet nothing is truer, then that the Engliſh returned out of *Scotland* without the leaſt offer of battell. The Admiral was willing indeed to haue fought, but when hee ſaw our Army from the hil-tops, his fury gaue place to reaſon.

(50) While the Armie was vpon the way toward *Scotland*, the Kings halfe-brother the Lord *Iohn Holland*, wickedly ſlew the Lord *Stafford*, ſonne to the Earle of *Stafford*, not farre from *Yorke*, being vpon his iourney to the Queene, whoſe fauoured Knight hee was. For which heinous homicide the King ſeiſed vpon his whole eſtate, denying to his Mothers moſt earneſt prayers any pardon or grace for his Brother. Which was to her ſo greeuous, that within fiue or ſixe dayes after ſhe gaue vp the Ghoſt at *Wallingford*. The young Lord tooke Sanctuary at *Beuerley*, and the King by his iuſtice herein wanne the hearts of the ſaid Earle of *Stafford*, the Earle of *Warwicke*, the Lord *Baſſet*, and other great men of *Staffords* kindred and friends; neither did this empeach at all the preſent voyage.

(51) The Scots and French in *Scotland*, ſeeing themſelues vnable to withſtand ſuch forces, had ſo retired themſelues and all their goods, that when the Engliſh ſhould come, they, (as *Walſingham* pleaſantly ſaith) could ſee no quicke things left but onely Owles. That which was greene in the fields, the horſes deuoured or trampled downe, yet ſuch harme, as the materials of buildings were capable of, was done. *Edenburgh* alſo and the * noble Abbey of *Mailroſſe* were fired. The Duke of *Lancaſter* perſwaded the King to march beyond the *Frith* or Scottiſh Sea (as his great Anceſtors had done) to ſeeke out his enemies; but he, very ſuſpicious that the Duke gaue him this counſell with a purpoſe to betray him to deſtruction by famine, and want, which hee was there to looke for, expreſſed much diſpleaſure and returned. The Dukes words notwithſtanding and behauiour were tempered with much duty and modeſty; but that would not ſerue, till the Lords peeced their affections together by interceſſion in the beſt manner the time would ſuffer. But the Engliſh hoaſt was ſcarce returned and diſcharged, when the Scots and French ſodainely powred themſelues forth vpon our Countrey, and did whatſoeuer hurt the ſhortneſſe of time in their incurſion could permit.

(52) To reſiſt and endammage the French, there were appointed *Admirals* for the narrow Seas, the Maſter of Saint *Iohns*, and Sir *Thomas Piercy* knight, (the Earle of *Northumberlands* Brother,) who did nothing worthy their fame or place. Onely the Townesmen of *Portſmouth* and *Dart*, maund forth a few ſhips at their owne perill and charge, wherewith entering the riuer of *Seine* (vpon which the renowned Cities *Roan* and *Paris* are ſituated) ſuncke ſome of their enemies ſhips, tooke others, and among them one of Sir *Oliuer de Cliſſon's*, the goodlieſt that *France* had. The ſucceſſe anſwered their hopes, and they were enriched with the ſpoiles of their aduerſaries, whom thus they compelled to beare the charge of their proper miſchiefe.

(53) Meane-while that the French lay at *Sluſe*, attending the approach of their kings vncle the Duke of *Burie*, (who fauoured not this enterprize of inuaſion, but ſought * aſwell by delayes, as by perſwaſion and authority to make it fruſtrate,) they of *Gaunt* had gotten the Towne of *Dam*, by the good liking of the Inhabitants, to whom the French gouernment was odious. For recouery whereof, the French King drew his army (prepared againſt *England*) to the ſiege of *Dam*, which (the ſame being firſt ſecretly abandoned, after a moneths ſiege and many repulſes giuen to the French) was by him recouered. This, and other things, did ſo protract the great expedition intended, that (after waſt of infinite treaſure) *Charles* returned home, without hauing ſeene *England*, which was by theſe meanes moſt graciouſly freed by God from ſo dangerous, and greatly-feared an impreſſion. But that the Engliſh might the better endure the ſame, *Iohn* King of *Portugall*, hauing lately in a great and bloudy battell (where ſome of the Engliſh deſerued well of him,) ouerthrowne the *Caſtilians*, and thereby ſetled his eſtate, ſent into *England* ſixe Galleys throughly well appointed, for Sea-ſeruice, though (as God would) there was no neede of them.

(54) Of thoſe French, which (after the Cloude of warre at *Sluſe* was diſperſed into ayre,) paſſed ouer-land into their Countries, many were taken and ſlaine by the *Gauntiners*. Their Nauie was not leſſe vnfortunate; for at one * time the Engliſh of *Callis* tooke of them eighteene; and the rage of weather

The French prepare an inuaſion againſt *England*.

* *Ex Record. apud Tilium.*

* *Paul. Aemyl.*

* *Pol. Virg. lib. hiſt. Angl. 20. & Pau. Aemyl.*

Froiſſard. la Meir.

* *Paul. Aemil.* Three hundreth thouſand Engliſh men in armes together.

* *Seruientes ad arma.*

* *Paul. Aemyl. in Carol. 6.*

The Kings mother dyeth, being denied a pardon for her ſonne the Lord *Iohn Holland*.

* *Tpodig. Neuſtr.*

The Duke of *Lancaſter* ſuſpected for perſwading the King to paſſe the Scottiſh Seas.

The vertue of priuate men in the publike cauſe.

* *Iohn Tillius.*

The Portugeſes aid the Engliſh.

* *In feſt. exal. S. Cru.* 14. Septem b

The bad euent of this French deſigne for an inuaſion.

brake and ſunke diuers, ſo that this *Brauado* was not onely coſtly to the French, by reaſon of the charges, but hurtfull in the loſſe of time, men, ſhips, and hoped glory. Such are the euents of humane enterpriſes, where God is not pleaſed to giue ſucceſſe. The Engliſh thus deliuered from feare, make a road into *France* out of *Callis*, and with a prey of foure thouſand ſheepe and three hundreth head of great cattell, beſides an hundreth good priſoners, returned ſafe to their Garriſon.

The attempt of the Laity to diſpoſſeſſe the Clergie of their temporall eſtates.

(55) The multitude of memorable things which preſent themſelues to vs in the liues of our Engliſh Monarches, is ſuch, that if we did not vſe choiſe, and in their relation breuity, we ſhould not relieue our Readers of that moleſtation, with which the vaſte volumes of former labours doe oppreſſe the memory. The Laity, at the Parliament now holden at *London*, had yeelded to aide the King with a *Fifteenth*, vpon condition, that the Clergie ſhould ſuccour him with a *Tenth and an halfe*; againſt which vniuſt proportion, *William de Courtney*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* moſt ſtifly oppoſed; alleadging *that the Church ought to be free, nor in any wiſe to be taxed by the Laity, and that himſelfe would rather die then endure that the Church of England, (the liberties whereof had by ſo many free Parliaments, in all times, and not onely in the raigne of this King been confirmed) ſhould be made a bond-maide.* This anſwere ſo offended the *Commons*, that the Knights of the Shires, and ſome Peeres of the land, with extreame fury beſought, *That Temporalities might be taken away from Eccleſiaſticall perſons*, ſaying, *that it was an Almeſdeed and an Act of Charity ſo to doe, thereby to humble them.* Neither did they doubt, but that their petition which they had exhibited to the King would take effect. Hereupon they deſigned among themſelues, out of which Abbey, which ſhould receiue ſuch a certaine ſumme, & out of which, another. I my ſelfe (ſaith a * Monke of S. *Albans*) heard one of thoſe Knights confidently ſweare, that hee would haue a yearely penſion of a thouſand Markes out of the Temporalities belonging to that Abbey. But the King hauing heard both parts, commanded the Petitioners to ſilence, and the Petition to be razed out, ſaying, *Hee would maintaine the Engliſh Church in the qualitie of the ſame ſtate or better, in which himſelfe had known it to be, when hee came to the Crowne.* The Archbiſhop hereupon hauing conſulted with the Clergie, came to the King, and declared, that he and the Clergie had with one conſent, willingly prouided to ſupply his Maieſties occaſions with a *Tenth*. This grant the King tooke ſo contentedly, as he openly affirmed he was better pleaſed with this free contribution of one Tenth for the preſent, then if he had gotten foure by compulſion.

* *Thom. Walſ.*

King *Richard* the Clergies friend.

The firſt Marqueſſe made that euer was in *England*.

(56) *Robert de Vere* Earle of *Oxford* (a young Gentleman in ſpeciall grace with the King) was at this Parliament created *Marqueſſe* of *Dublin* in *Ireland*, which mooued great deſpight againſt him, thoſe rough times being impatient to beare the vnequall aduancement of fauourites. Neuertheleſſe, though the gentle King was thought heerein to pleaſe his owne fanſie, rather then to reward merite, yet did hee ſo ſweetly temper it, as there was no iuſtice, nor reaſon to enuie to him that ſolace which hee tooke in his friends encreaſed honour; for at the ſame time hee aduanced two of his Vncles, *Thomas of Woodſtocke*, Earle of *Buckingham*, to the title of Duke of *Gloceſter*, & *Edmund of Langley* Earle of *Cambridge*, he created Duke of *Yorke*, allotting ſeuerall proportions of penſion to bee paide out of his Exchequer. In *Vere* there was ancient Nobility to iuſtifie his new degree the better; but in making the Lord Chancellor *Michael de la Pole* Earle of *Suffolke*, with the yearely penſion of 1000. Markes, was matter of more enuie; becauſe he was not deſcended of ſuch honourable Parents: a defect (if it bee a defect) which none more willingly vpbraid to men of worth, then who themſelues are not alwaies the moſt worthy. The firſt raiſer of this family of *De la Pole* was *Edward* the third, who made *William de la Pole*, of a braue Merchant, a * Knight Baneret, and gaue him great poſſeſſions, in requitall of an extraordinary and voluntary loane of treaſure, aduanced by him to ſupply the King in a time of ſpeciall neceſſity, when money could ſtand him in more ſteed then a thouſand men of Armes: no little merite in a ſubiect, nor a ſlender reward of a moſt munificent Prince.

* *Ex libr. Monaſt. de Meſſa, & ex Record. apud Guil. Cambd. in Yorkſh.*

(57) *Henry Spenſer* the martiall Biſhop of *Norwich* found grace with the King at this Parliament, to be reſtored to his temporalties, at the ſpeciall ſuite of *Thomas Arundell* Biſhop of *Ely*: whiles the Biſhop of *Ely* thus beſought his Maieſty of Grace, the ſaid *Michael de la Pole* (Lord Chancellour, and Earle of *Suffolke*) ſtood by, and brake out with much offence into theſe words. *What is that (my Lord) which you aske of the King? Seemes it to you a ſmall matter for him to part with that Biſhops temporalities, when they yeeld to his Coffers aboue one thouſand pounds by yeere? Little need hath the king of ſuch Counſellors, or of ſuch friends, as aduiſe him to acts ſo greatly to his hinderance.* Whereunto the Biſhop of *Ely* not leſſe truely, then freely replide. *What ſaith your Lordſhip, my Lord Michael? Know that I require not of the King that which is his, but that which hee (drawne thereunto either by you, or by the Counſell of ſuch as you are,) with-holds from other men, vpon none of the iuſteſt titles, and which (as I thinke) will neuer doe him any good: as for you, if the Kings hinderance bee the thing you weigh, why did you ſo greedily accept of a thouſand Markes by yeare, at ſuch time as he created you Earle of Suffolke?* The Chancellour was hit ſo home with this round retort, that he neuer offered any further to croſſe the reſtitution of the Biſhops temporalities.

An. D. 1386. *An. Reg. 6.*

(58) After this the King being with his Queene at their manour of *Eltham* in *Kent*, there came thither *Leo* King of *Armenia*, a Chriſtian Prince, whom the *Tartars* had expelled out of his Kingdome. The pretence of his negotiation was to accord the Realmes of *England* and *France*; that the Princes thereof might with ioynt forces remoue the common enemy from Chriſtendome. Therein he could effect nothing, but his iourney was not otherwiſe vnfruitfull to himſelfe, for King *Richard* (a Prince, to ſpeake truely, full of honour and bounty) gaue him beſides a thouſand pounds in a * ſhip of gold, letters Pattents alſo for a thouſand pounds yearely penſion during life.

* *Ypod. Neuſt.*

(59) The time now was come, wherein King *Richard* ſhould ſee himſelfe deliuered of all that feare and iealouſie, which the greatneſſe of his Vncle the Duke of *Lancaſter* ſtirred in him. His Forces were now ready, and his Nauy (encreaſed with * ſeauen Gallies and eighteene ſhips ſent out of *Portugall*) attended at *Briſtoll*, to tranſport him toward *Spaine*, (for *Caſtile* is *high Spaine*) the Crowne whereof hee claimed in right of *Conſtance* his ſecond wife, daughter of *Don Peter* the cruell. Before hee ſet forth, the newes came that ſuch Engliſh as were already in *Portugall*, with their friends, had ouerthrowne the *Spaniards*, *French*, and *Britons*, at a battell in *Spaine*. This was a ſpurre to quicken the Dukes enterpriſe, which Pope *Vrban* the ſixth (by granting plenary remiſſion of ſinnes to all ſuch as gaue the Duke ayde) did ſpecially fauour, as againſt them who did partake with his enemy the *Antipape*; * *but the frequent grant of ſuch pardon & releaſment, was now growne ſo vile and contemptible amongſt the people, that few were found open handed towards this Cruceato.* Admirall of this Fleet was Sr. *Thomas Piercy*, Sr. *Iohn Holland* (who had married one of the Dukes daughters, afterward created Earle of *Huntington*) was Conſtable of the hoaſt, & Sr. *Iohn Mereaux* (who had to wife one of the Dukes illegitimate Children) was one of his Marſhals. There were in this noble and excellently-well appoynted Armie, the Lords, *Talbot*, *Baſſet*, *Willoughby*, *Fitz-walter*, *Poynings*, *Bradſton*, *Fitz-warren*,

* *Holinſh.*

* *Tho. Walſing. pag. 321.*

The noble army of the Duke of *Lancaſter* for *Spaine*.

warren, *Beaumont*, *Beauchamp*, the Lord *Pomiers* a *Gascoigne*, &c. with very many worthy knights and valiant Esquiers, and a choise number of men of Armes, Archers and other Souldiers, to the number of * twenty thousand. The Duke tooke also with him his wife, the Lady *Constance*, and two daughters, which he had by her, as * one relateth.

* *Henry Knighton.*

* *Oglands Ang. præl.*

(60) It was now the moneth of May, when the great Duke of *Lancaster* comming to take leaue, had of the Kings gift a Diademe of gold, and his Dutchesse of the Queene another: hee also commanded the English to call, and hold his Vncle for a King, and to doe him answerable honour. But after all this, hee lay for a wind so long, till his whole prouisions were almost spent; at length yet, hee set forward. The first land they touched was neere to *Brest* in *Britaine*, where Sir *Iohn Roch*, the Gouernour against the French, complained of two Forts built about him to empeach his quiet egresse; whereupon the Duke of *Lancaster* caused them to be assaulted; so both of them being taken by surrender, were razed to the ground, though some English first lost their liues, among which was, * Sir *Robert Swinarton*, a valiant Knight of *Staffordshire*, and *Iohn de Bolton* a couragious Esquier of *Yorkeshire*, whom the sodain ruine of a Tower (ouerturnd by mining) whelmed and slew out-right. Sharpned with the successe of this victorie, they commit themselues to God, and the Sea, and prosperously arriue with the whole Fleet in the Port *Corone*, or the *Groyne*, * in August.

* *Hollinsh. ex Hen. Knigh. p. 449.*

* *Vigil. S. Lauren.*

(61) The French (belike) thought *England* could not furnish another Armie for *France*, as she had for *Spaine*: whereupon there was now no false nor vaine rumor spread againe, that the French would besiege *Callis*. The King to secure that pretious transmarine part of his Dominions, sent thither store of men and of all prouisions. The most eminent person was *Henry* Lord *Piercy*, Sonne to *Henry* Earle of *Northumberland*. This was hee whom the Scots by-named *Hotspur*, a young Gentleman, *in whom* (saith *Walsingham*) *the patterne of all vertue and martiall prowesse shined*: and indeed his nature did answer his by-name; for he made such ridings into the quarters about *Callis*, that they could neuer wish a worse Neighbour. After which, when the fame went that the French King would not delay, or (as they call it) beleaguer *Callis*, but rather inuade *England*, hee returned to bee present where the greatest danger was expected. At this time, the English Seamen of warre, brought two French prizes to *Sandwich*, in which was taken a part of an huge strong Timber-wall, which the French King, preparing now for *Englands* inuasion, had caused to bee built in length three miles, in height twenty foot, which had at euery twelue paces a Tower (ten foot higher) and each capable of tenne men, the whole to be a defence for the French encampments against our shot, and a shelter for theirs, there was also in the same Ships the Enginer and Master-workeman, who was an Englishman and great quantities of powder, and store of Ordinance, together with the French Kings * Master-Gunner.

The Lord *Henry Piercy* by-named *Hotspur*, sent to *Callis*.

* *Magister Gunnarius.*

A Parallelization of the English and French States in these times.

(62) There was in this time a great resemblance betweene *England* and *France* in the chiefe poynts of State. As *England* had *Richard*, so had *Fraunce* her *Charles*, both young Kings. *Charles* with an huge armie had prepared to inuade *England*, but did nothing: *Richard* with no lesse forces entred *Scotland*, and did no great thing. *Richard* had Vncles which bare great sway in the Realme; so had *Charles*. *Richard* had his Vncle *Iohn* more potent then the rest; *Charles* had his Vncle *Lewis*. *Iohn* vpon his Wiues title claimeth the kingdomes of *Castile* & *Leon*; *Lewis* by the gift of *Ioane* the Queene, claimes the Kingdomes of *Naples* and *Sicil*. *Lewis* went with an Army of * thirty thousand horse into *Italy* to atchieue his claime; with what force *Iohn* set forth you haue heard. But *Lewis* died without obtayning; *Iohn* preuailed so farre as to settle his childe by marriage. The King and great Lords of *France* were glad (with any charge) to enioy the absence of *Lewis*, and *Richard* & his fauourites were not sad, that the Realme was for the present rid of *Iohn*.

* *Paul. Aemyl.*

(63) The forces of the French prouided for this inuasion of *England*, were reported in open Parliament (which the King held about *Michaelmas* in *London*) to consist of * 15. Dukes, 26. Earles, two hundreth Lords, and an hundreth thousand Souldiers, and a thousand Ships, assembled about *Sluse*, with full purpose to take reuenge of all the euills which the English nation had formerly wrought in *France*, and to destroy the English Kingdome. But though these reports were not fained, (for the French attended nothing in a manner but a faire gale of winde to bring them,) yet could not the King, without Capitulations made by the Duke of *Glocester*, obtaine any aydes of money; so that, whereas it seemed to the King, that by the Duke of *Lancasters* departure, hee was become more free, yet had hee left behinde, spirits much more stiffe and intractable. O deare Countrey, hadst thou not then beene apparantly in Gods protection, (for the French hauing stayd for a winde till *Hallon-tide*, and then hauing it halfeway, were beaten backe, and the voyage made vtterly voyd) certainely thy ruine had then beene certaine. What shall we thinke or say of those popular Lords, by this gentle King armed *(to his owne bane)* with power and greatnesse, who vnder the specious pretext of reforming abuses, did satisfie their enuie and inbred insolencie?

* *Ypodig. Neustr.*

(64) The King tels them, that *England* is, as they saw, in manifest danger, and prayes their succour in money: what is the answere? That the *Duke of Ireland* (for now the Marquesse of *Dublin* was made a Duke,) and *Michaell at the Pole* (so they scornfully called the Earle of *Suffolke*) and other, must be remoued. Things are baldly carried at home, say they; (and they perhaps said truely,) but where was now the care of our Countrey? God indeed turned from vs the mercilesse poynt of the French sword: but here began the seedes of innumerable worse miseries, neuer to be remembred without sighes and teares.

The first seeds of the ciuill wars.

(65) The seeds (we say) of those fearefull calamities were then first here sowne, whose summe a flourishing * Writer in our age (willing neerely to haue imitated *Lucan*, as hee is indeed called our * *Lucan*) doth not vnfortunately expresse, though hee might rather haue said he wept them, then sung them; but so to sing them, is to weepe them.

* *Sam. Dan.* in his ciuill warres.

* *Ren. Inc.*

I sing the ciuill warres; tumultuous broiles,
And bloudy factions of a mightie Land;
Whose people hautie, proud with forraine spoiles,
Vpon themselues turne back their conquering hand;
While kinne their kinne, brother the brother foiles,
Like Ensignes, all against like Ensignes band;
Bowes against Bowes, a Crowne against a Crowne,
While all pretending right, all right thrown downe.

But *Robert de Vere*, saith *Thomas* Duke of *Glocester* and his party, was vnworthily created Duke of *Ireland*, and *De la Pole* the Lord Chancellour seemed to the onely great Lords (for so they would seeme) to be in the Kings debt. Strange colours for Subiects to capitulate with their King; vpon giuing their ioynt aides against the common enemie, now ready with one destruction to ouerwhelme them all. The time they tooke to worke this pretended amendment in state, was not well fitted. It sauoured of somewhat else besides the loue of Common-weale. Priuate ambitions and passions could not be wanting in such oppositions. This is some mens iudgement, let the sequels shew how iust.

(66) There were called vp at this Parliament for defence of the Realme innumerable people out of all Shires, which forces lay about *London* with n

twentie miles round, and had no pay but liued vpon ſpoyle. Theſe at laſt were licenſed to depart to bee ready at warning. There was alſo the Lord Chancellour accuſed, of (we wot not what) petty crimes (for the abuſes of following ages haue made them ſeeme ſo,) as for paying to the Kings Coffers but * twenty markes yeerely, for a fee-farme, whereof himſelfe receiued threeſcore and tenne, and ſome ſuch other. To pacifie theſe great Lords, the Lord Chancellour is diſgraced, and the ſeale taken from him, againſt the Kings will, and giuen to *Thomas Arundell* Biſhop of *Elye*, and then the houſes of Parliament yeelded to giue halfe a Tenth, and halfe a Fifteenth, but vpon condition that it ſhould bee diſpoſed of, as the Lords thought fit, for defence of the Realme. The money was thereupon deliuered to the Earle of *Arundell* to furniſh himſelfe, for that purpoſe, to the Sea. But to rid the Duke of *Ireland* out of the Realme, the Lords were willing he ſhould haue thoſe thirtie thouſand Markes, for which the heires of *Charles* of *Bloys*, (who heretofore challenged *Britaine*) were tranſacted to the French, vpon condition that the ſaid Duke ſhould paſſe into *Ireland* before the next Eaſter.

* *Tho. Walſingh. in Rich. 2.*

(67) The Parliament was no ſooner diſſolued, but the King recals the Earle of *Suffolke* to the Court, keepes both him, the Duke of *Ireland*, and *Alexander Neuile* Archbiſhop of *Yorke* about his perſon, in greater fauour then before. Inſomuch that at Chriſtmaſſe he made *De la Pole* to ſit at his owne Table, *not in the vſuall garment of a Peere, but Princely robed.* Surely therein not well; for ſome of thoſe great Lords, (though not by ſo ſweet meanes as were fit) did deſire to waken him out of Courtly drowſineſſe, and (as men that knew not what peace meant) to put him into actions worthy of his name and greatneſſe. Theſe other perſons were not ſo friended, or qualified, that they could ſupport a King againſt an vniuerſall miſlike. But the King vpon a ſtomacke doth it; ſo that (ſaith * *Walſingham*) *here firſt grew the Kings hatred againſt the Peeres, that from thence-forth hee neuer (as it is ſaid) regarded them but fainedly.* So much more dangerous ſometime is the remedy then a very greeuous malady.

* *Ypod. Neuſtriæ.*

(68) King *Richard* (whoſe age and place ſtood in need of wiſer inſtructions) not thus contented to haue whetted the diſpleaſures of the greater Peeres, as if hee had ſaid to himſelfe, *Rumpatur* * *quiſquis rumpitur inuidiâ*; is further drawne, as was ſaid, to plot the death of his Vncle, *Thomas* of *Woodſtocke* Duke of *Gloſter*, and other enemies of *De la Pole*; who together being inuited to a feaſt (by the bloody deuiſe of Sir *Nicholas Brambre* late Lord Maior of *London*) ſhould together haue periſhed. But the preſent Lord Maior *Nicholas Exton* (whom the conſpirators would haue had their Partaker, if it may be beleeued) honeſtly refuſed to aſſent. The Lords hereupon hauing admonition, refrained to come.

* *Martial.*

Th Lord Maior of *London* refuſeth to be of conſpiracy againſt the Duke of *Gloſter.*

An. D. 1387.

(69) The perſons which were in the publike enuie for their ouer-ſwaying grace with the King, were (as you haue heard) *Robert de Vere* Duke of *Ireland*, *Michael de la Pole* Earle of *Suffolke*, the ſaid Archbiſhop, Sir *Simon Burley* Knight, and Sir *Richard Stury*: Theſe men hearing that *Richard* Earle of *Arundel*, and *Thomas* Earle of *Nottingham* Marſhall of *England*, * had encountred with a great Fleet of *Frenchmen*, *Flemmings*, *Normans*, and *Spaniards*, and taken aboue one hundreth ſaile of ſhips, and in them nineteene thouſand Tunnes of wine, depraued the victory, ſaying, that the vanquiſhed were but Merchants, whoſe loues had beene more profitable to our Country, then ſo to ſtirre them to inexorable hatred. But theſe (ſaith * one) who thus iudged, were rather the *Knights of Venus then Bellona, fitter for a Canapy then a Campe, for language then a lance, as they who were awake to diſcourſe of martiall actions, but drowſie when they ſhould come to doe them. Such therefore conuerſing with the King (not * without ſuſpition of foule familiarity) neuer tooke care to put into his mind any matter which beſeemed ſo potent a Prince, we ſay not (quoth our Authour) as concerning the vſe of Armes, but not euen concerning thoſe very recreations, which moſt of all become great ſpirits, as hunting, hawking, and the like.* But the Earles did more then meddle with Merchants (who yet were able to make dangerous reſiſtances) for they landed at *Breſt* in *Britaine*, and with great difficulty deliuered it againe from ſo bad neighbours as the two wooden Forts neerely built, where the other had ſtood, one of which they fired, and the other they mand with the Engliſh Garriſon of *Breſt*. Then ſtuffing it with all ſorts of prouiſions for a yeere, & furniſhing the wants of the Souldiers with all neceſſaries, they returned, hauing worthily wonne the loue and praiſes of the people. Which, as they were alſo due to them from the King, yet comming to his preſence, they (by theſe mens euill offices) had ſo cold entertainment, as they eſtſoones with-drew themſelues from Court to liue quietly vpon their owne at home. After them the braue young *Henry Hotſpur*, Lord *Percy* was ſent (ill prouided) to the Sea; neuertheleſſe hee ventred, and returned (when his commiſſion was expired) with honour.

* *Apriliſ 24.*

* *Ypodig. Neuſtr.* A deſcription of King *Richards* chiefe fauorites.

The malignant conſtruction made of the Earle of *Arundels* ſeruice.

(70) One thing done by the Duke of *Ireland*, was ſurely full of wickedneſſe and indignity. For he hauing to wife a young, faire, and noble Lady, and the Kings neere kinſwoman, (for ſhee was Grandchilde to King *Edward* by his * daughter *Iſabel*,) did put her away, and tooke one of Queene *Annes* women, a *Bohemian* * of baſe birth, called in her mother-tongue *Lancecrone*. This intollerable villanie offered to the blood royall, King *Richard* did not encounter; neither had the power, ſome ſay, who deemed that by witchcrafts and ſorceries (practiſed vpon him by one of the Dukes followers) his iudgement was ſo ſeduced and captiuated, that hee could not ſee what was honeſt or fit to doe. But where *Princes* are wilfull or ſloathfull, and their *fauorites* flatterers, or time-ſeruers, there needs no other enchantments to infatuate, yea, and ruinate the greateſt Monarch.

The Duke of *Ireland* puts away his wife the Kings coſen.

* *Tho. Walſingh. in Richard 2.*

* *Sallaÿ Filia*, a Sadlers daughter, ſome ſay a Ioyners. *Walſingham.*

(71) The Duke of *Gloceſter* tooke the matter more to heart, reſoluing to bee reuenged for the infamy and confuſion, which was brought thereby vpon his noble kinſwoman. Meane-while the King, as if hee meant to conduct his deare friend the Duke toward *Ireland*, went with him into *Wales*. There the King deuiſeth with him, the Earle of *Suffolke*, Sir *Robert Treſilian*, and others, (who were equally affrayd of the Lords) how to deſtroy the Duke of *Gloceſter*, the Earles of *Arundell*, *Warwicke*, *Derby*, *Nottingham*, and ſuch others, as from whom they thought fitte to bee cleare. Much time being trifled thus away in *Wales*, they come together (as if the Dukes appoynted voyage, or ratherbaniſhment into *Ireland*, were quite forgotten) to the Caſtle of *Nottingham*, there more freely to deliberate. A fearefull eſtate of a Monarchie. Hee among a few, generally ill-beloued, and ill-aduiſed, and ill-prouided; for their whole ſtrength was the King, and theſe emulations made that force feeble both to him and them: the Lords, potent, martiall, rich, and popular; he at *Nottingham*, they not neere him, but abroad farre-off: the Duke of *Lancaſter* with the flower of the Engliſh forces, and mighty neighbours, watching for the ruine of all. The courſe agreed vpon by the King and that ill-choſen *Senate*, was firſt to haue the opinion of all the Chiefe Lawyers concerning certaine Articles of Treaſon, within whoſe nets and ſprindges they preſumed the *reforming Lords* were; and if the Lawyers (who ſeldome faile Princes in ſuch turnes) did conclude, that thoſe Articles contained treaſonable matter, then vnder a ſhew of iuſtice they ſhould be proceeded againſt accordingly. Theſe Lawyers (who were the very men, which in the laſt ſeditious Parliament, gaue aduiſe to the Lords to doe as they did) now meeting, were demanded, *whether by the law*

A new conſultation of the King how to bring the popular Lords to a triall.

The Lawyers ſent for to make treaſons.

* *Tho. Walſingh. in Richard 2. ad A. D. 1386.*

law of the Land, the King might not disanull the Decrees of the last Parliament: they joyntly * answered; he might, because he was aboue the lawes: confessing, that themselues had in that Parliament decreed many things, and giuen their judgement, that all was according to law, which now they acknowledged to be altogether vnlawfull. The King thus enformed, appointeth a great Councell to be holden at *Nottingham*, and sent for certaine *Londoners*, some of them such as were beholding to the King for mercie in cases of *attaindour*, to be there empanelled for Quests of Inquirie. The Sheriffes of Shires (being questioned) denied, that they could raise any competent forces against the Lords, their whole Counties were so addicted in their fauour: and being further willed to suffer no Knights to be chosen for the Shires, but such as the King and his Councell should name, they answered, that the election belonged to the Commons, who fauoured the Lords in all.

* At Shrewsburie saith Hist. Leicestrens.

Hist. Leicestrens.

(72) Vpon the 25. of August there met before the King at *Nottingham* these Lawyers, *Robert Trisilian* his chiefe Iustitiar, *Robert Belknap* chiefe Iustitiar of the common Pleas, *Iohn Holt*, *Roger* * *Stilethorpe*, & *William Burgh* Iustitiars in the same Court, and *Iohn Lokton* the Kings Serjeant at Law: all which being vpon their allegiance charged to deliuer their opinions, whether such * Articles as were there in the Kings behalfe propounded (which Articles comprehended all the poynts of aduantage taken against the proceedings of the last Parliament, and the displacing of the Lord Chancellor, *Michael de la Pole*) contayned matter of Treason, they all of them answered affirmatiuely, and subscribed; which afterward cost them deare. Iudge *Belknap* fore-saw the danger, and therefore was very vnwilling to put his Seale to the answeres, saying; *there wanted but a* * *hurdle, a horse, and a halter, to carrie him where hee might suffer the death he deserued; for if I had not done this* (quoth he) *I should haue died for it, and because I haue done it, I deserue death for betraying the Lords.* The King in the meane space puruayes himselfe of people to fight, if neede required.

*Fulthorp, vide Booke of Statut. A. 11. Rich. 2. cap. 4.

* Those Articles are set downe in the Book of Statu. A. 21. R. 2. c. 12

Hist. Leicestrens.

* In M.S. it is *vratis* for *Cratis* in likelihood.

(73) The Duke of *Gloucester* (sadded with these newes) sent the Bishop of *London* to bring his purgation vpon oath to the King, who inclining to credite the same, was in an euill houre diuerted by *De la Pole*. The Duke makes his and their common danger known to the Earles of *Arundel*, *Warwicke*, & *Derby*, eldest sonne to the Duke of *Lancaster*. They seuerally gather forces, that vnited they might present their griefes to the King, who to keep them from joyning, sends the Earle of *Northumberland* to arrest the Earle of *Arundel* at *Reygate* in *Surrey*, where he abode. But by reason of *Arundels* power, it was too dangerous a worke. *Northumberland* returnes, and *Arundel* (admonished by the Duke of *Gloucester* of his farther perill) escapeth in post to *Haringey*, where the Duke and Earle of *Warwicke* had store of people.

(74) As yet no bloud was drawne. Peaceable men procured that the Lords should repaire safe to *Westminster*, and there be heard. Thither approaching they are aduertised by the Bishop of *Elie* and others (who had sworne on the Kings behalfe for good dealing to be vsed during the *Interim*) that, at the *Mewes* by *Charing-Crosse*, a thousand armed men (which without the Kings priuitie Sir *Thomas Triuet* and Sir *Nicholas Brambre* Knights, were reported to haue laide for their destruction) attended in ambush. The King sweares his innocency, but the Lords come strong and trust no longer. The King royally adorned keepes state in *Westminster*-Hall with many his Prelates and Peeres about him; the Lords present themselues vpon their knees, and being required by the Bishop of *Elye* the Lord Chancellour (for the Lord *De la Pole* neuer had that place againe) *why they were in warlike manner assembled at Haringey Parke, contrary to the lawes*, their joint answere was, *That they were assembled for the good of the King and kingdome, and to weed from about him such Traitors as he continually held with him.* The traitors they named to be, *Robert de Vere Duke of Ireland*, *Alexander Neuile Archbishop of Yorke*, *Michael at the Pole Earle of Suffolke*, *Sir Robert Tresilian that false Iustitiar* (quoth they) and Sir *Nicholas Brambre* that false Knight of *London*. To proue them such, they threw downe their gloues, as gages of challenge for a triall to be had by the Sword. The King hereunto replied, as knowing that they were all hidden out of the way: *This shall not be done so, but at the next Parliament (which shall be the morrow after Candlemas) all parties shal receiue according as they deserue. And now (saith he) to you my Lords; how or by what authority durst you presume to leuy force against me in this land? did you thinke to haue terrified mee by such your presumption? haue not I men of Armes; who (if it pleased me) could enuiron, and kil you like cattle? Certainely in this respect I esteeme of you all no more, then as of the basest scullions in my Kitchens.* Hauing vsed these, and many the like high words, he tooke vp his vncle the Duke from the ground, where all this while hee kneeled, and bad all the other rise. The rest of the conference was calme, and the whole deferred till the next Parliament, then shortly to be holden at *Westminster*. In the meane time (that the World might see how little able the King was to equall his words with deedes) a Proclamation is set forth, in which the King cleareth the Lords (before any trial) of treason objected, and names those persons for vnjust accusers, whom the Lords had before named.

The popular Lords bold answer to the King.

The Kings reply.

(75) The factious Lords neuertheless thought not good to seuer themselues, but to keepe together for feare of the worst, which fell out to their aduantage; for the Duke of *Ireland* (with the Kings priuity) had gathered a power in *Wales* and *Cheshire*, which they intercepting neere to *Burford* and *Babblake*, slew Sir *William Molineux* leader of the *Cheshire*-men, and some others, and made the Duke to flie in great feare. Among the spoyles of the Dukes carriages there were found (as the Diuell would haue it) certaine letters of the King to the saide Duke of *Ireland*, by which their counsels were plainely discouered. The Lords hereupon march with speede vp to *London*, hauing an Armie of about fortie thousand men. The King shuts himselfe vp in the Tower, but is glad before long to admit them to his presence. There they (vnreuerently inough) object mutability to him and his vnderhand workings; they objected also, that hee had secretly practised to flie with the Duke of *Ireland* into *France*, and to deliuer vp to the French Kings possession *Callis*, & such pieces as the Crowne of *England* held in those parts: to proue which dishonourable act, they (as some write) produced the French packets intercepted. This wrung teares (perhaps of disdaine) from the King, and hee yeelded to come to *Westminster* vpon the next day, there to heare and determine farther. The King in signe of amitie stayed his Cosen the Earle of *Derbie* (the same who afterward dethroned him) to supper. O where was the courage of a King? The Lords in their owne quarrell could draw vp fortie thousand men, but in the generall danger of the Realme, when the Commons were vp, and the French hung ouer their heads, with no lesse hatred then preparations, no such numbers appeared. Was it for their honour or praise, that their most rightfull King should by their violence be driuen to consult vpon flight out of his proper Kingdome? The City of *London* was also in no little perill at this present by their accesse, which drawne by just feare was contented to open the gates and harbour the Lords and their partakers. These Lords, who so often are called here the *Lords*, are named in our * *Statute* Bookes to be but these fiue; The Duke of *Gloucester*, the Earles of *Derbie*, *Arundell*, *Warwicke* and *Marshal*.

The Lords charge the King with sundry matters.

An. D. 1388. *An. Reg. 11.*

* *Stat. An. 11. c. 1.*

(76) The next day, he would haue deferred his repaire

repaire to *Weſtminſter*. This being ſignified to the Kings Lords (for ſo they might be called, as being more Maſters then the King) they labour not, by humble words, and dutious reaſons to perſwade the vſe or neceſſity of his preſence in that place, but contrary to their allegiance, and all good order, ſend him word; *That if he came not quickly, according to appoyntment, they would chooſe them another King, who both would, and ſhould obey the counſell of the Peeres.* They had him indeed amongſt them, whom (belike) they euen then meant to haue ſurrogated, that is to ſay, the before-ſaid Earle of *Derby*, heire to the Duke of *Lancaſter*. The Lords certainely had ſo behaued themſelues towards the King, that they well ſaw they muſt be maſters of his perſon and power, or themſelues in the end periſh.

The rough and harſh behauiour of the Lords.

(77) The King (after a prepoſterous and inuerted manner,) attending his Subjects pleaſures at *Weſtminſter*, heauily and vnwillingly is drawne to diſclaime *Alexander Neuil Arbiſhop of Yorke*, the Biſhops of *Dureſme* and *Chicheſter*, the Lords *Souch* and *Beaumont*, with ſundry others. Neither was the Male-ſexe onely ſuſpected to theſe curious pruners; the Ladie *Poinings*, and other Ladies were alſo remoued, and put vnder baile to anſwere ſuch things as ſhould be objected. *Sir Simon Burley*, *Sir William Elinham*, *Sir Iohn Beauchampe* of *Holt*, *Sir Iohn Salisbury*, *Sir Thomas Triuet*, *Sir Iames Berneys*, *Sir Nicholas Dagworth*, & *Sir Nicholas Brambre* knights with certaine Clerkes were apprehended, and kept in ſtraite priſon, to anſwere ſuch accuſations (what if meere ca'umniations?) as in the next Parliament at *Weſtminſter* ſhould be objected?

Perſons remoued from about the King.

(78) The Parliament began at *Candlemas*, where the King was vnwillingly preſent: The firſt day of the Seſſion, all the Iudges, *Fulthorp*, *Belknap*, *Care*, *Holt*, *Burgh*, and *Lockton*, were arreſted as they ſate in Iudgement on the Bench, and moſt of them ſent to the Tower. The cauſe alledged was, that hauing firſt ouer-ruled them with their counſels and directions, which they aſſured them to be according to law, they afterward at *Nottingham* gaue contrarie judgement to that which themſelues had fore-declared. *Triſilian* the chiefe Iuſtice preuented them by flight, but being apprehended, and brought to the Parliament in the fore-noone, had ſentence to be drawne to *Tyburne* in the after-noone, and there to haue his throat cut; which was done accordingly. Sir *Nicholas Brambres* turne was next. This *Brambre* (ſaith *Walſingham*) *was ſaid to haue imagined to be made Duke of new Troy* (the olde ſuppoſed name of *London*) *by murthering thouſands of ſuch Citizens, (whoſe names he had billed for that purpoſe,) as were ſuſpected of likelihood to reſiſt him.* Then *Sir Iohn Salisbury*, and *Sir Iames Berneys* two young Knights, *Sir Iohn Beauchamp* of *Holt*, Steward of the Houſhold to the King, and *Iohn Blake* Eſquier, were likewiſe ſacrificed to reuenge. Sir *Simon Burley* only had the worſhip to haue but his head ſtrucken off. Loe the noble reſpect which the gentle Lords had to juſtice and amendment. This was no age (we ſee) for a weake or ſloathfull Prince to ſit in quiet; for now the people, and then the Peeres, foyle and trample the regall authoritie vnder foote: the Duke of *Ireland*, the Archbiſhop of *Yorke*, the Earle of *Suffolke*, and others, had their eſtates confiſcated to the Kings vſe by Act of Parliament, as in the * booke of Statutes may be ſeene, together with a great part of the whole proceedings.

Hiſtoria Leiceſtr.

The Duke of new *Troy*, or *London*.

* *An.* 10. & 11. *Rich.* 2.

(79) Theſe troubles boiling and burning within, in the Bowels of the State, the Scots abroad had opportunity to inuade the North of *England*, vnder the conduct of Sir *William Dowglaſſe*, a noble young Knight, a parallel and riuall in the honour of Armes to *Henry Hotſpur*, Lord *Piercy*, whom *Hotſpur*, fighting hand to hand ſlew in battell: but the Earle of *Dunbar* comming with an exceſſiue number of *Scots*, tooke *Hotſpur* and his brother priſoners, killing many Engliſh, not without ſuch loſſe to themſelues, that they forthwith returned.

(80) But theſe vnneighbourly hoſtilities ſoone after found ſome ſurceaſe, there being a meeting at *Callis* betweene the Engliſh and French, about eſtabliſhing a peace: and albeit, becauſe the French would haue the Scot and Spaniard included therein, the concluſion was deferred, yet ſhortly after it was reſolued vpon for three yeeres, the Scots being comprehended therein.

An. D. 1389. *An. Reg.* 12.

(81) King *Richard* (being now of age) declares himſelfe free to gouerne of himſelfe, without either controlment, or helpe of any other then ſuch as he ſelected to that place, and in token that he was at liberty, he takes the Great Seale of *England* from *Thomas Arundel* Archbiſhop of *Yorke*, (*Alexander Neuil* being attainted and fled) and departs out of the Councell-Chamber: After a while hee returnes, and giues it backe to *William Wickham* (the *renowned Biſhop of *Wincheſter*) who was vnwilling to haue accepted the ſame. Hee alſo puts out ſundrie Officers, ſubſtituting ſuch others as beſt liked him. From the *Councell-Table* he remoued his vncle *Thomas* of *VVoodſtocke* Duke of *Gloceſter*, the Earle of *VVarwicke*, and others; which (as it might) encouraged the Dukes enemies about the King, to doe euill offices betweene them. Yet the King did not preſently credite what was whiſpered into his eare, concerning a purpoſe ſuggeſted to be in the Duke, to raiſe forces againe; but acquainting him withall, was ſatisfied. Neuertheleſſe, he would not ſuffer the Duke to purſue an orderly, or any, reuenge vpon the Authors, whom indeede it had beene wiſdome to haue puniſhed in an exemplary manner.

The King declares himſelfe to be of age, and takes the gouernment vpon him.

* He was founder of the two famous Colledges in *Oxford* and *Wincheſter*.

(82) *Michael de la Pole* late Earle of *Suffolke*, (whom the popular Lords had made moſt odious to the *Engliſh*) died at *Paris* in exile, bequeathing ſuch goods as he had there to *Robert* Duke of *Ireland*, who alſo breathed out his griefes in baniſhment, and died at laſt in *Brabant*.

(83) The Duke of *Lancaſter* the meane while, returnes into *Gaſcoigne* out of *Spaine*, and not long after into *England*. The ſucceſſe of that voyage (being made to claime the Crowne of *Caſtile* and *Leon*) was briefly this. *Iohn* King of *Caſtile* * alledged that *Conſtance* the Dukes wife was not right heire, but he. For, albeit the Lady *Conſtance* was eldeſt daughter and heire to *Peter* ſonne of *Alfonſe*, whoſe father *Ferdinand* the fourth, was ſon of *Sanchez* the fourth, and the ſonne of *Alfonſe* the tenth, all Kings of *Spaine* ſucceſſiuely; yet, that neither *Conſtance*, *Peter*, *Alfonſe*, *Ferdinand*, nor *Sanchez* had the right. His reaſon was; for that *Alfonſe* the tenth, (choſen Emperour of *Almaine*) had, before he begat the ſaid *Sanchez*, an elder ſonne, called *Ferdinand de la Cerda*, who married *Blanch* the daughter of S^t. *Lewis* King of *France*, from whom deſcended *Alfonſe de la Cerda* (who entituled himſelfe King, but died without iſſue) and *Ferdinand*, who had a daughter married to *Iohn*, ſonne of the Infant of Portugall *Emmanuel*, mother to the Lady *Ioane*, wife of King *Henry* the ſecond, father of *Iohn* King of *Caſtile* defendant.

* *Roder. Santius Archiep. Toletan. Hiſt. Hiſp. part.* 4. *cap.* 22.

(84) This Apologie, made by the *Caſtilian*, would not ſerue; for Kingdomes are not vſed to be pleaded for by *Bill* and *Anſwere*. The Engliſh and Portugals ioyne their forces. To the Duke (by reaſon of his wiues preſence,) many did voluntarily ſubmit themſelues, all did not; for *Don* * *Aluarez de Perez*, on the behalfe of his Lord the King of *Spaine*, offered to ſtop the Duke in his march to *Burgos*, and was ouer-throwne. Other aduentures that warre afforded, but ſickneſſe hapning in the Engliſh Army, conſumed * many of the principall, and among them the Lord *Fitzwalter*, with other Lords, Knights, Eſquires, and men of armes, almoſt three hundreth. Moreouer, the penurie was ſuch, that ſundry reuolted to the enemy to get relieſe, which being * ſeene of the King of *Portugall*, hee told the Duke he would ſet vpon them as Enemies, but hee ſaid no, for that he knew they did it onely for lacke of

* *Polyd. Virg. li.* 20. *Hiſt. Ang.*

* *Froiſſard.*

* *Tho. Walſ.*

of foode. Thus hauing ſaide, he held downe his head, as he ſate on horſe-backe, and wept moſt bitterly, ſecretly powring forth his prayers to Almighty God, and moſt humbly beſeeching mercy. From which time forward his affaires in *Spaine* ſucceeded happily.

The Duke of *Lancaſter* in his diſtreſſe calleth vpon God, and is heard.

(85) The warres had beene * ſharpe and teadious, but the end acceptable. For *Don Iuan* King of *Caſtile*, a Prince of no euill conſcience, ſeeing the right which the Duke of *Lancaſter* vrged, and foreſeeing what calamities might happen hereafter, (if as was feared the French ſhould match with him) ſought and obtained a firme peace. The Principall conditions were: That the Lord *Henrie*, his ſonne and heire, ſhould marry the Lady *Katherine*, daughter and heire to the Duke and *Conſtance* his Wife; That the Lord *Henry* (during his fathers life) ſhould be called Prince of *Auſtria*, and *Katherine* his wife Princeſſe: That * for default of iſſue betweene the young Princely couple, the Crowne ſhould come to the Lord *Edward* Duke of *Yorke*, who had married the other Daughter of King *Peter*. That the King of *Spaine* ſhould lade * eight Cars with wedges of gold for the Duke, or (as *ſome write) pay two hundreth thouſand nobles, toward the defrayment of the Dukes huge charges; That finally, he ſhould giue ſufficient Caution for an Annuitie of * ten thouſand pounds, during the liues of the ſaide Duke and Dutcheſſe, to be duly paid to their vſes at the Citie of * *Bayon* in *Gaſcoigne*.

* *Roder. San. qui ſupra.*

Conditions of perpetuall amity betweene the K. of *Spaine*, and the Duke of *Lancaſter*.

* *Tho. Walſingh. in Rich. 2.*

* *Fabian. Caxton.* * *Hollinſh. p. 450.*

* *Ypodig. Neuſtr.*

(86) The King, at ſuch time as the Duke of *Lancaſter* returned, was at Reading, whither he had commaunded the Peeres to repaire. To that meeting the Duke makes haſte, aſwell to preſent his dutie to his Soueraigne, as to be an authour of loue and peace betweene the King and Lords, againſt ſome of whom the King was not thought to be verie fauourably diſpoſed. Which he gratiouſly effected, as ſeeming to addict his minde to offices of pietie and publique benefit. Certainely the wiſdome and moderation of the Duke of *Yorke* his brother, were ſuch, in all the late, and other tumults, that he is not ſo much as once named among the factious; which Chriſtian ſpirit if it had raigned in all the reſt, *England* had neuer beene polluted with ſuch infinite bloud ſhed of her nobleſt Children; neither had the goodly fabricke of State, laden with innumerable trophees, ſalne vnder that moſt hideous *Chaos*, which ſucceeding ages ſaw and ſighed for.

* *Hollinſhead.*

The Duke of *Lancaſter* doth good offices.

The Duke of *Yorkes* carriage worthily praiſed.

An.D.1390. *An. Reg. 13.* The Duke of *Lancaſter* made Duke of *Aquitaine*.

(87) The King vpon the Duke of *Lancaſters* returne, whether he felt the keeping of *Aquitaine* an vnprofitable burthen, or the abſence of his vncle the Duke, a thing worthie to be purchaſed at any rate, certaine it is, that in a Parliament held at *London*, he veſted in him that famous Dutchy, by deliuering the *Cap* of *State*, and *Ducal Rod*; whither he ſhortly went to take poſſeſſion. His ſonne, *Henrie* of *Bullingbroke* Earle of *Derbie*, loath to ſpend his houres in ſloath, but deſirous to purſue renowne by martiall Acts in forreine parts, ſayled ouer to the warres in *Pruſſia*, where in ſundry enterprizes againſt the *Lithuanians*, he wan great honor, which, by compariſon of King *Richards* calmneſſe, prepared a way for him in the Engliſhes affections, to poynts more eminent.

Henry of *Bullingbroke* ſeekes aduentures into *Germany*.

(88) The Pope now vnderſtood, that the Engliſh State began againe to be ſenſible of Romiſh encroachments; and as in a * former Parliament they had enacted againſt all Collations of Biſhoprickes and dignities by the Pope, with *baniſhment* to all which did accept ſuch Collations, and *death to all that brought in any excommunications from the Pope, to hinder the execution of that Act*; ſo in this laſt *Parliament*, * another ſeuere Act was made, againſt *ſuch as went to the Pope to procure any ſuch prouiſions*. A *Proclamation* alſo was made at *London*, * *that all beneficed men then being in the Court of Rome, ſhould returne by a day prefixed, or looſe all their liuings*. The *Pope himſelfe* (ſaith *Walſingham*) *troubled with* * *ſo great a thunder-clap*, ſent with all ſpeed into *England*, to perſwade the King, that ſuch Statutes as had beene thus made in their prejudice who followed the court of *Rome*, and ſuch other clauſes as tended to the dammage of that See, ſhould be made void; whereto the Kings anſwere was, that the *Popes Nuncio muſt expect till the next Parliament*: At which Parliament the king, as alſo the Duke of *Lancaſter*, ſeemed to haue ſome reſpect to the Pope, (whoſe meſſenger was there Preſent) but the * Knights of the houſe would not in any wiſe giue their conſents, *that ſuch* * *Rome-gadders ſhould without due puniſhment purſue their wonted courſe, longer then till the next Parliament*. To furniſh the Duke of *Lancaſter* into *France*, to treat of a peace, and vpon condition that the King ſhould that yeare inuade *Scotland*, large contributions were there made, both by *Clergy* and *Laity*. Hereupon the Lord * *Henry Piercy*, *Hotſpur* (who had redeemed himſelfe) was called from his charge at *Callis*, & made Warden of the Marches againſt *Scotland*; *Thomas Mowbray* Earle of *Nottingham* ſucceeding in the Captain-ſhip of *Callis*. The Dukes chargeful emploiment in *France* bare no other flower, then a yeares ſhort truce.

* *Tho. Walſingh.*

* *Ypodig. Neuſtr.*

* *Rouncipius.*

* *John Stow* cals him Earle of *Northumberland*.

(89) The Kings wants ſtill encreaſing with his imployments, the Londoners (carried away with euill counſell) did a thing moſt vnworthy of their Citie and themſelues, and it might to them haue proued as hurtfull, as it was vnworthy, at ſuch time as the King * deſired the loane but of one thouſand pounds; which was not onely churliſhly denied, but a certaine *Lumbard*, honeſtly offering to lend the ſame, was badly vſed, beaten, and almoſt ſlaine. Their liberties for that and other * diſorders are ſeiſed, and their proper Magiſtracie diſſolued, (Guardians being giuen them, firſt Sir *Edward Dallinging*, then Sir *Baldwin Radington*) and their Major, and ſome chiefe Citizens layed in priſons farre off from *London*. The puniſhment brought the fouleneſſe of their errours to their ſight; but by the Duke of * *Gloceſters* interceſſion (who did not vnwillingly lay hold vpon ſuch occaſions of popularity) the King and Queene are wonne to enter the Citie, which gaue them triumphall entertainement. The Sea is not ſodainely calmed after a tempeſt, neither a Princes anger. By degrees yet, and not without deare repentance, they were at laſt reſtored to their former condition in all poynts.

An.D.1391.

An.D.1392. *London* in diſ-grace with the King.

* *Tho. Walſingh.*

* *Fabian & Caxton*; but *Stow* miſlikes their additions of other diſorders.

An.D.1393.

(90) The King declaring his purpoſe to croſſe into *Ireland*, had an aide of money conditionally granted: foure yeares truce by the trauaile of the two Dukes of *Lancaſter* and *Gloceſter* being concluded in *France*. This yeare was farther notable for many great Funerals. *Conſtance* Dutcheſſe of *Aquitaine*, and *Lancaſter*, a Ladie of great * Innocencie and deuotion: the Counteſſe of *Derbie* her Daughter in law, *Iſabel* the Dutcheſſe of *Yorke*, and a Lady noted for too great a fineneſſe and delicacy, yet at her death ſhewing much repentance and ſorrow for her loue to thoſe peſtilent vanities, left this preſent life. But all the griefe for their deaths did in no ſort equall that of the Kings, for the loſſe of his owne Queene *Anne*, which about the ſame time hapned at *Sheene* in *Surrey*, whom he loued euen to a kinde of madneſſe: but Ladies onely died not; for Sir *Iohn Hawkwood*, whoſe cheualry had made him renowned ouer the Chriſtian world, did in this yeare depart an aged man out of this World in *Florence*, where his aſhes remaine honoured at this preſent with a ſtately Tombe, and the Statue of *a Man at Armes*, erected by the gratitude of that State and Citie, which chiefly by his conduct, courage and valour (to this day admired amongſt them) was preſerued. The Italian Writers, both * Hiſtorians and * Poets, highly celebrating his matchleſſe proweſſe, enſtile him,

An.D.1394.

* *Ypod. Neuſt.*

The death of Queene *Anne*, and many great Ladies.

The famous Sir *Iohn Hawkwood* dieth.

--Anglorum decus, & decus addite genti
Italicæ, Italico præſidiumq; Solo.

Englands prime honour, Italies renowne,
Who vpheld all Italie from ſinking downe.

* *Ypod. Neuſtr. 544.*

* *Ibid. p. 545.*

* *Tanto frigore turbatus.*

* *Pau. Iouius in Elogijs.*
* *Iulius Feroldus.*

But

But the Duke of *Lancaſter* hauing all things readie, ſets ſaile to *Burdeaux*, there, with the conſent of the State to take poſſeſſion of his lately granted Duchie.

(91) The King doth the like for *Ireland*; where that ſort of the *Iriſh* which are called the wilde, had greatly inueſted the Engliſh Pale, and other good Subjects there, to the great dammage of the Crowne of *England*. In the times of *Edward* the third, *Ireland* yeelded to the kings coffers *thirty thouſand pounds yeerely, but now things were ſo growne out of order, that it coſt the King thirty thouſand Marks by yeere. To reduce the rebellious, himſelfe conducts thither an Armie, attended vpon by the Duke of *Gloceſter*, the Earles of *March*, *Nottingham* and *Rutland*, all the Iriſh being commanded to auoid out of *England*. The terror of the preparations, and ſhining preſence of a King (which aboue all worldly things is pleaſant to the Iriſh) had ſuch effects that ſundry great men were compelled to ſubmit themſelues. To ſupply the Kings wants, growne in the Iriſh expedition, *Edmund* Duke of *Yorke*, the Kings vncle, and *Cuſtos* or *Warden* of *England*, called a Parliament at *London*, (whither the Duke of *Gloceſter* repaired to declare the kings wants) and hath contributions granted. Neuertheleſſe, ſo ſtrong a party againſt the Clergie, and Friarly abuſes of thoſe times diſcouered it ſelfe therein, that the Archbiſhop of *Yorke*, the Biſhop of *London*, and others, preſt ouer-Sea to the King at *Dublin*, beſeeching him to returne, the ſooner to repreſſe the *Lollards* (ſo called they the embracers of *Wicliffes* doctrine) and their fauourers, *who ſought, not onely* (as they vntruly pretended) *to wring away all the poſſeſſions of the Church, but that which was worſe, to abrogate and deſtroy all Eccleſiaſticall conſtitutions*, whereas they aimed onely at the redreſſe of exorbitancy in the Papall Clergy. The King hereupon returnes; by whoſe arriuall and authoritie, thoſe conſultations of the Laitie were laide downe. Sir *Richard Storie* a ſeruant of his had been forward againſt the Prelates; of him therefore he takes an oath vpon the holy Goſpell, that he ſhould not hold ſuch opinions any longer. The Knight takes that oath, and we (ſaith the King) doe ſweare, that if thou doſt breake it, thou ſhalt die a moſt ſhamefull death. The reſt hearing the Lion roare ſo terribly, drew in their hornes, and would be ſeene no more.

* Tho. Walſingh.

Tpal. Neuſtriæ.

(92) The King cauſed the body of the late Duke of *Ireland* to be brought into *England*. His exceeding loue to him was ſuch, that he commanded the Cypreſſe cheſt wherein his body lay enbalmed, to be opened, that he might ſee, view, handle, and openly expreſſe his affection. The dead remaines of that noble young Gentleman, (by his birth-right Earle of *Oxford*, and by race a *Vere*) were buried at the Priorie of *Coln* in *Eſſex*, there being preſent the King himſelfe, the Counteſſe Dowager of *Oxford*, the Dukes mother, the Archbiſhop of *Canterburie* with many Biſhops, Abbots, and religious perſons, but few of the Lords, for they had not as yet digeſted the hate they bare him.

An. D. 1396.

(93) The Duke of *Lancaſter* was this while in *Aquitaine*, where he had ſought to winne the people with incredible largeſſe, to accept of his Soueraigntie, according to the tenor of King *Richards* grant. Little did he then thinke, that within leſſe then ſixeſcore and three yeeres after, an * Ambaſſador of King *Henrie* the 8. ſhould write thus of *Burdeaux* it ſelfe, the capitall City of *Gaſcoign* and *Guien*: *Anglorum nulla ferè veſtigia remanẽt, &c. There are* (ſaith that learned Gentleman) *ſcarſe any foot-prints of the Engliſhmen remaining. In the Churches, and other places newly refreſhed and reedified, ſuch Armories of the Engliſh as ſtood, were vtterly blotted and defaced: yet in the Church of the Fryers Preachers, the Armories of the Duke of Lancaſter ſtand entire in a Glaſſe-window, and in the oldeſt wall of the City thoſe alſo of England, though conſumed in a manner with age: The Lawes, Statutes, and Ordinations which were made by the Engliſh, are notwithſtanding obſerued at this day.* But the Dukes eye could not looke ſo farre into the times to come. Neuertheleſſe we that ſee theſe things muſt confeſſe, that the beſt Kingdome vnder heauen is not ſo worth the getting, as that with the wilfull contempt of God and conſcience any man ſhould ſeeke to purchaſe it.

* Doct. Tayler ex Autographo ipſius. A. D. 1526.

An excellent note concerning the vanitie of worldly ambition in Princes.

(94) But while the Duke was thus buſied in Courting the *Gaſcoignes* good will,* who had ſent into *England*, to ſhew cauſes why they ſhould not atturne to the Duke, (and yet were wrought at laſt to the point of yeelding,) he receiues a commandement from King *Richard* to returne, that he might goe with him into *France*; which he obayed. The King keeping his at *Langeley* in *Hartfordſhire*, the Duke was there entertained with more honour (as it was thought) then loue. Being licenſed to depart for a time he repaired to *Lincolne*, where he a widdower, married his olde loue the Lady *Katherine Swinford*, now a Widdow. Men did wonder at it, but hee therein obeyed the remorſe of a Chriſtian conſcience, without reſpect to his owne vnequall greatnes; for hauing had ſundry Children by her in his former Wiues time, he made her and them now the onely ſufficient amends, which the law of God or man enjoyneth. And further in a Parliament held the yeere following, the Duke procured an Act to paſſe, by which, ſuch children as he formerly had by his new *Dutcheſſe*, were legitimated; and ſurnamed them *Beufort*, being * foure of them, *Iohn*, *Thomas*, *Henry*, *Ioane*; the ſecond of which was by the Kings bounty created Earle of *Sommerſet*.

* Froiſſard.

The Duke of *Lancaſter* marries the Lady *Katherine Swinford*.

* Stow. Hollinſh. erreth in ſaying but three.

(95) The King, being ſpecially accompanied with thoſe his vncles of *Lancaſter* and *Gloceſter*, at a moſt ſumptuous and chargefull enteruiew betweene him and *Charles* King of *France*, in the parts of *Callis* and *Gynes*, eſpouſed the Lady *Iſabel*, Daughter of the ſaid *Charles*. At the deliuery of her, King *Richard*, in the preſence of all the greateſt Princes, Peeres, and Ladies of either Nation, gaue the King his father in law great thankes for a gift ſo noble and acceptable adding, he tooke her vpon the conditions made betweene the two Nations, to the intent that liuing in peace and reſt, they might attaine to the eſtabliſhment of a perpetuall amitie, for auoyding the effuſion of Chriſtian bloud, which would in likelihood haue followed, had not at that time affinitie beene contracted betweene them. The young Lady was not aboue ſeauen or eight yeeres olde, but the truce was taken for thirty yeares. Her perſon therefore was committed to the Dutcheſſes of *Lancaſter* and *Gloceſter*, and other great Ladies, who conducted her to *Callis*. From whence, after a ſhort ſtay, the King, his young Queene (with whom he had great riches) and all the glorious company came ouer into *England*. Their perſons arriued ſafe, but the Kings gorgeous Pauilions, and a great part of his ſtuffe was caſt away by tempeſt in the tranſportation. This journey (beſide his loſſes at Sea) coſt the King aboue forty thouſand markes.

A peace and marriage with *France*.

A. D. 1397. *An. Reg. 20.*

(96) The outward felicitie of *England* ſeemed at this time very great, and the rather ſeemed ſo, becauſe it was likely to continue. In the Duke of *Gloceſters* perſon that bright proſperity was firſt ouerſhadowed. He, *Vir ferociſſimus & præcipitis ingenij* (as * *Polydor* cenſures him,) *a moſt fierce man, and of an head-long wit*, thinking thoſe times, wherein he had maſtred the King, were nothing changed, though the King was aboue thirty yeres old, forbare not, roughly, not ſo much to admoniſh, as to checke and ſchoole his Soueraigne. The peace with *France* diſpleaſed him, that therefore he calumniates. The King had reſtored *Breſt* in *Britaine* to the Duke, vpon re-emburſements of the money lent; he tels the King that hee ſhould firſt conquer a Towne, before he parted with any; yet the King anſweres, that he could not in conſcience detaine the ſame, now that the Duke had re-paide his loane. There were other things which could not ſo well be anſwered. For a vaine rumor

* Hiſt. Ang. lib. 20.

* that

* Ypodig. Neustr. Grafton Chron.

* that he ſhould be choſen *Emperour*, put him belike into ſuch a vaine of ſpending, as carried a proportion with that maieſty; his coffers in a ſhort time ſounding like empty Caske, there was no great monied man in whoſe debt he was not, nor any in a manner ſo meane to whom he was not burthenous.

(97) The King had heretofore complayned of his Vncle to the Earle of Saint *Paul* a Frenchman, (then in *England*,) whoſe judgement was, that ſuch inſolency was to be reuenged; but complayning to his other vncles of *Lancaſter* and *Yorke*, they wiſely aduiſed the King, not to regard his words but his heart, which he and they knew ſincere vnto him. Neuertheleſſe, partly to weaken the intollerable humour of their brother, who like a conſtant Admirer of his owne waies, thought nothing well done, but what himſelfe either did or directed, and partly to auoid the ſcandall of the Kings bad courſes, they withdraw their preſences from the Court. The King notwithſtanding is the ſame man ſtill, as the Duke of *Gloceſter* thinkes; wherefore, he breakes his minde to ſuch as he durſt truſt. *Arundel* in *Suſſex* is appointed the Conſultation-place, where he, the Archbiſhop of *Canterburie*, the Earles of *Arundel*, *Warwicke*, *Marſhall* and others, take an Oath of Secrecy, and conclude to raiſe a power to remoue * the Dukes of *Lancaſter* and *Yorke*, and ſuch other as they thought beſt, from about the King, ſo to enact a reformation.

* Fabian. Concor. Hiſt.

(98) They are charged by * ſome to haue plotted the impriſonment of the King and Dukes, and the death of all other Councellours: which, howſoeuer it was perhaps no part of their intention, might yet haue beene a neceſſarie conſequent. The bluſtring Duke had breathed out dangerous words; as, * that he would put the King (of whoſe courage he ſpake contemptibly) into ſome priſon, there to ſpend his dayes in eaſe and peace, as himſelfe thought beſt. His brethren hearing hereof, brotherly admoniſh him to beware; but, as it ſeemes, they found him deafe on that ſide. This though ſome of the late Authors write, yet there are both * olde and * new, who mention no ſuch matter, but the contrary, not obſcurely teaching vs, that the Dukes ruine was but an effect of old malignities.

* A French pamphlet *apud Iohn Stowe in Hollinſh. pag. 488. Lanquets. Epitom.*

* Hiſt. Angl. li. 20.

* Tho. Walſing. * Grafton. Iob. Stow. Annal.

(99) *Thomas Mowbray* Earle of *Nottingham* and Marſhall, a party in the reported plot, though ſonne in law to the Earle of *Arundel*, reuealeth the ſame to the King. The Duke of *Gloceſter* is hereupon ſurprized by *Mowbray* * (lying in waite in the woods where he was to paſſe) ſent to *Callis*, (where *Nottingham* was Captaine) and there impriſoned; the Earles of *Arundel* and *Warwicke*, the Lord *Iohn Cobham*, and Sir *Iohn Cheiney*, are areſted. *Proclamation* is then made that they were not committed for any olde matters, but for hainous things newly contriued, as in the next Parliament ſhould be made manifeſt; *though the euent* (as *Walſingham* truly ſaith) *declared the contrarie.* But the Duke of *Gloceſter*, and the two ſaid Earles are endited at *Nottingham*. The King to maintaine the accuſation of treaſon obiected, had (as ſome ſay) ſuborned *Edward* Earle of *Arundel*, *Thomas* Earle *Marſhall*, *Thomas Holland Earle of Kent*, *Iohn Holland Earle of Huntington*; *Thomas Beaufort Earle of Somerſet*, *Iohn Montacute Earle of Salisbury*, *Thomas Lord Spencer*, *and Sir William Scroope Lord Chamberlaine.*

* Miller. p. 427.

* Ypodig. Neuſtr.

(100) In September begins the Parliament at *London*, where the King had a great guard of *Cheſſhire* men to ſecure his perſon, and the Lords attended alſo not without ſufficient numbers. The Kings chiefe Agents were Sir *Iohn Buſhy*, Sir *William Bagod*, and Sir *Henry Greene*, Knights. In the firſt act (after the liberties of the Church and people confirmed,) we finde theſe * words: *The commons of the Parliament haue ſhewed to our Soueraigne Lord the King, how in the Parliament holden at Weſtminſter, the firſt day of October, in the tenth yeare of his raigne, Thomas Duke of Gloceſter, and Richard Earle of Arundell, traitors to the King and his Realme and his people, by falſe imagination and compaſsing cauſed a * Commiſsion to be made, &c. and that the ſaid Duke of Gloceſter, & Earle of Arundel, did ſend a great man and Peere of the Realme in meſſage to our Lord the King; who of their part ſaid, that if he would not grant and aſſent to the ſaid Commiſsion,* HEE SHOVLD BE IN GREAT PERIL OF HIS LIFE: *and ſo, aſwell the ſaid commiſsion, as the ſaid Statute touching the ſaid Commiſsion, were made by conſtraint, &c.* Wherfore the Commons pray their Soueraigne Lord the King, that the ſaid Commiſſion, &c. be vtterly annulled, as a thing done TRAITEROVSLY, &c.

* Lib. Statut. An. 21. Rich. 2. cap. 2.

* Eod. libr. ad An. 10. Rich. 2.

(101) The ſanctuary of former Lawes, and all particular Charters of pardon being now taken away from the Duke, Earle, and others, they lay open to manifeſt ruine. The * Duke of *Lancaſter* ſate in iudgement as High Steward vpon *Richard* Earle of *Arundel*, where, for no other but for the olde attempts, (though the other accuſations ſeeme to haue beene auerred by the eight *Appellants*) by which, as ye haue heard, ſo many were diſplaced and put to death, hee adjudged him to dye that foule death of a common Traitour: but the King ſatisfied himſelfe with onely his head, which was at one ſtroake taken off at Tower-hill. *That he was a traitor either in word or deed, he vtterly did deny, and died in that deniall.* The conſtancy of this Earles carriage as well at his arraignement, paſſage, and execution, (as in which hee did not diſcolour the honour of his bloud with any degenerous word, looke, or action) encreaſed the enuy of his death vpon the proſecutors. The Earle of *Warwicke* confeſſed with teares, (and as ſome ſay, drawne by faire hope of life) that in adhering to the Duke of *Gloceſter* in thoſe ridings and aſſemblies he was guilty of treaſon. The ſame ſentence was therefore pronounced vpon him. The King neuertheleſſe did onely baniſh him into the Ile of *Man*. But the Duke of *Gloceſter* (whom, as the peoples darling, it ſeemed not ſafe to bring to a publike triall) was ſecretly ſmothered at *Callis* with pillowes and featherbeds.

* Holinſhead.

The Earle of *Arundel* beheaded.

The Duke of *Gloceſter* murthered.

(102) The *great Parliament* (for ſo it ſeemes to haue beene called, by reaſon of the extraordinarie numbers of Peeres, and their retinues, which came thereunto) was holpen by adjournment at *Shrewſbury*. In it, thoſe Iuſtitiars, who were partly put to death, and partly baniſhed, but all attainted (at ſuch time as the Duke of *Gloceſter* and the reſt were in armes,) doe all of them ſtand thereby cleared from diſhonor, and ſuch * Articles as they ſubſcribed, (being, together with their anſweres, ſet downe in the Act) are publikely ratified, and the offendors againſt them pronounced Traitours. Amongſt theſe Articles, one, containing theſe great Lawyers judgements concerning the orderly proceedings in all Parliaments, is very obſeruable: * *That after the cauſe of ſuch aſſembly is by the Kings commandement there declared, ſuch Articles as by the King are limited for the Lords and Commons to proceed in, are firſt to be handled; but if any ſhould proceed vpon other Articles, and refuſe to proceed vpon thoſe limited by the King, till the King had firſt anſwered their propoſals, contrary to the Kings commaund; ſuch, doing herein contrary to the rule of the king, are to be puniſhed as Traitors.* But the King, to content all parts, and to kindle new lights in the place of ſuch as he had extinguiſhed, hauing firſt created himſelfe * Prince of *Cheſter*, made his coſen *Henry* Earle of *Derby*, Duke of *Hereford*; the Earle of *Rutland* Duke of *Aumarl*; the Earle of *Nottingham* Duke of *Norfolke*; the Earle of *Kent* Duke of *Surrey*; the Earle of *Huntington*, Duke of *Exceſter*; the Earle of *Somerſet* Marqueſſe *Dorſet*; the Lord *Spencer* Earle of *Gloceſter*; the Lord *Neuile* Earle of *Weſtmerland*; *William Scrope* Earle of *Wiltſhire*; *Thomas Piercy* Earle of *Worceſter*. The King alſo (ſaith *Walſingham*) added to his *Scucheon Royall*, the armories of Saint *Edward* King and confeſſor.

Lib. Stat. An. 21. Rich. 2. cap. 12.

* Thom. Walſ.

* Book of ſtatutes 1. Ric. 2. 21. ca. 12 artic. 6.

* Tho. Walſing. The King (Prince of *Cheſter*) creates Dukes and other States.

An. D. 1388.

(103) The formoſt in this goodly rancke, being *Henrie* Duke of *Hereford*, not long after accuſed *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolke*, of certaine words ſounding to the Kings diſhonour, which he ſhould priuately vtter to the ſaid *Henry*. * *Polydor* (though very negligently he makes *Mowbray* the *Accuſer*, and *Hereford Defendant*) may yet be heard in reporting the effect of the words, as *That King Richard held the Peeres of the land in no account, but as much as lay in him ſought to deſtroy them, by baniſhing ſome, and putting others to death. That he neuer troubled his minde with conſidering how his Dominions were diminiſhed through his idleneſſe. Finally, that all things went to wracke, as well in peace as warre.* But the Duke of *Norfolke*, (who vnleſſe it had beene to feele how the Duke of *Herefords* heart was affected to the King, had little reaſon ſo to complaine) moſt conſtantly denying that euer he ſpake ſuch words; it ſhould haue come to a combat within liſts; but the King to auoid (as he pretended) ſuch deadly ſewds as might riſe in the Families of two ſuch potent Peeres, but (indeed to be rid of an enemy with the loſſe of a friend) baniſhed *Norfolke* for euer, and *Hereford* firſt for ten yeares, then for ſixe. *Walſingham* * ſaith, that this cenſure was giuen againſt *Norfolke*, vpon that very day in which the yeare before, he (by the Kings commandement) had taken order for putting to death the Duke of *Gloceſter* at *Callis*, whereof the ſaid Duke of *Norfolke* had the Captaineſhip.

*[Hiſt. Ang. lib. 10.

*Ypod. Neuſt.

An. D. 1399. *An. Reg. 22.*

(104) Fearefull were the tragedies which enſued theſe times; and heare now what is written of ſome Portents or wonders, preſaging the ſame. The * Bay or Laurell trees withered ouer all *England*, and afterward re-flouriſhed, contrary to many mens opinion; and vpon the firſt of Ianuary, neere *Bedford* Towne, the riuer betweene the villages of *Swelſton* and *Harleſwood* where it was deepeſt, did vpon the ſodaine ſtand ſtill, and ſo diuided it ſelfe, that the bottome remayned dry for about three miles ſpace, which ſeemed (ſaith *Walſingham*) to portend that reuolt from the King, and the diuiſion which enſued.

* *Ypod. Neuſtr.*

(105) *Roger Mortimer* Earle of *March*, Lieutenant of *Ireland*, hauing in the yeare before, while he too much * truſted to his owne Forces, beene ſlaine with very many others, by * *O-Brin*, and the *Iriſh* of *Leinſter*, at a place called *Kenlis*; *King Richard* determines in perſon to reuenge the bloud of his Noble kinſman, being the man to whom hee meant the Crowne of *England*, if iſſue failed to himſelfe. He remembred not how broken an eſtate he had in *England*, where the peoples hearts were ſtrongly alienated, not onely for the death of the late great Lords, and baniſhment of the Duke of *Hereford*, (whoſe calamitie encreaſed his popularity) or for the like paſſed exaſperations, but for that (to furniſh his Iriſh voyage) he had extorted money on all hands, taking vp carriages, victuals, and other neceſſaries, without any recompence; whereby the hatred of his gouernment grew vniuerſall.

* *Tho. Walſing. in Richard. 2.*
* *Annal. Hibern. apud Cambd.*

(106) But the euill fortune which hung ouer his head, laid forth an alluring baite to haſte his deſtruction, by occaſion of the Duke of *Lancaſters* deceaſe, which hapned about Candlemas, and the abſence of his baniſhed ſonne and heire Lord *Henrie*. The King (moſt vnjuſtly) ſeizeth vpon the goods of that mighty Prince his vncle, and as if all things now were lawfull, which but liked him, he determines to baniſh the new rightfull Duke of *Lancaſter Henry*, not for a few yeares, but for euer; for which cauſe he reuoked his *Letters Patents* granted to the ſaide *Henry*, by which his *Atturnyes* were authoriſed to ſue his *Liuery*, and to compound for the reſpite of his homage at a reaſonable rate; whereby he made it ſeeme plaine to the world, that he had not baniſhed him to auoyde diſſentions, but (as many ſaid) to fill vp the breaches which his riot had made in the royall treaſures, with plentifull (though an vndue) Eſcheate, as that of his deceaſed vncles fortune.

(107) The one ſtedfaſt baſe and buttreſſe of all lawfull Empire, is Iuſtice; that ſupports the kingly Throne. This he ouerthrew, and how then could himſelfe hope to ſtand long? He lands at *Waterford* in *Ireland* with a Nauie of * two hundreth ſhips, hauing with him the ſonne of the late Duke of *Gloceſter*, and of the now Duke of *Lancaſter*, to ſecure himſelfe the rather. * His forces conſiſted much of *Cheſhire men:* But that King is deceiued, who repoſeth his ſafetie in violence. It was no great matter hee did there, that which fell out to be done elſewhere, was great indeede. His warre in *Ireland* was more dammagefull, then fiſhing with an hooke of gold, for here the baite and hooke was not onely loſt, but the line, rod, and himſelfe, were drawne altogether into the depthes of irrecouerable ruine. Duke *Henrie* ſees the aduantage which King *Richards* abſence gaue him, and vſeth it. In his Companie were *Thomas Arundel* the baniſhed Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and his Nephew the ſonne and heire of the late Earle of *Arundel*, and not aboue fifteene *Lanciers*. His ſtrength was (where the Kings ſhould haue beene) in the peoples hearts. Neuertheleſſe, the Duke did not ſodainely take land, but houered vpon the Seas, ſhewing himſelfe to the Country people in one place, now and then in another, pretending nothing but the recouery of his rightfull Heritage.

* *Annal. Hibern. apud Cambd.*

* *Thom. Walſing.*

(108) *Edmund* Duke of *Yorke*, whom King *Richard* had left behind him to gouerne *England*, hearing this, cals vnto him *Edmund Stafford* Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, Lord *Chancellor*, the Earle of *Wiltſhire*, Lord Treaſurer, and the Knights of the Kings Councell, *Buſhie*, *Bagot*, *Greene*, and *Ruſſell*. Their concluſion was to leuie a force to impeach Duke *Henries* entrance. The aſſembly was appointed to be at Saint *Albans*, which came to worſe then nothing, for the proteſtation that they would not hurt the Duke, whom they knew to be wronged was generall. This made the Treaſurer Sir *John Buſhie*, and Sir *Henrie Greene* flie to the Caſtle of *Briſtoll*, Sir *William Bagot* to *Cheſter*, from whence he got ſhipping into *Ireland*. Meane while Duke *Henrie* lands at a Village heretofore called *Rauerſhire*, to whom repaired *Henry* Earle of *Northumberland*, his ſonne *Henrie* Lord *Piercy*, the Lord *Neuill* Earle of *Weſtmerland*, & many others, who (ſaith *VValſingham*) greatly feared King *Richards* tyrannie. With an Armie of about threeſcore thouſand (multitudes offering their ſeruice) they come to *Briſtoll*, beſiege the Caſtle, take it, and in the ſame the foreſaid Treaſurer *Buſhie* and *Greene*, whoſe heads (at the cryes of the Commons) were the next day after their ſurrender ſeuered from their bodies.

(109) King *Richard* was in the City of *Dublin*, when theſe moſt heauie newes arriued. His courage which at no time ſeemed great, was ſhortly none at all. Somewhat muſt be done: he leaues the ſonnes of Duke *Henry*, & of his late vncle of *Gloceſter* (which he retained as pledges for his owne indemnitie) in the Caſtle of *Trim*, and returnes himſelfe into *England*, entending to encounter the Duke before his force ſhould be too much eſtabliſhed. The great names which accompanied him, were his late noble Creatures, the young Dukes of *Aumarle*, *Exceſter*, and *Surrey*, the Biſhops of *London*, *Lincolne*, & *Carleil*, and many others. There had beene ſome more hope for vpholding his right, if he had not made the World know, that tenne yeares ſpace was not able to burie in him the appetite of reuenge, which made many forget their owne loyalty to him, and the Crowne. Princes, ſee in him the vſe of obliuion: but ſome conſcience of euill deſerts ſeeming to haue taken from him all confidence, he diſmiſſeth his Armie, bidding his Steward Sir *Thomas Piercy*, and others, to reſerue themſelues for better daies.

(110) His laſt refuge is in *Parlea*. For that cauſe there repayred to him, at the Caſtle of *Conway* in *North-wales*, (for thither he was now come) the late Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Earle of

Nor-

Northumberland at the Kings appointment: *The sum of his demaunds were, that if he and eight, whom hee would name, might haue honourable allowance, with the assurance of a quiet priuate life, he would resigne his Crowne.* This *Northumberland* did sweare should be: whereupon he forthwith departs to the Castle of *Flint* in their company. After a short conference there had with the Duke, they all ride that night to the Castle of *Chester*, being attended by the *Lancastrian* Armie. If, to spare his peoples bloud, he was contented so tamely to quit his royall right, his fact doth not onely not seeme excusable, but glorious; but men rather thinke that it was sloath, and a vaine trust in dissimulation, which his enemies had long since discouered in him, and for that cause, both held his amendment desperate, and ran themselues into these desperate Treasons.

(111) The King did put himselfe into the Dukes hands vpon the twentieth day of August, being but the forty and seauenth from the Dukes first landing. From thence they trauell to *Lonaon*, where the King lodged in the Tower: Meane while writs of Summons are sent out in King *Richards* name, for a Parliament to be holden at *Westminster*, *Crastino Michaelis*. The tragicall forme of *Resignation*, you haue * had already in *Edward* the second, of whom this King is a Parallell. There are named to haue been present at this wofull-joyfull Act, *Arundel, Archbishop of Canterburie*, *Richard Scrope Archbishop of Yorke*, *Iohn Bishop of Hereford*, *Henry* Duke of *Lancaster*, (who in this serious play must seeme as if he were but a looker on) the Earles of *Northumberland*, and *Westmerland*, the Lords *Burnell*, *Barkley*, *Ros*, *Willoughby*, and *Abergeuenie*; the Abbot of *Westminster*, &c.

* Ed. 2. §. 33. & 34.

King *Richard* resignes vpon *Michaelmas*-day. An. D. 1340.

(112) In their presence *Richard* as yet a King, and in his Tower of *London*, but not otherwise then as a prisoner, reades the Instrument of his surrender, with a seeming chearefull countenance, as if he were glad the houre was come, in which he might taste what it was to be a priuate man, and (hauing otherwise first done and said what then he could to put all right out of himselfe) subscribes it with his hand; but prayes, that his Cousen the Duke of *Lancaster* might succeed him in the regall gouernement, and in token that it was his desire (for he must seeme to desire what hee could not hinder) hee * plucked off his Signet-ring, and put it vpon the Dukes finger. Then did he constitute the Archbishop of *Yorke*, and Bishop of *Hereford* his Procurators, to declare to the whole Body of Parliament what he had done, and how willingly, where euery one (* except the loyal and magnanimious Bishop of *Carleil*) being particularly asked, did particularly accept of the resignation. Neuertheless, it was not thought inough to haue his Crowne, vnlesse they also published his shame. Thirty * and two Articles are therefore openly (but in his absence) read; of all which, it was said (for then men might say what they lifted) that he had confessed himselfe guilty. In the front was placed his abuse of the publike treasure, and vnworthy waste of the Crown-land, whereby he grew intollerably grieuous to the Subjects. The particular causes of the Dukes of *Gloucester* and *Lancaster*, the Archbishop of *Canterburie* and Earle of *Arundel*, filled sundry Articles. They charged him in the rest with dissimulation, falshood, losse of honour abroad in the World, extortions, rapine, deniall of Iustice, rasures, and embezelling of Records, dishonourable shifts, wicked Axiomes of State, cruelty, couetousnesse, subordinations, lasciuiousnesse, treason to the rights of the Crowne, perjuries; and briefly with all sorts of vnkingly vices, and with absolute tyranny.

* *Holinsh. pag. 504.*

* *D. Hayward in Hen. 4.*

* *Fabia. Concord. hist.* saith thirty and eight.

(113) We may be assured, that nothing could then be objected so vntrue or incredible, but would haue gone for current and vndenyable with affections so throughly prepared. Hereupon it was * concluded, that in all those thirty and two Articles, hee had broken the *Oath of Empire* taken at the Coronation, and all the States of the Kingdome (strange that so many should so concurre in disloyalty vnder pretence of equity) being asked what they thought; did hold that those causes seemed notorious, and sufficient to depose King *Richard*. Commissioners were therefore nominated by consent of the whole house, to pronounce the sentence of Deposition; which were, the Bishop of *Asaph*, the Abbot of *Glassenbury*, the Earle of *Glocester*, the Lord *Barkley*, *William Thyrning* Chiefe Iustice of the common Pleas, and some others. The forme of pronunciation was, IN THE NAME OF GOD, AMEN: *We Iohn Bishop of Saint Asaph, Iohn Abbat, &c. Commissioners specially chosen by the Lords spirituall and temporall of the Realme of England, and Commons of the said Realme, representing all the States of the said Realme, sitting in place of iudgement, &c.*

(114) The definitiue sentence of *Deposition* giuen thus in open Parliament, there were further named certaine persons, amongst whom *William Thyrning Chiefe Iustice* of the *Common Pleas* was thought the fittest man, by whose lawlesse mouth that vnjust doome should be deliuered to the King, and who on the behalfe of the realme, should renounce to the said *Richard* the Fealties and Homages heretofore made vnto him, and to make relation of the whole manner and causes of their proceedings. The Regall Seate was now reputed void; whereupon Duke *Henrie* riseth from his place, and stands vpright, that hee might be seene of the people; then * signing himselfe with the signe of the Crosse vpon the fore-head and breast, and inuocating the name of Christ, he challenged the Crowne and Realme of *England*, with all the members and appurtenances. His words are said to be these.

* *Ypodig. Neustr.*

* *Ypodig. Neustr.*

In the name of God, Amen. I, Henry of Lancaster, claime the Realme of England, and the Crowne, with all the appurtenances, as comming by the bloud-royall from King Henry, and by that iustice which God of his grace hath sent to mee, by the helpe of my kinsfolke and friends, for recouery of the said Realme, which was in point of perdition, through default of Gouernement and breach of lawes. *Ypodig. Neustr.*

(115) Which challenge and claime being thus made, all the States of the Kingdome doe with one consent grant, that the said Lord Duke should raigne ouer them. The Archbishop of *Canterbury* (brother to the late Earle of *Arundel*) takes him then by the right hand, and the Archbishop of *Yorke*, (the late Earle of *Wiltshires* kinseman) being his assistant, placeth him in the royall Throne, with the generall acclamation and applauses of the people. Lastly, in full complement of the present solemnity, the Archbishop of *Canterburie* (that we may see how the *Diuinity* aswell as the *Law* of those times were degenerated into temporizing *Policie*) made a Sermon vpon those words in *Samuel, A man shall raigne ouer the People.* By occasion whereof * he describeth out of the holy Scriptures, *the happinesse of that Kingdome which is gouerned by a Man, and the infelicity of those Realmes where a Childe (whether in age or discretion) weeldes the Scepter. The euill whereof as they had dangerously felt vnder the late King, so they hoped abundantly to enjoy the other in King Henrie.* To al which the whole Auditory joyously answered, *Amen.* Then rose the affable new Monarch, and among a few other words, *he gaue the world to vnderstand, that none should thinke he would, as by way of Conquest, disinherite any man, certaine bad members onely excepted.*

* *Fab. 1. Concord. Hist. Holinsh. ex Fab.*

A necessary protestation.

(116) From henceforth he was taken for King, and all Writs issued, and went forth in his name: which disorderly matters being orderly related to the deposed Prince in the Tower, by *Thyrning* the Chiefe Iustice, he onely vsed these words; *That he looked not after such things, but* (quoth he) *my hope is, that (after all this) my cosen will be my good Lord and friend.* The Archbishop (otherwise inexcusable in those proceedings) yet in his saide Sermon seemeth

graucly and truely to haue described the cause of this effect; for (quoth hee) *the childe or insipient* (which are with him æquiparable) *drinketh the sweet and delicious words vnaduisedly, and perceiueth not intoxication, which they been mingled with, till he be inuironed and wrapped in all danger, as lately the experience thereof hath been apparant to all our sights and knowledges, and not without the great danger of all this Realme.* Being thus brought downe to the show, and littlenesse of a priuate man, we leaue him to draw his comfort out of holy meditations, as one whose violent death ensued before long, and turne ouer to his politique and martiall Successor.

(117) Yet in our way, we may not quite ouerpasse a cursory consideration of the affaires of the Church vnder this King, which, for auoyding often interruptions of other argument, we haue put off to this last place. For albeit the Kingdome indured great crosses in the affaires of State, (yet * some haue thought, that it found as great blessings in matters of Religion, which in those daies tooke so deepe roote in this our Land, by the preaching of *Iohn Wicliffe*, that the branches thereof did spread themselues euen * ouer the Seas. Nor were the *common people* onely allured with his doctrine, (though the * *Londoners fauouring of him* is thought by *Walsingham* to haue deterred the Prelates from proceeding against him, and a scholler of his in *Leicestershire*, is said to haue drawn by his preaching, * *all the Laymen in that Countrey*) but (as the same Author reporteth) sundry of the *Friars* themselues fell to him, and imbraced his opinions, amongst whom one * being also the *Popes Chaplaine*, so discouered by preaching, the *murders, luxuries and treasons of Friars* of his owne *Habit*, that the common people *were astonied with the horror thereof*, and cried out to haue them all *vtterly destroyed*; which his accusations he particularly justified by publique writing, professing he came forth of that Order, as out of the *Diuels nest*. But that which *Walsingham* much more * admires, is, that *Wicliffes opinions were not only entertained in ordinary Cities*, but *euen in the Vniuersity of Oxford it selfe*, where was * *the very top of wisdome and learning*: and where not onely two Chancellors successiuely, * Doctor *Nicholas Hereford* and * *Robert Rugge*, were most *earnest maintainers* of *Wicliffes* doctrine, but also, when the Pope (to suppresse the same doctrine) sent his * *Bull to the Vniuersity, threatning the priuation of all their priuiledges, the Proctors & Regents thereof were very doubtfull, whether they should receiue the Popes Bull with honour, or rather reject it with open disgrace.* Yea, the whole body of that *glorious Vniuersity* (as the Pope there cals it in his Bull) gaue a glorious * Testimony (vnder their publique Seale) of *Wicliffes* religious life, profound learning, orthodoxe opinions, exquisite writings, all farthest from any staine of heresie.

(118) And therefore no marueile, if not only the Duke of *Lancaster*, with * sundry Peeres & great ones, but King *Edward 3.* himselfe, were (as *Capgraue* testifieth) a fauourer of him, and * King *Richard 2.* and the whole *Parliament* did (according to his * instructions) much labor to abrogate the *Popes* transcendent power, which was a principall cause of the *Popes* hatred against him. Notwithstanding to discountenance the truth which he taught, in defence of *Regall Supremacy* against *Papall Vsurpation*, (as also against the *Masse, Transubstantiation, Merit*; against *Adoration of the Hoast, of Saints, Images*; and *Reliques*; against *Friarly Orders, Pilgrimages, Indulgences,*) many lewde opinions by mis construction (as his Bookes * yet extant, euince) are fathered on him, yea some so monstrous and diabolicall (as, * that *Men ought*, yea, * that *God himselfe ought to obay the Diuell,*) that any man which heareth them, will presently beliue (without further perswasion) that they are but malicious figments. This famous Doctor * dying of a palsie, hath this charitable *Euloge* or *Epitaph* bestowed on him by a * *Monke*; *The Diuels Instrument, Churches Enemy, Peoples Confusion, Heretikes Idoll, Hypocrites mirrour, Schismes broacher, hatreds sower, lyes forger, Flatteries sinke; who, at his death dispaired like* Cain, *and stricken by the horrible iudgement of God; breathed forth his wicked soule to the darke mansion * of the black dinell:* Whereby, Gods best children may learne, not to regard, whiles they liue, the malice of the Wicked, nor to expect after their death ought else but their slanderous rancour. And thus we conclude the raigne, though not the life of King *Richard*:

His first Wife.

(119) The first wife of King *Richard* the second, was *Anne*, daughter vnto the Emperour *Charles* the fourth, and sister to *Wenceslaus* Emperour, and King of *Bohemia*, who was crowned Queene the 22. of Ianuary 1382. Hauing been ten yeares his wife she died without any issue, at *Sheen* in the county of *Surrey*, 1392. whence her body was conuayed and buried at *Westminster*, the seauenth of the Ides of Iune.

His second Wife.

(120) *Isabel*, daughter vnto *Charles* the sixth, King of *France*, was a Virgin about seauen yeares of age, when she was affianced vnto King *Richard*, 1396. Neither had her Husband (it seemeth) any nuptiall fruition of her, by reason of her tender age, before such time as his traiterous Lords, (to compasse their owne disloyall purposes, and gratifie an Vsurpers ambition) had dethroned him. What became of this young Ladie, we shall further see in the ensuing Storie.

* *Nimio fauore Procerum & militum. Walsing. p. 351. & p. 328.*
* *Ypod. Neust. p. 552.*
* *Ibid.*

* *Varia Widiff M.S. in biblioth. Oxon.*
* *Tho. Walsing. pag. 285.*
* *Ibid pag. 283.*
* An. 1385.

* *Walsing. p. 312. Ypod. Neust. pag. 537.*

* *Atri Ditis*, is in *M.S.* not in the printed copies.

* *Mornay. Myst. iniquit. p. 482.*

* *Into Bohemia. Opera Io. Hus. Tom. 2.*
* *Walsing. p. 205. & p. 208.*

* *Ibid. p. 285.*

* *Pag. 327.*

* *Pag. 285.*

* *Culmen Sapientiæ & scientiæ. p. 201.*
* *Pag. 286.*
* *Pag. 201.*

* *Bulla Gregorij ib.*

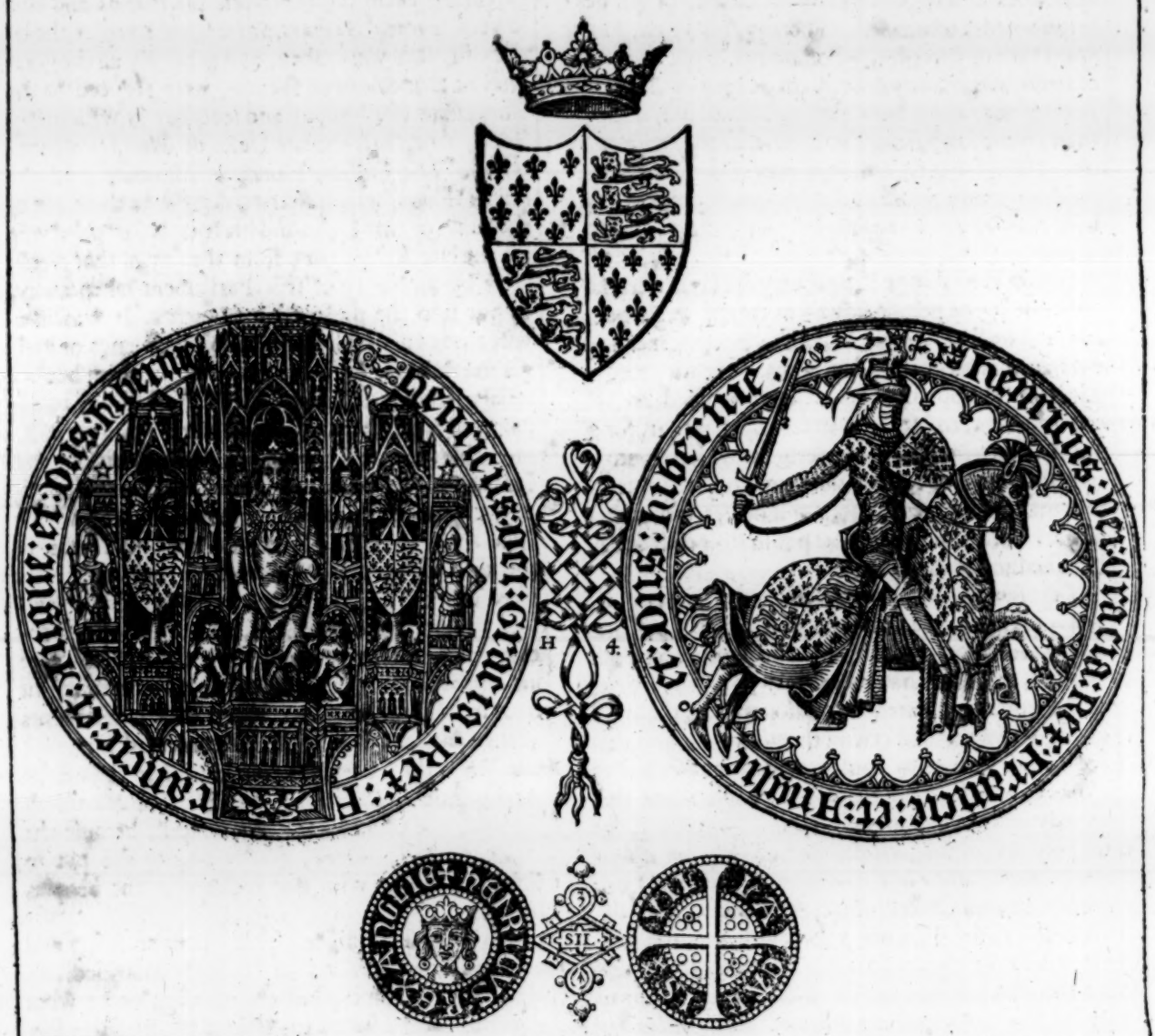
* *Vide op. Ioh. Huss. Tom. 2.*

HENRIE

Henry IIII.

HENRIE THE FOVRTH, KING OF ENGLAND, AND FRANCE, LORD OF IRELAND: THE FIFTIE ONE MONARCH OF ENGLAND, HIS RAIGNE, ACTS, AND ISSVE.

Monarch 51.



CHAPTER XIIII.

HENRIE of that name the fourth, hauing thus obtained the title of king, in full accompliſhment of all rites peculiar to Maieſtie, had the Crowne of *England* ſet vpon his head, with all worldly magnificence and honour at *Weſtminſter*, by *Thomas Arundel* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, vpon the* ſelfe day twelue moneth, in which hee had formerly beene baniſhed vnder *Richard* the ſecond. *Power and fauour can ſet vp and maintaine a King, though they cannot create aright.* But ſuch tranſcendent courſes deuiating from all due regulation of Iuſtice, haue beene too frequent in this Kingdome. What right had *William* ſurnamed the Conqueror? What right, (wee ſpeake of a right of Equity,) had his ſonnes *William* the ſecond, and *Henry* the firſt, while their elder brother liued? What right had that valiant and princely *Stephen*? What was the intereſt of *Henry* the ſecond, during the life of his mother *Mathildis?* or that of King *Iohn*, till his Nephew *Arthur* Duke of *Britaine* dyed? yea, or that of *Henry* the third, till *Arthurs* ſiſter died in her priſon at *Briſtow?* Howbeit, in this preſent caſe, not onely *Richard* the late king, but the houſe of *Mortimer*, claiming from the onely daughter and heire of *Lionel* Duke of *Clarence* (an elder brother of *Iohn* D. of *Lancaſter*) doubly might haue withſtoode the legall challenge of this Prince? That obſtacle which grew by *Richard*, was in apparance greateſt, but the other was onely dangerous. *Richard* had no iſſue but the line of *Mortimer* (engraffed by marriage into the houſe of *Yorke*) feeling it ſelfe vnable to preuaile, and during *Richards* life-time, hauing no right, ſecretly foſtered in it ſelfe thoſe fires, which afterward brake forth, and taking hold of the roofe-tops of both the royall houſes, neuer left burning, till no one principall timber was vnconſumed in either, all the Male-Iſſues which could claime by a direct line, vtterly loſt downe by

* Tho. Walſingh.

by mutuall maſſacres, and extinguiſhed.

(2) But this wiſe and valiant Prince *Henry*, beſides all other helpes toward the poſſeſſion of the Crowne in preſent, had as much ſtrength, as the vnordinate affections and ſiding of a factious greater part could giue, for tranſlation of a right from one family to another; which ſtrength (as the baſis of his vniuſtly-reared building) he endeauoureth by all the politike meanes hee may, to make perpetuall. During therefore the former Parliament, (for *Parliaments, as Kingdomes, giue their voice with power, and he who hath the force, doth commonly carry the effect of right*) hee * prouided for their indemnities, who either came in with him, or did afterward adhere to his ſides, and doth vtterly abrogate, and make voide the Acts made in the one and twentieth yeare of the late King *Richard* the ſecond, for ſo much as concerned the Attaindors diſinheriſons, or other forfeitures of any perſons therein named, or (in generall words) compriſed. Thereby, his Vncle, *Thomas* Duke of *Gloceſter*, who had beene put to death at *Callis* without any orderly condemnation, *Richard* Earle of *Arundell* beheaded at Tower-hill, and others, were freed from the infamie of that corruption in bloud which followes executed malefactors. And the Statute made in the eleauenth yeare of the ſaid *Richard*, was againe fully ſet on foote and reuiued.

* Lib. Statut. An. 1. Hen. 4 c. 2. 3. 4.

(3) In theſe things King *Henry* did (as it were) ſacrifice vnto the people, aſwell as to the weale publike: The ſaid *Thomas* Duke of *Gloceſter*, meaning the reformation of the State, in that eleuenth yeare of King *Richard* procured (as is before touched) an Act of Parliament, to " ſettle a Super-royall power, for a yeare, in certaine Peeres, by vertue of which commiſſion the intended reformation was ſo farre proſecuted, that ſundry great perſons and others (fauourites of the vnfortunate King) were put to ſhamefull death, baniſhed and confiſcated.

Lib. Stat. An. 11. Rich. 2. cap. 1.

(4) But *Richard* * afterward (by the Duke of *Aumarls* inſtigation) re-examines all the former paſſages and proceedings, and ſatisfied his pleaſure and diſpleaſure, as already hath beene ſhewed; The Articles in thoſe times ſentenced for treaſonable by the moſt eminent Lawyers, did extend themſelues ſo farre, that the Prince ſeemed to haue too great meanes left to worke miſchiefe to the Peeres and people: and that we may ſee the conſtant humour in Lawyers to iudge with the will of the greateſt, * the Lord *William Thyrning* Chiefe Iuſtice of the common Bench, the Lord *Walter Clopton* Chiefe Iuſtice, and others, being demaunded their opinions vpon the ſame Articles, for which Sir *Robert Triſilian* had loſt his life, and for the which others had ſo terrible beene cenſured by the Gloceſtrian faction, affirmed (as *Triſilian* and others did) that the ſaid Commiſſion was againſt the royall Prerogatiue, and the procurers thereof were all Traitors.

* An. Reg. 21.

* So is he and the reſt called Lib. Statut. An. 21. Rich. 2. cap. 11.

(5) King *Henry* therefore, in this his firſt Parliament, reduceth the ſtate of treaſons (being crimes of the higheſt an l fouleſt nature) to a more certaine head, vtterly aboliſhing all ſuch as were eſtabliſhed by the late King *Richard*. The words of the * Statute it ſelfe are; *Whereas, in the Parliament holden the one and twentieth yeare of the late king Richard, diuers paines of treaſon were ordained by Statute, in as much as there was no man which did know how he ought to behaue himſelfe, to doe, ſpeake, or ſay, for doubt of ſuch paines: It is accorded, and aſſented by the King, the Lords and Commons, that in no time to come any treaſon be iudged otherwiſe, then it was ordained by the Statute, in the time of his noble Grandfather, King Edward the third, whom God aſſoile.* So was that net broken, the perilous eſtate of Subiects relieued, the people well gratified, and the King hereby became gracious and popular.

* An. 1. H. 4. c. 10.

King *Henry* createth his ſonne *Henry* Prince of *Wales*.

(6) And that his indulgent magnificence might aſwell appeare, as his ciuill prudence, hee (in this Parliament) created *Henry* his eldeſt ſonne Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Aquitaine* and *Cornwall*, & Earle of *Cheſter*, by * aſſent of all the States. To his friend the Earle of *Northumberland* hee gaue the Iſle of *Mann*, as that which he had atchieued by Conqueſt, (ſo the cited * Record ſpeaks) of Sir *William le Scrope* Knight, Earle of *Wiltſhire*, beheaded at *Briſtol*. The Earle of *Northumberland* had it granted to hold by the ſeruice of bearing *Lancaſters* ſword on the left hand of the King at the Coronation. Vpon the Earle of *Weſtmorland*, hee beſtowed the Earledome of *Richmond*. Laſtly, as a binding knot, hee cauſeth the * Crowne to bee entailed vpon the heires of his body, hauing at that time foure ſonnes aliue, *Henry* Prince of *Wales*, *Thomas*, *John* and *Humfrey*.

* Froiſſard.

* Camd. in Inſulis Britannicis, pag. 847.

* Holinſh. ex Hall, pag. 514.

(7) Now, as in the workes of nature, what the Sea drawes from one Coaſt, it caſteth to another; ſo, others were diminiſhed, as theſe encreaſed; the King bereauing enemies, to enrich his friends and followers. From *Aumarl*, *Surrey*, and *Exceſter*, the titles of Dukes were taken, and generally all the great ones of that colour or faction, were reduced to the ſame eſtate (for honour and fortune) in which they ſtood, when firſt the late Duke of *Gloceſter* was arreſted. The Caſtles, Honours, Manours, and the reſt of things, which afterward grew to them out of the ruine of that Duke and his friends, or otherwiſe by the late Kings gift, from the day of that arreſt, were by authority of this Parliament taken away, or put into the preſent Kings mercy. It was likewiſe made vnlawfull for them to giue liueries or badges to retainers, or to keepe any about them but neceſſary ſeruants: They were alſo forbidden, vnder paine of high Treaſon, to goe about by any way to re-enable the late King againſt the authority of this Parliament, in which the ſentence of his depoſition was giuen and enacted. Finally, (a thing which laide them open to infinite vexations) whereas, in the time of their late greatneſſe, they and theirs were charged to haue done, and patronized manifold wrongs and oppreſſions, all people (vpon proclamations to that purpoſe) were willed to come in, and declare their griefes, to the intent they might haue redreſſe and remedy. With theſe puniſhments of his aduerſaries, King *Henry* contented himſelfe; but * not the Commons who inueighed againſt the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Earle of *Northumberland*, and other Lords of Councell, becauſe the ſaid *Aumarl*, *Surrey*, *&c.* were not alſo put to death, as perſons who ſtoode deepe in the peoples hatred.

The late Kings friends diſinabled and deplumed.

* Tho. Walſing.

(8) Theſe prouiſions for his honour, ſafety and aduantage, King *Henry* very ſeeingly contriued, and eſtabliſhed at home; but not ignorant vnder what grieuous conſtructions his actions might fall in forraine parts, ſends honourable Ambaſſadors to * *Rome*, *France*, *Spaine*, and *Germany*, to giue a reaſon of his doings. To *Rome*, the Biſhop of *Hereford*, Sir *Iohn Cheney* Knight, and *Iohn Cheney* Eſquier. To *France*, the Biſhop of *Dureſme*, and the Lord *Thomas Piercy* Earle of *Worceſter*, and * *William Heron*. To *Spaine*, the Biſhop of Saint *Aſaph*, and Sir *William Par* Knight. To *Germany*, the Biſhop of *Bangor*, and others. Theſe were armed with all ſorts of inſtructions for iuſtification of their new aduanced King.

* Holinſh. ex Tho. Walſingh.

* Iohn Stow. Anna.

(9) In *France* * was worthily found the greateſt difficulty of giuing ſatisfaction, for that the French Kings daughter (the deſigned wife of the late King) did thereby leeſe the honour, profit and pleaſure of a Monarchies fruition. She was as yet ſcarſe twelue yeares of age, and therefore, * till ſhee attained to more maturity, the late King had the rather abſented himſelfe in *Ireland*. *France* therefore tooke theſe newes roughly, and it ſeemed that matters tended to Armes, which yet came to nothing, for that King *Charles* relapſed into his old diſeaſe of frenzie, and a warre to bee made againſt ſo politicke a Captaine as King *Henry*, required a ſober man, and not a mad

* Polyd. Virg. li. 21.

* Belinden Hector Boet. lib. 16. cap. 11.

a mad one. Certainly, in the death of *Richard* which shortly followed, all those tumultuous designes for reuenge, immediately expired.

They of *Aquitaine* discontented and re-fuelled.

(10) They of *Aquitaine* (among whom the vnfortunate *Richard* was borne) bare the late king great loue, as being their Countriman. These discontentments were so publike, that *Burdeuax* (the capitall Citie and Presedentiall seat) stucke not openly to say, (as * *Polydor* hath it) *that since the world began there was neuer a more cruell, vnreasonable, nor wicked fact done; that the good Prince was betrayed by * faithlesse men, & that all law was violated.* Thus doe they exclaime, calling to God for vengeance with one voyce. Neuertheless the French were deceiued in hoping to conuert these popular passions to their aduantage; for partly by the chiefe * Magistrates wisedome, and principally by the comparison which the people made of the two sorts of gouernment, English and French, that of the English being farre the more sweet and gentle, they continued firme. Much good labour, and many faire promises *Lewis* Duke of *Burbon* was forced to spend in vaine, who by such baites cast into the troubled wits of the *Gascoignes*, trauailed to draw them to a reuolt. The mischiefe was the better, and more strongly encountred, by the arriuall of Sir *Thomas Piercy** Earle of *Worcester* with competent numbers of men, sent thither to withstand the French practises, and cure the peoples affections, by applying to them the soueraigne balme of reason, or with force to compell obedience.

* *Hist. Aug. lib. 21.*

* *Hect. Boet. lib. 16. Iohn Stow: Annal.*

* Sir *Robert Knols.*

The English gouernment better then the French.

The French practises frustrated.

* *Holinsh p. 518.*

(11) The first prouocation which was giuen to King *Henry* was by the Scots, who during the last Parliament exercised themselues in *England*, and took the Castle of *Warcke*; whose Captaine Sir *Thomas Grey* at that time gaue his attendance at Parliament about the common affaires; and the whole North of *England* being also infested with pestilence; the Scots had the more opportunity to range vn-encountred. Cause of other ensuing enmities which afterward brake forth, was (as it * seemeth) for that King *Henry* tooke into his protection *George* Earle of *Dunbarre*, and other Scots, who fled out of *Scotland* to auoyde the displeasure of *Robert* their King, and partly to take open vengeance for wrongs done vnto them. Such oftentimes is the corruption of humane nature, that it will not pardon priuate iniuries for the publike benefite, but thrust the pietie due to our Countrey vnder the inferiour respect of particular interesses. Princes also vpon oblique reasons of state (so bad men call them) which is neuer well founded vpon iniustice, are (for their owne seeming good) contented to hold their neighbours in awe, by possessing meanes of their disturbance, which when time serueth also, they are not slacke to vse, the profite whereof is seldome or neuer durable.

The Scots.

* *Hect. Boet. lib. 16. Geor. Bukhan.*

A. D. 1400. *Ann. Reg. 1.*

(12) But King *Henry* was scarce warme in his new atchieued soueraignty, when a nest of powerfull enemies beganne to hatch his destruction vnder the shadow of his owne wings. The deposed *Richard* was yet aliue, and howsoeuer rough and headstrong men of the Kingdome approued his downe-throw, all others did not; for some moued by neerenesse of bloud, as the Earles of *Kent*, and *Huntington* his halfe-brothers by one mother; some doubtlesse in conscience (because howsoeuer *Richards* actions were vnworthy of the Scepter, yet the right was onely his, and besides, *Henry* seemed to them not the next heire) others transported with enuie at *Henries* super-eminencie, and not a few with remembrance of receiued benefites, or hope of better fortunes in the change of times, inclined to set him againe vpon the English throne. But they whosoeuer seeke the deliuerance of a Captiue Prince, doe commonly nothing else but hasten his death.

A conspiracie for deliuery of *Richard* begun.

(13) It was our purpose in many great things to haue forborne the testimony of *Walsingham* (otherwise a great light of these times) as one who dedicating his workes to King *Henry* the fift, sonne to this *Henry*, may be feared to speake the best and most hee can, for setting forth the honour of that line; but the leuity and dissonance of later Writers, enforceth vs (though with some warinesse,) to follow his light, for that, concerning this great conspiracy it selfe, our late Authors doe fondly encounter one the other, and some of them (as it must needes be) the truth. The principall Conspirators (if such in so iust a cause may be so enstiled) were such, whose liues in the last Parliament had beene spared, though many lockes in their periwigs of worldly honour were plucked away. *Iohn Holland* Earle of *Huntingdon*, *Thomas Holland* Earle of *Kent*, and (as * some say) *Edward* Earle of *Rutland*, (three the late Dukes of *Excester*, *Surrey*, and *Aumarl*,) *Iohn Montacute* Earle of *Salisbury*, *Thomas Lord le Spencer*, late called Earle of *Glocester*, the Bishop of *Carlile*, Sir *Bernard Brokas*, Sir *Iohn Sheuele*, (or *Shelley*) Knights, *Iohn Maudler*, the *Pseudo-Richard*, or * counterfet King *Richard*, whose Chaplaine hee had beene, and resembled him very neerely. The * Abbot of *Westminster* is (by some) not onely named a Conspirator, but the first wheele of all the practise, as mouing the rest; and with him they adde to the former, Sir *Ralph Lumley*, Sir *Thomas Blunt*, Sir *Benedict Celie* Knights. There were sundry others, but those Earles, and others first named, were vndoubtedly the chiefe.

The chiefe Conspirators names. * *Ioh. Stow Annal.*

* *Iohn Stowes Annal. ex Anonymo.*

* *Iohn Stow ex Anonym. Hall Chron. Sam. Daniel. li. 2.*

(14) The maine point of the plot was to * kill King *Henry* and his sonne, and thereby to restore *Richard* to his rightfull dignity; which the more powerfully to effect, (because, though *Henry* were murthered, yet they were assured that the businesse would not take end in a day, or a death) they resolued * to call the French into their succours, which they had reason to expect, for that the young Queene *Isabel*, daughter to the French king, remained at that present in *England*. There was nothing feeble or improbable in all this deuise; the difficulty was how to come so strong into the presence of King *Henry*, that they might ouer-liue the *Assassinate*, thereby to finish their enterprize, which as they could not hope for, but with the helpe of a multitude, nor a multitude be assembled without conuenient colour, it was resolued, that the pretence of some extraordinary shew in *Christmas* was the fittest.

The chiefe points of the conspiracie. * *Thom. Walsing.*

* *Polyd. Virg. li. 21.*

(15) Not long before the time of intended execution, the whole Coniuration was discouered, some say by the late * Duke of *Aumarl*, and afterward by the Maior of *London*. Discouered it was, but with so short a warning, that the King scarce found himselfe out of danger, when the Earles of *Kent* and *Salisbury*, (not vnderstanding that the bad odour of their conspiracy was come to the King) enter with foure hundred armed men about * twylight into *Windsore* Castle, from whence he was departed to *London*. But God (whose peculiar Wards and pupils Princes are) hauing deliuered the King out of that most certaine perill, did also sodainely dissipate the further enterprises of the Conspirators. The Lord *Iohn Holland* Earle of *Huntington*, one of the chiefe, was not in this defeat at *Windsore*, but houered in *London*, attending the successe, there to raise meanes and men, and to worke such other masteries as hee could, and afterward (for wee credite *Walsingham* who liued in that time, and neare the p'ace, and saw, and diligently noted things, rather then some * others) vpon the certaine report of the Kings safety sought to flie away by water.

* *Io. Stow. Annal.*

* *Thom. Walsingh. Stow* saith in the Octaues of Childermas.

* *Hall apud Holinshed pag. 515.*

(16) The two Earles missing their hoped pray, though greatly greeued, yet necessity and new hopes bid them to dare farther. They therefore came to *Sunnings*. There the young Queene (King *Richards* spouse) lay; where hauing spoken certaine big words, to little other purpose then to giue the poore Lady a short comfort, and taken King *Henries* Badges from such as wore them, saying King *Richard* was at libertie, and in the midst of an army of one hundreth thousand

The Earles course vpon their plots discouery.

thousand friends at *Pomfret*; they proceed to *Wallingford*, then to *Abingdon*, and so to *Circester*. The rumors vsed by them to encrease their numbers were; *that Henry of Lancaster (meaning the King) was fled with his sonnes and friends to the Tower of London, and that King Richard was escaped.* *Maudlen* also, one of *Richards* Chapleins, tooke vpon him the *person of his said Lord, the more strongly to seduce the multitude, by so bold and perillous a fiction. Thus seemed they to fit their words and sute their Arts to the place. At *Sunning*, *Richard* (they said) was at *Pomfret*, for there the guile had beene transparent; but at *Circester*, *Richard* was not at *Pomfret*, but present.

*Ex Anonym. apud Io. Stow. Annal. Holinsh. p. 515. Polyd. Virg. li. 21.

(17) Howbeit the successe was not answerable to the deuise; for, besides, that King *Henry* was in the heart of his strengths at *London*, where sixe * thousand men were put into a readinesse, and would come vpon them like a storme, the Townesmen of *Circester* assailed the Lords, tooke them, and (because their Towne was fired of purpose by some of their followers, the better to recouer them while the quenching found the people employment,) haled them forth, and without longer tarriance seuered their heads from their bodies: The Earle of *Huntington*, with a trusty Knight of his, Sir *Iohn* * *Sheuele*, hauing (after the faile at *Windsore*) in vaine attempted to escape by Sea, was taken by the Commons at * *Pitwel* (perhaps *Prittlewel*) in *Essex*, brought first to *Chelmsford*, and lastly to *Pleshie*, the house of the late Duke of *Gloucester*, (whose Ghost a tragicall Poet would suppose did haunt his persecutors for reuenge,) where, partly also by this Earles instigation, the said *Gloucester* was first arrested. The Commons (out of whose hearts the image of that Duke was not vanished) at * the Countesse of *Herefords* instigation who was the Dukes widdow, tooke satisfaction vpon the Earle, with the escheate of his head, which there was sundred from his shoulders. The Lord *Spenser* called Earle of *Gloucester* (one of the Conspirators) had like execution done vpon him, by the Commons, at *Bristoll*. Some other of them were put to death at *Oxford*, and some at *London*; where *Iohn Maudlen* the counterfeit *Richard*, who as it seemes was a beautifull and goodly person) and one *William Ferby* were drawne, hanged and headed. The Bishop of *Carlile* neuertheless was by the Kings clemency preserued aliue after the condemnatory sentence. There were * nineteene in all (whereof two had beene Dukes) put to death for this conspiracy, most of which were men of speciall note.

* Hall. Chron.

*Shellie, as others haue it.

* Fab. Cont. Hist.

* Harst. cap. 119.

* Hall chron. Holinsh. pa. 516.

(18) The designes and misfortunes of King *Richards* friends being made knowne vnto him, could not but work strongly in a soule oppresst with griefe; but whether so strongly as to make him resolue by voluntary abstinence to starue himselfe (as * the fame went) may bee doubted, though it be past doubt that King *Henry* was not sorry he was dead howsoeuer. That he was starued seemes very plaine; though, as it is not certaine, (neither yet vnlikely) that King *Henry* was priuy to so foule a parricide, so neither is it knowne, but that *Richard* might as well be starued of purpose, * as starue himselfe. Master * *Stow* (a man for honest industry very praise-worthy) saith that king *Richard* was fifteene dayes and nights together kept in hunger, thirst and cold, till he dyed. How true that was in the circumstance, who knows? but in the poynt of staruing hee is clearely with *Walsingham*: and a * Knight liuing about those times calleth it a death neuer before that time knowne in *England*. *Harding** also, liuing vnder King *Edward* the fourth, agrees of the rumour of staruing.* Master *Cambden* saith of *Pomfret* Castle, that it is a place *principū cæde & sanguine infamis*, but seemes to insinuate, that some other torments were most wickedly practised vpon this King, as made out of the way *with hunger, cold, & vnheard-of torments.* * *Polydor* therefore in this may bee beleeued, who writes of this poore deposed Monarke, that, (which may well *be called vnheard-of torments*) his diet being serued in, and set before him in the wonted Princely manner, he was not suffered either to taste, or touch thereof. Idle therefore seemes * his dreame, who writes hee was murthered in the Tower, and not more credible *theirs, who tell vs of Sir *Peirs* of *Exton*s assault, and the murther basely by him acted vpon this most miserable Princes person: but much more are * they to blame who negligently for credit of the fable quote *Walsingham*, in whom no syllable of such a thing is found. Onely * *Hector Boetius* wils vs to beleeue that *Richard* fled disguised into *Scotland*, was discouered to King *Robert*, and honourably entertained, but *Richard* who would no more of the world, gaue himselfe wholly to contemplation, and both liued, died, and was buried at *Striueling*. Which fond fable hath neuertheless somewhat in it, for that some personated *Richard* might so doe is neither impossible, nor improbable, and indeed it was so.

The late King *Richard* starued to death.

* Ypodig. Neustr.

* Annal. in H. 4.

* Sir John Fortescue.

* Chron. 200.

* In Yorkshire pa. 567.

* Hist. Angl. 20. & fin. Ric. 2.

The fiction of *Tantalus* verified in King *Richard*.

* Lanquets Chron. in Hen. 4.

* Fab. Cont. Chron.

* Hollinsh. p. 517.

* Lib. 16.

(19) The late King *Richard* thus cruelly and heinously murthered (for in regard of pining death the seeming fable of his fight with Sir *Piers* of *Exton* was a sport, it being both noble and full of comfort, for a man of honour and courage to die with weapon in hand) King *Henry* causeth his dead body to bee brought vp to *London*. O *Henry*, if thou wert Author, or but priuie, (though for thine owne pretended safety, and for that errors cause which is lewdly misse-called *reason of state*) of such a murther; we doe not see, how the shewing of the people his vncouered face in *Pauls*, did either conceale, or extenuate the execrable crime. But to let the world know, that there was no hope nor place for a *Richard*, that course was vsed, which may the rather confirme the truth of his enfamishment: for a violent death by braining could not but deforme him too much: and it is most probable that such a death would be sought, as might least appeare. Surely he is not a man, who at the report of so exquisite a barbarisme, as *Richards* enfamishment, feeles not chilling horror and detestation; what if but for a iustly condemned galley-slaue so dying? but how for an annointed King, whose Character (like that of holy Orders) is indeleble? The tragicall spectacle of his dead body (perhaps because it moued too much both pittie and enuie) was after a while transported without honor to *Langley* in *Hartfordshire*, where the last rites were performed by the Bishop of *Chester*, the Abbots of S. *Alban* and *Waltham*, but neither King *Henry* present, (as at the exequies in *London*) and the great Lords and such other as were, had * not so much as a funerall feast bestowed on them for their labour. But *Henry* the fift, in the first * yeare of his raigne with great honour did afterward cause those royall remaines to be interred in the Sepulture of his Ancestors at *Westminster*. Among the riming Latine verses of his Epitaph, ye may maruell to reade these, considering vpon what points he was triced out of Maiestie and State;

Ecclesiam fauit, elatos suppeditauit,
Quemuis prostrauit, regalia qui violauit.

Fabians English of them:

The Church he fauoured, casting the proud to ground,
And all that would his royall State confound.

The said Authour therefore *Robert Fabian*, obseruing the scope of those lines (to dampe their force) doth vnder-write and annex this Stanza, with much greater discreation then elegancy:

But yet alas, though that this meeter or rime,
Thus doth embellish this noble Princes fame,
And that some Clerke which fauoured him sometime,
List by his cunning thus to enhance his name,
Yet by his Story appeareth in him some blame:
Wherefore to Princes is surest memory,
Their liues to exercise in vertuous constancy.

From thence is carried to *Langley*, and afterward to *Westminster*.

* Tho. Walsingh. in Hen. 4.

* Fab. Cont. Hist.

More

More tart and ſeuere is the cenſure of *Gower* vpon this Prince, one of whoſe verſes * *Stow* giues vs thus,

* *Annal.*

So God doth hate ſuch rulers as, here viciouſly do liue.

That beautifull picture of a King ſighing, crowned in a chaire of eſtate, at the vpper end of the Quire in Saint *Peters* at *Weſtminſter*, is ſaid to be of him, which witneſſeth how goodly a creature he was in outward lineaments.

(20) King *Henry*, to diuert the humors and eyes of the people from the remembrance of this Tragedie, prepareth now a puiſſance, therewith to inuade *Scotland*; ſome ſubiects whereof, together with their Admirall Sir *Robert Logon* a Scottiſh Knight, were taken at Sea by certaine Engliſh ſhips. But K. *Henry* may ſeeme to haue done any thing rather then to haue made a warre; for albeit he did ſome hurt by * waſting the Country, yet did not the Scots offer battell, and the reſt will well appeare in theſe words of * *Boetius*: *He did ſmall iniuries to the people thereof: for hee deſired nought but his banner to be erected on their wals. He was euer a pleaſant enemy, and did great humanity to the people in all places of Scotland where he was lodged. Finally, he ſhewed to the Lords of Scotland, that he came into their Realme rather by counſell of his Nobles, then for any hatred he bare to Scots. Soone after he returned into England.* Whether the remembrance of the curteſies ſhewed to his Father Duke *Iohn*, or the feare of his owne great ſtate ſo neere to an ouerthrow by the late furious conſpiracy, wrought theſe gentle effects, it was not long before the euent ſhewed, that his prouidence in not creating new acerbities was therein needfull.

*Ypod. Neuſt.

* *Hiſt. 51. lib. 61. & by Belindens diuiſion cap. 13.*

(21) For albeit the face of *England* ſeemed ſmooth, yet God thruſt a thorne into King *Henries* ſide, when and where he little expected; for the Welſh, whom former Kings of *England* had ſo yoaked, and ſubiected, did contrary to all mens expectation, breake forth into open acts of hoſtility, vnder the conduct of a Gentleman of that Nation, ſurnamed *Glendowr*, of the Lordſhip of *Glendowr* in *Merionithſhire*, whoſe owner he was; the wrath and iuſtice of heauen is alwaies ſo well furniſhed with meanes to exerciſe the mightieſt, thoſe chiefly at whoſe amendment God aimes by chaſtiſement. The originall of ſo great an euill was in the ſeed but little, as but this: *Owen Glendowr*, * whom the Welſh call the ſonne of *Gruffith Vachan*, deſcended of a younger ſonne of *Gruffith ap Madoc*, Lord of *Bromfield*, was at firſt a Student of the common lawes, and an *Vtter Bariſter*, (but not therfore an Apprentiſe of Law, as Doctor *Powell* miſtakes, for an Apprentiſe of the Law, is he that hath beene a * double Reader) did afterward ſerue the late King *Richard* in place of an Eſquire, and was well beloued of him, but in King *Henries* time (retiring himſelfe as it ſeemes to his Mannour of *Glendourdwy*, the L. *Gray* of *Ruthen* entred vpon a peece of common, which lay betweene *Ruthin* and *Glendowr*, which *Owen* (deſpite the Lord *Gray* while *Richard* continued King) had formerly holden, though not without contention. *Owen* (a man of high courage, and impatient of force) armes hereupon, and encounters the Lord *Gray* in the field, where he ſcattered the ſaid Lords people, and tooke him priſoner, as hereafter will elſewhere be touched.

Owen Glendowr drawes the Welſh into rebellion.

*Hiſt. of Wales D. Powel. p. 385. 386. 387.

* Sir *Edward Coke, Epiſt. part. 3. report.*

(22) It ſeemes herein that hee had forgotten the lawes which he had formerly ſtudied, and wherein he had beene a licentiate; for ſhortly after, as hee had trodden law vnder foote, ſo did hee alſo caſt off loyalty, burning and deſtroying the Lord *Grays* inheritances, and killing ſundry his ſeruants. The King aduertiſed hereof, paſſeth with an Army into *Wales*, burnes, kils, and takes ſuch reuenge as that time would permit. Meane-while, *Owen* (whom pride and folly armed to the farther ruine of his Country) with his truſtieſt friends (which were not few) withdrawes into the inexpugnable faſtneſſes of *Snowdon*, where during this tempeſt, hee kept his head ſafe. Shortly after the King with ſuch riches and ſpoyles as thoſe Parts had afforded, returnes. His next moſt noted action was peaceable. For one of the houſe of *Palæologus*, and Emperor of *Conſtantinople*, came into *England* to pray ſome ſuccour againſt the Turke, and vpon the day of Saint *Thomas* the Apoſtle, was met at *Blackeheath* by King *Henry*, highly feaſted, richly preſented, and his charges borne till departure. But as *Tilius* * ſaith of his ſucceſſe in *France*, *verbis & promiſſis tantum adiutus eſt*, ſo here his ſpeed was not much better, the poynt of armed aydes, being onely therein aſſiſted with words and promiſes.

King *Henric* enters *North-Wales* with an Armie.

Warre againſt Turks neglected by the Weſterne Princes.

* *Chron. dorens ib. Francorum.*

(23) In a Parliament held the next yeare, * by reaſon of *the numbers of Lolards*, (ſo called) *encreaſing*, the puniſhment for them enacted, was burning. And in the ſame yeare alſo, the Articles of peace being firſt agreed vpon betweene the two Nations, Engliſh and French (notwithſtanding that they had denyed to match with the young Prince of *Wales*, * becauſe the former marriage with *Richard* thriued ſo badly) the Lady *Iſabel* who had beene crowned Queene of *England*, as Spouſe of the late King, was now ſent backe into *France*, after a moſt Princely manner, ſhee being not as yet * twelue yeares old, had * no dowry allowed her in *England*, for that the marriage was neuer conſummated. Before ſhe was reſtored to her friends, the Lord *Henry Piercy*, before the Ambaſſadors of both the Nations, where they were met between *Callis* and *Boloigne*, proteſted, *That the King of England his Maſter had ſent her to be deliuered to her Father, cleare of all bonds of marriage, or otherwiſe, and that he would take it vpon his ſoule, that ſhe was ſound and entire, euen as ſhe was the ſame day ſhe was deliuered to King Richard, and if any would ſay to the contrary he was ready to proue it againſt him by combat.* But the Earle of Saint *Paul* ſaying, he beleeued it to be true, the Lord *Piercy* tooke her by the hand, and deliuered her vnto the Earle, and then the Commiſſioners of *France* deliuered certaine letters of receipt and acquitall. She was afterward married to *Charles* Duke of *Orleance*.

An.D.1401. *An. Reg. 2.* * *Lib. Stat. Hen. 4. an. 2. Cap. 15.*

* *Polyd. Virg. Hiſt. An. lib. 22.*

* *Thom. Walſing.* * *Holinſh. Chron. Froiſſard.*

The forme of re-deliuering Queene *Iſabel* to the French.

(24) *Owen Glendowr* perſiſting in his pride and diſobedience, made incurſions vpon the Engliſh, doing them great harme, and returning himſelfe without any; but K. *Henries* danger was greater at home; for treaſon had crept into his moſt ſecret Chamber. In his bed there lay hidden a *Galtrop* or *Engine*, with three ſmall yron pikes, long, ſlender and paſſing ſharpe, all of them with their points ſet vpward, but (God ſo diſpoſing it) the King before he laid himſelfe downe, perceiued them, and thereby auoyded that hidden miſchiefe, but who was actor therein it doth not appeare.

The king in danger to be ſlaine or wounded.

(25) This appeares, that the ſplendors of his new regality had drawne vp many thicke and poyſonous clouds of enuy and practiſe, to darken if it were poſſible the farther brightneſſe thereof. Neither was it long before it grew to ſome extremity. For *Owen Glendowr* vpon the cauſes before-ſaid, waſting the Lord *Reynald Grays* lands, was encountred by him, as preſuming that *Owen* and his friends might eaſily be ouercome, but the contrary hapned, for there in fight he loſt very many of his company, and was himſelfe taken priſoner. This fortune made the ſwelling minde of *Owen* ouerflow in vaine hopes, who compelling the ſaid Lord to marry his daughter, yet obtained hee not his liberty the ſooner, but died (ſay * ſome) in the power of *Owen*, if perhaps our Author miſtake not the Lord *Gray* for *Edmund* Lord *Mortimer* Earle of *March*, who indeed did marry ſo after he was alſo ouerthrowne by the ſaid *Owen*, with the ſlaughter of aboue a thouſand principall perſons of *Herefordſhire*, aſſembled vnder his conduct, to reſiſt the Welſh inuaſions, and there alſo himſelfe was by treachery taken priſoner.

An.D. 1402.

* *Fab. Chron. ad An. Dom. 1400.*

(26) *Walſingham* doth * write, that about this time ſundry conſpiracies were diſcouered in the yolke (as it were) or embrion; the whole hopes whereof reſted vpon calumniations and forgery, for by

* *In Henr. 4.*

* Polyd. Virg. li. 21.

* Holinsh. p. 530.

The late King *Richard* though dead, suffers not K. *Henry* to rest.

by the first they *traduced (in libels) *Henries* actions, so to make him hatefull, and by the second they divulged that * *Richard* was still aliue, thereby to raise an head of separation. *Henry* thus galled in his honour, and endangered in the maine, resolued to spare none, vpon whom the crime or concealement was found. The first of them that fell vnder his iustice, was a Priest of *Ware*, with whom was taken a list, or roll of names which hee had gathered, supposing them such as in regard of benefits receiued, would liue and die for King *Richard*, which vanitie of his created trouble to many, till it appeared that he had therein wronged them, as persons who were vtterly ignorant both of the man and matter. Whereupon hee was drawne and hanged. The like fate had *Walter Baldocke* Prior of *Lawnd*, who confest that he had concealed others councels against the King, though himselfe had acted nothing. A *Frier Minor* also being taken, with some other of his Order, for like intendments, was asked, *What he would doe if King Richard were aliue and present?* hee confidently answered, *that he would fight for him till death against any whosoeuer*; which cost him his life, *being drawne and hanged in his Friers weeds*. Neither did this hard fortune fall only vpon the Clergy, for Sir *Roger Claringdon* Knight, (reputed the base sonne of *Edward* late Prince of *Wales*) together with an Esquier and seruant of his, finished the affection which they bare to the deceased *Richard*, by hanging. Not long after eight *Franciscan Friers*, or *Minorites*, were taken, conuicted, hanged, and headed for the like causes, which made the King an heauy Lord to that whole Order. It is said, that somewhat before this knot was discouered, the diuell appeared in the habit of a *Minorite* at *Danbury* Church in *Essex*, to the incredible astonishment of the parishioners; for, at the same time there was such a tempest and thunder with great fire-bals of lightning, that the vault of the Church brake, and halfe the Chancell was carried away.

Tho. Walsi. Ypodig. The Diuell appeares in Essex.

(27) But howsoeuer these out-branches were pared away, the rootes of all the practise lay deeper out of sight; for the * *Piercies*, *Henry Earle of Northumberland*, *Thomas Earle of Worcester*, *and Henry Hotspur Lord Piercy*, because perhaps they thought they had done wickedly in helping to set vp *Henry*, * beganne to imagine that bloudy mischiefe, which afterward was prosecuted. This malice the late successe of *Owen Glendowr* against the Lord *Mortimer* Earle of *March*, (taken prisoner, as is said, with no little slaughter of his *Herefordshire* men) did perhaps nourish; for that hee saw an enemy appeare, who was not vnlikely to proue an able member of a greater rebellion. Certainely the King hauing in *September* led an Army into *VVales*, to take reuenge vpon his Rebels, was in great danger to haue perished with sodaine stormes and raines, the like whereof none of his people had euer felt or seene, so that after he had done some wasts vpon the Country he returned. The common fame went that *Owen* was a Coniurer, and had raised those hideous tempests by hellish arts; they seemed so excessiue, which (whether true or false) did yet impart no little strength to the Welsh faction.

* *Cambd. in Northumb. p. 675.*

* *Polyd. Virg. li. 21.*

(28) The Kings fortune was happier in the North, where his Lieutenant had two faire victories, the one at * *Nisbet*, and the other at *Halidown-hill*, neere to a village called *Woller*. And although the first was not a small one, yet the other deserued the name of a iust battell and garland. To the Scots, hauing with aboue ten thousand men (vnder conduct of *Archibald* Earle of *Dowglasse*, whom the Scots nick-named *Tyne-man*, because he neuer wanne field, though no sort of true manhood was wanting in his person) made great spoiles in *England*, as farre as to *Newcastle*, and were now vpon returne; *Henry Piercy* Earle of *Northumberland*, the noble *Henry Hotspur* Lord *Piercy* his sonne, and *George* Earle of *Dunbar* (who fled as you haue heard out of *Scotland*) with the forces of the Countries thereabout, not meaning to let them to passe in so slight a sort, opposed themselues. The chiefe feate was wrought by the English Archers, who first with their stiffe, close, and cruell stormes of arrowes made their enemies footmen breake, and when the noble *Dowglasse* descended to the charge with his choisest bands, himselfe being in a most rich and excellently tempered armour, and the rest singularly well appointed, the Lord *Piercies* Archers making a retreate, did withall deliuer their deadly arrowes, *tam viuidè, tam animosè, tam graniter* (saith our Monke) *so liuely, so couragiously, so grieuously, that they ran through the men of Armes, bored the helmets, pierced their very swords, beate their lances to the earth, and easily shot those who were more slightly armed through and through*. There were taken prisoners the Earle of *Dowglasse* himselfe, (who notwithstanding his armour of the best proofe, had fiue wounds, and lost an eye) *Murdake Stewart* Earle of *Fife*, (eldest sonne to *Robert Duke of Albanie*,) *George Earle of Angus*, the Earles of * *Murrey* & *Orkney*, the Lords *Montgomery*, *Erskin*, and *Grane*, with about fourscore Knights, besides Esquiers and Gentlemen. There were slaine, the Lords *Gourdon*, and *Swyntoun*, (*Belindens Boetius* cals them knights) with sundry other men of honour and marke, beside store of common souldiers. The Riuer *Tweed*, to shew it selfe meere English, did likewise fight for them, by swallowing about fiue hundreth in his vnknowne depthes, as they, who fled from the battell, sought to passe. This victory hapned vpon *Holyrood* in haruest. The troubles which afterward hapned, did not onely hinder the Lord *Piercy* from farther prosecution of such a victory, but eclypsed the honour hee had gotten now, and gaue his daies a bloudy and foule Catastrophe.

Henry Hotspurs fortunes against the Scots.

The ineredible force of the olde English Archery.

The summe of the great victory at *Halidown-hill*.

* *Tho. Walsingh.*

Polyd. Virg. hath not a word in particular of this so great an action

(29) The Lord *Edmund Mortimer* Earle of *March*, next generall heire in bloud to the Crowne of *England* after the death of *Richard* the second, hauing through feare of *Owen* (whose prisoner hee was) or hope of recouering his right, or for reuenge (because the King did not ransom him) married *Owens* daughter, by which he must necessarily declare himselfe an enemy to King *Henry*, entertained intelligence with his nerre kinsmen the *Piercies*, and sundry other his friends in *Cheshire*, and elsewhere, to what purpose will shortly appeare. The night in which this Lord *Mortimer* (though some referre it to *Owens* birth) was borne, all the horses in his Fathers stable, are said to haue beene found standing Belly-deepe in bloud. A fearefull prodigie, as euen then it seemed, but verified afterward in the farre more fearefull euents, when (vpon the quarrell of *Mortimers* title, by which the house of *Yorke* claimed,) the horses of warre did not onely stand belly-deepe in bloud, but also swam therein. The mischiefe was already begunne: for *Henry* Earle of *Northumberland* (when now his owne and his houses strengths were mightily encreased by this late victory against the Scots, which he vnder-hand seemes to haue conuerted to his secret priuate ends,) closely * animated his brother the Earle of *Worcester*, and his fiery spirited sonne, against the King, to both their confusions.

The Lord *Mortimer* dies a prisoner amongst the *Welsh*.

* *Cambd. p. 675. in Northumberland.*

(30) The King tooke to wife the Lady *Iane* of *Nauarre*, widdow of *Iohn de Montfort* Duke of *Britaine*, named the Conquerour (* who died the yeare before) by whom she had issue both sons and daughters, but by the King none. He met, and married her at *Winchester*, and crowned her Queene at *Westminster*. The King was not trusted with the custody of any of her three sonnes, *Iohn*, *Richard*, and *Arthur*, who remained in *France*.

An. D. 1403.

* *Iob. Tilius Chr.*

(31) Euents are the best interpreters of prophesies and prodigies. Strange was that which * *Walsingham* hath written of a fatall *Spectrum* or *Apparition* in the summer time betweene *Bedford* and *Bickleswade*, where sundry monsters of diuers colours, in the shapes of armed men were often seene to issue out of the woods at morning and at noone; which to such as stood farre off seemed to encounter one

* *Ypodig. Neustr. & in Histor.*

A strange presaging apparition of warre.

one the other in moſt terrible manner, but when they drew neere, nothing was to be found. Of another nature were the fiery attempts of the *Piercies*. The firſt of them who diſcouered in armes his mortall hatred, was the noble *Hotſpur*, who (vnder* colour of the Scottiſh warre) made head about *Cheſter* and the Marches of *Wales*. To him (by the priuity of *Hotſpurs* Father,) repaires the naughty olde man the Earle of *Worceſter*, leauing the young Prince of *Wales*, and the Princes Houſhold, ouer both which (for their better Gouernment) the King had placed him. Now was the torch of warre lighted vp, and began to blaze, for though the chiefe plot-maſter the Earle of *Northumberland* was not ioyned to them, as hee did intend, yet were their numbers growne mightily, with which they meant to enter the Towne of *Shrewsburie*, to make thereof a Seate of warre.

* Hect. Boet. lib. 16.

Cauſes of the Lord *Piercies* dangerous rebellion.

(32) Colourable cauſes of their armes were the ordinary paintings of the like attempts. Care of Common-wealths reformation, and their owne ſafeties; for hauing firſt proteſted their intentions not to be the breach of loyalty, they pretend and by letters ſent about, doe ſignifie. 1. *That* * *the publike monie was not employed vpon the pretended defence of the kingdome, but vndulie waſted.* 2. *That by reaſon of bad tongues about the King they durſt not approach him, to declare their innocencie, vnleſſe the Prelates and Peeres of the Realme did firſt intercede for them.* 3. *That they tooke armes onely to guard their owne heads, & to ſee the Kingdome better gouerned.* Theſe Articles had the place of the Huske, but the Kernell of the enterprize had principally theſe. 1. *To thruſt King Henrie out of his ſeat, and conſequently to depriue him of life.* 2. *To aduance the title of the Lord Mortimer, Earle of March, their* * *neareſt allie:* for the Earle of *Northumberland* had married *Elizabeth* the daughter of the Lord *Edmund Mortimer* the elder, Earle of *March*, by *Philip* daughter to *Lionel* Duke of *Clarence*. 3. *To take reuenge of King Henrie, for ſeeking to draw the chiefe benefit to himſelfe of the victory at Halidowne hill, whoſe principall priſoners he required,* and for ſuch other priuate grudges. 4. *To ſhare the Kingdome betweene Mortimer, Piercy, and Owen Glendowr.* Concerning which partion it is in ſome found written, that Indentures tripartite were ſealed, ſhowing that *South-England ſhould remaine to Mortimer, North-England to Piercie, and Wales beyond Seuerne to Glendowr.* But *Archembald Earle of Dowglaſſe* (who did his Countrey good ſeruice by making one in our Combuſtions) by common conſent was allowed for his ſhare to be free from ranſome, and to haue *Berwicke*.

* Tho. Walſingh.

* Camd. in Northumberland.

The Kingdome of *England* to be ſhared among the conſpirators.

(33) This (in our Engliſh Adages) is called to reckon without our hoſt, or to count our Chickens before they are hatched. But though at this time God would haue it ſo, yet who doth not eaſily ſee what a wild horſe a Kingdome (ſo gotten) is, and how hard to ſit, and not to manage onely? Yet it ſeemeth, that if *Mortimer*, hauing ſo iuſt a title to the Crowne, had openly profeſſed the cauſe of his attempt againſt King *Henrie*, it might iuſtly haue beene exempted from all ſtaine of diſability. But this partition is *ſaid to haue beene wiſely built vpon a ſound Welſh propheſie of *Merlins: as if King Henrie were the Mowldwarp curſed of Gods owne mouth, and Mortimer, Piercie, and Glendowr, the Dragen, Lyon, and Wolfe, which ſhould diuide this Realme betweene them.* Surely the Welſh hauing any hand in ſuch a partition, it is not likely they could thinke it had the right feete, if it ſtood not vpon the ſuppoſed *Merlins* his ridiculous coſenages and riddles. The Engliſh (not to be behind in leaſings,) doe in the meane time euery where ſpread *that* * *Richard was ſafe aliue* and *in the Caſtle of Cheſter*. Who can wonder that this name ſhould be ſo gracious, as if alone it were enough to haue ſhaken *Henrie* out of his State? When *Nero* himſelfe had ſo many fauorites, that twenty yeares after his death an obſcure fellow fayning himſelfe

*Hollingſh. pag. 521.

The late dead King *Richard* againe afflicteth *Henry*.

*Ypodig. Neuſtr.

Nero, was ſo backt and countenanced by the *Parthians*, and others, * that not without much difficulty the *Romans* could get him into their hands.

*Sueton in Ner. lib. 6. cap. xlt.

(34) On the other ſide King *Henrie* aſſailed with ſo vnexpected ieopardies, defends his cauſe by letters, and ſtrongly puts the blame vpon the accuſers, ſaying, *That he maruelled exceedingly, ſeeing the Earle of Northumberland, and Henrie his Sonne had the greateſt part of the publike moneys deliuered to them, for defence of the borders againſt Scotland, why they ſhould make that a quarrell, which was a meere calumnie.* And to take away all pretence of feare from the Conſpirators, he ſends to the Earles of *Northumberland* and *Worceſter*, and to the hot Lord *Piercie*, a *ſafe conduct* vnder his royall Seale, by which he ſecures their acceſſe, but *vnbridled raſhneſſe* (ſaith *Walſingham*) *deſpiſing the royall clemencie, did put on the rigour of rebellion.* Meane-while the King armes with all ſpeed againſt the enemy, the rather at the counſell of *George* Earle of *Dunbar*, who (like a valiant man at Armes, and a wiſe friend) aduiſed him ſo to doe, before their aduerſaries numbers were too mightily augmented. The King with his ſonne the young Prince of *VVales*, and a very noble fellowſhip, was now aduanced within ſight of *Shrewsbury*, as the gallant *Piercie* ſtood ready to aſſault the Towne. But ſo ſoone as the royall Standard was diſcouered, that enterprize was left off, and he drew out his people (being about fourteene thouſand choiſe and hardy bodies of men) to trie the fortune of warre againſt a well-tride warriour.

Thomas Piercie Earle of *Worceſter* cauſe of the battell at *Shrewsbury*.

(35) Peace notwithſtanding (by the exceeding tenderneſſe of the King) had enſued, but that the miſchieuous Earle of *VVorceſter*, by miſ-reporting & falſifying his Soueraignes words, did precipitate his Nephew into ſudden battell. If there were any praiſe or good example to be drawne out of ſo deteſted bloodſhed, as that of *ciuill warre*, we would willingly deſcribe vnto you the order and actions, but we cannot too ſoone paſſe ouer ſuch mournefull obiects, which are rather to be celebrated with teares then triumphs. There is no doubt but *Piercie*, *Dowglas*, and the reſt fought terribly. Why ſhould we admire that in them? So doe Lyons, Tygers, and Beares, and yet we admire them not. Where was dutie, where conſcience, where the other reſpects, of which onely we are called men? Let none of vs honour, or imitate them, in whoſe eies the price of Engliſh bloud is ſo vile, as that (for priuate fanſies) they can be content to confound all regards, and make ſport for common foes, with mutuall maſſacres. Therefore we will content our ſelues with the knowledge of Gods part in this daies worke, who gaue the garland to the King, though the firſt arrowes flew from the *Piercies* Archers.

The terrible battell at *Shrewsbury*.

(36) The Kings courage was not ſmall in the fight as neither was the danger, the young Prince of *VVales* alſo (being then firſt to enter himſelfe into the ſchoole of bloud and battell,) gaue no ſmall hopes of that perfection which afterward ſhone in him, being wounded with an arrow in the face. The Lord *Piercie* and Earle *Dowglas* (then * whom the wide world had not two brauer Champions) in ſteed of ſpending themſelues vpon the multitude, ſet the point of their hopes vpon killing the King, as in whoſe perſon they were ſure ten thouſand fell. For this cauſe they moſt furiouſly ruſhed forward with ſpeares and ſwords; but the noble Earle of *Dunbarre*, diſcouering their purpoſe, drew the King from the place which he had choſen to make good, and thereby in likelyhood for that preſent ſaued his life, for the Standard-royall was ouerthrowne, and (among other valiant men) the * Earle of *Stafford*, Sir *Walter Blunt*, the Kings Knight, and the Standard-bearer himſelfe was ſlaine, ſuch was the fury of theſe ſodaine thunderbolts. That day the *Dowglaſſe* ſlew with his owne hands three in the Kings Coat-armour, (perhaps ſome in *Heralds* Coats) though * *Boetius* yet ſaw a fourth. Sure it is, that many of the ſubiects thought the King was ſlaine, and not a few * ranne

* Tho. Walſing.

Hotſpurre and *Dowglaſſe* onely ſeeke to encounter the Kings perſon.

* Tho. Walſingh.

* Libr. 16.

* Many thouſands together ſaith *Walſingham*.

out of the field. Who notwithſtanding, like a valiant Prince, did re-enforce the fight, performing maruels in armes with his owne hands. The ſlaughter could not be ſmall on both ſides, the Archers ſhooting ſo continually, and the men of armes doing their vtmoſt for about the ſpace of three whole houres.

(37) That which gaue an end to this wofull work was the death of *Hotſpur*, who riding in the head of the battell in defiance of danger and death, was (by an vnknowne hand) ſuddenly killed, with whoſe fall (as if his whole army had had but one heart) the courages of all others fell into feet, which now altogether they truſted to. But the King abhorring to make farther execution of the miſ-guided multitude, ſuffered them to ſhift for themſelues. The Earles of *Worceſter*, and *Dowglaſſe*, Sir *Richard Vernon*, the Baron of *Kindlaton*, and diuers others were taken. Of the Kings ſide was ſlaine (beſides the Earle of *Stafford*) ten new Knights, whoſe names (as dying in an honeſt cauſe) deſerue immortality, and were Sir * *Hugh Shorly*, Sir *Iohn Cliſton*, Sir *Iohn Cokain*, Sir *Nicholas Gauſell*, Sir *Walter Blunt*, Sir *Iohn Caluerly*, Sir *Iohn Maſſie*, Sir *Hugh Mortimer*, Sir *Robert Gauſell*, and Sir *Thomas Wendeſley*, who dyed of his hurts not long after, as moſt of the other did about the Standard; all which fighting for their ſpurres, (as being knighted but that morning) bought them with the honourable loſſe of their whole bodies; there were alſo ſlaine many Eſquiers, and Gentlemen, and about one thouſand and fiue hundreth common ſouldiers, beſides three thouſand ſorely wounded. On the other part, (omitting that ſecond *Mars*, the Lord *Piercy*, who drew a ruine after him ſutable to his Spirit and greatneſſe) there fell moſt of all the Eſquiers and Gentlemen of *Cheſhire*, to the number of two hundred, and about fiue thouſand common ſouldiers. This battell was ſtricken neere to *Shrewsbury* vpon a Saturday, the one and twentieth of *Iuly*, and the *Eue* of Saint *Marie Magdalen*.

(38) The Earle of *Worceſter* (the ſeducer and deſtroyer of his noble Nephew *Hotſpur*, and therefore if but for that, very worthy to haue died) Sir *Richard Vernon* Knight, and the Baron of *Kindlaton* had their heads cut off vpon the Monday following. *Hotſpurs* body had beene buried by permiſſion, but vpon other aduiſe, the King cauſed it to be drawne out of the graue, beheaded, quartered, and the parts ſent into diuers Citties of the Kingdome. The Earle of *Northumberland* (pretending to come with forces to the Kings ayde) was empeached by the Earle of *Weſtmorland*, and *Robert Waterton* who had raiſed a great hoaſt. *Northumberland* taking neither of them for friend, wheeles about, and returnes to his Caſtle of *Warkworth*. But what can be ſecure to a ſubiect againſt the victorious armie of a martiall King? The Earle knew as much, manifeſtly feeling the irrecouerable maimes of his Houſe in the loſſe of his ſonne and brother, and therefore ſhaped his courſe accordingly. The King therefore being altogether as prudent as fortunate, hauing ſetled the ſtate of things in the Marches about *Shrewsbury*, ſets forward to the City of *Yorke*, from thence to take order for ſuch perils as he foreſaw might happen. He ſetled himſelfe the more ſeriouſly and entirely to this needfull worke; for that his Ambaſſadors had effected an abſtinence from warre with *Fraunce*, till the firſt of March, which pauſing ſpace though it might ſeeme little, was not a little welcome to the King, the Realme of *England* being then ſo full of dangerous perturbations. While he was yet at *Yorke*, hee commands the Earle of *Northumberland* to come thither in perſon, which he accordingly did vpon the morrow after the day of Saint * *Laurence*, and that alſo with a ſmall traine in the nature of an humble ſutor. He could not in reaſon hope for the wonted familiar fauour of the King, neither had he yet, for it was accounted matter of grace, that his life was pardoned though his meanes and libertie was abridged, the King allowing onely neceſſary maintenances. The life of Princes is like a perpetuall motion. The Northerne Countries are now ſetled, but hath the King therefore any the more reſt? Nothing leſſe; for *VVales* & the troubles thereof call him thither. What ſhould he doe? Money, the Cement and ſoldure of all ſuch actions, (for Armies cannot otherwiſe bee held together) vtterly failes. The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* ſees the needs and vſes of his Soueraigne, and like a Father ſupplies him with a Tenth, which the Clergie at their Metropolitans motion, conſent to giue: vpon the ſtrength whereof, the King knowes how farre he may proceed againſt the *VVelſh* in his good time.

(39) Toward the relieſe of theſe his neceſſities, the valiant exployts of *VVilliam de VVilford* an Eſquire, who was in the meane time abroad for the king vpon the narrow Seas, brought ſome aſſiſtance, certainely ſtore of contentation; for he tooke forty lawfull prizes, laden with yron, oyle, ſope and Rochell wine, to the number in all of a thouſand tunne, vpon the Coaſts of *Britaine*, and in his returne ſet fortie ſaile on fire; and to make the *Britaines* know that he was not onely a man of his hands at Sea, he comes on ſhore at *Penarch*, burnes Townes and houſes about ſixe leagues into the Countrey, and afterward did as much for them at the Towne of *Saint Mathewes*, which he conſumed with flames, and waſted the land for three myles about. The French, not to ſeeme ſlow to like miſchiefes, land at the *VVight*, but were compelled with loſſe to betake themſelues again vnto their Fleet, with farre worſe ſucceſſe then the *Britons* vnder the conduct of the Lord of *Caſtell* had not long before, who landing at *Plymmouth* inuaded, tooke and burnt it.

(40) The King hauing humbled the Earle of *Northumberland* in ſuch ſort as you heard, lookes againe vpon him with an eye of compaſſion and fauour, not without a ſecret reſpect to his owne ſafety; and he had little appetite to augment enmities, but to allay them rather, whereas by this gracious vſage of that Earle, (for he reſtored him fully to all) he now thinkes thoſe North-parts ſufficiently ſecured. This reſtitution was made to the Earle in the Parliament holden at *London*, about the middeſt of Ianuary, where the King obtained an vn-vſuall Taxe or Subſidie, of which (that it might not be drawne into example) no Record, nor writing was ſuffered to remaine. Some part of the gold which the King thus drew into the Eſchequer, he had occaſion to beſtow at this time. For, there preſented themſelues vnto him, a boiſtrous troupe of plaine *VVeſtern-men*, who brought to the Kings view three Lords, and twenty Knights of note; Theſe were priſoners, whom the Countrey people about *Dartmouth* in *Deuonſhire*, had gotten in plaine fight. The King was therefore giue to vnderſtand, that the Lord of *Caſtell* the *Briton*, who had formerly burnt *Plymmouth*, thinking to doe the like at *Dartmouth*, came on ſhore with his forces, where theſe and the like people fiercely encountred him; at which time their Women (like *Amazons*) by hurling of flints and pebles, and by ſuch other Artillery, did greatly aduance their Husbands and Kinsfolkes victory. The Lord of *Caſtel* himſelfe, and many beſides, were ſlaine, theſe other were ſaued as more of them might haue beene, but that the ignorance of language alike confounded the cries of indignation and pitty. They therefore in reward of this hazard and ſeruice, doe pray they might reape ſome commodity by their Captiues. It was but reaſon; wherefore the King, who tooke pleaſure to talke with the luſty *VVeſtern-men* himſelfe, cauſeth their purſes to be ſtuft with golden Coyne, reſeruing the priſoners to repay himſelfe with aduantage out of their ranſomes. The like good fortune againſt *Owen Glendowr* and the Welſh would haue gladded him indeed; but they burne and deſtroy the Marches, they kill and captiuate the people, and partly by force, partly by fraud, get many Caſtles, ſome of which they raze, and fortifie others,

The King vſeth his victory mercifully.

* *Holinſh. p. 513. Iohn Stow* names alſo Sir *Nicholas Langford*, and cals the two *Gauſels* not *Gauſels*, but *Gentels*, and brothers.

The great deſtruction of *Cheſhire* Gentlemen.

* *Auguſt.* 10. The Earle of *Northumberland* pardoned of his life.

Wilford a Sea-captaine takes a thouſand tunnes of good commodities.

An. D. 1404. The Earle of *Northumberland* reſtored.

The Countrymen about *Dartmouth* kill the *French* Generall, and preſent the King with honourable priſoners.

Owen Glendowr and the *Welſhmen* waſte the Marches.

others. Neither came theſe euils ſingle, for the *Flemmings* and *Britons* tooke certaine Merchants ſhips of *England*, and either ſlew or hung the Sailers.

A new falſe King *Richard.*

(41) It is more ſtrange that King *Richard* was not ſuffered to be dead, after he had ſo long a time beene buried. *Serlo*, who had beene a Gentleman of his Chamber, hauing heard that King *Richard* (his royall and gracious Maſter) was ſecretly abiding in *Scotland*, left the fauour of the French Court to ſee him, but it was not worth his ſo much loue and labour; for hee that bare the name, was but an Impoſtor. Loath yet to let the opinion die, becauſe it might do King *Henrie* harme; *Serlo* affirmes, that *Richard* was aliue. What cunning madneſſe is ſo great which hath not ſome great fooles or other to ſupport it? The old Counteſſe of *Oxford* (mother to the late Duke of *Ireland*) will needes perſwade her ſelfe and others in *Eſſex*, that *Richard* was aliue: certaine it is, that ſhe deſired it might be true. To make others more firmely beleeue the ſame, ſhee ſecretly gaue ſiluer and gilt Harts (the badges which King *Richard* vſed to beſtow vpon his followers) as tokens. Hitherto the deuiſe held out, for it had no great danger in it; but *Serlo* ſeeing the neceſſitie of greater friends, which appeared not, grew weary, and knowing that Sir *William Clifford* knight, Captaine of *Berwicke*, had receiued ſundry fauours from King *Richard*, hopes by him to be furniſhed with mony, to beare his charges out of *Scotland* into *France*. *Clifford* farre otherwiſe minded, ſeizeth vpon *Serlo*, as a fit meanes to reconcile himſelfe with the King, in whoſe high diſpleaſure he ſtood, (for that hee had continued his charge in *Berwicke* contrary to expreſſe commandement) and carrieth him to the King, who was then come to the Caſtle of *Pomfret*, being weakned with theſe rumors, and ſuſpecting that the chiefe neſt of danger lay in the North; whither the Earle of *Northumberland* brought his grand-children (as pledges) to aſſure the King of his loyalty: thither alſo Sir *William Clifford* brings poore *Serlo*, who both confeſſeth the practiſe, as alſo that he had a guilty hand in the murther of the Duke of *Gloceſter*, which made him farre more odious then the other forgery. The crimes being manifeſt, *Serlo* is drawne from *Pomfret* beginning his paine, where he had his doome, and at *London* knits vp the Tragedy in a halter. The Counteſſe of *Oxford* for this falſhood loſt all her goods, being moreouer committed to cloſe priſon. To make this impoſture the more probable and paſſable, *Serlo* had cauſed King *Richards* ſignet to be counterfeited, wherewith he ſealed ſundry conſolatory and exhortatory letters to his friends, indited in King *Richards* name; whereupon many in *Eſſex* gaue credit to the Counteſſe, and among the reſt ſome Abbots of that County. Into this ſmoke did all the deuiſe euaporate.

Serlo, a ſpreader of that impoſture, deliuered to the King.

(42) And no leſſe ſmokie was both the deuiſe and ſucceſſe of certaine in the *Parliament* (held this yeare at *Couentry*, & called the * *lack learning Parliament*, either for the *vnlearnedneſſe* of the perſons, or for their *malice* to learned men) where, to ſupply the K^s. wants, a bil was exhibited againſt the *Temporalties of the Clergy*; but by the courage of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, (who told them, *it was the enriching of themſelues, not of the King, which they reſpected in their ſacrilegious petitions*) and by the gracious care of the King, (who vowed *to leaue the Church in better ſtate then he found it, rather then in worſe*,) their motion vaniſhed to nothing, but the infamous memory of the attempters. It is obſerued that *a *Knight* the chiefe ſpeaker in this bill againſt the Clergy, had beene himſelfe a *Deacon*, and ſo himſelfe firſt aduanced by the *Clergy*. With great reaſon therefore did our fore-fathers diſtinguiſh the people into the *learned* and *lewd*, inferring truely that ſuch commonly were *lewd*, who were not learned, and that *lewd* and *wicked* were but two words of one ſignification, as in this *Parliament* wel appeared, whoſe *Commons* might enter *Common* with their cattel for any vertue which they had more then brute Creatures.

* *Parliamentum indoctorum. Thom. Walſing.*

* *Sir Iohn Cheyney Ypodig. Neuſtr. pag. 563.*

(43) Twiſe after this, betweene *Chriſtmas* and *Palme-Sunday*, the King aſſembled the States againe, once at *London*, & then at Saint *Albans*, for the cauſe of money, but with much diſtaſte, the Peeres of the Land riſing from the laſt Seſſion thereof meanely contented, as it well appeared not long after, though to the enterpriſers ruine. *Thomas Mowbray* Earle Marſhall, one of the chiefe men which diſliked the carriage of publike matters, drawes *Richard le Scrope* Archbiſhop of *Yorke* into a conſpiracy, in full hope that *Henry Piercy* Earle of *Northumberland*, the Lord *Bardolf*, the Citizens of *Yorke*, and the common people would aſſiſt their cauſe, which was gloſed with the ſpecious pretence of redreſſing publique abuſes, hapning through the Kings default. The Earle of *Weſtmerland* hearing of this attempt, wherein the Earle *Marſhall* and the Archbiſhop were leaders of the people, gathers a force to encounter them, but perceiuing himſelfe too feeble, he betakes himſelfe to fraud, and by faining to like the quarrell, got them both into his power, and preſented them as an acceptable oblation to the King, who about *Whitſontide* comes to *Yorke*, where (albeit the Earle of *Weſtmerland* had promiſed them their liues) as well the Archbiſhop, as the Earle Marſhall were beheaded. But the next yeare the Pope excommunicated all ſuch as had a hand in putting the Archbiſhop to death. It was ſaid of *Tiberius* * *Cæſar* in a Satyricall libell,

-regnabit ſanguine multo,
Ad regnum quiſquis venit ab exilio.
Who, firſt Exil'de, is after crown'd,
His raigne with bloud will much abound.

An. 1405.

Mowbray Earle Marſhall, and *Scrope* Archbiſhop of *Yorke*, riſe, to redreſſe abuſes, and loſe their heads.

* *Sueton. lib. 3. cap. 59.*

(44) This the King verified in his perſon, who comming out of baniſhment, could not ſupport his Title and eſtate, but by ſhedding much bloud of ſubjects. For, not contented with thoſe two liues, he purſueth the Earle of *Northumberland* and Lord *Bardolf*, with an inuincible Armie of ſeauen and thirty thouſand men: but they vnable to make head againſt ſo mightie a force, take *Berwicke* for refuge. Thither the King marcheth, at the ſound whereof, they both diſtruſtfull of their ſafetie, flie into *Scotland*, where the Lord *Flemming* entertains them. *Berwicke* vpon hope of ſuccours out of *Scotland*, (which gladly nouriſhed the Engliſh miſeries, and the Engliſh theirs) refuſed to render, whereupon the King plants a battering-piece againſt a Tower in the wall; which as it threw downe the halfe thereof with one ſhot, ſo did it quite ouerthrow all the deſendants courages, who preſently yeelded the place vpon hard and deſperate termes, for they were partly hanged, and partly empriſoned. After * *Berwicke* was thus recouered, the King takes *Alnwicke*, and all other Caſtles belonging to the Earle, and thinking the like happineſſe would ſhine vpon him in *Wales*, he croſſeth ouer thither, where it fell out farre otherwiſe, not by the manhood of the *Welſh* but by the ſodaine rage of waters which deſtroied his carriages & about fifty wains (as was ſaid) laden with much treaſure: therefore he returnes to *Worceſter*. *Owen Glendowr* the chiefe captaine of the *VVelſh* Nation, expecting and fearing a reuenge, had before this time confederated himſelf with the French, who in 140. ſhips arriued at *Milford*. Hauen to the aide of *Owen*, hauing well-neere firſt loſt all their horſes in the paſſage for want of freſh water. The Lord *Berkley* and *Henry de Pay* (by what means appeares not) burnt fifteene of that number in the harbour. They made the entrance of their warre by laying ſiege to the Towne of *Carmarden* in *South-VVales*, which, the Garriſon being permitted to depart with bagge and baggage, was yeelded.

The King purſues the Earle of *Northumberland.*

The firſt time that a gunne is vſed in *England.*

* *Tho. Walſing. in Hen. 4.*

The French with ſeuen-ſcore ſhips arriue in *Wales* to aide *Owen Glendowr.*

(45) The King being againe in neede of money, after long vnwillingneſſe and delay, the Parliament furniſhed him, rather ouercome with wearineſſe in contradiction, then for any great good-will. Some of his treaſure was employed, as it ſeemes, vpon ſecret practiſes with the *Scots*, that the Earle of *Northumberland*, and the Lord *Bardolfe* might be deliuered into his hands, in exchange for ſome *Scots*; where-

An. D. 1406. *An. Reg. 7.*

whereupon they fled into *Wales*, and the *Scots* miſſing their purpoſe, ſlew *Dauid* Lord *Flemming* for diſcouering their intention to his diſtreſſed gueſts, (as by the lawes of honour and hoſpitality he was obliged) which filled *Scotland* with ciuill diſcords. To auoyde the dangers whereof, and to better his education, the King of *Scots* ſent his ſonne and heire by Sea into *France*, whom, together with the Biſhop of *Orknay*, certaine Marriners of *Cley* in *Norfolke* ſurprized at Sea, and preſented to the King, who committed him priſoner to the Tower of *London*. Meane-while the French proſecuting their affaires in *Wales*, ſent thither eight and thirtie Ships full of Souldiers, of which number the Engliſh tooke eight (the reſt eſcaping in great feare to *Wales*,) and not long after other fifteene ſayle laden with Waxe and Wine. This fortune, though good, was nothing in regard of the ſeruice which *Henry Pay*, with certaine Ships of the Cinque Ports, and about fifteene other, exployted vpon a great Fleete, contayning ſixſcore Sayle, whoſe ladings were Yron, Salt, Oyle, and *Rochel* Wine. The ſame times was a Felon put to death, for hauing in many places of *London* dared ſecretly to ſet vp Bils, containing newes that King *Richard* was aliue. The fearefull plague of peſtilence ſlew multitudes of people through the Realme, chiefly in *London*, where, within a ſhort ſpace it deſtroyed thirtie thouſand. That moſt renowned Captaine Sir *Robert Knolls*, who had led ſo many liuing men to their honourable deaths in battell, was now captiued himſelfe by death vpon the fifteenth day of Auguſt. His fame grew principally by martiall deedes in the great Warres of *France*, vnder *Edward* the third, but ſpred and ſetled it ſelfe by good workes, among which the goodly Stone-bridge at *Rocheſter* in *Kent* was one.

An.D.1407.

King *Richard* ſpred to be aliue.

Sir *Robert Knolls* dieth.

(46) In the meane ſpace, the wars of *Wales* were managed by Prince *Henry*, who tooke the Caſtle of *Aberiſtwith*; but *Owen Glendowr* ſoone after got it againe by faire fraud, and thruſt into it a Garriſon of his owne. Thus *Owen* proſpered for a time; but the Earle of *Northumberland*, and Lord *Bardolf*, forſaking *Wales*, & ſeeking to raiſe a force in the North, were encountred by the Sherife of *Yorkeſhire*, who after a ſharpe conflict ſlew the Earle in the Field, and ſo wounded the Lord *Bardolf*, that he dyed thereof. The Earles head was cut off, which being firſt ignominiouſly carryed through *London*, was fixed vpon the Bridge. The King hauing thus vanquiſhed his chiefe enemies, went to *Yorke*, where inquiries were made for the Earles adherents, of which he condemned, ranſomed, and empriſoned many. The Abbot of *Hales*, becauſe he was taken fighting on the Earles behalfe, had ſentence to die, which was executed vpon him by hanging. In forraine and tranſmarine parts, the Kings affaires had mixt ſucceſſe; for *Edmund* Earle of *Kent*, at the ſiege of *Briant* in *Britaine*, was ſtrucken with a quarrell into the head, whereof he died; but yet after he had firſt taken the ſaid Caſtle, and leueld it with the earth.

An.D.1409.

Platina.

(47) The peace of Chriſtendome hauing beene long tempeſtuouſly troubled by a Schiſme, rayſed by ambition of oppoſite *Popes*, whereof the one was choſen at *Rome*, the other at *Auinion*, by contrary factions of the Cardinals; A generall Councell was ſummoned to be held at *Piſa* in *Italie*, whither the King of *England* ſent his Ambaſſadors, and the *Clergie* elected *Robert Alum* * Chancellour of *Oxford*, and Biſhop of *Sarum*, to ſignifie, * that *vnleſſe both the Popes would giue ouer their Papacie, neither of them ſhould thence-forward be acknowledged for Pope.* The King in his letter then ſent to Pope *Gregory* chargeth him (as *Platina* likewiſe doth) with *Perjurie*, and that this Papall emulation had been the cauſe of the murther of * *more then two hundreth and thirtie thouſand Chriſtians ſlaine in warres.* There aſſembled a great number of Cardinals, Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and mitred Prelates, who elected a new Pope, *Alexander 5.* (a man * trained vp at *Oxford*, where he tooke degree in Theologie) rejecting the two others, who long and bitterly had contended for the place. The King alſo cals his Parliament to find out meanes for more money, to the cuſtody and charge whereof he ordained Sir *Henry Scrope*, creating him Treaſurer, as *Thomas Beaufort* the Kings halfe-brother Lord Chancellour. In which Parliament was reuiued the ſacrilegious Petition of ſpoyling the Church of *England* of her goodly patrimonies, which the pietie and wiſdome of ſo many former ages had congeſted. But the King (who was bound by oath and reaſon to preſerue the flouriſhing eſtate of the Church) deteſted their wicked propoſition, and for that cauſe denied all other their requeſts. The Duke of *Burgundies* prouiſions which he had made to reduce *Callis* to the French dominions, and ſtored at Saint *Omars*, were conſumed with caſuall fire to aſhes.

Ypod. Neuſt. p. 566.
Antiq. Britan. eccleſia.

S. Theo. Oxonie, ſaith Theo. Gaiſcoigne M.S.

(48) About theſe times the great and bloudie factions betweene the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Orleance* brake forth. The cauſe was for a murther committed vpon *Lewis* (brother to the French King, and father of the ſaide Duke of *Orleance*) as he came late one night from the Queenes lodging, who at that time lay in of a childe. The murtherers * to preuent purſuit, ſtrewed galthrops behinde them. The Duke of *Burgundie* juſtified the fact, for that *Lewis* had (as he ſaid) laboured with the Pope to put the King from his Seate, vpon pretence that he was as vnfit to gouerne as euer *Childericke* was, whom Pope *Zacharie* pronounced againſt. This prepared the way for that ſcourge wherewith God meant to chaſtice the pride and ſinnes of *France*. Each partie ſought to fortifie it ſelfe with friends, aſwell at home as abroad. The Duke of *Burgundie* had the King and the Dolphin on his ſide; the other had the Kings of *Nauar* and *Arragon*, the Dukes of *Berrie* and *Britaine*, with many of the mightieſt Earles and Lords. The Duke of *Burgundie*, (who together with the King and the face of gouernement, kept in *Paris*) perceiuing his aduerſaries ſtrengths to be more then his owne, offers to the King of *England*, a daughter of *France* in marriage with the Prince, and many great promiſes, ſo as he would joyne in defence of the King, and ſend ouer competent forces; whereunto he is ſaid to haue anſwered: *Our aduiſe is, that you ſhould not in this caſe aduenture battell with your enemie, who ſeemes to proſecute a juſt reuenge for the death of his Father; but labour to aſſwage the diſpleaſure and anger of the exaſperated yong man, by all the good means which are poſſible. If that cannot be, then ſtand vpon your guard, and draw into place of moſt ſafetie, with ſuch force of men as may beſt ſerue for your defence. After all this, if hee will not be appeaſed, you may with the better conſcience encounter him, and in ſuch caſe wee will not fayle (more fully) to aſſiſt, according as you requeſt.* For the preſent he ſent ouer the Earles of *Arundel* and *Kyme*, and many men of Armes, with plentie of Engliſh Bow-men, who came ſafe to *Paris*, where they in nothing diminiſhed the ancient glorie of their Nation, but behaued themſelues valiantly.

* *Paul. Aemyl. in Carol. 6.*

An.D.1411.

The Duke of *Burgundie* ſends for aid to the King.

The Kings wiſe and Chriſtian anſwere to the Dukes requeſt.

Aides ſent by the King to the Duke of *Burgundie*.

(49) The Duke of *Orleance*, and the Peeres of his faction, ſeeing their ſucceſſe, conſult how to draw the King of *England* from their enemie, and thereupon ſend ouer one *Falconet* with others, with ſolemne letters of credence, whom they made their *irreuocable "Procurators, to entreat, agree, and conclude,* (on their "behalfes) *with the moſt excellent Prince, Henry, by "the grace of God King of England, and his moſt noble "ſonnes, &c. for the reſtitution and reall re-deliuery "of the Dutchie of Aquitain, with all the rights and "appurtenances, which (as is affirmed) are the inheri-"tance of the ſaid moſt excellent Lord the King of Eng-"land, by them to be made and done, &c.* The Ambaſſadors hauing ſhewed forth this *Proxie*, exhibited the poynts of their negotiation in theſe Articles, by which wee may ſee how farre the deſire of reuenge will tranſport great mindes. 1 *They offer their bodies to be imployed againſt all men for the ſeruice of the King*

An.D.1412.

The Duke of *Orleance* ſends to the King for ſuccour.

The words of the Dukes letter.

The great offers of the *Orleance* faction to the King.

* *Walſing. Ypod. pag. 569.*

An.D.1410.

* *Baccalaureus.*

King of England, ſauing their faith to their owne Soueraigne, as knowing the King of England would not otherwiſe deſire them. 2. Their ſonnes, daughters, nephewes, Nieces, and all their Coſens to beſtow in marriage at the King of Englands pleaſure. 3. Their Caſtles, Townes, treaſure, and all their goods to be at the ſeruice of the ſaid King. 4. Their friends, the Gentlemen of France, the Clergy and wealthy Burgers; who are all of their ſide; as by proofe (they ſaid) ſhall well appeare. 5. They finally offer to him the Dutchy of Aquitaine entire, and in as full a manner as euer his Predeceſſors enioyed the ſame, without excepting any thing; ſo as they themſelues will hold, & acknowledge to hold their lands in thoſe parts, directly of the ſaid King, and deliuer as much of them as they can into his poſſeſſion, and will doe their vtmoſt to conquer the reſt for him.

Their demands,

Vpon condition on the other ſide. *1. That the King of England, and his Succeſſors, ſhould aſſiſt the ſayde Lords, againſt the Duke of Burgundy, for the murther committed vpon the perſon of the late Duke of Orleance. 2. That he ſhould aſſiſt againſt the ſaid Duke of Burgundy and his fauourers, till they had repayred all the loſſes which they, their friends and tenants had ſuſteined through that occaſion. 3. That he ſhould help to ſettle the quiet of the realme, &c.*

The King forſakes the Duke of *Burgundy*, and aides the Duke of *Orleance*.

(5) Theſe Offers being put into the ballance with the Articles, vpon which the Duke of *Burgundy* had obtained ſuccours, ouer-weighed them ſo farre, that about the midſt of Auguſt, before all thoſe which had bin ſent with the Earle of *Arundel* to the contrary part, were returned into *England*, aids were decreed to the Duke of *Orleance*, to the wonder of all men, who vnderſtood not the ſecret, ſo that *Thomas* Duke of *Clarence*, *Edward* Duke of *Yorke*, the Earle of *Dorſet*, and very many other principall men, with a competent puiſſance, were ſent ouer to ayde the Duke of *Orleance*, the Earle of *Angoleſme* remaining hoſtage in *England*, for the ſure paiment of one hundred and nine thouſand Crownes for performance of * the other Articles: They came on ſhore in *Normandy*; but, whither the confederates moued with the perill into which their Countrey and Nation ſhould by theſe meanes be precipitated, or for ſome other cauſes, (though none indeed ſo iuſt, as the ſorrow and ſhame for their ſo diſloyall a combination with the capitall enemies of *France*) the Duke of *Orleance*, (contrary to agreement) came not at the appointed time & place, whereupon the Engliſh burnt, ſpoiled and tooke much riches in the Caſtles, Country and good Townes, wherewith to ſatisfie themſelues, till the Duke of *Orleance* ſhould ſee them paid. At laſt yet the Dukes of *Clarence* and *Orleance* came to a treaty, after which the Engliſh camp roſe peaceably and marcht into *Aquitaine* there to winter it ſelfe, the Duke of *Orleance* returning to his owne. While theſe matters were in hand, the Lord of *Heyle Marſhall of France*, with many other Lords, and about foure thouſand * men of armes, laide ſiege to a certaine ſtrong place in *Gaſcoigne*; which *Sir Iohn Blunt* Knight, with three hundred ſouldiers, not only defended, but draue them alſo from the ſiege, taking priſoners twelue of the principal, and about ſixſcore other Gentlemen. * The King liued not to ſee the carriage and fortune of theſe warres, for falling ſicke at *Eltham* in the Chriſtmas time (at which our ancient authors begin to draw the circles of their yeares) but recouering himſelfe a little, he repaired to *London* about Candlemas, there to hold a Parliament, the end whereof he liued not to ſee, but vpon the twentieth day of *March* finiſhed his ſhort but politique and victorious raigne, in peace and honour, had not the injuſtice of his firſt entrance left a diſhonourable ſtaine vpon his worthieſt actions.

*Polyd. Virg. l. 21. Iob. Tilius Chr.

The Engliſh burne and ſpoile in *Normandy*, till the Duke of *Orleance* came.

*homines de armis.

*A.D.1413. *An. Reg. 14.*

The King dieth, hauing raigned thirteene yeares, and ſix moneths, wanting fiue daies, ſaith *Walſingh.*

(51) The vulgar Chronicles tell vs a ſtrange Story, the truth whereof muſt reſt vpon the reporters. The King, ſay they, lying dangerouſly ſicke, cauſed his Crowne to be ſet on a Pillow at his beds head, when ſuddainely the pangs of his *Apoplexie* ſeizing on him ſo vehemently that all ſuppoſed him dead, the Prince comming in, took away the Crown; which, his father reuiuing, ſoone miſſed; and calling for his ſonne, demanded, what he meant, to bereaue him of that, whereto hee had yet no right? The Prince boldly replyed; Long may you liue Soueraigne Father to weare it your ſelfe; but all men deeming you were departed to inherite another Crowne, this being my right, I tooke as mine owne; but now doe acknowledge for none of mine; and thereupon he ſet the Crowne againe where he found it. Oh ſonne, (quoth he) with what right I got it, God onely knoweth, who forgiue me the ſinne. Howſoeuer it was got, ſaid the Prince, I meane to keepe and defend it, (when it ſhall be mine) with my Sword, as you by Sword haue obtayned it. Which the King hearing, he entred diſcourſe of aduiſe, ſhewing him that he feared ſome diſcord would ariſe betwixt him and his brother *Thomas* Duke of *Clarence*, who with better reſpect had borne forth his youth then Prince *Henry* had done, and whoſe diſtemper was like to breed great troubles, if it were not in time ſtayed. If my Brethren (quoth *Henry*) will be true ſubjects, I will honour them as my Brethren, but if otherwiſe, I ſhall aſſoone execute juſtice vpon them, as on the meaneſt of birth in my Kingdome. The King rejoycing at this vnexpected anſwere; both prudently and Chriſtianly charged him "before God, to miniſter the law indifferently, to "eaſe the oppreſſed, to beware of flatterers, not to "deferre juſtice, nor yet to be ſparing of mercy. Pu"niſh (quoth he) the oppreſſors of thy people; "ſo ſhalt thou obtaine fauour of God, and loue "and feare of thy Subjects, who whiles they haue "wealth, ſo long ſhalt thou haue their obedience, "but made poore, by oppreſſions, will be ready to "make inſurrections. Rejoyce not ſo much in the "glory of thy Crowne, as meditate on the burthe"nous care which accompanieth it; mingle loue "with feare, ſo thou, as the heart, ſhalt be defended "in the midſt of the body: but know, that neither "the heart without the members, nor a King with"out his Subjects helpe is of any force. Laſtly, "my ſonne loue and feare God, aſcribe all thy victo"ries, ſtrength, friends, obedience, riches, honour, "and all, vnto him; and with the *Pſalmiſt* ſay with all "thankes, *Not vnto vs Lord, not vnto vs, but to thy "holy name be giuen the laud and praiſe.*

Hall. Hollinſh.

(52) Vpon what ſoyle theſe moſt Chriſtian, true and excellent Councels fell, the following life will ſhew, being nothing elſe, but a full repreſentation in act, of ſuch things as are here in precept only, ſhewing to the World how diuine a beautie Chriſtian goodneſſe hath.

His Wiues.

(53) The firſt wife of King *Henry* the fourth, was *Mary* one of the daughters and heires of *Humfrey de Bohun*, Earle of *Hereford*, *Eſſex*, & *Northampton*, Conſtable of *England*, &c. She died An. Dom. 1394. before he came to the Crowne.

(54) His ſecond wife was *Ioane*, Queene, daughter to *Charles* the firſt, King of *Nauarre*, ſhe being the Widdow of *Iohn de Montfort*, Sir-named *Streani*, Duke of *Britaine*; and died without any Children by King *Henry*, at *Hauering in the Bower* in the county of *Eſſex*, 1437. the tenth day of Iuly, in the fifteenth yeare of *Henry* the ſixt, and was buried by her husband at *Canterbury*.

His Children.

(55) *Henry*, the Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornewall*, Earle of *Cheſter*, and afterward King of *England*, whoſe glorious life and acts next inſue.

(56) *Thomas*, Duke of *Clarence*, Preſident of the Councell to King *Henry* the fourth, and Steward of *England*, was ſlaine at *Beaufort* in *Anjou*, without any iſſue. He married *Margaret* daughter to

Thomas

Thomas Holland Earle of *Kent*, the widdow of *Iohn Beaufort* Earle of *Somerſet*.

(57) *Iohn*, Duke of *Bedford*, Regent of *France* in the time of King *Henry* the ſixt, Duke alſo of *Anjou* and *Alanſon*, Earle of *Cenomannia*, *Harecourt*, of *Kendall* and *Dreux*, *Viſcount Beaumont*. He married firſt with *Anne*, daughter to *Iohn* Duke of *Burgundy*. Secondly with *Iacoba*, daughter to *Peter de Luxemburgh*, Earle of S^t. *Paul*. And died without any iſſue.

(58) *Humfrey*, was by his brother King *Henry* the fift created Duke of *Gloceſter*, was Protectour of the Kingdome of *England* for 25. yeares, in the time of King *Henry* the ſixt, in whoſe firſt yeare he ſtiled himſelfe in his Charters thus: *Humfrey, by the grace of God, ſonne, brother, and vncle to Kings, Duke of Gloceſter, Earle of Henault, Holland, Zeland, and Pembroke; Lord of Frieſland, Great Chamberlaine of the Kingdome of England, Protector and Defendor of the ſame Kingdome, and Church of England.* He was a man, who nobly deſerued of the Common-wealth, and of learning, as being himſelfe very learned, and a magnificent Patron and benefactor of the Vniuerſitie of *Oxford*, where he had been educated; and was generally called, the *Good Duke*. He married firſt *Iacoba*, heire to *William* Duke of *Bauaria* Earle of *Holland*, who (as after was knowne) had firſt beene lawfully troth-plighted to *Iohn* Duke of *Brabant*, and therefore was afterward diuorced from the ſaid *Humfrey*. His ſecond Wife was *Elianor* daughter to *Reginald*, Baron *Cobham de Scarborough*. Queene *Margaret*, Wife to King *Henry* the ſixt, repining at his great power in ſwaying the King & ſtate, ſecretly wrought his ruine, he being murthered in his bed at *Burie*, dying without any iſſue, 1446. His body was buried at *Saint Albans*, yet the vulgar error is that hee lies buried in Saint *Pauls*.

Cambd. Brit. in Gloueſt.

(59) *Blaunch*, married to *Lewis Barbatus*, Palatine of the Rhyne, Prince Elector.

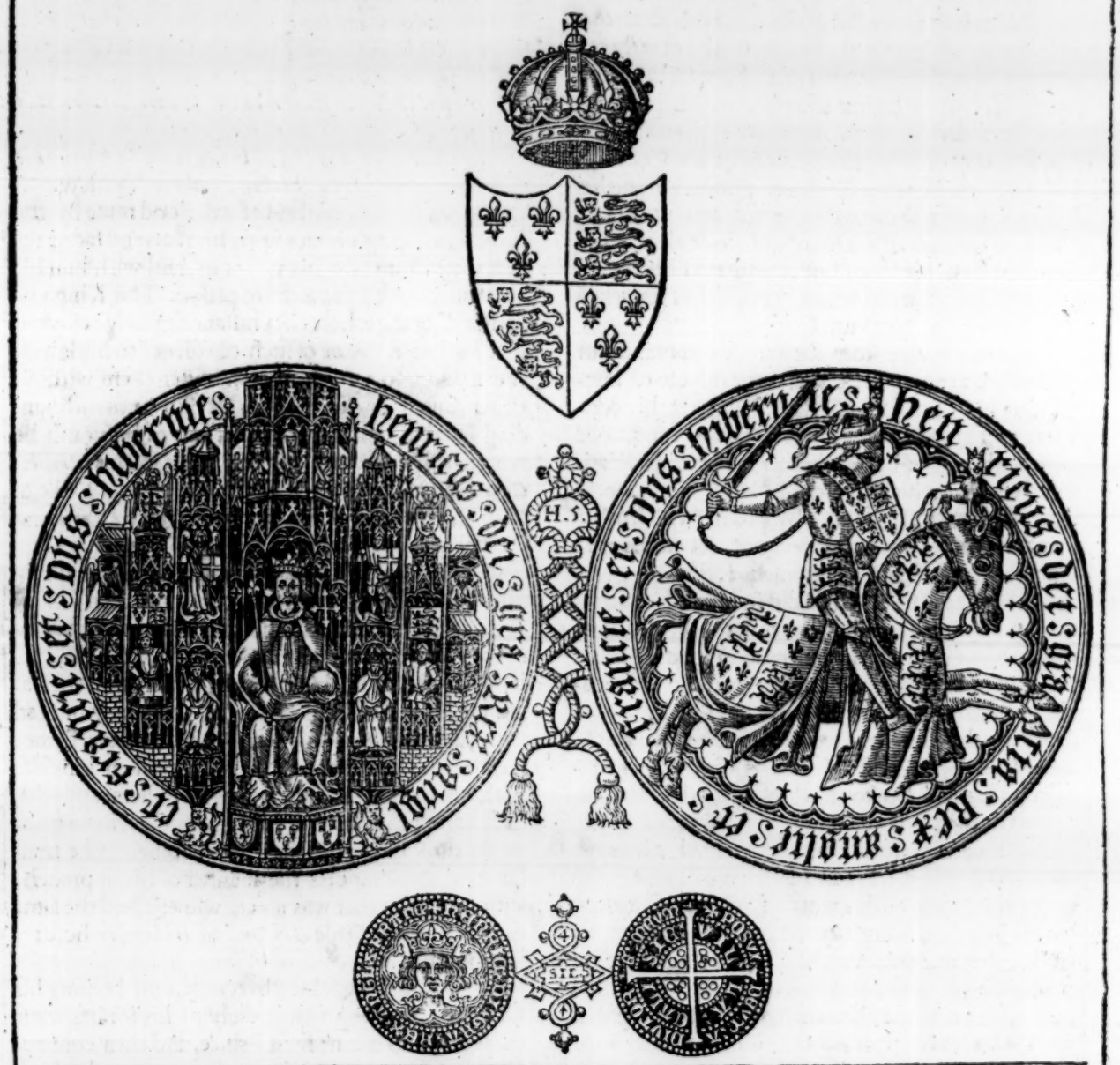
(60) *Philip*, married to *Iohn* King of *Denmarke* and *Norway*.

HENRIE

Henry V.

HENRIE THE FIFTH, KING OF ENGLAND, AND FRANCE, LORD OF IRELAND: THE TWO AND FIFTIETH MONARCH OF ENGLAND, HIS RAIGNE, ACTS, AND ISSVE.

Monarch 52.



CHAPTER XV.

An.D.1412.

AMongst the many Monarchs of this moſt famous Empire, none is found more compleat with all heroicall vertues then is this King, of whoſe life by order and ſucceſſe of Storie we are now to write; which is, *Henry* of that name the Fifth, the renowne of *England*, and glory of *Wales*. Of whom, what was ſpoken of *Titus* in the flouriſhing times of the *Romans*, may for the time of his raigne be truely verified in him: both of them being *the louely darlings, and delightfull joy of Mankinde*. But as *Titus* is taxed by his Story-Writers, in youth to haue been riotous, profuſe, waſtfull, and wanton, *for which* (as he ſaith) *with the diſlikes of men he ſtept into the Throne*; ſo if we will beleeue what others haue writ, *Henry* * was wilde whiles he was a Prince, whoſe youthfull prankes as they paſſed with his yeares, let vs haue leaue here to rehearſe, and leaue them motiues to our owne vſe, as he made them for his.

Suetonius in vit. Tit. 1. 6.

* *Tit. Liuius For.*

(2) His birth was at *Monmouth* in the Marches of *Wales*, the yeare of Chriſts aſſuming our fleſh, 1388. and the eleauenth of King *Richards* raigne, his father then a Subject, and Earle of *Derby*, *Leiceſter*, and *Lincolne*, afterwards created Duke of *Hereford*, in right of his wife, then of *Lancaſter*, by the death of his father; and laſtly, by election made the Soueraigne of *England* (that vnfortunate *Richard*) being depoſed the Crowne. His mother was *Mary*, ſecond daughter and co-heire of *Humfrey Bohun* Earle of *Hereford*, and *Northampton*, high Conſtable of *England*, * as we haue ſaid.

Edw. Hall.

Henry borne at *Monmouth* in *Wales.*

* *Recor. of Tower. 4. Hen. 5.*

Ioh. Roſſe Warwic. in lib. de regibus.

(3) His young yeares were ſpent in literature in the Academie of *Oxford*, where in *Queenes-Colledge* he was a Student vnder the tuition of his Vncle *Henry Beaufort*, *Chancellor* of that *Vniuerſity*, afterwards Biſhop of *Lincolne* and *Wincheſter*, and laſtly made Cardinall by the title of *Euſebius*. But his Father obtayning the Crowne, and himſelfe come

Prince *Henries* Education.

come to the age of twelue yeares, had the ſucceſſion thereof entailed on him by Parliament, and accordingly was created Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall*, and Earle of *Cheſter*, and preſently had the Title of the Dukedome of *Aquitaine* conferred vpon him, the better to effect the thing then intended, which was to haue obtained in marriage yong Queene *Iſabel*, late Wife to the murthered King *Richard*, Daughter of *Charles* the ſixt, King of *France*.

(4) From *Oxford*, Prince *Henry* was called to Court, and the Lord *Thomas Piercy* then Earle of *Worceſter* made his Gouernour; but being himſelfe falſe to his Father, could giue no good example vnto the ſonne, whoſe hoſtile attempts in the field of *Shrewsburie* coſt that diſloyall Earle his head, and almoſt had done Prince *Henry* his life, who in battell againſt him was wounded in the face with an arrow. This marke of his manhood, with the ouerthrow of *Hotſpur* in that bloudy conflict, were hopefull ſignes of his following ſucceſſe, which preſently were ſeconded with as fortunate proceedings againſt *Owen Glendowr* that ſcourge of his Country, and Arch-rebell vnto *Englands* peace, whom this Prince ſo purſued through the vaſt mountaines of *Wales*, that from the Dennes of thoſe deſerts hee durſt not ſhew his face, but therein periſhed by famine, and natures other wants, though the Prince had then ſcarcely attained vnto ſixteene.

(5) But growne from his tutors command, or controll, and come to the yeares for diſpoſe of himſelfe, as his youth ſtood affected, ſo were his conſorts, and thoſe (many times) whoſe conditions were none of the beſt; whether led by an inclination of youth (which commonly lets the raine looſe vnto *Will*) or, to know that by proofe, which other Princes doe by report, I will not determine: yet vnto the latter doe I rather incline, knowing that *Salomon* the wiſeſt of Kings did ſo himſelfe; and rather by *Roſſe* I am lead, who writeth that Prince *Henry* in *Oxford* had in great veneration, ſuch as excelled in vertue or learning, and among many, two he nameth, *Thomas Rodban* of *Merton Colledge* a great *Aſtronomer*, by him preferred to the Biſhopricke of S. *Dauids* in *Wales*, and *Iohn Carpenter* of *Oriel Colledge*, a learned Doctor in *Theologie*, whom he aduanced to the *See* of *Worceſter*. But let vs heare how his wilde oates were ſowen, and with what increaſe the harueſt was got. The tranſlater of *Liuie*, who wrote the Storie of this worthie Prince, and dedicated his paines to King *Henry* his ſonne, affirmeth for truth, that many actions he did, farre vnfitting his greatneſſe of birth; and among other, doth taxe him with no better then theft, who in the raigne of his Father, accompanied with ſuch as ſpent their wits vpon other mens paines, laide waite in the way for his Rents receiuers, and robd them of that which indeed was his owne, when ſometimes in ſhufling he nothing was ſpared, but bare away many knocks, the lenders whereof hee would frankly reward, when they complained vnto him of their loſſes receiued, which euer were abated in the foot of their accounts.

(6) Our learned Knight *Eliot* ſetting his pen to portrait a perfect Gouernour, recordeth a Story, retaining this Princes great fame, the credit whereof let it lye vpon himſelfe. It chanced (ſaith he) a ſeruant of his to be arraigned for felony at the *Kings Bench-Barre*, where ſtanding ready to receiue ſentence of death, the Prince had intelligence, and poſted thither, where finding his ſeruant made ſure for ſtarting, commanded his fetters to be ſtrucke off, and the Fellon arraigned to be freed the Court. All men amazed at this his approach and ſpeech: the *Chiefe Iuſtice* ſtood vp, and ſhewed the Prince that his ſeate was the Kings, that Lawes were the ſinewes of the Common wealth, that himſelfe was ſworne to doe Iuſtice, and muſt yeeld an account for all that he did, that he honored him as the eldeſt ſonne of his Soueraigne, and Prince, but to ſet free the priſoner, he could not, hauing ſo apparantly endangered his life to the Law; and therefore deſired the Prince, if he held him in ſuch eſteeme, to ſaue him by pardon from the King, and not to infringe the Law, which he told him plainely he ſhould not doe.

(7) The Prince inraged to haue the deniall, aſſaied himſelfe to ſet free the Priſoner, which the Chiefe Iuſtice forbad, commanding him vpon his allegiance to ceaſe from ſuch riot, and to keepe the Kings peace: whereat Prince *Henry* in a fury ſtept vp to the Bench, and gaue the *Iudge* a blow on the face, who nothing daunted, ſate ſtill, and with a bold countenance, ſpake "thus to the Prince: *Sir, I pray you remember your "ſelfe, this ſeate of Iudgement which here I poſſeſſe, is "not mine, but your Fathers, to whom and to his lawes "you owe double obedience. If his Highneſſe be thus "contemned, and his lawes violated by you, that ſhould "ſhew your ſelfe obedient to both, who will obey you "when you are a Soueraigne, or miniſter execution to "the Lawes that you ſhall make? Wherefore, for this "attempt, in your Fathers name, I commit you priſoner "vnto the Kings Bench, there to remaine vntill his "Maieſties pleaſure be further knowne.* With which words the Prince greatly abaſhed, ſtood mute by the Iudge, and fixing his eies vpon his reuerend face, preſently laid from him his weapons, and with humble obeyſance done, departed to priſon. The King vnderſtanding the whole circumſtance, greatly reioyced that he had a *Sonne* of ſuch obedience to his lawes, and a *Iudge* ſo vpright to adminiſter them without either fauour or feare of the perſon; notwithſtanding for this, and other like actions of his youth, he remoued him from being *Preſident* of his *Priuie-Councell*, and placed in his ſtead *Thomas* Duke of *Clarence* his ſecond Brother; to Prince *Henries* no little griefe and diſcontent.

(8) Howbeit his followers were nothing diminiſhed, but his Court frequented more then his fathers, which bred ſome ſuſpition in the crazie Kings head, leſt among his other wilde parts, he would attempt to play with his *Crowne*; which was encreaſed by his domeſticall flatterers, who daily buzzed new jealouſies into his eares. This made Prince *Henry* (as *Otterborne* noteth) to ſtrengthen himſelfe with his chiefeſt friends and well-willers, and with ſuch a troupe repaired to his fathers Court, as a greater in thoſe dayes had not beene ſeene. The tranſlator of *Liuie* reports the manner of his approach, euen from him that was an eie-witneſſe, and the ſame no leſſe then the Earle *Ormond* of *Ireland*, whoſe relation is this.

(9) The King ſomewhat craſie, and keeping his Chamber, hearing newes daily of his ſonnes looſe exerciſes, too meane for a Prince, and their conſtructions euer made to aime at his Crowne, he both began to with draw his fatherly affection, and to feare ſome violence againſt his owne perſon, which when Prince *Henry* heard of, by ſome that fauoured him of the Kings Councell, in a ſtrange diſguiſe he repayred to his Court, accompanied with many Lords and Noble-mens ſonnes. His Garment was a Gowne of blew Satten, wrought full of *Eylet-holes*, and at euery *Eylet* the Needle left hanging by the ſilke it was wrought with: about his arme he ware a *dogs-collar* ſet full of *S.S.* of Gold, the *Tirets* thereof being moſt fine Gold. Thus comming to *Weſtminſter*, and the Court of his Father, hauing commanded his followers to aduance no further then the fire in the Hall, himſelfe accompanied with ſome of the Kings Houſhold, paſſed on to his preſence, and after his duty and obeyſance done, offered to make knowne the cauſe of his comming. The King weake then with ſickneſſe, and ſuppoſing the worſt, commanded himſelfe to be borne into a with-drawing Chamber, ſome of his Lords attending vpon him, before whoſe feet Prince *Henry* fel, and with all reuerent obſeruances, ſpake to him as followeth.

" (10) Moſt gracious Soueraigne, and renowned "father

Hall.

Richard Grafton.

Edward Hal.

Ho. Walſingh.

Rich. Grafton.

Eccleſia. Lib. Roſſe.

Sir Tho. Eliot Gouernour.

Rich. Grafton.

Tho. Otterborne.

«father, the ſuſpition of diſloyalty, and divulged re-
«ports of my dangerous intendments towards your
«royall Perſon and Crowne, hath enforced at this
«time, and in this manner, to preſent my ſelfe and life
«at your Majeſties diſpoſe. Some faults and miſ-ſpent
«time (with bluſhes I may ſpeake it) my youth hath
«committed, yet thoſe made much more (by ſuch flee-
«ring pick-thanks, that blow them ſtronger into your
«vnwilling and diſtaſtiue eare. The name of *Soue-
«raigne* ties allegiance to all, but of a *Father*, to a fur-
«ther feeling of natures obedience; ſo that my ſinnes
«were double, if ſuch ſuggeſtions poſſeſſed my heart:
«for the Law of God ordaineth, that he which doth
Deut.17.12. «preſumptuouſly againſt the Ruler of his people
Exod.21.15. «ſhall not liue, and the childe that ſmiteth his father
«ſhall die the death: ſo farre therefore am I from any
«diſloyall attempt, againſt the perſon of you my *Fa-
«ther*, and the Lords annointed; that if I knew any
«of whom you ſtood in the leaſt danger or feare, my
«hand according to duety ſhould be the firſt to free
«your ſuſpition; yea, I will moſt gladly ſuffer death
«to eaſe your perplexed heart; and to that end I haue
«this day prepared my ſelfe, both by confeſſion of my
«offences paſt, and receiuing the *bleſſed Sacrament*.
«Wherefore I humbly beſeech your Grace to free
«your ſuſpition from all feares conceiued againſt me,
«with this Dagger, the ſtabbe whereof I will willing-
«ly receiue here at your Majeſties hand, & ſo doing, in
«the preſence of theſe Lords, and before God at the
«day of judgement, I clearely forgiue my death. But
the King melting into teares, caſt downe the naked
Dagger (which the Prince deliuered him) and raiſing
his proſtrate ſonne, embraced and kiſſed him, con-
feſſing his eares to haue beene ouer-credulous that
way, and promiſing neuer to open them againe againſt
him. But the Prince vnſatisfied, inſtantly deſired, that
at leaſt his accuſers might be produced, and if conui-
cted, to receiue puniſhment, though not to the full of
their demerits; to which requeſt the King replied,
Tho.Otterborn. that as the offence was capitall, ſo ſhould it be exami-
ned by the *Peeres*, and therefore willed him to reſt
contented vntill the next Parliament. Thus by his
great wiſdome he ſatisfied his father from further ſu-
ſpition, and recouered his loue that neerely was loſt.
Hetherto of *Henry* as he was Prince (ſome other of
whoſe youthly actions we alſo touched in his fathers
raigne) and now to his Acts after he was King.

Ex Record. (11) *Henry* ordayned ſucceſſor and ouer-ſeer of
his dying Fathers Teſtament, had in his entrance ſo
fortunate proceedings, as he ſeemeth to exceede all
his Predeceſſors; his Nobles proffering the oath of
their Allegiance, before hlmſelfe had made his, for
Iob. Stow. the juſt gouernment of the *Common-weale*, which ſo
farre was from *acceptation*, that he deſired God neuer
Rich.Grafton. to admit him to the Crowne, vnleſſe he ſhould to his
glory raigne, and rule the Scepter to the good of the
Subiect. The day of his entrance and of his Fathers
An.D.1413. death, being the twentieth of March, and yeare of
Chriſts Incarnation, according to our account, 1412.
on the ninth of Aprill following hee was ſolemnely
crowned at *Weſtminſter*, *Thomas Arundel* Archbiſhop
of *Canterbury* performing the royall Ceremonies:
which no ſooner was ended, but to begin a good go-
uernment, he began with himſelfe, baniſhing from
his preſence and Court the vnbrideled youths which
had beene his conſorts, commanding them eyther to
change their manners, or neuer to approach within
Titus Liuius. tenne miles where he lay. Then choſe he worthy and
Tho. Walſingh. prudent men for his *Councell of Eſtate*, and aduanced
his *Clergy* with dignitie and power: being himſelfe
as zealous in *deuotion*, as liberall in building, and in-
dowing of places for deuotion of others. His Iuſtice
was found of all that ſought it; *for euery day after
dinner, for the ſpace of an houre, his cuſtome was to
leane on a Cuſhion ſet by his cupbord, and there him-
ſelfe receiued petitions of the oppreſſed, which with
great equitie he did redreſſe*. And for a further teſti-
mony of his tender and compaſſionate heart, the
ſlaughtered body of King *Richard*, ouer-meanely
enterred at *Langley*, in great eſtate he remoued into
Saint Peters Church at *Weſtminſter*, and there laide
him enſhrined by Queene *Anne* his firſt wife (as
himſelfe had deſired and prepared) founding a week-
ly memoriall to be celebrated, and fixe ſhillings eight
pence thereon diſtributed vnto the poore, & yearely
twentie pounds giuen vpon his anniuerſary day, be- *Rob.Fabian.*
ſides foure tapers to burne before his monument day
and night for euer. And ſo neerely did his death
touch this innocent King, that he ſent to *Rome* to be
aſſoyled from that guilt of his fathers Act, by the
Popes Holineſſe, then accounted another God; whoſe
penance enioyned, he willingly performed, and after-
wards purpoſed to haue made warre in *Paleſtina* a-
gainſt the enemies of Chriſt; for which end, he ſent
Sir *Hugh de Lauoy* of *Henault* to *Ieruſalem*, to diſco-
uer the ſtate of things there; but before his returne
he was departed to the heauenly *Ieruſalem* himſelfe.

Vpon Trinity Sunday. (12) The obſequies of his Father being ſolemni-
zed at *Canterbury*, and the King in perſon attending
the Corps, fit occaſion was giuen vnto Archbiſhop
Arundel to complaine of the *Wicklifians*, (then ter-
med *Lollards*) great rubs in the waies of the Clergies
pride and proceedings; whereof Sir *Iohn Old-Caſtle*
was thought a chiefe, who by his marriage contra-
cted with a kinſwoman of the Lord *Cobhams of Coo-
ling in Kent*, obtained the title thereof; he was a man
ſtrong and valourous, and in eſpeciall fauour with
his Prince. This Knight in a Synode aſſembled at
London, immediately after the Kings Coronation,
was accuſed by them to haue rent Chriſts ſeameleſſe
coat, in maintaining *VVicliffes* doctrine to be taught,
eſpecially in the Dioceſſe of *London*, *Rocheſter*, & *He-
reford*: againſt whom alſo ſome choiſe *Inquiſitors at
Oxford*, appointed for *Hereſies*, (though *that whole
Vniuerſity had formerly vpheld both *Wickliffe* and
his doctrine,) informed and preſented his name with
two hundred fortie ſixe concluſions, which they had
collected to be *hereticall*.

(13) The King incenſed (by the Archbiſhops
ſuggeſtions) againſt theſe diſcontented diſcipliners,
was further made beleeue that they themſelues had
ſet vp Bills in diuers places, threatning that an *hun-
dred thouſand perſons* were ready for armes, againſt
all that withſtood their reformation, and among
theſe that *Oldcaſtle* his knight was reputed the chiefe.
The King graciouſly inclined, heard the Archbiſhops
complaint, and being at *Kennington*, promiſed to con-
ferre with the Lord *Cobham* himſelfe, which accor-
dingly he did, inſtantly willing him to ſubmit him-
ſelfe to the cenſure of the Church, and obedience of
the Archbiſhop: But *Cobham*, no turne-coate from
his profeſſion, humbly told the King he owed his
ſubjection onely vnto his Majeſtie, whom God had
placed in theſe his Dominions, as his onely *Vice-ge-
rent* to gouerne his people and Subjects, and that
himſelfe forced nothing *Romes* leaden ſword, vnſhea-
thed by the *Pope* (that Antichriſt) againſt the Lords
ſeruants, nor would ſuffer the key of *Canterbury* to
open the cloſet of his conſcience, where the ſpirit of
God was reſiding, bearing witneſſe with his, that he
ſtood in the truth, for whoſe defence as his Cham-
pion, he was ready to liue or die.

(14) This anſwere receiued, was ſo deliuered
vnto the Archbiſhop, with power to cite, examine
and puniſh, as their owne Canons in ſuch caſes had
decreed. The Lyon thus laide for, whoſe paw they
ſtill feared, was ſerued by proceſſe to appeare in the
Archbiſhops Court, and the ſame deliuered by one
Butler a ſeruant of the Kings Priuy-Chamber, for Acts and Monu-
that the bold Sumner durſt not doe it himſelfe, and ments.
the Archbiſhop (diligent leſt he ſhould forget the
day) cauſed his letters citatorie to be ſet vpon the
gates of the Cathedrall Church of *Rocheſter*, which
were preſently torne downe, and others againe ſet vp,
were againe pulled off, to the great offence of the
Clergies eye, and the rather, for that the Actor could
not be knowne. The Knight not appearing (as know-
ing their malice, & his owne danger) was condemned

Nich.Vigneur.in hiſt.de l'Egliſe.

Fox in Acts and Monuments.

** Opera Iob.Huſſ Tom.2.*

Tho.Walſingh.

Oldcastle pronounced an heretike.

Tho. Walsingh. Antiq. Britan.

of contumacie, and afterwards in a *Synode* at *Rochester*, was by the Archbishop pronounced an heretike, where himselfe then enacted that hereticall decree, *that the holy scriptures should not be translated into the English tongue.* But marke the judgement that fell vpon his owne tongue, whose rootes and blade shortly after (as is recorded) grew so big in his mouth and throat, that he could neither speake nor swallow downe meat, but in horror lay languishing, till lastly he so died, starued by famine.

Ex Libro Wigorn.

Archbishop *Arundels* death.

(15) In the meane time the Lord *Cobham* wrote his * *Beliefe*, which was very Christian-like, and presented it himselfe to the King, who (being much prepossessed) in no wise would receiue it, but suffered him to be summoned in his presence, and priuie Chamber, when the Knight for his purgation offered an hundred Knights and Esquires, which would not be accepted; then, according to his degree of Order, and law of Armes, he required the single Combat to fight for life or death, with either Christian or Heathen in the quarrell of his faith, the King and Councell onely excepted. This notwithstanding could not be suffered, but needes must he appeare before the Archbishop his Iudge: where, after diuers examinations (in all which he most religiously justified himselfe and his profession) he was condemned of *Heresie*, and committed Prisoner vnto the Tower of *London*, whence shortly he escaped, & got into *Wales*. Vpon which escape great feares were conceiued, especially of the Clergy, the causers of his troubles, and mortall enemies to him & his wel-willers, for the king was confidently (but as it seemeth malitiously) informed; that *Oldcastle* with his adherents laid for his life, and that in S. *Giles* Fields neere vnto *Holborne* twenty thousand were to assemble in hostile manner, with an intent to destroy the Monasteries of *Westminster*, *S. Albans*, all the religious houses in *London*, and the Cathedrall Church of Saint *Pauls*. The King therefore in person himselfe, after mid-night, with a great Army came into these Fields, where (if we will belieue their professed enemies) foure-score of that faction were apprehended, who said they came to seeke the Lord *Cobham*. But as the answerer of *Copus*, from more ancient times hath obserued, that in daies of persecution, such assemblies often had been made to heare the Gospell preached, which otherwise they could not enjoy: so in this place * then ouer-growne with bushes and vnfit for battell, those few were in likelihood assembled vnto *Iohn Beuerley*, a godly man their Preacher, without any intent of treason, hauing for their Chieftaines no greater persons then Sir *Roger Acton* a Knight of no great account, a Minister, and a malt-man. But their Apologies we leaue to *others; onely the Lord *Cobham* could not be found, though the King by Proclamation had promised a thousand markes to his taker, besides many liberties to the City or Towne that would disclose him; *whereby* (saith *VValsingham*) *it may be ghessed, that the whole Kingdome, well neere, embraced his opinions, which that Friar cals his madnesse.* Thirty seauen of that assembly were condemned, whereof seauen were consumed with fire and strangled, *Acton*, *Beuerley*, and *Murly*, were likewise executed.

The offers of the Lord *Cobham*.

Rob. Fabian.

Touching *Oldcastles* innocency from Treason, see *Foxes* defence against *Cope* in Martyrologie.

(16) As the zeale of this King is much commended for his fauours towards his Clergy, so is his Princely pittie in the commiseration of young *Percies* distresse, whose father *Hotspur* slaine at *Shrewsbury* (as wee haue saide) and he by his Grand-father sent into *Scotland* for security, was there notwithstanding detained a Prisoner, for that *Iames* their King was forcibly kept in *England* by *Henry*, and as they tooke it against all Iustice. But fit occasion being offered for yong *Percies* release, and exchange made betweene him and *Alrede* sonne of *Robert* Duke of *Albany*, (who had beene taken prisoner at the battell of *Halidon*) the King restored him not only in bloud, and to grace in his Court, but also inuested his person with the Title and State of his Grand-father, to his owne no little honour, and faithfull seruice

John Stow.

John Fox in Acts and Monuments.

* Then called Thicket-fields.

* See Fox at large.

Ypodig. Neustr.

Tho. Walsingh. Bishops of Saint Dauids.

attained of that honourable Family.

(17) Vpon Archbishop *Arundels* death, starued by famine as we haue saide, * *Henry Chicheley* a stout Champion also against *Wicliffes* doctrine, was with the Kings consent, by the Monkes of *Canterbury* elected their Archbishop, which the politicke Elect neither accepted nor refused, but left it to the will and pleasure of the Pope: who first tooke snuffe that it so farre proceeded without his direction, yet was soone pacified by *Chicheleys* submission, and (as saith mine Author) with other Gratulations besides. The man, though not so rich by birth as *Arundel* was, yet as strong for the Clergy, and more gratious with his Prince, as the sequel proued.

*Henry Chicheley made Archbishop of Canterbury.

Thom. Walsing.

(18) The first assaies of both was made knowne in a Parliament holden at *Leicester*, where in a Bill exhibited, complaint was made, that the temporall Lands giuen to Religious Houses and spirituall persons for deuotion sake, were either superfluous, or disorderly spent; whose reuenues (if better imploied) would suffice for the defence of the Land, and honor of the King; fifteene Earles, fifteene hundred Knights, sixe thousand two hundred Esquires, and one hundred Almes-houses, for the relieue of impotent and diseased persons, and vnto the Kings coffers twenty thousand pounds by yeare. Which Bill (saith *Hall*) made the fat *Abbots* to sweate, the proud *Priors* to frowne, the poore *Friers* to curse, the silly *Nunnes* to weepe, and all her Merchants to feare, that *Babell* would downe: and indeede here it began to fall, when by the authoritie of this Parliament, one hundred and tenne *Priories* aliant were suppressed, and their possessions giuen to the King, and to his heires for euer.

A complaint against the Clergies excesse.

Edw. Hall in An. Reg. 2.

(19) But to stop the breach of this searching Spring, no better meanes could be found, then to diuert the Parliament with other businesses, and to driue other projects into the Kings minde; whose "head (as this new Arch-Bishop there tolde him) "had the best right to the Crowne of *France*: for "not onely the Dutchies of *Normandy*, *Aquitaine*, "and *Anjou*, the Counties of *Gascoigne*, *Maine*, "and the rest, were his lawfull (though vnlawfully "detained) inheritance; but therewithall the whole "Realme of *France*, as true heire vnto his great "Grand-father King *Edward* the third, and vnto "*Philip the faire*, in right of his mother Queene *I-*"*sabell*, the onely daughter and Childe liuing of the "said French King. As for the law *Salique*, alleaged "against the English claime, he affirmed, that Text "touched onely those parts in *Germany* which lay "betwixt the Riuers *Elbe* and *Sala*, conquered by "King *Charles* the Great, who placing the French "there to inhabite, for the dishonest liues of those "Germaine women made this law. *In terram Sali-*"*cam Mulieres ne succedant*, which the *Glosse* did "falsly expound for the whole kingdome of *France*; "Whose practise notwithstanding he shewed to be "the contrary, by many experiences both in King "*Pepin*, which deposed *Childericke* by the claime of "heire Generall (as descended of *Blithild* daughter "to *Clothair* the first,) and by *Hugh Capet*, who, vsur-"ping the Crowne vpon *Charles* Duke of *Loraine* "(the sole heire male of that line, from *Charles* the "great) to make his claime good (which indeed was "starke naught) deriued himselfe as heire to the "Lady *Lingard*, daughter to *Charlemaine*, sonne to "*Lewis* the Emperour, that was sonne to *Charles* the "Great. King *Lewis* also called the Saint; (who was "the heire to the vsurper *Hugh Capet*) could not be "satisfied in conscience, how he might justly keepe "and possesse the Crowne of *France*, till he was ful-"ly instructed that *Isabel* his Grand-mother was "lineally descended of the Lady *Ermengard*, daugh-"ter and heire to the aboue-named *Charles* Duke of "*Loraine*, by the which marriage the bloud and "line of *Charles* the Great was againe vnited, and re-"stored to the Crowne of *France*. Whereby (said "the Archbishop) it most manifestly appeared, that the

The Archbishop Chicheleys oration.

Jo. Serm.

The Law Sálique,

touched the Germans.

but not the French.

Their claiming by the same title.

"the title of *Pepin*, the claime of *Capet*, the poſſeſ-
"ſion of *Lewis*, yea of the French Kings themſelues
"to this day, deriue their onely rights from the
"heires female, and that this pretended Law *Sali-*
"*que* was but a ſhifting deuiſe to debarre the Eng-
"liſh Kings from the claime of the French Crowne.
"Which excluſion howſoeuer they pretend to bee
"right, yet the law of God (ſaid he) hath made it
"meere wrong, which with better regard of the Sex
"alloweth the woman to inherite her Fathers poſ-
"ſeſſion, as we ſee in the practiſe of that ſtate, where-
"of Chriſt himſelfe is called King, where the fiue
"daughters of *Zelophehad* for want of heires males,
"were admitted to ſucceed in their Fathers inheri-
Numb.27. "tance, allotted them in the Tribe of *Manaſſes*; and
"a law made by the Lord himſelfe, that if a man di-
"ed and had no ſonnes, then his inheritance ſhould
"be transferred vpon his daughters. Neither is it to
An addition. "be doubted but that the daughter of *Sheſham* was
"the ſole heire vnto her Fathers patrimony, he dying
"without iſſue male; though ſhe married an Egyp-
"tian, whoſe poſterity had their poſſeſſions among
1 Chro.2.34. "the Tribe of *Iudah*, euen to the Captiuity of *Babi-*
"*lon*: ſo that if ſuch a law were, as in truth there was
"no ſuch, better were the breach, by the warrant of
"diuine direction, then the continuance by colour of
"ſuch preſcription, ſeeing God hath ordained aſwell
"for the daughter as for the ſonne.

(20) The Archbiſhops vnexpected, but not vn-premeditated Oration thus ended, ſo ſtirred the bloud of the young couragious King, that his heart was all on a flame; and ſo tickled the eares of his Auditory, as they preſently conceiued that *France* was their owne; the Title whereof deſcending from *Iſabel*, the mother of the famous third *Edward*, and ſhe the daughter and ſuruiuing heire vnto *Philip the faire*; his right was lineally deriued thence as followeth. Firſt, *Philip* by *Ioane* his firſt wife intituled Queene of *Nauarre*, had three ſons and one daughter, namely *Lewis*, *Philip*, and *Charles*, all three ſucceſſiuely Kings, and this Lady *Iſabell*, by whom the Engliſh claime. His ſecond wife was *Conſtance* the daughter of the King of *Sicil*, who bare him a ſonne after his owne deceaſe, which liued not many dayes after his
Lewis Nuncupa. Father. *Lewis* his eldeſt ſonne, and tenth of that name, ſucceeded *Philip* in the Kingdome of *France*, and by *Margaret* his wife the daughter of *Burgundy* had his daughter *Iane*, intituled Queene of *Nauarre*, who made claime alſo vnto the French Crowne, but neuer attained it; ſo that her Title fell with her death. *Lewis* by his ſecond wife *Clemence* of *Sicil*, had a ſonne named *Iohn* borne vnto him, but preſently both Father and ſonne departing this life, left the Scepter to his ſecond brother; who by the name of *Philip* the fift, a while wore the Emperiall Crowne of *France*: his wife was *Iane* the daughter of *Burgoine*, who bare vnto him onely foure daughters, but none of them had iſſue, ſaith *Hall*.

(21) Vnto King *Philip* ſucceeded his Brother *Charles the faire*, the fourth of that name, whoſe firſt Wife was *Blanch*, detected of incontinency, and brought him no fruit. His ſecond wife was *Marie* daughter to *Henrie Luxembourg* the Emperour, who bare him a ſonne that dyed ſoone after his birth, and the mother likewiſe ſhortly came to her graue. *Margaret* the daughter to the Earle of *Eureux* was his third and laſt Wife, who at his death he left with-Child, and thus the three ſonnes of *Philip* were branched, raigned, and dyed, whom Queene *Iſabell* their ſiſter ſuruiued, and in that right her ſonne King *Edward* the third, by his royall conſanguinity whilſt the Crowne ſtood thus at ſuſpence, till a Prince ſhould be borne, claimed to be Regent in the *Interregnum*, and in the non-age of the looked-for iſſue, againſt which, *Philip de Valois*, ſonne of *Charles* the hardy, who was brother to *Philip the faire*, being a ſecond branch from *Hugh Capet*, and firſt Prince of the bloud of *France*, maintained that the Regency of the male (if ſo he were borne) as alſo of the Realme (if a daughter, or the ſonne dyed) belonged onely vnto him as the next in bloud. The ſtate thus ſtanding, and a daughter borne, *Philip* was ſaluted and proclaimed King, no other right alleaged then this foiſted and falſely termed fundamentall law *Salique*, for no otherwiſe doth *Ottoman* the French famous Lawyer eſteeme of that vngodly and vniuſt Ordinance, if any ſuch had beene ordained.

(22) The Kings right thus made apparant, and ſufficient poſſeſſions to be had in *France*: the Bill of complaint againſt the Clergies exceſſe was quite daſht, and all mindes addicted for the affaires that way; thinking it vnreaſonable to pull the Prouiſions from their natiues and brethren, when as the circuit of their inheritance extended more large in compaſſe: and therefore with the *Danites* they determined no longer to ſit ſo pent with increaſe, ſeeing God had giuen them another Kingdome, but would free their owne ſtraightneſſe by dint of ſword, and ſpread their Tents wider in the continent of *France*: Neither was there any motiue more forceable in conference, then was the ſucceſſe of thoſe intruding Princes, who aſſaied the Crowne by that vniuſt claime of law *Salique*. Iudg.18.

(23) For, did not the ſword of God (rather then man) in the hand of King *Edward* the claimer, cut downe the flower of *France* in the Battell of *Crecie*, with the ſlaughter of *Lewis* King of *Bohemia*, of *Charles* the French Kings Brother, of *Iames Dolphin* of *Viennois*, the Dukes of *Loraine*, and *Burbon*, the Earles of *Aumarle*, *Sauoy*, *Montbilliard*, *Flanders*, *Niuers*, and *Harecourt*, the *Grand Prior of France*, the Archbiſhop and Biſhop of *Zanxinus* and *Noyone*, of Lords, Barons, and Gentlemen to the number of 1500. with 30. thouſand of the French Souldiers, and *Philip* not able of himſelfe to defend himſelfe, inciting *Dauid* of *Scotland* to inuade and weaken *England*, therein did but onely vexe his own ſpirit, for in that attempt the Scottiſh King was taken priſoner & brought to *London*, leauing *Philip* to ſtruggle with his hard fortunes in *France*, which with bad ſucceſſe hee did to the day of his death? Jo. Sarres.

(24) *Iohn* his ſonne, by the ſame title and claime felt the ſame ſtroke of iuſtice from the hand of that thunderbolt in warre, *Edward* ſurnamed the blacke Prince, the ſonne of *Englands Mars*, who farre inferiour to the French in number, farre exceeded them in marſhall power, when at the battell of *Poytiers*, the French royall Standard was ſtroke downe, an hundred Enſignes wonne by the Engliſh, the Conſtable, Marſhall and great Chamberlaine of *France*, with fifty two Lords, and ſeuenteene hundred Gentlemen ſlaine in the field. King *Iohn* himſelfe, his ſonne *Philip*, two Biſhops, thirteene Earles, and one and thirtie Lords taken priſoners by the Prince, to his great praiſe and confirmation of his iuſt cauſe. Jo. Serres.

(25) Nor was the puniſhment of the Father any whit leſſened in King *Charles* the ſonne then raigning, who beſides the inteſtine warres in his own dominions was by Gods iuſt iudgement ſtrucke into a Lunacy, being vnable to gouerne himſelfe, much leſſe his Kingdome, vpon which aduantage (as the French would haue it) King *Henry* now played; though it be moſt certaine hee ſought his right farre otherwiſe, for ſo it ſtandeth vpon record, dated the ninth of February, and firſt of *Henrie* the fift his raigne, that he ſent his Ambaſſadors vnto the French King, who could not be admitted to his preſence, and him whom they imployed to procure acceſſe, was by the French committed to Priſon: whereat King *Henry* moſt iuſtly conceiued a grudge. *Paulus Æmilius* their owne Story-writer ſaith, that *Henry* King of *England*, *ſent honourable Ambaſſadors to demaund in marriage the Lady Katherine daughter vnto the French King*: which (as he ſaith) was neglected with this anſwere, *that the King had no leaſure to thinke on that buſineſſe*: whom *Franciſcus Roſienius* doth further inlarge, ſaying: *The King ſcornefully ſmiling, anſwered, that France was neither deſtitute* Ex Record. apud Weſtm. Paul. Aemilius Fran. Roſien.

of

of Dukes, nor he at leasure to thinke of the Propositi-on; and being iealous lest *Burgoine* would match his daughter with *Henry*, sent him a command to the contrary, and againe at their conclusion of peace, expressly enioyned the said Duke, and all other Princes of the bloud, not to make any alliance of marriage with *England*, whereby King *Henry* was further exasperated against *France*. And lastly, by his counsell and conference vpon the Archbishops Oration, sent a Summons & demand of the Dutchies of *Normandy*, *Aquitaine*, *Guyen*, & *Aniou*; in derision whereof, as *Caxton* recordeth, the *Dolphin* of *France* sent him a Tun of *Tennis-Bals*, as Bullets most fit for his tender hands, who had spent his youth (as he thought) more among Rackets, then regard of his person or matters of State: so forward is man to be an Actor in common miseries, when the Fates haue made the Subiect of the Scene Tragicall, that he drawes the hand of *Destinie* sooner to strike, and heauier to fall vpon that proiect decreed to be cast downe: for by these disdaines and vnprincely dealings, the Crowne of *France* was grasped by the English hard hand, and that faire soile stained with her Natiues owne bloud: for the Present receiued as it was sent, had promise to be repaied with bals of more force, whose stroke should be such as the strongest gates of *Paris* should not be rackets sufficient to bandy the rebound.

Engerrant. de Monstrel.

Nich. Vegnetr. Will. Parradin. in Annal. de Burgoin. Caxton Chron. Elmham.

Ex Record. West.

(26) Grudges thus growne, and warres in preparing, the French thought it fittest to make *Scotland* their friend, whom they incited to molest the English Marches, which accordingly was done, and that with such violence, as it was a question decideable, whether of the kingdoms was first to be dealt with. *Westmorland* thought it safest to checke the Scots, as the neerer and continuall backe-friends. But *Excester* held it better policy to begin with *France* the stronger, especially now disquieted through the factions of *Burgundie*, and *Orleance*, and vnto this the most voyces gaue way, whose forwardnes was such, that the Clergy granted a Tenth, and the temporall Lords their aides to the King, as followeth.

An. D. 1414.

Ypod. Neustr.

The Earles { *Northumberland*, *Westmorland.* } 40 men at Armes, & 120 Archers a peece.

The Earles { *Warwicke*, *Stafford.* } 20. men at Armes, and 40. Archers a peece.

The Earle of Suffolke, a ship, 20. men at Armes, and 40. Archers.

The Earle of Abergaueny, 20. men at Armes, and 20. Archers.

Ex Record.

The Lords { *Lonell.* *Barkley.* *Powis.* *Camois.* *S. Iohn.* *Burrell.* } A ship, 20. men at Armes, & 40. Archers a peece.

The Lords { *Fitzwalter.* *Darcie.* *Seymour.* *Rosse.* *Willoughbie.* } Halfe a ship, 20. men at Armes, & 40. Archers a peece.

The Lord Morley, 6. men at Armes, and 12. Archers.

The Lords { *Scales.* *Randolph.* } Proffered to attend the king in their persons without entertainment.

The whole number thus granted and appointed, amounted to, of { *Men at Armes.* 346; *Archers.* 552; *Ships.* 9 ½ }

To put back the Scots, Sir *Robert Vmfreuile* was sent, who in a skirmish vpon *Mary Magdalens* day, tooke 360. of them prisoners, and with great spoyle returned to *Rocksborough* Castell, whereof he had charge; the newes whereof K. *Charles* vnderstanding, and the great preparation made against *France*, being better aduised, vpon the dangerous euent, sent his Ambassadors into *England*, whereof the Archbishoppe of *Bourges* was principall, who at *Winchester* made offer of money, and some other Territories (but none of the best) with the Princesse Lady *Katherine* to be giuen in marriage vnto King *Henry*, so that he would dissolue his Army, and conclude a peace. To this Oration the Archbishop of *Canterbury* made answere, that his King demanded the *Dutchies* of *Aquitaine* and *Aniou*, with the other Seigniories anciently appertaining to his Progenitors the Kings of *England*, which as they were his most rightfull and lawfull inheritance, so would he with all possible diligence endeauour (if not otherwise) by fire & sword to recouer, which his assertion the King himselfe in presence confirmed.

Iohn Harding. Roger Wall.

Enguerrant. de Monstrel.

(27) But *Bourges* the Archbishop, presuming more vpon his Prelacy, then respectiue vnto whom hee spake, with an vnreuerend boldnesse (liberty obtained) seconded his Ambassage with the termes of an Herauld, and with bended browes thus spake to the "king: *Thinkest thou, ô King, wrongfully to put downe "and destroy the most Christian, the most renowned, "and the most excellent King of all Europe, both in "bloud and preheminence, or thinkest thou that our "mightie Soueraigne Charles hath offered thee lands, "summes of mony, and possessions, with his most beau-"tifull daughter, either in feare of thee, of thy Eng-"lish Nation, or of all thy well-willers whomsoeuer? "I tell thee no, but moued in pittie, as a louer of "peace, and to saue the shedding of christian bloud, "hath made thee these offers: and his cause being sup-"ported by equitie and truth, God and his good Sub-"iects he trusteth will set a period soone to thy quarrel. "We therefore his Ambassadors demand thy safe con-"duct to passe out of thy Realme, and that thou wilt "write thine answer, and send it vnder thy seale.*

Holinsh.

(28) *Henry*, no whit daunted with his big lookes and words, answered the Archbishop with milder & "better set termes; My Lord (said he) I little esteeme "of your gallant brauadoes, and lesse weigh your i-"magined power or French brags. I know my own "right to your Region, and so doe your selues, vn-"lesse you will deny a most apparant truth: the "strength of your Master you daily see, but mine as "yet you haue not tasted, hee (you say) hath many "louing subiects and freinds, and (God be thanked) "I haue both as well affected to me, with which, ere "long I hope to make the highest Crowne in your "Country to stoope, & the proudest Mitre to kneele "downe: And say to the Vsurper your Master, that "within this three Moneths I will enter *France*, not "as into his Land, but as into mine owne lawfull pa-"trimony, entending to conquere it, not with brag-"ging words, nor flattering Orations, but by power "& dint of sword, through Gods assistance, in whom "I trust: and I assure you, I will not speake the word, "the which I will not write and subscribe, nor will I "subscribe to that to which I willingly will not set "my seale. Therefore your safe conduct shall be dis-"patched, and mine answere in writing deliuered, "which once receiued, you may depart into your "Countrey, when I trust sooner to visite you, then "that you shall haue cause to bid me welcome.

Ex Parl. 1. H. 5.

(29) The Statute enacted, the first of his raigne hee now put in execution, and commaunded the French out of his Land, according to that made the 13. of *Richard 2.* which disabled the Alien Religious to enioy any Benefices within *England*, and now fearing to nourish a snake in his bosome, King *Henry* forbad the French from all preferments Ecclesiasticall, and those Priors Aliens conuentuall, who had institution and induction, to put in security, not to disclose, or cause to be disclosed, the counsell nor secrets of the Realme: and that the French might hold

hold his dealings honourable, and open, he ſent *Antilop* his Purſeuant at Armes vnto King *Charles* with letters of defiances: next making Queene *Ioan* his Mother in law the Regent of the Land, he drew his forces vnto *Southampton*, commanding his followers there to attend him in readineſſe by the feaſt of Saint *Iohn Baptiſt* enſuing.

Alain Bouchan. in Annals of Brit.

(30) *Charles* the French King expecting preſent inuaſion, ſent his Ambaſſadours vnto *Iohn* the ſixt Duke of *Britain*, who had married his daughter, with an hundred thouſand Crownes, to leuie forces for his aide, and a Iewell worth fiue thouſand Crownes more to himſelfe, which the Duke promiſed to come in perſon to performe. And as it is reported, King *Charles* ſent to *Scroope*, *Grey*, and *Cambridge* (all three in eſpeciall fauour with the King) a million of gold to betray *Henry* into his hands, or to murther him before he ſhould arriue in *Normandy*. Theſe to make their faction ſtronger, though *Scroope* was Lord Treaſurer, *Grey* a Priuie Councellour, and *Cambridge*, the ſonne of *Edmund* Duke of *Yorke*, yet meant to draw in *Edmund* Earle of *March* the ſonne of *Roger Mortimer*, and lineally the heire vnto *Lionell* Duke of *Clarence*, the next in ſucceſſion for the houſe of *Yorke*, and reuealing their intended purpoſe, forced him to ſweare to their ſecrecie, which if hee refuſed, they threatned his death; whereupon he required but an houres reſpite, which hardly granted, he went to the King and reuealed the conſpiracy, euen the night before the day that he meant to put to ſea.

An ancient Manuſcript.

Titus Liuius.

Iob. Stow

Hollinſh.

(31) The parties apprehended and brought before him in preſence of many Nobles, King *Henry* thus "ſpake; With what horror, O Lord, may any true "Engliſh heart conſider, that you for pleaſing of a "forreine enemy, ſhould imbrue your hands in our "bloud, as alſo in the bloud of our brethren, to the "ruine of your owne natiue ſoyle! reuenge herein "touching my perſon though I ſeeke not; yet for the "ſafegard of you my deare friends, & for due preſer-"uation of the Realme, I am by place and office to "miniſter remedy againſt theſe Offenders; Get you "hence therefore, you miſerable wretches, to receiue "the iuſt reward of your deſerts, wherein God giue "you repentance for your ſo foule ſinnes.

(32) Notwithſtanding this their offence, their inditement as it ſtandeth in the Record, includes matter of other quality: *that, Richard Earle of Cambridge of Conesburgh in the County of Yorke, & Thomas Grey of Heton in the Countie of Northumberland Knight, for that they in the twentieth of Iuly, and third of King Henry the fifts raigne, at Southampton had conſpired together with a power of men, to haue led away the Lord Edmund Earle of March into Wales, and to haue procured him to take the Gouernment of the Realme, in caſe that King Richard the ſecond were dead; with a purpoſe to haue put forth a Proclamation in the name of the ſaid Earle as heire to the Crown, againſt King Henry, by the name of Lancaſter vſurper, & further, to haue conuayed a Banner of the Armes of England, & acertaine Crowne of Spaine ſet vpon a Pallet (layd in gage to the ſaid Earle of Cambridge) into Wales; As alſo, that the ſaid conſpirators had appointed certaine into Scotland, to bring thence one Trumpington, and another reſembling in ſhape, fauour, and countenance, King Richard. And Henry Scroope of Maſham in the County of Yorke was likewiſe indited as conſenting to the Premiſſes.* Thus well appeared their purpoſe, though *Richard* Earle of *Cambridge*, conſidering the poſſibility of his own iſſue had ſecretly carried that buſineſſe: whoſe ſorrowfull letter of his owne hand-writing, as it came to ours, we thinke not amiſſe here to inſert.

Iohn Stow Annal.

Lit. Original.

Moſt dreadfull and Soueraigne Liege-Lord, I Richard Yorke your humble ſubiect, and very Liegeman, beſeech you of grace, of all manner of offences which I haue done or aſſented vnto, in any kinde by ſtirring of other folke, egging me vnto, wherein I wot well I haue highly offended to your Highnes, beſeeching you at the reuerence of God that you like to take me into the hands of your mercifull and piteous grace, thinking yee will of your great goodneſſe my Liege-Lord: my full truſt is, that you will haue conſideration (though that my perſon be of none value) your high goodneſſe (where God hath ſet you in ſo high eſtate) to euery Liegeman, that you longeth plentiouſly to giue; that you like to accept this my ſimple requeſt for the loue of our Lady, and the bleſſed holy Ghoſt, to whom I pray that they moue your heart euer to all pittie and grace for their high goodnes. Notwithſtanding this his humble petition vpon the ſixt of Auguſt following, hee, with *Scroope*, and *Grey*, were beheaded, and his body with head interred in the Chappel of *Gods-houſe* in *Southhampton*; whoſe apprehenſions, arraignments, and deaths, were ſo followed each after others, as the French knew not, but that the treaſon had ſucceſſe, and their returned Ambaſſadors told it for certaine, that King *Henry* had either dimiſſed his Army, or (which was thought more true) himſelfe was ſlain by the Conſpirators; ſo eaſie an entrance hath babling report into the wide eares of credulous deſire.

(33) But King *Henrie* now ready to embarke his men vpon Wedneſday the ſeauenth of Auguſt, with fifteene hundred Saile tooke to Seas, attended with ſixe thouſand ſpeeres, and twenty foure thouſand footmen beſides Gunners, Enginers, Artificers, and Labourers a great number, and the fifteenth of the ſame month caſt Anchor in the mouth of *Seyne*, at a place called *Kideaux*, about three miles from *Harflew*, where he landed his men; and falling deuoutly vpon his knees, deſired Gods aſſiſtance to recouer his right, making Proclamation vpon paine of death, that Churches ſhould be ſpared from all violence of ſpoyle, that *Churchmen*, *women* & *Children*, ſhould not be hurt, abuſed or wronged: then giuing the order of Knighthoode to many of his followers, he aſſigned his Standards to men of moſt ſtrength & courage, which done, he tooke the hill neere adioyning, and thence ſent his ſpiall to the Towne of *Harflew*, making that the firſt aſſay of his fortunes in *France*. But before we enter any further diſcourſe in the affaires of that Kingdome, it ſhall not be amiſſe to ſpeake of things commenced in *England* before that King *Henry* tooke to the Seas.

Harding 1500. Iohn Stow. 1600. Holinſh. 1600. Grafton. 1400. Old Manuſc. 1500. Caxton. 1500. Nicolas Gilles.

Titus Liuius.

(34) The Churches throughout Chriſtendome, hauing beene diſquieted the ſpace of twenty nine yeares, and now growne intollerable, through the ſchiſmaticall ambitions, maintained by three Papall Monarchs, mounted into *Saint Peters* ſeate, each of them graſping the Chaire with ſo faſt a fiſt, that the ioynts thereof were forced aſunder; and the triple Crowne ſo battered with their thunderbolts of their curſes that it was flatted and made vnfit for any of their heads. The perſons arreared were *Benedict 13.* by the *Spaniard* elected; the ſecond was *Gregory 12.* whom the *French* had ſet vp; and the third was *Iohn 24.* preferred to the place by the *Italians*. Theſe ſtriuing for the Helme, the ſhip was ſo ſteered, that her wracke was apparant vpon theſe raging and vnquiet Seas. To preuent which the Chriſtian Princes put their helping hands, and by a generall conſent, ordained a generall Councell to be held at *Conſtance* in *Germany*, which began in February, 1414, and continued aboue the ſpace of three yeares; whereunto were aſſembled beſides the Emperour, the Pope, and the *Palſgraue* of *Rheine*, foure *Patriarks*, twenty ſeauen Cardinals, forty ſeauen Archbiſhops, one hundred and ſixty Biſhops, Princes, Barons and Gentlemen with their attendants aboue thirty thouſand.

Gonzale de ylleſcas Hiſt. Pontif.

Platina.

Nichol. Doglion in Theatro Vniuerſal de Pyhe.

Sebaſtian. Munſter.

(35) Vnto this Councell King *Henry* ſent *Richard Clifford* Biſhop of *London*, *Robert Halam* Biſhop of *Salisbury*, made Cardinall, & dyed at the ſame Councell, *Iohn Keterich*, Biſhop of *Couentree* and *Lichfield*, *Nicholas Bubwith* Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wels*, *Iohn Wakering* Biſhop of *Norwich*, *Robert Maſcall* Biſhop of *Hereford*, *Stephen Patrington* Biſhop of Saint *Dauids*; the *Abbot* of *Weſtminſter*, and *Prior* of *Worceſter*, in company of whom, and for whoſe greater

Francis Goodwin vpon the liues of the Biſhops.

honour

honour, *Richard Earle of Warwicke* was ſent, themſelues and attendants amounting to eight hundred horſe: ſo as it ſtood in ſuſpence whether their honorable preſence more graced the aſſembly, or their learning or iudgement bettered the whole body of the Councell: inſomuch that two of theſe Biſhops were there made Cardinals, & of the thirty in beſt eſteeme appointed to aſſiſt the Cardinals in their Election of a new Pope, *London*, *Couentree*, *Bath* and *Wels* were choſen, wherein *Robert Biſhop of London* was firſt nominated for Pope, and he firſt nominated him that ſucceeded, which was *Otho Collonna* by the name of *Martin* the fift. Whoſe Coronation with great magnificence was celebrated of the fiue Nations aſſembled, and this honour giuen to the Engliſh, that the *Prior of Saint Iohns* was a ſupporter of the triple Crowne. Touching the decrees that this Councell enacted, let it ſuffice vs to know that *Wicliffes* books were condemned for hereticall, that *Iohn Hus* (notwithſtanding the Emperours ſafe conduct) and *Ierome of Prage*, were both of them burned, the holy maide *Bridget* canonized a Saint, and that *England* was made a Nation in rancke before *Spaine*.

La mer. des Hiſtor.

Nichol. Doglio. Sebaſt. Munſter.

(36) The deaths of theſe two Diuines many lamented, eſpecially the *Bohemians*, who had reaped much fruit from the ſeed they had ſowen, for whoſe doctrine they ſent a defence vnto the ſame Councell, and often became humble Petitioners for their liues, as largely appeareth in their letters written on their behalfe; in whom may truely be verified, that the bloud of the Martyrs is the ſeed of the Church, which ſo increaſed in the parts of *Bohemia*, that Pope *Martin* fearing all would be mard (*Ziſca* the ſcourge of the Papacy then in Armes to defend them) ſent for aid out of *England*, to repreſſe the *Lollards* (as he termed them) and publiſhed his Buls againſt thoſe *Huſſites*, with as terrible roarings as vſually were his *Croyſadoes* againſt the Turkes.

Fox in Acts and Monuments.

Nichol. Vigneur.

(37) His Legate for theſe holy warres hee made *Henry Beaufort*, the rich *Cardinal of Wincheſter*, who with foure thouſand Engliſh, aſſiſted with a ſubſidie of the Clergies Grant, did there very valiantly for certaine months together, vntill he was re-called by the Pope: wherein County *Ziſca* (though euer a victor) loſt both his eies, and being blind, led forth his army with ſuch terror to his foes, as his name became fearefull, and oft times was ſufficient to attaine victory without any ſtroke, inſomuch as he commanded his owne skinne to be flead off after his death, and to be made the head of their Drum, affirming that the very ſound thereof would driue the enemy out of the field. But from theſe Church-matters and Prelates proceedings, let vs returne from whence wee haue ſtept, and continue the affaires of our famous King *Henry*, hauing now ſet footing in *France*.

Godwin Catal. of Engliſh Bbs.

Edward Hall.

(38) His followers and fellowes in theſe new begun wars were his two brethren the Dukes of *Clarence*, and *Gloceſter*, as alſo his Vncles the Duke of *Yorke*, and Earle of *Dorſet*, accompanied with the Earles of *Kent*, *Cornwall*, and *Huntington*, beſides a moſt noble fellowſhip of the other Lords, Barons & men at armes: with theſe from *Kideaux* he marched towards *Harflew*, affecting that Towne the firſt, being a port commodiouſly ſeated vpon the mouth of the Riuer *Seyne*, and a ſafe entrance vnto his intended Conqueſt, aſwell for the landing of his men, as to hinder the paſſage vnto *Roane* and *Paris*, both which receiued traffique by the ſame Riuer.

Enguerrant de Monſtrelet.

John Harding.

(39) The Towne being ſeated betwixt two hils, that next the Sea the King tooke, at the foot whereof, he cauſed a deepe trench to be caſt, bringing in water to impeach the bottome, and raiſing the rampier to a great thicknes, whereon he erected many ſconces of earth, like vnto Caſtles, ſet thicke together: for betwixt them there was not aboue a cubite wide, for the Souldiers to ſally as occaſion ſerued: the trench thus finiſhed, from the rocke to the Sea, his horſes, munition, and victuals all brought a ſhore, with his whole army, the King marched vp the hill, and from the height preſented himſelfe before *Harflew*. His brother *Clarence* hee ſent with certaine Regiments of horſe and foot, to lodge vpon the other hill, which before he could approach, (by reaſon of the nature of the ground and way) he was forced to march fully nine miles: which hill attained, he commanded his ſhips to caſt anchor as neere the Town as with ſafety they might, whereby the place became beſieged both by land and Sea, then mounted he his Artillery, began his mynes, brought his workes cloſe to the Counter-ſcarſe of the ditch, prepared faggots to fill it, and preſently wanne the baſe Towne.

(40) Within the Towne it ſelfe *Mounſieur Gracourt* was Generall, accompanied with *Gwylwy de Stonteuile*, *Chaſtellaine de Beauuais*, *Lionet de Bruequemount*, and others, to the number of an hundred Knights and Squires, who with the Townesmen iſſued out of the *Baſtile*, vpon that quarter where *Huntington* & *Cornwall* lay, by whom with loſſe on either ſide, they were beaten backe, the gates fired, ſome breaches made, and fire-workes ſhot into the ſtreetes, to no little annoyance of the beſieged; but nothing diſmaied them more, then did the Mines made vnder the wals: againſt which, though they within countermined, and came to fight hand to hand with the beſiegers, yet they ſaw it little preuailed, the wals being ready to fall, and ſuch batteries therein already made, as they well perceiued K. *Henry* was reſolued to carry the towne by aſſault: wherupon *Mounſieur de Gracourt* fore-ſeeing the eminent danger, demanded a Parley, promiſing to render the Towne if it were not relieued by a certaine day aſſigned.

Le tiers de conquet de France.

Titus Liuius.

(41) And albeit that *Iehan de Boneigunlt*, and *Charles de Albuet* Marſhall, and Conſtable of *France*, the one at *Caudebuc* Caſtell, the other in *Harflew*, either of them hauing in their companies one thouſand and fiue hundred men at Armes, were yet ſo curbed by the Engliſh, that no great ſeruice they did, & leſſe hope was looked for from the French King, whoſe ſtrengths were not ready as the *Dolphin* returned anſwer, either to remoue or relieue the ſiege at *Harflew*; whereupon the twenty two of September, *Gracourt* the Gouernour with twenty foure ſelected Captaines and Burgeſſes came to K. *Henry*, who ſate in his Pauilion vnder a cloth of eſtate, his Noblemen about him, and the Earle of *Kyme* vpon his right hand, bearing his casket, wheron was an imperiall Crowne ſet with ſtones of great price: The Gouernour and the reſt proſtrating themſelues at the Kings feet, deliuered vnto him the Keyes of the Towne, according to the couenants betwixt them compriſed, which was a reſpite for fiue dayes, and then if no ſuccour came, to ſurrender the Towne vnto the King, and to deliuer into his hand thirty of their chiefeſt perſonages to ſtand for life or death at his owne pleaſure; the reſt to depart without armour, weapons, or any of their goods.

Alain Chartier ſecretary to Charles 7. King of France.

Hiſtorie of Normandy.

Iohn Harding.

Holliſh.

(42) *Harflew* thus ſurrendred in ſo ſhort a ſiege continuance, the King ſent *Thomas* Earle of *Dorſet* with ſufficient troupes to poſſeſſe the Gates, who then erected the Kings Standard, and S. *Georges* Banner vpon the principall Ports, and aſſured the Towne with guards competent. Moreouer, he ſent the ſaid *Mounſieur de Gracourt*, and with him *Gwyen* King at Armes vnto the *Dolphin* to let him know, *that hee would ſtay eight dayes in Harflew, to expect his comming, where they might treat of an accord, whereunto himſelfe was well inclined, if he were not obſtinate, for his purpoſe was not to demand more then his right, & if they could not accord, for the ſparing of Chriſtian bloud, he was pleaſed to decide the quarrell by ſingle combat betweene them two.*

Septemb. 22.

Hiſtory of Normandy.

(43) His entrance into *Harflew* was not as *Caſars* into *Rome* with Coronets, Enſignes, and Triumphs, attending his Chariot, but in a more humble manner he paſſed along the ſtreets *barefooted*, vntill he came to the Church of Saint *Martin*, where with great deuotion he gaue moſt humble thankes vnto God for this his firſt atchieued enterprize. Then that the Towne might bee Engliſh, and free from French dangers,

Wil. Paradin in Annal. de Bourgogne.

dangers, he made proclamation, that whosoeuer of his Englisſh Artificers would transport themselues vnto *Harflew*, houses there should be giuen to them and their heires; whereby in short time the Towne was re-peopled with Englisſh Artisans. Here King *Henry* abode the space of twelue or fifteene daies, expecting an answer of his message sent to the *Dolphin*; but the time prefixed (and more dayes expired) hee commanded his souldiers to furnisſh themselues with victuals for eight dayes, leauing his Vncle *Thomas Beaufort* Earle of *Dorset*, Gouernour of *Harflew*, himselfe with two thousand horse, and thirteene thousand foot, marched towards *Callis*, through the Counties of *Caux* and *Eu*.

Polychron.

Annals of Burgoint.

Iohn Harding.

Alain Chartier.

October first.

(44) The French Court notwithstanding it swarmed with factions (whilest vnder a weake and braine-sicke King) the great-ones sought to make themselues greater, and the common enemy endangering all, King *Charles*, the *Dolphin*, his brother of *Ponthieu*, the King of *Sicil*, the Dukes of *Berry* & of *Britaine*, with the whole force of *France* assembled at *Roan*, and in Councell concluded, that the Englisſh should be fought with, before they got *Callis*, and forthwith decreed to endammage King *Henry* on his way, which presently was attempted. For besides their continuall skirmishes vpon his marching Army, they brake down the Bridges, plashed the woods, intrenched the wayes, strucke stakes in the Foords, and in places of aduantage, layd store of souldiers to empeach his passage, and conuayed all victuals out of the Countries, through which hee should goe; whereby they well hoped, as a Deere taken in the toyle, so both he and his hoast should haue beene insnared, who now was approached to *Virron*, with purpose to haue passed the riuer *Soame* at *Blanchetague*: but there the French had fortified against him, so as hee well saw that was not the way; and thereupon changing his Councell, hee marched by *Wormes*, and lodged at *Baillew*, with an intent to haue passed the riuer at *Port le Remy*, but that also guarded, he kept along the Riuer to *Hargest*, the French Army marching vpon the other banke, vnder the leading of *Charles de Albert* Constable of *France*.

Denis Sauage in Chron. of Flanders.

Caxton Chron.

Will. Parradin. Ibidem.

Enguerrant de Monstrel.

(45) *Henry* still seeking to get ouer *Soame*, meant to assay it, euen to the head, and passing by *Amiens*, *Bowes*, and *Corby*, in a valley adioyning, there lodged his hoast, where hee commanded his Archers to prouide stakes sharpned at both ends, which afterwards stood them in singular good stead: Then hearing by his spyals that the water was passable at *Bethencourt*, by the negligent guard of them of Saint *Quintins*, he got ouer the riuer. His souldiers both weary and faint, many of them sicke, and their prouisions spent some twelue dayes before, were forced to feed vpon Nuts, Roots, and Berries, such as they could get, and their drinke was the water that ranne i 1 their way.

Paul. Aemil.

(46) The day they spent with great toile and long march, the nights were cold and wet, and no where good lodging, alwaies standing vpon their own guard, and the French alwayes swarming about them without intermission. These things moued *Henry*, as the French Writers report, *to proffer the restitution of Harflew, with other holds in Normandy, & to make satisfaction for the harmes done in France, to suffer him free passage vnto his Towne of Callis*. But certaine it is, that great reliefe hee got by the iustice and piety that he vsed in those parts: for albeit he was in the middest of his enemies, and his souldiers pinched with penury and want, yet made hee Proclamation vpon paine of death, that none of his Army should rob any Church: wherein a souldier offending, hee caused restitution to be made, and commanded the stealer to be put to death: the fame of which piety moued the people (albeit they were forbid by the French King) plentifully to supply the fainting Englisſh with their owne prouisions.

Bertrand de Argentre, Parradin, & Serres.

King *Henries* care that the Church might not be spilled.

Fran. Rosienius Stemmata Barri Ducum.

(47) But the Nobility vnderstanding that the Englisſh had got ouer *Soam*, the Constable, the Dukes of *Orleance* and *Bourbon*, sent vnto *Henry* an Herald with defiance, demanding battell vpon Thursday following; which the Englisſh King granted, but therin failed, saith the French Secretary, & tooke his march toward *Callis* without any stay. True it is, that *Henrie* was not desirous of fight, his impediments being such as we haue said, and therefore returned answere, that he meant to keepe on his march vnto *Callis*, and would not seeke them: but if they would disturbe him, he committed the issue thereof to God, assuring himselfe that it would be to their owne great danger and perill, and so passing forward to *Forceuil*, to *Boniers-Lestaillon*, to *Bangy*, vpon Thursday the 24. of October, he came to *Azincourt*, where the French in a field of aduantage (purposely chosen) in the County of S. *Paul* (and neere vnto *Azincourt*) had pitched their Banner-royall, with an infinite hoast, whereof the Constable of *France* had the conduct.

Iohn Harding.

Alain Chartier.

The fight was not of Henries seeking.

Enguerrant.

Azincourt in the County of Saint *Paul*.

(48) His power (saith *Parradin*) consisted of an hundred and fifty thousand horse (besides them for carriages, which were innumerable) wherein were ten thousand men at armes, all of them (a very few excepted) Princes, Noble-men, Knights, and Esquiers. The Vantgard was led by the Constable, the Dukes of *Orleance* and *Bourbon*, the Earles of *Eu* and *Bouciqualt* the Marshall, *Dampier* the Admirall, *Guychard* Dolphin *de Auuergne*, and *Cluuet* of *Brabant*. The maine battell by the Duke of *Barre*, the Earles of *Alenzon*, *Neuers*, *Blaumont*, *Salines*, *Grandpre*, and *Rousse*. And the reregard by the Duke of *Brabant*, Earles of *Marle*, *Furquenberge*, and *Mounsieur de Lorney*; the right wing was commanded by *Arthur* Earle of *Richmond*, and the left by *Lewis de Bourbon*, *Count de Vendosme* great Master of *France*, whose particular retinues *Franciscus Rosienius* doth largely * declare: all ranged together in their array appeared to the eye (saith *Parradin*) sixe times to exceed the Englisſh, but * *Peter Diuors* esteemed them to be ten times more.

Parra. in Annal. de Burg.

La-tiers volum de conquet d. Francit.

The chiefe commanders in the French Army.

Lewis de Bourbons.

* *In Stemmata Barri Duc. m.* Their number six times, yea, ten times more then the Englisſh

* *In Rerum Brabanticarum.*

(49) King *Henry* seeing himselfe so farre ingaged, and many of his men sicke of the fluxe, sent the second time vnto these assembled Princes his proffers, to surrender *Harflew*, & what else he had woone, so as without disturbance he might depart for *Callis*. Whereunto the Constable and Marshall were willing, but the other young Princes despising the small number of their aduersaries, refused all conditions of peace, and were not onely negligent in the duties of Commanders, but with an assurance of victory diuided the pray, disposed of prisoners, and prepared a Chariot to carry the captiue King in triumph; commanding the Cities and Townes adioyning to ring their Bels, and to render thankes vnto God, who had deliuered their enemies into such place of aduantage as an assured victory must presently follow: and so confident were they thereof, that they sent to King *Henry* to know what ransome he would giue. But saith *Chartier*, what answer the King made is vncertaine: for that all who were priuie thereunto were slaine, the Duke of *Orleance* onely excepted, and he a prisoner retained in *England*. They also sent for King *Charles*, and the *Dolphin* his sonne (then residing in *Roane*) to come in their persons vnto the battell, that so they might haue the honour of the field. Whereat the Duke of *Bery* was highly offended, and aduised the contrary, laying before the King the hazard of warre, out of his owne experience, being himselfe at the battell of *Poytiers*, where King *Iohn* vnfortunately was taken by the Englisſh, which proued (as he alleaged) a great breake-necke vnto *France*.

Parradin.

Alain Bouchart in Annal. de Bret.

Bertrand de Argentre hist. de Bretaine.

(50) The face of these hoasts were diuers and in-different, the French gallant, fresh, and through vaine hope of honour, already mounted aboue men of meane rancke; The Englisſh weake, weary and sore starued, made no such shew, and yet their courage no lesse then the other. The one spending the night before Battell, in Feasts, Triumphes, and other like sports, distributing their Captiues, diuiding their spoyles, and decreeing none to be saued but the

The French glorious in shew, but the Englisſh conquerors.

Caxton Chron.

King, and his Nobles; all others must die or be incurably maimed: the other trimming their arrowes, sharpening their speares, buckling their armours, and refreshing their bodies for the next day; and besides other obseruances, by the light of the great fires made in the French Campe, the English decerned what was therein done, and tooke the aduantage of their order and ground.

The English discerned what was done in the French army. *Paul. Aemylius.*

(51) The morning approached, the French tooke the field, thronging forward, who should be first to this most easie and certaine victory (as they tooke it) their greatest strength consisting in horse. Against whose violence King *Henry* commanded two hundred strong Bow-men to lodge in a low meadow, where a deepe ditch full of water might secure them from the Horse, and the bushes couer them from sight. These hauing stakes prepared and shod with Iron at both ends, were appoynted to sticke them slope-wise in the ground, yet so that they might bee remoued as occasion was ministred, to guarde them from the danger of the horse: which policy accomplished, King *Henry* (whose hope was in God, and the goodnes of his cause) about ten of the clocke ranged his English against the French then in field: hee disposed his hoast into three battels, placing his Bow-men on both sides of the maine.

Alain Bouchart. en les Annales de Bretagne.

The stratagem with stakes.

Guil. Parradyn.

(52) The vantgard, consisting of Archers, was led by the Lord *Edward* (his cosen) the Duke of *Yorke*, and with him the Lords *Beaumont*, *Willoughby*, and *Fanhope*. In the maine Battell all in compleate and bright shining armour, the King rode himselfe, his shield quartered with the royal atchieuments of *England* and *France*; vpon his helmet he wore a Coronet, the circle whereof glittered with Pearle, and stones of an vnestimable price: his horse of a fierce courage carrierd as hee went, the bridle and furniture of Goldsmiths worke, and the Caparisons most richly embroidered with the victorious Ensignes of the English Monarchy: Before him in gold and glorious colours the Royal Standard was borne, and many other banners in warlike order waued with the winde.

Tho. Walsingh. The chiefe Leaders of each part of the English army.

The noble abilliments of King *Hemy* in the maine battell.

(53) The French had framed their Battels into two sharpe fronts, as intending with their poynts to haue runne through the English squadrons; altogether relying vpon their horsemen, and shining in brauery with an incredible excesse. And surely the beauty and honourable horrour of both the Armies, no heart can iudge of, vnlesse the eye had seene it, the *Banners*, *Ensignes*, and *Penons*, streaming in the aire, the glistering of armours, the variety of colours, the motion of Plumes, the Forrests of Lances, and the thickets of shorter weapons, made so great and goodly a shew; but the silent expectation of the bloudy blast was as the bullet ramd into the Canon, whose roaring voice is not so soone heard, as the stroake of death felt by the aimed-at marke.

Titus Liuius.

The admirable and glorious sight that both armies made.

(54) The Battels thus raunged, a while stood still, and faced each other euen in the face: The French (whether vpon errour, like to that of *Pompeis* at the battel of *Pharsalia*, where *Caesar* was victorious, or to draw the English farther from their aduantage of ground, is altogether vnknowne) but certaine it is, that King *Henry* was resolued to open his way for *Callis* ouer the enemies bosome, or else to dye: and thereupon with a cheerefull countenance and words full of courage, he comforted his followers, and said. "My most faithfull Companions and worthy soul-"diers, we now goe into the field of honour, and to "the worke of man-hood, which your great valours "so long haue expected and prayed for; loe the day "is now come, and your worke the noblest in the "world; poure forth therefore your vtmost forces, "that ages may know what the Lance, the Axe, the "Sword and the Bow can doe in the hand of the va-"liant: Whosoeuer therefore desires riches, honour, "and rewards here he shall finde them. *Nimirum hac "medio posuit Deus omnia Campo.* When he had thus said, his army fell prostrate on the ground, and committed themselues vnto God, euery man taking into his mouth a peece of earth, in remembrance of his owne mortality, (being thereof made) or of the holy Communion, whereof he was incorporated to be a partaker; and so resolued, arising, the King with cheerefull countenance commanded his Standard to aduance forward, saying, *because our iniurious enemies doe attempt to shut vp our way, let vs vpon them in the name of the most glorious Trinity, and in the best houre of the whole yeare.*

John Serres.

King *Henrie* seeketh to passe to *Callis.*

Tho. Walsingh.

Stowes Annals.

Tho. Walsing.

(55) The ranging of the Battell King *Henry* committed to an old experienced Knight called Sir *Thomas Erpingham:* who with a warder in his hand led the way, which when he saw time, he threw vp into the aire, whereat the whole army gaue a great shout; which done, he alighted from his horse, and came to the King, who was in his place on foot. The French beholding this Offer, kept still their owne standing, which the English perceiuing, made forward and came on, giuing another shoute, when immediately the Archers, layd in the meadow, darkened the aire with a shower of sharpe arrowes, most fearefull to the sight, but more deadly to be felt, and withall, the English charged their Battell with an admirable courage; the most of them for nimblenesse being but halfe clothed, without hat, and bare-legged. And such was their courage notwithstanding their wants, as he that ere-while could scarcely bend his Bow, is able now to draw his yard-long-arrow to the very head, whose roauing marke was the flancke of the French, so rightly aimed at, and so strongly stucke on, that their sides were altogether larded with arrowes, whereby the vantgard was instantly distrest, and disordered into such a confused presse, as they were not able to vse their weapons at any aduantage. Their wings likewise assayd to charge the English; but *Mounsieur de Lignie* in the one not well seconded by his troopes was forced backe; and *Guilliaum de Surreres* charging home, in the other, was slaine. The Battallions now broken, for safety fled to the Maine, where they bred both feare and confusion by the vnrulinesse of their wounded horses, so galled with arrowes as they could not be gouerned.

Denis Sauage in Chron. Fland.

Enguerrant de Monstrel.

The English proffer Battell.

Their Archers put the enemy to the greatest harme.

Ypod. Neust.

Enguerrant.

The wings of the French battell discomfited.

(56) The first troope of the French horse were exquisitely appointed, whereon their riders much presumed, and meant to haue burst through the Archers with a violent course, but they giuing backe, left their sharpe poynted stakes sticking, which till then were vnseene; the French supposing the Archers had fled, came on with their horse vpon the spur, and that in such heat, as the earth seemed to tremble vnder their thundering feet, and being forced forward, without foresight of danger, carried their proud Riders into the iawes of destruction: for falling by troopes vpon those goaring stakes, they were miserably ouerthrowne, and paunched to death. The tempests of arrowes still whisling in the aire sparkled fire in their fals from the helmets of the French, and with their steeled heads, rang many thousands their knels that dolefull day, who like to corne cut downe with the sith, fell by whole plumps in that fatall field; the English still following the aduantage: against whom *Anthony Duke of Brabant*, hoping by his example to encourage others (followed with a few) turned head, and brake into the English Battell, wherein manfully fighting he was slaine.

Tho. Walsing.

The English Archers giuing back, the French horsemen spill themselues vpon the sharpe pointed stakes.

Enguerrant de Monstrel.

(57) With the like manhood *Duke Alenzon* a lusty French Lord, pressed into the Battalion where King *Henry* fought, and incountring *Humfrey Duke of Glocester*, the Kings brother, both wounded and ouerthrew him, to whose rescue if *Henry* had not come, hee had dyed more honourably then afterward he did: for King *Henry* be-striding him, deliuered his said brother from danger, and wanne himselfe much honour by the deed. *Alenzon* then coped with King *Henry* in fight, and with his Axe cut a part of his Crowne, which blow was so surely laid on, that there-with his helmet was battered vnto his brow, but the Lyon enraged, with re-doubled strength, stroke the French Gallant vnto the ground, and

Guil. Parradyn. in les Annals de Bret.

King *Henry* resc-ueth his brother the Duke of *Gloceſter.*

Alenzon encountring King *Henry* putteth him in some danger.

and slew two of his men that seconded their Master. The Duke thus downe, cried to the King, I am *Alenzon*, whom *Henry* sought to haue saued, and so had done, had not the deafe eares of reuenge stopt all sound of life, against him, that so had endangered their Soueraigne Lord.

Richard Grafton.

(58) The French Reregard surprised with feare, at the disaster of the vantgard, & the maine battell, fled, not striking one stroake (except some principall leaders, and they not many) the English horsemen fetched a compasse, and wheeled about vpon their backes, which no sooner was perceiued, but that the taxe of fighting was ended, and the worke of killing began; as by the words of *Walsingham* doth manifestly appeare: *The way* (saith he) *is at length made by fine force; the French did not so much giue place, as fall dead to the earth: for when they saw those beaten indeed vnder-foot, whom they reputed inuincible, their minds forthwith grew amazed, and such an icie feare slid through their marrow, that they stood still like senseless Images, while our men wrested weapons out of their hands, and slew them therwith as beasts. Slaughter then had lost the stay of it selfe, and fight did follow no longer, but all the war was made at throates, which (as it were) offered themselues to be cut, neither can the English kill so many of the enemies, as may be killed. Thus therefore the whole glory of the French name is almost perished by the hands of those few, whom immediatly before they held in most extreame contempt.* But the sword now made weary and drunk with bloud, all danger past, and humanity retired, prisoners were taken, and liues spared, which hitherto was neglected, lest mercy might haue proued the destruction of themselues.

The Freneh maine battell put to flight.

Polyd. Virgil.

Walsinghams description of the Frenches ouerthrow.

After some sharp execution the English shew mercy to the *French.*

(59) Whilst the King was thus busied, & the successe of the battel in dispute, his carriages (but slenderly guarded) by the French were assailed, and all made spoyle of that was to be had. The Captaines of this cowardly enterprize were *Robinet de Bourneuille*, *Rifflant de Clumasse*, & *Isambert de Azincourt*, with sixe hundred Peasants, who had turned their faces at the first brunt of Battell, as men of better practise to pilfer, then to purchase by manhood the spoyles of the field. Where among other things they found a rich Crowne & Sword, which they bare away in triumphwise, faining that King *Henry* was taken, and as a prisoner followed their troupes, the sight of certaine English prisoners, by them taken and led away, confirming the report more strongly in the beholders conceit. But King *Henry* breathlesse, and in heat of bloud, seeing certaine new troupes of the King of *Sicils* appeare in the field, and the same strong inough to encounter with his weary men, fearing (as he had cause) that the *Bourbon Battalion* vpon sight of fresh succours, would gather into a body, and againe make head, considering withall how his men were ouercharged with multitudes of Prisoners, who in number surmounted their Conquerours: that the charge would be double at once to guard and to fight, and that the prisoners would be ready vpon euery aduantage to take armes, and free themselues from their takers: these and other necessities constraining, King *Henry*, contrary to his wonted generous nature, gaue present commandement that euery man should kill his Prisoner, which was immediately performed, certaine principall men excepted. Which done, and falling againe in order, he sent his Heraulds vnto these troupes assembled, commanding them forthwith to come vnto battell, or else to depart the field, either of which if they delayed, he threatned to reuenge with their deaths, without any redemption or mercy; at which seuere sentence their hearts were so daunted, that with shame and dishonour they departed the field. The base surprisall of the Kings carriages, (the onely cause, as some alleage, of the French prisoners death) was so ill-digested by the French themselues, that the Duke of *Burgundy* imprisoned the actors thereof, and was minded to haue put them to death, had not his Sonne the Count of *Charolois* mediated for them, vnto whom they presented King *Henries* rich sword, the guards whereof was gold, set with stones of great price.

Enguerrant de Monstrel.

Typod. Neustr.

Certaine French rob the Kings carriages.

They steale a Crowne and a sword, and faine that King *Henry* is taken prisoner. History of *Normandie.*

Polyd. Virgil.

A new power of French appearing, king *Henry* causeth all his prisoners to be slaine.

Enguerrant.

Titus Liuius.

(60) The day almost spent in spending French bloud, and euening approaching, neere the set of the Sunne, the field cleared, and no enemy seene, the retreate was sounded, and all were assembled to giue thankes vnto God; which done, while his souldiers pillaged the dead, King *Henry* sent for *Montioy*, Herauld at armes in *France*, and for other Heraulds both English & French: vnto whom he said, *we haue not of our selues made this great slaughter, which the sword in our weake hands hath laid at our feet, but the Arme of God for the offences (no doubt) of the French hath done it, whose bloud let now rest vpon their own heads, and we guiltlesse in following our right:* and then demanding the name of the place, was answered, it was *Azincourt*; then said he, to all posterities following, *this Battell shall be called the Battell of Azincourt.* Thus dismissing the Heraulds, he returned to *Maisconcelles*, where he lodged the night before. The spoyle was great, and the prey rich in armours, iewels, and apparell, for which by the Countrey Peasants many (left as dead) were stripped starke naked, who afterward crept from the place, but most of them mortally wounded without reliefe, lay in great dolor, and died in the ditches: so certaine is the calamitie of war, and vncertaine the sword till it be quietly sheathed.

King *Henry* acknowledgeth God the giuer of victory.

God deliuereth a nation into the hands of the destroyer for their sinnes.

Enguerrant de Monstrel.

(61) King *Henry* lost his cosen *Edward* Duke of *Yorke*, and the Earle of *Suffolke* that day, besides some others, the French Writers say three or foure hundred, yet *Caxton* will haue them but twenty and sixe: and *Paulus Æmylius* addeth to the two slaine Lords, two Knights, and onely ten priuate souldiers, without any more; vnto whom an ancient Manuscript addeth * *Dauid Gam* an Esquire, and twenty eight priuate souldiers, affirming confidently, that no more of the English died that day.

Nich. Giles. La tiers volume de Chron Franc.

The smal number of English slaine. *Tho. Walsingh.*

* *Ex Manuscript.*

(62) A farre larger role is writ of the French, slain at this Battell, yet diuers and different among their owne Authors, the true Catalogue as we cannot certainely set downe, yet as we haue many Collections we will deliuer the same in part, and referre the rest to be seene vpon record: Onely naming the Officers and Leaders in the same field either slaine, or taken Prisoners, by this famous King *Henry*, in this his triumphant and fortunate day.

The names of great persons either slaine or taken prisoners.

Charles D'Albert, high Constable of *France.*	*Iehan de Barre.*
Geoffrey Bouciqualt Marshall of *France.*	Great Lords.
Iaques Chastillon Admirall.	*Sig. de Croy.*
Guiscard Dolphin of *Arragon*, great Master of the Kings Horse.	*Sig. de Helly.*
Edward Duke of *Barre.*	*Sig. de Auxi.*
Anthony D. of *Brabant.*	*Sig. de Brimeu.*
Duke Alenzon.	*Sig. de Poix.*
Count Neuers.	*Sig. de Louroy.*
Count de Marle.	*Sig. de Raineualt.*
Count de Vaudemont.	*Sig. de Longueuall.*
Count de Blaumont.	*Sig. de Inche.*
Count de Grandpre.	*Sig. de Neufuille.*
Count de Rousie.	*Sig. de Dampierre.*
Count de Farquembourg.	*Sig. de Moreuill.*
Lewis de Bourbon.	*Vidame de Amiens.*
Sig. de Preaux.	*Mes. Alain.*
Robert de Barre.	*Mes. de Saueses.*
	Mes. de Mocont.
	Mes. de Poix.
	Mes. de Bethune.

Enguerrant de Monstrel.

Enguerrant.

To be short, *Iehan Tillet* saith, that there were ten thousand slaine, and almost as many more taken: and most of their owne Writers account the successe of this Battell to be with the slaughter of foure thousand Princes, Nobles, Knights, and Esquiers: but the History of *Normandy* accounted eight thousand to bee slaine of that ranke, whereof an hundred and twenty bare Banners: among whom dyed foure Dukes, nine Earles, one * Archbishop, and ten thousand common

Iehan Tillet. Bertrand de Argentre. La Mer. Nicho. Giles. Legend Fland. Chron Fran. 3. vol.

The number of Dukes, Earles, &c. slaine.

* *Of Sens.*

common ſouldiers, as the Heraulds relation in that behalfe hath reported.

Denis Sauage. (27) Priſoners of account taken in this field, were *Charles* the Duke of *Orleance*, and *Iohn* Duke of *Bourbon*, *Arthur* Earle of *Richmond*, extreamely wounded and left for dead, as he lay gaſping among the ſlaine, was by the Engliſh recouered and reteined their priſoner. *Louis de Bourbon Cont de Vendoſme*, was there taken Captiue, ſo was *Charles* Earle of *Eu*, being carried into *England*, where hee remained priſoner twenty three yeers. Others of great account were likewiſe taken & put to ranſome, as *Edward de Rouen*, *Oliuer de la Feild*, and *Iehan Giffart*, with theſe & many more the next day King *Henry* marched to *Callis*, leauing the French to ſearch for their wounded, that in ditches and buſhes had made their heauy beds: In commiſeration whereof, the *Counte Charolois* extreame penſiue for the loſſe of his Vncles, and other his friends, in charity came to the field, and cauſed the dead to be buried, the charge whereof he committed to the Abbot of *Rouſſiauuille* & the Bailiffe of *Ayre*, who incloſed a piece of ground with a deepe ditch of two hundred and fifty yards ſquare, fenſing it with an hedge of thornes againſt the rauenings of Dogs and Wolues. Wherein were interred fiue thouſand and eight hundred Chriſtian carkaſes, in regard whereof it was ſanctified by the Biſhop of *Eſquines*, and made a Church-yard.

Bertrand de Argentre in hiſt. Bret.

Iehan Tillet.

Alain Bouchart. Annal. de Bret.

Will. Parradyn. Annal. de Burgoin.

(28) The Duke of *Britaine* with his forces was come to *Amiens* within two dayes march of *Azincourt* to ayde King *Charles*, but the French vpon a conceiued aſſurance of victory, would not ſtay his comming: who now hearing of the glorious day obtained by the Engliſh, diſmiſſed his troupes, and retired to his owne Countrey, not meaning any more to intermeddle in the warre betweene *England* and *France*. Now King *Henry* vpon Saturday the 26. of October, being the next day after Battell, tooke his march towards *Callis*, but in paſſing the field wherin they had fought, he cauſed ſearch for all the Engliſh, which he cauſed to be interred according to their eſtates. But the bodies of his ſlaine coſen the Duke of *Yorke*, and of *Michael de la Poole* Earle of *Suffolke*, he tooke away thence, carrying them both into *England*, and ſo paſſing to *Guiſnes* with his Priſoners, he entred *Callis*, whither, thoſe left at *Harflew* reſorted, to pay their ranſomes to them aſſigned.

Hiſtory of Normandy.

5800. ſlaine French buried in one plat of ground.

Alain Bouchart. Annal. de Bret.

Hiſtory of Normandy.

Stowes Annal.

Rich. Graſton.

(29) His hoaſt now refreſhed and courage augmented, it was diſputable in Counſell, whether the King ſhould returne againe into *France*, to purſue his enterprize already begun, or elſe to imbarke for *England*. But the time of yeare ſpent, the Winter wet, and the field Camps very much ſubiect to fluxes, wherewith many of his Souldiers were as yet infected, and more vnhealed of their wounds; it was thought fitteſt to make for *England*, and the ſooner, for that victuals became ſomewhat ſcarce in *Callis*. Theſe things premiſed, King *Henry* vpon the ſixteenth day of Nouember ſpread ſailes for *England*, and in the paſſage was met with ſuch ſtormes, that his French Priſoners were in as great feare, as they had beene in danger at the Battell of *Azincourt*: but arriued at *Douer* and all dangers paſt, vpon the three and twenty of Nouember in triumph-wiſe hee made his entrance into *London*, foure hundred Citizens riding before him in red and white hoodes, the gates and ſtreets were garniſhed with Pageants, and the Conduits plenteouſly powring forth ſweet Wines. The religious men met him with proceſſion, and foureteene mitred Biſhops attended his approach vnto Saint *Pauls*, where, out of the Cenſers the ſweet Odours filled the Church, and the Quier chanted Anthems cunningly ſet by note: in all which the honour was aſcribed onely vnto God, the King ſo commanding it. And ſo farre was he from the vaine oſtentation of men, that he would not admit his broken Crowne, nor bruiſed armour to be borne before him in ſhew, which are the vſuall Enſignes of warlike triumphes. The Citie preſented him a thouſand pound in gold, two golden Taſons worth fiue hundred pounds more, which were receiued with all Princely thankes.

King Henry returneth into England.

He and his company in danger at Sea. Tho. Watſingh.

The King is receiued of London with great ſtate. Caxton Chron.

All ſorts both Clergy and Laity ſhew their affection to the King, and he to God.

Stowes Annals.

(30) And now to doe the laſt office of a ſouldier for thoſe two Noblemen ſlaine at *Azincourt*, he willed the body of the Duke of *Yorke* to be interred in his College at *Fotheringhay* in *Northamptonſhire*, and the Earle of *Suffolke* at *Ewhelme* in *Oxfordſhire*, commaunding moſt of his Biſhops and Abbots to celebrate the Exequies in *London*, whereunto likewiſe reſorted his Vncle *Dorſet* the Gouernor of *Harflew*, whom for his good ſeruice done, hee created Duke of *Exceſter*, and gaue him a thouſand pounds by yeare out of his owne Exchequer: but in his abſence ſome attempts were made by the French againſt the ſaid Towne, whereby he was enforced the ſooner to returne.

The Duke of Yorke interred at Fotheringhay. The Earle of Suffolke at Ewhelme.

(31) The calamities of theſe times by the ſtirred ſchiſmes of the Church, and theſe bloudy warres among Chriſtian Princes, *Sigiſmund* the Emperour a man of great wiſedome and integrity, much lamented at the Councell of *Conſtance*, and as another *Conſtantine* ſollicited the three ſtiffe ſtirring Popes vnto vnity, but failing of that purpoſe, from thoſe farre parts he trauelled into *France*, and thence into *England*: ſeeking to make peace betwixt theſe two Weſterne Monarchs, the better to withſtand the common knowne enemy of Chriſtendome the Turke. King *Charles* he ſollicited firſt, finding him in words very forward, with many faire ſhewes to imbrace the motion, whereupon taking with him the Archbiſhop of *Rheims* as Ambaſſadour from the French King, came vnto *Callis*, where he was moſt honorably entertained by the Earle of *Warwicke*, Deputy of the Towne, and diuers other Lords, ſent thither by King *Henry* to attend him, as alſo thirty of his talleſt ſhips to waft him to *Douer*, gallantly rigged and manned with a noble traine. The Duke of *Gloceſter* accompanied with many of the Nobility, was appointed to receiue him at *Douer*, where they attended his comming.

Gonzales deylleſcas en la hiſt. Pont. f.

May 7. The Emperour Sigiſmund commeth into England.

(32) The Emperour arriued, and ready to take land, *Gloceſter* and the other Lords with their drawn ſwords entred the water, and thus ſpake to the Emperour, that if his Imperiall Maieſty intended to enter as their Kings friend, and a mediator for peace, they would receiue him with all willingneſſe accordingly, but if as an Emperour to claime any authority in *England*, which was a free Kingdome, they were there ready to reſiſt and impeach his entrance. Which rough demand being moſt mildely anſwered by *Sigiſmund*, he had preſent acceſſe, and by them was attended towards *London*.

The ſterne manner of entertaining the Emperour at his landing.

Well liked of by the Emperour.

(33) This worthy Emperour, King *Henry* greatly reſpected, as well for his owne worths, and the amity held euer with the houſe of *Beame*; as alſo for that hee had married * *Barbara* the daughter of the Earle of *Zilie* the Kings Coſen-Germane-remoued. His entertainement was Princely, and * charges altogether borne by King *Henry*, who the more to honor him at *Windſore*, ſolemnly enſtalled him Knight of the Order of Saint *George* or *Garter*, with a moſt ſumptuous feaſt purpoſely prepared, at which the Emperour ſate in his Collar and Robes; but not foreſlowing the cauſe for which hee came, hee inſtantly vrged the peace for *France*, wherein he was gently heard by the Engliſh King, but vpon new diſpleaſures for ſome loſſe of men in the Territories of *Roane*, the motion at that time was daſht, and would not proceed, leſt (as King *Henry* alleaged) the French ſhould ſuppoſe that a ſmall loſſe had weakened his ſpirits: yet the Emperour continuing his interceſſion for peace, had brought it to that paſſe by his pithy perſwaſions, as had not the French at that very inſtant beſieged *Harflew* (both by Sea and Land) it had been effected.

** Rich. Graſton.*

** Paul. Aemyl.*

The king willingly heareth the Emperour for a peace.

(34) For not long before *Thomas* Earle of *Dorſet*, hauing made a roade into the County of *Caux*, was ſet vpon by the Earle of *Armagnac* Conſtable of

Enguerrant de Monſtrelet. Vpon an vnexpected aſſault by the French the King ſtaieth further talke of peace.

An. D. 1415. March 14.

of *France*, with other ſtrong men at armes neere vnto *Vademont*, who ſo diſtreſſed the *Engliſh*, that *Dorſet* tooke into a Garden for defence, and hauing had priuate conference there with the Conſtable, early before day, departed with the loſſe of *400. men. *Armagnac* puffed vp by his got victory, with his French powers followed the *Engliſh* in a haſty march toward *Harflew*, and vpon the ſands intercepted their paſſage, where betwixt them a cruell conflict was performed, with the ouerthrow of the *French*, and flight of the Conſtable, who retired to *Monſtreuillier* for ſafety.

*Nichol. Giles. Alain Chartier Secretarie au Roy Charles 7. Hiſt. of Normandy, ſaith 800.

(35) This his vnlucky attempt he tooke greatly to heart, and therefore purpoſing to re-purchaſe againe his honour, he determined for *Harflew*, where he ſet down his land-ſiege, before the *Engliſh* garriſon, within, were well aware; when alſo the *Vicount Narbon Vice-Admirall of France*, with a Fleet of tall ſhips entred the hauen, ſo that the Towne was begirt on euery ſide, as we haue ſaid. King *Henry* hearing of theſe newes, called home his Ambaſſadors, which were the Biſhop of *Norwich*, and Sir *Thomas Erpingham* in commiſſion then at *Beauuois*, and in conference for a Peace; and the Emperour well perceiuing that the *French* plaid vpon aduantage, and that King *Henry* was not of temper to turne edge at their ſtrokes, ſaw it vaine to proſecute the peace for *France* further, and therfore ſought to enter league with the *Engliſh* himſelfe, vnto the which King *Henry* was ſo willing, as he confirmed the ſame vpon theſe Articles following.

Rich. Graſton.

Harflew beſieged by the *French*, both by land and ſea.

(36) That the ſaid Emperour & King, their heires and ſucceſſors *ſhould be friends each to other as Allies and Confederates againſt all manner of perſons, of what eſtate or degree ſoeuer, the Church of *Rome*, and the Pope for the time being onely excepted (for he was the Maſter-Bee that then lead the ſwarme.)

Engherrant de Monſtrel.

The Emperour out of hope to make attonement for *France*, entreth league with *England*.

*Titus Liuius.

(37) That neither themſelues, their heires nor ſucceſſours, ſhould be preſent in Counſell or other place, where either of them, their heires or ſucceſſors might ſuſtaine dammage in lands, goods, honours, ſtates or perſons: and that if any of them ſhould vnderſtand of loſſe or hinderance to be like to fall or happen to the others, they ſhould impeach the ſame, or if that lay not in their powers, they ſhould aduertiſe the others thereof with all conuenient ſpeed. That either of them, their heires and ſucceſſours ſhould aduance the others honour and commodity without any fraud or deceit. That neither of them, nor their heires or ſucceſſours ſhould permit their Subjects to leauy warres againſt the others. That it ſhould be lawfull and free for each of their Subjects to paſſe into the others Countrey, and there to remaine and make Merchandiſe either by Sea or Land, paying the Cuſtomes, Gables, and dueties due and accuſtomed according to the Lawes and Ordinances of the places, and Countries where they ſhould traffique. That neither of the ſaide Princes, nor their heires, nor ſucceſſours ſhould receiue any rebell, baniſhed man, or traitour of the others willingly, but ſhould cauſe euery ſuch perſon to auoyde out of their Countries, Realmes, Dominions, and Iuriſdictions. That neyther of the ſaid Princes, their Heires nor Succeſſors, ſhould begin any other warres againſt any other perſon, other then ſuch as they had warres with at that preſent, without the conſent of the other his Confederate, except in defence of themſelues, their Countries and ſubjects in caſe of inuaſion made vpon them. That it ſhould be lawfull for the King of *England* to proſecute his warres againſt *France* for the recouery of his right, as ſhould ſeeme to him expedient, and for the Emperor, for the recouery of any part of his right reteined by the *French*. Laſtly, that either of them ſhould aſſiſt other in recouery and Conqueſt of their rights, lands, and dominions, with-held and kept from them, by him that calleth himſelfe King of *France*, and others, the Princes and Barons of *France*. Theſe concluſions and agreemenrs bare date the 19. of *October*, in *Anno 1416*. In the meane while the *French* that had felt the hard hand of the *Engliſh*, and ſeene that *Henry* had with-drawne his Commiſſioners for peace, King *Charles* made a league with the States of *Genoua*, requiring their ayde againſt this dangerous enemy, who ſupplyde him with ſixe hundred Croſſebowes, and eight tall ſhips of warre, and as many Gallies with munition and victuals. Theſe wafting the Seas with many brauadoes, King *Henry* in perſon meant to haue met with himſelfe, but the Emperour diſſwading his purpoſe, the charge of that Enterpriſe was committed to *Iohn Duke of Bedford*, accompanied with the Earles of *March*, *Marſhall*, *Oxford*, *Warwicke*, *Huntington*, *Arundell*, *Deuonſhire*, and *Saliſbury*; theſe falling vpon the *Viſcount de Narbon*, a fierce encounter was begun, and long fought, till at length the victory fell to the *Engliſh*, ſo that the *French Nauy* was moſt of them battered, ſuncke and taken; amongſt others, three great carricks of the *Genoaes* were ſent to *England*, with whom the baſtard of *Burbon* was brought away Priſoner; and the *Viſcount de Narbon*, *Le Sire de Montaine*, and *Le Sire de Berrar* chaſed into *Britaine*. This victory obtayned, the Duke paſt forward to the towne of *Harflew*, and refreſhed it with victuals, without any impeachment; for *Armagnac* the Conſtable hearing how his Conſorts had kept tune on the Seas, thought it not beſt to ſet to their note, leaſt his meane would not be heard, the baſe of this muſicke ſounding too deepe, and therefore he put vp his pipes, and got him to *Paris*. This ſeruice performed, was ſo commended by the Emperour, as he openly ſaid, that Realme was happy that had ſuch a King, but the King more happy that had ſuch Subjects, and euer after held *Bedford* in a moſt ſpeciall account.

*Agoſtino Giuſtiniano Viſcouo. di Nebio.

Paul. Aemilius Alain Chartier Secretarie.

French Nauy ouerthrowne.

Hiſtory of Normandy. *La mor des Hiſtories.*

The Emperour applaudeth the felicity of *England*.

(38) His affaires now finiſhed, and Princely entertainements thankefully receiued, he prepares for his returne toward *Germany*, and King *Henry* to doe him the more honour would needs accompany him to his towne of *Callis*, whither after their arriuals, the Duke of *Burgogne* repaired to doe his homage vnto the Emperor, which *Burgogne* ſome moneths before, had concluded a peace with the Earle of *Warwicke* in the behalfe of King *Henry*, for the Counties of *Flaunders* and *Arthois*. *Henry* therefore in hope of a further friendſhip with him, ſent his brother the Duke of *Gloceſter*, and the Earle of *March* vnto S^t. *Omers* to lye hoſtages with the Count *Charolois*, for *Burgognes* paſſage and ſafe returne, with whom he ſent *Warwicke* to conduct him to *Callis*.

He prepareth for *Germany*.

Denis Sauage *Chro. de Fland.*

(39) His entertainement was honourable both by the Emperour and King, which as acceptably he receiued, and vnto *Sigiſmund* performed his homage, and with *Henry* renewed the truce for the time of two yeres, both which were ſo diſtaſtiue to the *French* ſtomackes, that the Emperour is taxed, he came not with an intent to worke the good of *France*, but rather to augment her miſeries by animating *Burgundy* to bandy againſt *Orleance*: and that King *Henry* was puft with an humor of pride, his affaires ſo proſperous againſt a weake King. But this buſineſſe ended, *Burgundy* returned to *Graueling*, *Henry* into *England*, and the Emperour toward *Germany*: at whoſe departure from *England* towards *Callis*, being attended by the Duke of *Bery*, & many other Noble-men; *Sigiſmund* the Emperour is ſaid to haue taken his leaue, with this ſpeech: *Farewell, thou happy and bleſſed Iland, which as thou art in nature Angelicall, ſo may thou euer reioyce in glory and victorie, thou true adorer of Ieſus: Hanc tibi do laudem quàm recto jure mereris.* And from *Callis* (where all his expences had beene defrayed by King *Henry*) paſſed to *Durdraughe*, Sir *Iohn Tiptoſe* and many other Knights attending him for his better guard: where in larges he gaue vnto them a thouſand crownes in Gold: and to their King ſent a Vnicornes horne aboue ſixe foot long, with many other choyce and precious guifts as pledges of his loue and thankfulneſſe. During all the time of this Emperours journey, ſtay, and returne, the Seas for the ſecurity of his perſon and people, were guarded with a Nauy of Ships, and three thouſand Engliſh Souldiers vnder the

The Duke of *Burgundy* doth homage to the Emperour, and taketh a truce with King *Henry*.

Iohn Serres in vit. Charles 6.

Ex Bibliotheca Rob. Cotton militis & Baronetti.

the conduct and truſt of the Baron of *Carew* of Deuonſhire.

Enguerrant de Monſtrel.

(39) At *Callis* King *Henry* had made great proffers vnto *Burgundy* to enter with him into the warres againſt *France*, promiſing him part of his Conqueſts, and to ſpare and fauour all his vaſſals, allyes, and friends, but *Burgundy* refuſing the offers, remayned his enemy for *France*, howbeit he ſent Embaſſadors into *England* to treat a continuance of the Truce, which was granted to his Commiſſioners to indure from the next Michaels-tide vnto Eaſter enſuing, which was confirmed at *Portcheſter* the 23. of Iuly and yeare of Chriſt 1417. For the ſigning whereof King *Henry* ſent the Keeper of his Priuy Seale to *Amiens*, where the Duke of *Burgundy* deliuered the ſame ſigned, which began in this ſort: *Iohannes Dux Burg. Comes Flandriæ, Arthuſiæ & Burgundiæ, Palatinus, Dominus de Salinia & Muchlinia, vniuerſis preſentes literas inſpicien: ſalutem, &c. datum in villa Ambianenſis 17. die Menſis Aug. 1417.* This notwithſtanding, the ſaid Duke reuerted, and in Nouember following made a league (whereunto he was ſworne) with the King and *Daulphin* of *France* againſt *England*, which his doings King *Henrie* tooke nothing well. But his proceedings proſpering in *France* he called a Parliament at *London*, where the Lord *Chancellor*, *Henry Beaufort*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter* and Cardinall, in the Kings behalfe made an eloquent Oration, declaring the great deſire his Maſter had to make Peace with the *French*, which the King notwithſtanding reſiſted, and againſt the law of Armes denied, vpon ranſome, to render his priſoners taken at *Azincourt*, ſo that the peace which was to be expected muſt be with the ſword, concluding with this ſaying; *Let vs make warre that we may haue peace, becauſe the end of war is peace.* Whereunto the whole body conſented, and granted to the King a Subſidie and a Tenth, which was graciouſly accepted, but was farre too ſhort to defray the great Charge, ſo that he was forced to pawne his Crowne vnto the ſaid Biſhop *Beaufort* his Vncle, for a great ſum of money, as he did certaine Iewels to the Lord Major of *London* for ten thouſand Markes.

Burgundy maketh a truce with *England*, but afterwards with *France*, contrary to his Oath.

Denis Sauage.

Parliament Roll. 5. H. 5.

A ſubſidy granted the King for his warres in *France.*

(40) Money thus got and the Seas made ſafe, King *Henry* purpoſed further to follow his fortunes in *France*, his aduantages many (as the *French* would enforce) through the weake-braind King, not able to correct the Factions of the *Burgundion* & *Orleance*, which troubled all *France*; & the death of *Lewis* the *Daulphin*, whoſe funerall might haue beene ſolemnized by the mourners for *Azincourt*, his death (as was thought) happening immediately vpon that diſaſter; and to heape more diſtractions vpon the miſerable *French*, *Iohn* the Kings ſecond ſonne, and new made *Daulphin*, ſhortly left both his title and life, who together were entombed at *Campeigne*. Theſe, ſay the *French*, were the bane of the *State*, and the baits that made King *Henry* to bite; Notwithſtanding we ſhall finde them but curtaines to ſhadow the light, if we looke into the project with an indifferent eye, for the Kings weakenes was ſupported by *Burgogne Armagnac* and other potent eſtates; *Burgundy*, by Oath, made a mortall enemy againſt King *Henry*. *Orleance* in *England* a priſoner, & without racket in hand could not bandy the ball to marre the *French* plea: & as touching the deaths of the two *Daulphins* their raked-vp-aſhes kept in the ſpark that afterward was the only light of *France*, for theſe (though crowned) were not the pillars of ſtrength able to ſuſtaine the great weight of that Empire: The firſt a Prince of little valour, & great toyle, preſuming to know much, and vnwilling to learn the leaſt, buſying himſelf with his ſelfe, and by his inſufficiency rather troubled, then managed the eſtate. The other, none of the wiſeſt, and of nature ſo remiſſe, that he was euer ready (as waxe) to take the ſtampe of any impreſſe, but as the prouerbe is, Let the looſers haue leaue to ſpeake, and vs to relate our *Engliſh-French* buſineſſes.

Denis Sauage Chron. de Flan.

Iob. Serres hiſt. Franc.

(41) All now in a readineſſe, King *Henry*, with a puiſſant army, prepared his ſecond expedition into *France*, his Fleet conſiſting of fifteene hundred ſaile, many Lords and men at armes, the muſter-roll ingroſſed with twenty fiue thouſand fiue hundred twentie ſeauen ſouldiers, euery fourth being a horſeman, beſides a thouſand Carpenters, Artificers, and Labourers: But before his departure he ordained his brother *Iohn* Duke of *Bedford* to be the Protector of *England* in his abſence, which done, vpon the 28. of Iuly he tooke to Seas, the ſailes of his owne ſhip, being of purple ſilke moſt richly embroydered with gold: and the firſt of Auguſt arriued in *Normandy*, to ſuch terrour of the inhabitants, that they fled further into the maine, leauing the Country bare of men and beſtiall: Inſomuch that twenty fiue thouſand families of them repaired into *Britain*, ſo dreadfull was the approach of the *Engliſh*.

Titus Liuius.

An. D. 1417.

Stowes Annal. Alain Bouchart. Annales Bret. Polycbronicon.

(42) No ſooner King *Henries* foot had touched the ſhoare, but to the incouragements of his Marſhall followers, he dubbed forty eight Knights, and then ſending to view *Harflew*, laide his ſiege againſt *Conqueſt*, the ſtrongeſt Caſtle in *Normandy*, which he tooke the 16. of Auguſt, and gaue both it and the whole demaines belonging, vnto his brother *Thomas Duke of Clarence*: And vnto *Salisbury* the leader of his ſecond Battell, he gaue the Caſtle *Aumbelliers*, which at the ſame time he had won, as alſo that of *Louers* vnto the Earle Marſhall, and theſe were the firſt that were inueſted with any reuenew in *France*.

Hiſtor. Norm.

Denis Sauage. Chron. de Flan.

(43) *Cane* to withſtand the enemy was ſtrongly fortified, well mand, and victualled, ſo that nothing was wanting needfull for defence: yet the King ſate downe before it, and his battery not working the expected effect, he attempted it by mine, and ruinated ſome parts of the Wall: Notwithſtanding the defendants made ſtiffe defence, and manfully put backe the entrance or ſcale. Neuertheleſſe *Henry* ſeeing that they could not long ſubſiſt, vnwilling to carry it in fury, which muſt be the deſtruction of the Inhabitants, whom he ſought to ſaue, and to make his true ſubjects, ſummoned them by an Herault, and promiſed them mercy; which they in hope of reliefe vtterly deſpiſed: hereupon his entry was forced, and great ſlaughter made, till the King ſtayed his ſouldiers furies, and cauſed the Citizens to diſarme themſelues, ſetting a ſtrong guard, aſwell to keep the ſpoilers from pillaging, as the townesmen from all hoſtile attempt; and they that did, were either put to death or ranſome, which was freely diſtributed among his Captaines and ſouldiers, by which regular action King *Henry* got him the eſtimation of a great Captaine, and an vpright Prince.

Polyd. Virg.

King *Henry* offereth great mercy to the beſieged.

King *Henry* had three great aduantages for the better conquering of *France.*

(44) But whether by the working of the *French*, or by inſtigation of the diſcontented reformaliſts (as *Walſingham* hath it) The *Scots* would worke wonders in reuiuing a dead King *Richard*, that ſhould indammage the *Lancaſtrians* cauſe, and diſpoſſeſſe King *Henry* of his Crowne: who now abſent and forward of Conqueſt in *France*, at home was endangered by theſe his emulating neighbours, and his confines in hoſtile manner entered vpon, by the Duke of *Albany*, together with the Earle *Dowglas* the *Scottiſh* Leaders: Theſe bringing with them their ſtage-like King *Richard*, laid ſtrait ſiege againſt *Roxborough*, and *Barwicke*, where all aſſaies were attempted, by vndermining the wals, and turrets, all extremities vſed and nothing left vnattempted, that might annoy, either by Sea or by Land.

Thom. Walſingh.

Thom. Otterbor.

Stowes Annals.

(45) But *Beaufort Duke of Exceſter* being at *Bridlington* in doing his deuotions, had preſent newes of this preſent neceſſitie, and therefore ſcarſe come to the end of his Orizons, he layd by his Beads and tooke to his Armour, which was not ruſty with lying, ſo lately put off; neither did *Iohn Duke of Bedford* the Protector, fore-ſlow any time, but with ſixe thouſand ſtrong, repayred into the *North*, where, with the Earles of *Weſtmorland* & *Northumberland*, his power was increaſed, vnto whom alſo the Archbiſhop of *York Henry Bewet* ſided, with age ſo decrepit,

Titus Liuius.

Policbronicon.

pit,that he was borne into the Field in his Chayre, the fame of whoſe comming, and the feare of their worthy Generals,ſo daunted the *Scots*, that leauing their ladders and other engines of warre,in the night they broke vp their ſiege,and well was he that could firſt attaine *Scotland*.

The ſtory of Sir *Iohn Ouldcaſtle.*

(46) The Kings affaires thus effected in the *North*, the Clergies eye-ſore was alſo ſomewhat eaſed by the apprenenſion of Sir *Iohn Ouldcaſtle* their diſturber in the *South*; who not contented to ſet the *God of Rome* at nought,but likewiſe defaced the faces of his Saints, trimly limmed in their Letanyes and other like maſſe-bookes;a matter indeed of ſuch moment, that the Abbot of Saint *Albans* (in whoſe precinct they were taken) ſent theſe poore miſvſed and ſcratched-faced pictures, to complaine of their injuries vnto the King,but his peace not broken,(for no bloud was drawne) he remitted the offence and puniſhment thereof vnto *Chicheley* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*,who ſent them to *Pauls*-Croſſe to ſhew their Countenances vnto the people, the Preacher that day being their mouth, inſinuating the offence to be done vnto the triumphant Saints in heauen.

Scratched-faced pictures ſhewed at *Pauls-Croſſe.*

(47) A Parliament aſſembled by the Regents authoritie for the ſupply of money to maintaine the warres in *France*;a matter of as great importance was therein handled, and that was the apprehenſion and judgement of the Lord *Cobham*,with a conſideration of reward for his taker, the Lord *Poweſſe* in *Wales*, from whence ſore wounded he was brought to *Weſtminſter* before the Lords, and hauing heard his conuictions, would not thereunto anſwere in his excuſe, vpon which record & proceſſe, it was adjudged that he ſhould be taken as a Traitour to the King and the Realme, that he ſhould be carried to the Tower of *London*,and from thence drawne through the ſtreets vnto S*t*.*Giles*-fields,and there to be hanged,and burned hanging, which accordingly was done. That *N.D.* author of the three conuerſions, hath made *Ouldcaſtle* a Ruffian,a Robber,and a Rebell, and his authority taken from the *Stage-players*,is more befitting the pen of his ſlanderous report, then the credit of the judicious,being onely grounded from this Papiſt and his Poet,of like conſcience for lies,the one euer faining, and the other euer falſifying the truth: that *Copus* hath made the Lord *Cobham* a Traitour: & *Stow*,from *Otterborn*,alledgeth indentures drawne betwixt him and the *Scots*, to bring in a counterfait *Richard*,and to inuade the Land with forraine power,that he acknowledged no King but the ſame counterfeit in *Scotland*, and made himſelfe a falſe Chriſt in riſing againe the third day (as *Walſingham* will haue it) I am not ignorant: but his attainture of Treaſons, I leaue it to the anſwere of Maſter *Fox*, who largely handled it: and for his combination with the *Scots*, vnto the letter of King *Henries* owne hand,who hauing intelligence of the *Scots* intent, and the meanes by which they meant to worke, ſignifieth vnto his brother and Vncle in theſe words,as from the Originall is taken.

Ex Record. Pat. 5. Hen. 5.

The Lord *Cobham* taken by the Lord *Poweſſe.*

Fox, Acts and Monuments.

The reuiew by *N. D. pag. 31.*

Papiſts and Poets of like conſcience for fictions.
Alain Copus.
Thomas Otter.

Thom. Walſing.

Out of the Originall.

* *Bedford.*
* *Dureſme.*

Part of a letter written with King Henry the 5. his owne hand to the Duke of Exceſter.

*Furthermore, I will that yee commune with my * brother, with the * Chancellour, with my Coſen of Northumberland,and my Coſen of Weſtmorland,and that yee ſet a good order and ordinance for my North-Marches,and eſpecially for the Duke of Orleance, and for all the Remnant of my Priſoners of France. And alſo for the King of Scotland, for as I am ſecretly informed by a man of right notable eſtate in this Land, that there hath been a man of the Duke of Orleance in Scotland,& accorded with the Duke of Albany that this next ſummer he ſhall bring in the manuel of Scotland to ſturre what he may. Alſo that there ſhould be founden waies to the hauing away ſpecially of the Duke of Orleance; and alſo of the Knights, as well as of the remnant of my foreſaid Priſoners, that GOD defend. Wherefore I will that the Duke of Orleance be kept ſtill within the Caſtle of Pomfret,without going to Roberts place,or to any other diſport, for it is better he lacke his diſport, then we were deceiued; of all the Remnant doth as yee thinketh.*

(48) Wherein wee ſee the Complot, but heare not a word that it ſhould be of *Cobhams* compoſing. But as I affect not to juſtifie the wicked, nor to make crooked things ſtraite,ſo am I farre from diſcrediting authorities; onely the eye of thoſe times looking through the thicke foggy Cloudes, made the Sunne (which is bright in it ſelfe) to ſeeme in their ſights all bloudy and darke.

The ignorance of thoſe times being ſo generall in all places, the truth was but dimly diſcerned.

(49) The like troubles (though not for the like cauſe) happened vnto Queene *Ioane* in the Kings abſence, and time of *Bedfords* regency, whoſe offence was Capitall, if the accuſation were true; that ſhe ſhould by ſorcery ſeeke the death of the King; ſhe therefore was committed to ſafe keeping in the Caſtle of *Leedes* in *Kent*, and from thence to *Pemſey*,attended only with nine of her ſeruants: her Confeſſor, Frier *Randolph* a Doctor of diuinity,was likewiſe apprehended as her Counſellor and worker in this diueliſh art, for which he was committed to the Tower, where falling at words with the Parſon of Saint *Peters* (the Church of that place) he was wounded to death; and Queene *Ioane* thereupon preſently deliuered.

Queene *Ioane* committed to priſon vpon ſuſpition of ſorcerie.

Friar Randolph wounded to death by the Parſon of the Tower of *London*. *Stowes Annal.*

(50) King *Henry* proceeding in his Conqueſt of *Normandie*, about *Hollantide* laid ſiege to the ſtrong Towne and Caſtell of *Fallais*, continuing the ſame vnto the 20. of December, when the defendants not able longer to reſiſt, demanded and had Parley, with whom *Thomas Earle of Salisbury*, *Henry Lord Fitz-hugh*,*Sir Iohn Cornwall*,and *Sir William Harrington* Knights, were by the King appointed Commiſſioners, who after ſome conference, laſtly accorded vpon theſe conditions. 1. That if the King of *France*,the *Dolphin*, or Conſtable, did not by force raiſe the ſiege before the ſecond of Ianuary enſuing, that the Towne ſhould be rendred to *Henry*. 2. That all the ſtrangers that were not properly Inhabitants of *Fallais*,& had formerly fought againſt King *Henry* in any place, beſieged and taken within *Normandy*, ſhould be left to his mercy. 3. That all *Engliſh* Priſoners which were in the Towne ſhould be ſet at liberty, ranſome-free and acquitted of their Oathes made vnto them whoſe Priſoners they were. 4. That all natiues of *England*,*Wales*,or *Ireland*, that had ſerued againſt the King, ſhould be left to his Iuſtice. 5. That neither Captaine, Burgeſſe, nor Towneſman of *Fallais* ſhould giue any reliefe to the Caſtell, or victuall or munition, during the truce accorded. 6. That no perſon within *Fallais* ſhould receiue the Perſons or Goods of any within the Caſtell, whereby they or their goods might be protected. 7. That the Captaines and Souldiers ſhould receiue no prejudice in their Horſes, Armes, or Goods; great Artillery, Shot, powder and Croſſe-bowes excepted: but the ſtrangers formerly ſpoken of in the ſecond Article were exempted from that fauour. 8. That the Artillery, Powder, Shot, and Croſſe-bowes afore-mentioned,ſhould not,during the truce, be embezelled, wilfully broken, or made away. 9. That during the Truce, the ruines made ſhould not be repayred,and no new workes of defence erected. 10. That no oppreſſion be vſed by the ſaid Souldier vpon the Burgeſſe, and if any were found faulty,and not preſently baniſhed for the ſame, they ſhould looſe the benefit which otherwiſe they ſhould haue by the accord. 11. That no Captaine, Souldier,or Towneſman ſhould vnder-hand conuay away any Priſoner, Ornaments, Iewels, or Church-Reliques, either belonging to *Fallais*, or to any other Church or religious Houſe, that were brought thither for ſafetie. 12. That no goods ſhould be purloined or carried out of the Towne during the treaty. 13. That none of the Captaines nor Souldiers, nor any Burgeſſe ſhould forſake the Towne, vntill the ſecond

The ſtrong Towne of *Fallais* beſieged by the King.

The conditions agreed vpon for ſurrender.
That if their King raiſed not the ſiege, they ſhould render.
M.S.
That certaine perſons ſhould be left to the Kings mercy.
That all Engliſh priſoners ſhould be ſet at liberty.
That certaine Engliſh ſhould be left to his Iuſtice.
That none ſhould relieue the Caſtell of *Fallais.*
That they ſhould haue no commerce with them.
The Captaines ſhould be well dealt with.
That the chiefe munition ſhould not be imbezelled.
No ruines to be repaired, nor new defences erected.
That the Burgeſſes ſhould not be ill vſed by their ſouldiers for the time of the truce.
That they ſhould not take away any thing from the Church.
No goods to be carried out of the Towne.
That no perſon ſhould forſake the Towne,for being true to King *Henry* they ſhould be ſafe.

second of Ianuary next: and his Majesty of his grace and mercy, was pleased that all such as would remain in *Fallais*, should remaine there in safety both in body and goods, so as they would be true subjects vnto him. 14. That none of the defendants of the Castell should be receiued into the Towne, nor their goods secretly kept by the Inhabitants vnder any pretence or colour whatsoeuer. 15. That during the treaty, no assault or offence should be offered by the Kings Army to the Towne, or to the Inhabitants, so as they doe not ayde, assist, or relieue, the defendants in the Castels. 16. That for the true performance of the Articles, twelue Knights and Squires should be deliuered hostage to the King, and to be set at liberty when the Couenants aboue mentioned were fulfilled. These things concluded and subscribed with their names and seales, the 20. of December; vpon the second of *Ianuary* no succours appearing, the towne of *Fallais* was accordingly deliuered, but the Castle standing obstinate, the King was as diligent, till the defendants fayling in their spirits, the first day of *February* demanded a Parley. Whereunto *Henry* consented, making *Clarence* his Brother his sole Commissioner. The Articles accorded for the most part were as the former, whereto were added these which ensue.

Neither person nor goods of the Castels to be receiued into the Towne.

During the truce no assault to be made on the Towne.

12. Knights and Esquires to be Hostage to King *Henry*.

An. D. 1417.

Fallais yeelded to the King.

The Articles agreed vpon.

(51) That vpon the 16. of the said moneth of February, if the King in person, the Dolphin his sonne, or the Earle of *Armagnac* Constable of *France*, did not with force raise the siege, then Sir *Oliuer de Mauny* Knight, gouernour of the said Castell, should render the same vnto King *Henry*. 2. That the said Gouernour and all other within the Castell should at the day assigned submit themselues to the King, and remaine his prisoners, trusting to his Maiesties royall promise not to receiue offence either in life or goods: (*Geoffrey Chasteaux* only excepted) who was left simply to the Kings mercy. 3. That after the rendring of the said Castell, Sir *Oliuer de Mauny* the Gouernour, should at his owne charges repayre all the breaches and ruines made in the wals during the siege, and leaue it in the same sort as it was before the same was besieged. 4. That for the performance of these Articles, eight Gentlemen should remaine Hostages with the King. 5. That when the Castell was repayred, Sir *Oliuer Mauny*, and all his Company should be set at liberty, and vntill then to remaine the Kings prisoners, *Geoffrey de Chasteaux* aboue mentioned onely excepted. These agreements concluded, the Indenture subscribed, and King *Henries* seale of Armes thereunto fixed, at the * prefixed day, according to these Articles, the Castell of *Fallais* was rendred vnto him: which done, he diuided his army into many parts, vnder the seuerall conducts of the Dukes of *Clarence* and *Glouceſter*, and the Earle of *Warwicke*: who wan diuers Castels, himself the while marching to besiege *Roane*, where he set downe his siege, and began the assault in a furious manner: the defendants as obstinately bent to hold him out: so that to win the Towne by force, *Henry* found it very difficult, aswell for the strength of *Bulwarkes* and *Ramparts*, as for the number of hands within it, to make resistance, and therefore to reduce them by famine, was his onely designe.

That if they were not succoured by the French power, to surrender.

That they should trust to the kings royall promise, *Geffrey Chasteaux* excepted.

That the Gouernour should repaire the wals.

8. Gentlemen to be hostages.

The Castell repaired, the Gouernour should be set at liberty.

* Februa. 16.

The City of *Roane* besieged.

Polyd. Virg.

(52) For *Burgogne*, from King *Charles*, had sent many worthy Captaines, with a thousand selected Souldiers to defend the City, and within it besides were fifteene thousand Citizens well trained and furnished: and the Towne stored with victuals for ten months continuance; notwithstanding King *Henry* quartered about the Towne, and for his safety cast vp a Trench betwixt the walls and his men: Himselfe lodged vpon the East of the City, the Duke of *Clarence* on the West, and the Duke of *Exceſter* on the North: betwixt whom, the *Marshall* lay quartered, and with whom joyned the Earle of *Ormond*, the Lords *Harington*, and *Talbot*. Before the Port of S. *Hilary*, the Lords *Ros*, *Willoughby*, *Fitz-Hugh*, and Sir *William Porter*, set downe their Battalions. The Earles of *Mortaigne*, and *Salisbury*, lodged about the Abbey of Saint *Katherines*; Sir *John Gray* about the Chappell-Mount Saint *Michael*: and Sir *Philip Leech* vpon the Hill adjoyning. The Riuer *Seine* was blocked vp with three Iron chaines, one of them laide two foot aboue water; another with the leuell; and the third, two foot vnder water, to impeach all reliefe into the City by Boats; the charge whereof was committed vnto *Thomas*, Earon of *Carew*, who nothing fayled in the trust reposed. On the other side of the Riuer, were encamped the Earles of *Warren*, and *Huntington*, the Lords *Neuill* and *Ferrers*, and Sir *Gilbert Vmfreuile*, directly before the gate Port *de Pont*; and for intercourse the one vnto the other, a Bridge was forced ouer the said Riuer *Seine*, sufficient for carriages, as occasions should be ministred.

The Riuer *Seine* blockt vp with Iron-Chaines.

(53) With the *English*, sixteene hundred Irish Kernes were enrolled, from the Prior of *Kilmainham*, able men, but almost naked; their armes, were targets, darts, and swords, their horses little, and bare no saddle, yet very nimble, on which vpon euery aduantage they played with the French, in spoyling the Country, rifeling the houses, and carrying away children, with their baggage, vpon their Cowes backes. Thus from Iune vnto December the siege had continued, and now Victuals fayling, and the Towne in distresse, the *Rouennois* sent foure Gentlemen, and as many *Burgesses*, vnto King *Charles*, and the *Burgogne* (then at *Beauuois*) to signifie their miseries; fifty thousand already famished with hunger, and twelue thousand straruelings put out of the Towne, but not suffered to passe, by the *English*, dyed by multitudes in the ditches (whose vnburied Carkases did infect the Towne with contagious diseases, so that without present reliefe they must be inforced to render.

Coxton Chron.

Denis Sauage.

Roane beseeged sixe moneths.

50000. quite famished, and 12000. almost starued put out of the Towne.

(54) Ayde was promised, and earnestly expected, but in stead of supplies, the Bishop of *Beauuois* accompanied with others, and the Cardinall of *Vrsins*, sent from Pope *Martin*, were dispatched to King *Henry*, to entreat a peace; for the better accomplishing thereof, they brought with them the picture of the *Lady Katherine*, according to life, which King *Henry* well liked, yea, and (as *Serres* saith) fell in loue with: but demanding a hundred thousand crownes, with the Dutchies of *Normandy*, *Aquitain*, *Anjou*, and other Seignories, for her dowry, nothing was concluded or done.

The Lady *Katherines* picture sent to King *Henry* to moue him to pitty *Roane*.

John Serres.

Denis Sauage.

(55) And now the *Rouennois* helpelesse of succor, and despayring of peace, resolued to make a braue sally vpon the Kings quarter: to performe which resolution, ten thousand chosen men, with their leaders, issued out of the Towne: The Vant-gard (which was 2000.) being past & in fight, by misfortune the draw-bridge with ouer-weight of men brake, many were drowned, slaine, and hurt: neither was there any more passage that way, to relieue their followers engaged in fight with the *English*; whereupon they made hast to the other Gates: but before they could come to giue ayde, the Vant-gard was broken, and most of them slaine, and taken Prisoners. Vpon this diaster the Souldiers within mutined against *Guy de Boutellier* their General, murmuring that he had contriued the breaking of the bridge.

Enguerrant.

Ten thousand of *Roane* sally forth vpon King *Henry*, and are ouerthrowne.

(56) In these disasters King *Charles* returning towards *Paris*, sent the besieged word to make what shift they could for themselues, which vnexpected message stroake a sad feare into the miserable defendants hearts, who now weake in men and victuals, knew no way to subsist, and thereupon in Counsell concluded to send vnto *Henry*, which presently they did. For whose entertainement, he caused two Tents to be set vp at *Port S. Hilarie*. Their Commissioners were two Gentlemen, two Clergy-men, and two Burgesses of the Towne. Commissioners for the King were the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Earle of *Warwicke*: the demands of the *Rouennois* were many, but their answers were short; that no conditions would be accepted, but simply yeelding to the Kings mercy; whereupon the conference brake vp, and these returned into the Towne, bred sundry distra-

King *Charles* sendeth no succour.

The *Rouennois* desire a parley.

They returne vnsatisfied.

15000. Citizens well trained within *Roane*.

Hall. Holinsh.

ctions,

The Articles of the compoſition of *Roane*.

Denis Sauage Chron. de Flaunders.

King *Henry* requireth 356000. Crownes.

Enguerrant de Monſtrel.

Three principall perſons to be left to his mercy.

All to ſweare fealty to *King Henry*.

That their priuiledges ſhould be confirmed to them.

That who ſo would, might depart, but their goods ſhould be forfeit.

The ſouldiers to reſigne vp their armes and depart, promiſing a twelue-months truce.

The hungry Citizens plentifully relieued from *Henries* campe.

A fat Mutton ſold for ſixe Souſes.

King Henry royally entreth the City.

Roane 215. yeares before the now winning of it, was wonne by *King Philip* from *King Iohn* of *England*.

Many Townes yeeld after the ſurrender of *Roane*.

Burgogne endeuoreth to make a peace betweene *Charles* and *Henry*.

Polyd. Virgil.

The place of treaty was at *Melun*.

ctions, ſome crying to yeeld, and other-ſome crying to die like men, but *Henry* deſirous to be Maſter of the Towne, and fearing it would be fired by themſelues, if he wan it by force, made the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* his Inſtrument, whoſe vocation was fit for it, to call againe the Commiſſioners, and againe fell into treaty of Compoſition, which laſtly was agreed vpon theſe Articles as follow. 1. That the Burgeſſes ſhould giue vnto *Henry* towards his expenſe in the ſiege, three hundred fifty ſixe thouſand Crownes of gold. 2. That *Robert Linet* Vicar-generall to the Archbiſhop of *Roane*, *Iehan Iourdan* who commanded the Canoniers, and *Alen Blanchart* Captaine of the Common people, ſhould be left to his mercy without condition. 3. That all the people ſhould ſweare faith and loyalty to *Henry* and his Succeſſors. 4. That *Henry* ſhould protect and defend them againſt all men, and confirme vnto them their priuiledges, franchiſes, and liberties, which they had enjoyed euer ſince the time of S^t. *Lewis* King of *France*. 5. That all ſuch as had deſire to leaue the Towne, might freely depart, with his garments vpon his back only, and his goods to be confiſcated vnto King *Henry*. 6. That the Souldiers ſhould bring all their armes to a place aſſigned, and ſhould depart out of the towne vnarmed with a cudgell in their hands, firſt taking their Oath not to beare Armes againſt *Henry*, for a twelue-month next enſuing.

(57) This agreement was concluded the 16. of Iune, Anno 1418. when as the hungry Citizens in multitudes came to the *Engliſh* campe to buy Victuals, which ſo abounded with prouiſions, as a fat Mutton was ſolde for ſixe Souſes of *Paris* money. Vpon the next day following, *Henrie* triumphantly made his entry into *Roane*; the *Eccleſiaſticks* of the Towne, in their Myters and Veſtures, with their reliques, ſinging of Hymnes, conducted him to the Cathedrall Church, where before the high-Altar, vpon his knees, he gaue thankes to God for the Conqueſt of this Towne, which had remained two hundred and fifteene yeares in the poſſeſſion of the *French*, euen from the time when *Philip* King of *France* wan it from King *Iohn* of *England*. The day following, *Alain Blanchart* the Captaine of the common people was beheaded, *Robert Linet*, and *Iehan Iourdan*, put to their high ranſomes, the French Garriſons pillaged, vnarmed, and put out of the Towne, but ſafely were conducted ouer Saint *Georges*-bridge to goe whither they would. *Guy de Boutellier*, who was Captaine-generall of *Roane*, became King *Henries* liege-man, vnto whom he gaue all his lands, and a charge vnder the Duke of *Glouceſter*. Immediately after the rendering of *Roane*, ſundry other places of note yeelded themſelues, as *Caudebec*, *Monſtreuillier*, *Diepe*, *Feſchamp*, *Arques*, *Neufchaſtell*, *Deincourt*, *Eu*, *Moncheaux*, *Vernon*, *Mante*, *Gorney*, *Harflewr*, *Pouteur-de-Mer*, *Mollineaux*, *le Treict*, *Tancarville*, *Abrechier*, *Mauleurier*, *Valemont*, *Neufuille*, *Bellaucombre*, *Fontaines*, *Le Boure*, *Preaux*, *Nougonder-uille*, *Logempree*, *Saint Germain*, *Sur Cuylly*, *Baudemont*, *Bray*, *Villeterre*, *Charles-Maiſnill*, *Les Boules Guillen-court*, *Fanifontaines*, *Le Becq*, *Crepin*, *Backeuille*, and diuers other places, wherein *Henry* placed his Garriſons. *France* generally troubled, and trembling at the loſſe eſpecially of *Roane*, *Henry* ready to pierce forward, and *Charles* declining, through his infirmities increaſing; the Duke of *Burgogne* (who bare all the ſway vnder that infirme King, and therefore much hated by the *Daulphin*, whoſe reuenge he feared,) much doubting *Henries* riſing-fortunes, held it beſt to vphold his owne greatneſſe, by mediating a peace betwixt the two Kings. For which end he ſent his Ambaſſadours to *Henry*, praying perſonall Conference; to which he aſſented and aſſigned the place, which was at *Melun*, where in a Field well trenched, and ramparted with ſtrong Gates, two pauillions were arreard, the one for the Kings to repoſe themſelues in, and the other for their Councell to conſult in.

(58) *Charles*, *Iſabell*, *Burgogne*, and *Katherine*, the *Count* S^t. *Paul*, with a thouſand horſe garding them thither, came firſt. King *Henry* with his brothers of *Clarence* and *Glouceſter*, attended vpon with a thouſand horſe, held the appointment; and now met, the two Kings embraced each other; *Henry* kiſſed *Iſabel* and *Katherine*, who indeed became a precious pearle in his eye: *Burgogne* a little bending his knee, did his reuerence to *Henry*, who tooke him in his armes: and the two nations though mortall enemies, demeaned themſelues ſo ciuilly, as no cauſe of quarrell was offered on either ſide, much conference paſſed, but nothing concluded; *Henries* demands ſeeming to the *French* to be ſo vnreaſonable. The treaty thus diſſolued, and all ready to depart, King *Henry* not well pleaſed, ſpake thus vnto *Burgogne*, "*Coſen, I may not well digeſt this refuſall, but be you* "*aſſured, that eyther I will haue your Kings daugh-* "*ter, and all my demands, or elſe I will baniſh both* "*you, and them, out of France. You ſpeake your plea-* "*ſure, ſaid the Duke, but before you ſhall thruſt the* "*King, them, and me, out of the Realme, you will be* "*weary of the enterprize.*

(59) The treaty thus broke, and danger nothing leſſe, the *Burgundian* altogether *French*, and in heart no friend to the *Engliſh*, reconciled himſelfe vnto the *Daulphin*, which deed was ſoon-after the cauſe of his owne death; and *Henry* diſpleaſed with this combination, quickened his thoughts (full of reuenge) to proſecute the warre more ſharpely then heretofore: the firſt enterprize he made, was vpon *Ponthois*, vnto which Towne the laſt day of Iuly hee ſent three thouſand foote, which before the breake of day, and not diſcouered by the Centinels, ſet their Ladders to the Wals, mounted vp, crying, *Saint George*, and ſo opening a Port let in their companions. The *Signeur de L'Iſle-Adam*, Marſhall of *France*, and Gouernour of the Towne, affrighted at the ſurprize, fled out at another Port towards *Paris*, after whoſe example aboue tenne thouſand inhabitants did the like, ſo as the *Engliſh*, without reſiſtance, were Maſters of the Towne, wherein great riches fell to the Souldiers ſhares. When King *Charles* at *Paris* heard of the loſſe of *Ponthois*, in great feare, with his wife, daughter, *Burgundy*, and many Noble-men, to be further from the fire ſo neere at hand, went vnto *Troyes en-Champagne*, leauing *Paris* vnder the Gouernment of the *Count* Saint *Paul*, and *Euſtach de Lactre* Chancellor of *France*, whilſt *Henry* went forward with his intended enterprizes.

(60) For his brother of *Clarence* by three weekes ſiege wanne the Caſtell *Giſors* by compoſition, the Earle of *Huntington* ſacked *Preaux*, burnt *Bretuiell*, *Clermont*, and the Caſtel of *Vendueil*, and *Henry* himſelfe beſieged the Caſtell of *Guillart*, and *Rochguien*, two of the ſtrongeſt holds in *Normandy*; which vpon compoſitions were ſurrendred, and further preuailed more then the *French* wiſhed. For the *Daulphin*, the only man that ſtood for the publike defence of *France*, was miſerably poore, and for want of pay could make no great ſhew of followers in the Field, whoſe chiefe Counſellor was the Conſtable *Armagnac* an old craftie Foxe, that had euer ſided with *Orleance* againſt the *Burgundian*. And now fearing leaſt his owne eſteeme ſhould be leſſened, or that *Burgundy* ſhould be the *Archite* to croſſe him the wiſe *Achitophel*, or rather indeede thruſt forward by deſtinie to be the ſcourge and fall of *France*, he counſelled the young *Daulphin* to ſeize vpon his Mothers money, jewels, and plate, for his further ſupply to the publike vſe, (which immediately he did) to aduance the eſtate: but Queene *Iſabel* impatient of theſe wrongs receiued, in a womaniſh ſpleene ſtudies the reuenge; wholly neglecting the common cauſe, which gaue the *Engliſh* ſurer footing in *France*: but the *Daulphin* to make good what he had done, leades the King in jealouſie that the Queenes deſignes were dangerous, and altogether ſet for the alienation of the Crowne, which he, weake man, no ſooner heard then beleeued, being

The French States came firſt.

Henry meeteth with a thouſand horſe.

Their followers on both parts, though enemies, demeane themſelues ciuilly.

King Henry diſpleaſed at their refuſall.

The Dukes reply.

Burgogne ſideth with the *Daulphin*, who afterward ſlew him.

Ponthois beſieged.

Enguerrant de Monſtrelet.

The ſouldiers got great riches in the towne.

King Charles vpon the loſſe of *Ponthois* flieth from *Paris*.

Enguerrant de Monſtrelet.

Guillart and *Rochguien* two of the beſt Forts in *Normandy*.

A cunning plot of the Conſtable *Armagnac*.

2 Sam. 17.

Queene *Iſabel* robd of her Iewels and plate.

The *Daulphin* drawes the *King* to ſuſpect *Queene Iſabel*.

being euer ready to take her at the worſt, and neuer ouergone in her loue at the beſt.

Annals of Burgundy.

(61) Theſe ſparkes of ſedition thus blowne in the Court, ſuſpitions increaſing, and maligners ſtill working, Queene *Iſabel*, with her ſiſter in law the Dutcheſſe of *Bauier*, were ſent priſoners to *Blois*, and from thence to *Eours*, where they were kept with ſtrait guard, three Gentlemen in Commiſſion to take care of their ſafeties: till then her fauours had gone with *Orleance*, and with him had conteſted euer againſt *Burgogne*, but now to quit her impriſonment, ſhe reconciled her ſelfe vnto him, and ſollicited his aſſiſtance for her deliuerance. *Burgogne* well perceiuing how much it would aduance his part, to draw the Queene to be of his faction, brake vp his ſiege then laide before *Corbeill*, and with certaine choyſe troupes repayred toward *Trours*, from whence immediately he ſent the Queene word of his comming. She faining deuotion to the Abbey of *Marmonſtier*, ſeated ſomewhat without the towne, made it knowne to her Keepers, and they not daring to contradict ſo great a Princeſſe, miſtruſting no danger, attended her thitherward with a competent guard as they ſuppoſed, where *Foſſeux* and *Vergie*, two ſpeciall men in the Dukes truſt, were laid in the Ambuſh neere vnto the Abbey, and hauing notice the Queene was come to Church, came to ſalute her, and to ſignifie that the *Burgogne* was in perſon to attend her ſeruice. Her keepers conceiuing their ſeconds were not farre off, as men diſmayed, told the Queene of ſome feare, & that an enemy was neere at hand; whereunto ſhe anſwered, I am not ignorant who they are, and thereupon commanded to apprehend thoſe her keepers: Her liberty thus got, ſhe became wholly for *Burgogne*, and by his meanes was made the Regent of *France*, and her picture ſtamped vpon the Seale of that State.

Queene *Iſabel* and her ſiſter impriſoned.

She ſollicited *Burgogne* for her deliuerance.

Burgogne ſendeth to the Queene.

The manner of her eſcape from her Keepers.

She is made Regent of *France*.

(42) By birth ſhe was a Germane, and daughter to *Stephen Duke of Bauier*, of an imperious ſpirit, and vn-reconcileable enuy, not ouer-much beloued of her Husband, and (as the nature of moſt women are) not ouer-much fauouring his fauorites, whoſe femall authority and hatred againſt her owne ſonne *Daulphin Charles*, ſore bruiſed the Growne, which her weake husband ware: his fore-gone infirmities and her new-ſprung Regency, were now as two ſludgates, ſet open to let in the deluge of *France*; hers is to be ſpoken of in the intercourſe of the *Engliſh*; his, many times hath beene, but not made knowne how it came: therefore a while in that ſubject, before we paſſe forward; in this place let vs reade what others haue writ.

Iohn Serres. The cauſes why the *French* were the eaſier conquered by *King Henry.*

(43) This *Charles* the ſixt, and ſicke-braind King of *France*, was the ſon of King *Charles*, ſurnamed the wiſe, who with *Salomon* his wiſer, might haue demanded this queſtion; *Who can tell whether his ſonne ſhall be a wiſe man, or a foole?* for the flower of his youth, and commendable diſpoſitions of his middle age, promiſed great hopes of a valiant, moderate, and moſt happy Prince, onely inclined to choller and reuenge, as by the occaſion of his lunacy is eaſily ſeene, which chanced on this manner.

Eccles. 2. 19.

(44) *Peter Craon* a Courtier, his minion, and an inward fauorite of the Duke of *Orleance* the Kings Brother, blabbed out ſome ſecrecy of the ſaid Dukes amorous paſſions vpon a wanton Lady, vnto his Dutcheſſe *Valentine*; who but lately married, and ſo ſoon deceiued of bed, took the wrong no leſſe then it was, nor letted ſhe (as who can let a Woman to ſpeake) to tell him his faults on both ſides of his head, the Duke could not hide what ſhe too-well knew, and therefore ſought to ſatisfie her with complements of kinde words, but the Curtaine-ſermons nightly enlarged vpon the ſame Text, made him many times to lye awake with little deuotion (God wot) to heare, and often to riſe when hee would faine haue ſlept, which cauſed him laſtly to complaine to the King that *Craon* had, and would, betray their ouer-much truſt. The cauſe no more, but yet too much againſt a Prince,* *Craon* with all diſgrace was diſcharged the Court, who not able to brooke ſuch an open indignity, aſſaulted *Cliſton* the Conſtable in a murthering manner, as the only man (as he thought) that wrought his diſgrace, and eſcaping *Paris*, fled into *Britaine*, whoſe Duke was his kinſeman, and an enemy to the Conſtable.

The occaſion of *King Charles* diſtemper.

Orleance newly married, is in loue with another.

* *Craon* diſmiſt the Court, for telling the *Dutcheſſe* of the incontinency of her Husband

(45) King *Charles* tranſported with choller of this double offence, mindes to draw *Craon* by force out of *Britaine* to juſtifie himſelfe, whom the Councell had declared guilty of high-Treaſon, and enemy to the Crowne of *France*, and reſolues in perſon to enter into *Britaine*: forthwith the expedition for men, and manner of proceeding, made *Charles* to looſe both meate and ſleepe, ſo as the vexation of minde, and diſtemperature of body, carried apparant ſhewes in his face: inſomuch that the Dukes of *Berry* and *Burgogne* miſtruſting the worſt, counſelled that his journey might be ſtaid; his Phyſitians diſſwade him in regard of his health, the ſummer extreame hot, and his bloud as then ouer-ſubject to dangerous Feuers. New deuiſes were wrought to ſtay him at home, giuing it forth that *Craon* was fled *Britaine*, and in *Arragon* was impriſoned by the Queene. All this notwithſtanding, needes would he forward, ſo forward is man when his fate will ſo haue it.

King Charles purſueth *Craon* into *Britaine.*

Notwithſtanding his ſickneſſe he continueth his journey.

(46) He departed *Meaux* in Iuly: the yeare very hot, his head couered with a great Cap of ſcarlet, his body wrapped in a thicke veluet Ierkin, warme enough for winter, his mind diſtempered with choller, griefe, and deſpite, and his body wearied with watching, diſtaſture, and want of reſt. Thus entring the forreſt of *Meaux* about noone-tide, a man bare-headed, and bare-legged, attired in a coat of white rugge, ſtepped ſodainely forth from betwixt two trees, and caught hold of his bridle, ſtaid his horſe, ſaying; *King ride no further, but returne backe, for thou art betraied. Charles*, whoſe ſpirits were otherwiſe dulled, and his bloud greatly diſtempered, was amazed at the voyce: which ſeene, his ſeruants ranne to this man, and with blowes forced him to leaue the reines of the horſe: and ſo without any further ſearch the man vaniſhed away.

Charles in the forreſt, at Noonday ſeeth an apparition.

(47) The troupes of his nobles, diuided becauſe of the duſt, King *Charles* was followed by the Pages of his Chamber, who ouercharged with heat and diſtemperature, tooke no great paines to guide their horſe, ſo that thronging together, he which bore the Kings Lance, let it fal vpon him, who had on his head the Kings helmet, and in the falling made a clattering noyſe. The King much muſing vpon the words ſpoken, and now withall hearing this vnexpected noyſe, was from a penſiue melancholy ſuddainely ſtrucke into a raging Lunacy, ſuppoſing himſelfe to be betraied indeed: and tranſported with this frenſie he drawes his ſword, and made towards his Pages with a maine cry: his brother *Orleance* not knowing the cauſe, haſted among them, whom *Charles* likewiſe purſued, and with the like rage ranne at his vncle of *Burgogne*; thus ſpending himſelfe, and his horſe out of breath, all incompaſſed the ſtill raging man, tooke from him his ſword, diſ-robed him for heate, and cheared him with flatterings and faire ſpoken words; his brother and Vncles ſaluted him, but he knowes them not, ſits mute, ſighing and panting, and with troubled amazement moues both body and head, ſo that all ſignes of Phrenſie appeared in this poore Prince, and the eminent miſery that was to fall vpon *France*, very apparant to the in-ſeeing Statiſts: but now to proceed.

His followers thronging confuſedly to helpe, doe diſtemper him the more.

He runneth diſtractiuely at euery one with his *Sword.*

(48) *Iohn Duke of Burgogne* ill digeſting the threats that King *Henry* had giuen, and joyned in league with the *Daulphin*, as we haue ſaid: was notwithſtanding ſuſpected to be a great enemy to the State, and as the Giants are faind, to heape mountaine vpon mountaine, for ſteps of aſſent to pull *Iupiter* out of his Throne, ſo by ſiniſter Counſellors *Burgogne* was accuſed of ſome intended ſtratageme, as meaning to mount the Chaire where the *Daulphin* ſhould ſit: *Charles* therefore from *Monſtreau-*

Iohn Duke of *Burgogne*, ſuſpected of the *State.*

Ouid. Met.

Surfault-

Charles the Daulphin seeketh his remouall.

Surſault-yonne, a Towne in *Brie*, ſent for the Duke vnto *Troyes* in *Champagne*, to conferre further vpon the effecting of their affected accord, as alſo to imploy their vnited forces vpon the common enemy the *Engliſh*, a third cauſe likewiſe was alledged, and that was to haue him his meanes for a reconciliation to his mother the *Regent*, whoſe wrath, beſides him, no man could pacifie.

Iohn Serres.

(49) The Duke miſtruſting no Snake in the graſſe, thought all things as ſure as they were faire in ſhew: and accompanied with many Noble-men, fiue hundred horſe, and two hundred Archers, he repayred to *Monſtreau*, at whoſe Gate the *Daulphin* had built 2. Barricadoes, and himſelfe in armes ſtood there to receiue the Duke. *Burgogne* approached, kneeled downe vpon one knee, and with an honourable reuerence ſaluted him moſt humbly, the *Daulphin* neglecting all courteſies to him-ward, charged him with breach of promiſe, for that the ciuill warres and his garriſons were not ſurceaſt and with-drawne, the Dukes ſword hanging too-farre backe, and ſomewhat troubling his kneeling, he put his hand vpon the hilt, to put it more forward, whereat *Robert de Loire* ſtanding by, ſaid, Doe you draw your ſword againſt the Lord *Daulphin?* at which words, *Tanneguy de Chaſtell* with a Battle-axe ſtroke him on the face, and cut off his Chin, and others with other wounds made an end of his life, before he could ariſe from his knee, or get out his ſword.

Burgogne repayring to the Daulphin, is charged with breach of promiſe.

He is ſlaine by Tanneguy de Chaſtel, and others.

(50) Queene *Iſabel*, another cruell *Medea*, and vnnaturall mother, hauing a double offence done her, re-doubled her wrath, and continued her tragick paſſions againſt her ſonne the young *Daulphin*, who not onely incites *Philip* now the new Duke of *Burgogn* to reuenge his murthered fathers death, but torments her poore husbands ſpirits, in perſwading him to diſherite *Charles* their ſonne, and to giue in marriage Lady *Katherine* vnto King *Henry*, who now had ſet his foote farre into *France*. Duke *Philip* for his part ready for reuenge, ſent the Biſhop of *Arras* with other his Ambaſſadors vnto *Roane* to King *Henry* to entreat a peace, and againe not many daies after their returne ſent backe the ſaide Biſhop, whoſe meſſage was ſo pleaſing, that *Henry* ſent the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, the *Earle of Warwicke* & *Guien* vnto *Arras*, who were as welcome vnto Duke *Philip*; ſo that betwixt *Roane* and *Arras* meſſengers continually paſſed till a peace was concluded; which was proclaimed to continue from that day (then about the Feaſt of the *Epiphanie*) vnto mid-March enſuing, betwixt King *Henry*, King *Charles*, and *Philip* Duke of *Burgogne*.

Queene Iſabel incites his ſonne, to reuenge it, and moues Charles to diſinherite the Daulphin, and adopt King Henry.

Guil. Parradyn.

A peace concluded betweene K. Henry, K. Charles, and the new Duke of Burgogne.

(51) King *Henry* thus farre gone in his affaires for that Crowne, ſent his Ambaſſadors vnto the new made Pope *Martin* the firſt, ſuch was the fate of *Romes* Apoſtolicall fathers in thoſe faire Sun-ſhine and Golden daies, that the greateſt Monarch was but a vaſſal to attend vpon their ſtirrop, & their Crowns ſubject to be ſpurned off, with their feete. *Henrie* therefore minding to ſtop the violence of theſe narrow Seas, and to make the ſtreame milde betwixt his two Realmes, had now none to let, but onely him that was all in all, and bare an Oare in euery mans boat: and therefore from King *Charles*, *Burgogne*, and himſelfe, his Ambaſſadors ſollicited his fatherly conſent, to admit him his moſt Chriſtian ſonne of *France*, and to giue his holy bleſſing for the confirmation of the marriage, and peace concluded betwixt thoſe two famous Princes. King *Henries* right to the French Crowne they plainely laide forth, what calamities *France* had felt in their reſiſtance, *Azincourt*, *Normandy*, and *Aquitaine* (as they ſhewed him) were moſt lamentable witneſſes, and the hold that the Lyon had got (at that day) of the *Flower de Luce*, was not to be wreſted out of his faſt graſped pawes. But his dull eare was deafe hereunto, anſwering that this peace was prejudiciall to the right of *Charles* the *Daulphin*, and therefore he denied to confirme it.

King Henry ſollicites the Pope to confirme him King of France.

The calamities of France for withſtanding the right of the Engliſh.

La legende des Flamens.

The Pope ſtood for the Daulphin.

(52) But with what quill theſe wines were vented from the ſetled Lees for the *Daulphin*, vnleſſe it was the golden vice, (a powerfull key indeed to vnlocke the *Popes* ſilent lips,) I know not; moſt true it is, the conditions went forward, and the place for the confirmation of couenants was *Troyes* in *Champagne*, where King *Charles*, and his Queene then lay, and whither *Burgogne*, *Guien*, the Lord *Roſſe*, and others, attended with fiue hundred horſe, were ſent Ambaſſadors from *Henry*. In their way they beſieged (and after fifteene daies wan) the Towne of *Creſpie* that held for the *Daulphin*, demoliſhed the Caſtell, razed the wals, and departed vpon compoſition.

Alain Chartier. Enguerrant de Monſtrel.

Ambaſſadours from King Henry.

Theſe comming to *Troyes* were honorably receiued, and louingly concluded on a finall peace, where *Lady Katherine* was attended as the *Engliſh Queene*, and ſome left to guard her by King *Henries* commaund. His Ambaſſadors returned, and affection enflamed, himſelfe attended with the *Dukes of Clarence*, and *Glouceſter*, his brethren, the *Duke of Exceſter*, the *Earles of Warwicke*, *Huntingdon*, *Salisbury*, *Guienne*, and many other Nobles, (his guard conſiſting of 1600. Launces and Archers) departed from *Roane* to *Ponthois*, to *S. Denis*, and from thence into *Prouince*, where he was met neere vnto *Troyes* by the *Duke of Burgundy*, and many other *French Lords*; and with all Princely attendance was conducted into the Towne. The joy was great with which he was receiued, eſpecially of the King, the Queene, and *Lady Katherine*, whom he found in S^t. *Peters* Church expecting his comming, where forthwith he and the *Lady* was affianced; and falling eſtſoones into conference of the conditions of amity, theſe were conſented vnto by the French and King *Henry*.

Hiſtory of Normandy.

Lady Katherine attended as Queene of England.

Henry goeth in perſon to Troyes.

Hiſtory of Normandy.

1. That K. *Henry* ſhold take *Lady Katherine* to wife.

2. That *Charles* and *Iſabel* ſhould retaine the name of King and Queene, and ſhould hold all their dignities, rents, and poſſeſſions belonging to the Crowne of *France*, during their naturall liues.

The Articles agreed vpon betwixt the two Kings.

3. That the *Lady Katherine* ſhould haue her Dowry in *England*, as Queens heretofore were wont to haue, that is to ſay, the ſumme of forty thouſand ſceutes, that is, two to a Noble.

Queene Katherines Dowry.

4. That the ſame ſumme of forty thouſand ſceutes yearely, ſhall be confirmed vnto *Queene Katherine* by our Lawes, according to our vſuall rights, at the time of our death.

5. That the ſaid *Lady Katherine* ſo ouer-liuing vs, from the time of our death, ſhal haue for her Dowry in the Kingdome of *France*, the ſumme of twenty thouſand Francks yearely, out of the Lands, Places, and Lordſhips, that *Blanch* ſometime wife to *Philip Beauiſall* held and enioyed.

The Crowne of France intailed to England.

6. That after the death of *Charles* our ſaid father, the Crowne & Realme of *France* ſhall with all rights and appurtenances remaine vnto vs, and to our heires for euermore.

7. And for as much as our ſaid father is infirme by reaſon of ſickneſſe, & may not entend in his owne perſon to diſpoſe of the affaires of the Realme, therefore during the life of our ſaid father, the faculties and exerciſe of the gouernement, and diſpoſition of the publique vtility of the Realme of *France* ſhall be, and abide to vs, ſo that thenceforth we may gouerne the Realme, and admit to our Councell and aſſiſtance to the Councell of *France* ſuch of the Engliſh Nobility as we ſhall thinke meete.

The gouernement of France aſſigned to King Henry.

8. That alſo we of our owne power ſhall cauſe the Court of *France* to be kept and obſerued in as full authority, and in all manner of places, that now or in time comming, is, or ſhall be ſubject to our ſaid father.

9. Alſo that wee to our powers ſhall defend and helpe all, and euery of the Peeres, Nobles, Cities, Townes, Cominalties and ſingular perſons, now or in time to come, ſubiects to our father, in their rights, Cuſtomes, priuiledges, freedomes, franchiſes, belonging, or due vnto them, in all manner of places, now or in time comming ſubject to our father.

10. Alſo that we ſhall to our power trauell truely and

and diligently, to ſee that Iuſtice be adminiſtred in the ſame realme of *France* according to their Lawes, Cuſtomes, and Rights of the ſame Realme, without perſonall acception; and that we ſhall keepe and hold the Subjects of the ſayd Realme in tranquillity and peace to our power, and ſhall defend them againſt all manner of violence and oppreſſion.

11. Alſo that we to our power ſhall prouide that able and profitable perſons ſhall execute the offices aſwell of Iuſtices and other offices belonging to the gouernance of the demaines of the realme of *France*, for the good and peaceable Iuſtice of the ſame, and for the adminiſtration that ſhall be committed vnto them.

12. Alſo that wee of our power, ſo ſoone as it may commodiouſly be done, ſhall trauaile to put into obedience of our ſaid father, all manner of Cities, Townes, Caſtels, Places, Countries, and perſons within the Realme of *France*, diſobedient and Rebels to our ſaid father, ſyding with them that be called the *Daulphin*, or *Armagnac*.

13. And that we may the more commodiouſly and freely exerciſe and fulfill theſe things aforeſaid, it is accorded, that all worthy Nobles and eſtates of the ſame Realme of *France*, aſwell ſpirituals as temporals, and alſo the Nobles, Citizens, Burgeſſes, and Comminalties of *France*, in obedience at this day to our ſaid father ſhall make theſe Oathes vnto vs.

The ſubjects of *France* ſworne to King *Henry*.

14. Firſt to vs hauing the faculty, exerciſe, diſpoſition, and gouernance of the foreſaid common profit at our heſts and commandements, theſe ſhall meekely and obediently obey in all manner of things concerning the exerciſe of Gouernement in the ſame Realme.

15. Alſo that the worthy, great, and noble Eſtates of the ſaide Realme aſwell ſpirituals as temporals, Citizens, Burgeſſes, and Comminalties of the ſame Realme, in all manner of things, well and truely ſhall keepe, and to their power ſhall doe to be kept in aſmuch as to them belongeth, or to any of them, all thoſe things that be appoynted and accorded betweene our foreſaid father, our mother, and vs.

The tenor of the Oath.

16. And that continually, from the death, and after the death of our ſaide father *Charles*, they ſhall be our true Liege-men, and our heires, and they ſhall receiue and admit vs for their Liege, and Soueraigne, and very King of *France*, and for ſuch to obey vs without oppoſition, Contradiction or difficulty, as they be to our father during his life. And neuer after, this Realme of *France* ſhall obey to man as King and Regent of *France*, but to vs, & to our heires. Alſo they ſhall not be in Counſell, helpe, or aſſent, that we looſe life or limme, or be taken with euill taking, or that we ſuffer harme or diminution in perſon, eſtate, worſhip, or goods, but if they know any ſuch thing to be contriued or imagined againſt vs, they ſhall let it to their powers, and ſhall doe vs to witten thereof, as haſtily as they may by themſelues, by meſſage, or by letters.

17. That all manner of Conqueſts that ſhall be made by vs in *France* vpon the diſobedient in the Dutchies of *Normandy*, ſhall be done to the profit of our ſaid father, and that to our power, all manner of Lands and Lordſhips, that be in places to be conquered, belonging to perſons, obeying to our fore-father, which ſhall ſweare to this preſent accord, ſhall be reſtored to the ſame perſons, to whom they belonged.

18. That all manner of perſons of the holy Church beneficed in the Dutchie of *Normandy*, or any other places in the Realme of *France*, ſubject to our father, and fauouring of the parts of the *Dukes of Burgundy*, which ſhall ſweare to keepe this preſent accord, ſhall peaceably injoy their Benefices of holy Church in the Dutchie of *Normandy*, or in other places next aforeſaid.

19. Likewiſe that all manner of perſons of holy Church, obedient to vs, and beneficed in the Realme of *France*, and places ſubject to our father, that ſhall ſweare to keepe this preſent accord, ſhall enjoy peaceably their Benefices of holy Church, as is aforeſaide.

20. Alſo that all manner of Churches, Vniuerſities and Studies-generall, all Colledges of Students, and other Colledges of holy Church, being in places now, or in time comming, ſubject to our father, or in the *dutchy* of *Normandy*, or other places in the realm of *France* ſubject to vs, ſhall enjoy their rights, poſſeſſions, rents, prerogatiues, liberties, and franchiſes, belonging, or due to them in any manner of wiſe, in the ſaide Realme of *France*, ſauing the right of the Crowne of *France*, and of euery other perſon.

Churches, Vniuerſities, and Colledges to enjoy their liberties.

21. Alſo by Gods helpe, when it happeneth vs to come to the Crowne of *France*, the Dutchy of *Normandy*, and all other places conquered by vs in the ſaid Realme, ſhall bow vnder the Commandement, obeyſance, and Monarchy of the Crowne of *France*.

Normandy to be vnder the *Crowne* of *France*.

22. Alſo that we to our power ſhall ſee recompence to be made by our ſaid father, without diminution of the Crowne of *France*, to perſons obeying him, and fauouring the party of *Burgundy*, to whom Lands, Lordſhips, Rents, and poſſeſſions belongeth in the ſaid Dutchie of *Normandy*, or other places in the Realme of *France* conquered by vs hitherto, giuen by vs in places, Lands, gotten, or to be gotten in the name of our ſaid father vpon Rebels and inobedients to him; and if ſo be that ſuch manner of recompence be not made to the ſaide perſons in the life-time of our ſaid father, we ſhall make that recompence in ſuch manner and places of goods, when it happeneth by Gods grace to the Crowne of *France*, and if ſo be that the Lands, Lordſhips, Rents, or poſſeſſions belonging to ſuch manner of perſons in the ſaid Dutchie and other places, be not giuen by vs, the ſame perſons ſhall be referred to them without any delay.

23. And during the life of our father in all places, now, and in time to come, ſubject to him, letters of common juſtice, grants of offices, gifts, pardons, remiſſions, and priuiledges, ſhall be written and proceed vnder the name and Seale of our ſaid Father. And foraſmuch as ſome ſingular caſe may fall that may not be fore-ſeene by mans wit, in the which it may be neceſſary and behouefull, that we write our letters; in ſuch caſe if any hap, for the good and ſurety of our father, and for the gouernement that belongeth to vs, as is aforeſaid, and to auoid perils which otherwiſe might fall, to the prejudice of our ſaid father, to write our letters, by the which we ſhall command, charge, and defend, after the nature and quality of the need in our fathers behalfe, and ours, as Regent of *France*.

Letters, Grants, Gifts, &c. ſigned by *King Charles*,

And by *King Henry*.

24. Alſo that during our fathers life, we ſhall not call, nor write vs King of *France*, but ſhall verily abſtaine from that name, ſo long as our ſaide Father liueth.

25. Alſo that our ſaid father during his life, ſhall name, call, and write vs in French in this manner. *Noſtre treſchier Filz Henry Roy d'Engleterre heretere de France:* & in Latin in this manner; *Præclariſſimus filius noſter, Henricus Rex Angliæ, & Hæres Franciæ.*

King Henries Stile during *King Charles* his life.

26. That wee ſhall put no impoſitions or exactions to charge the Subjects of our ſaid father, without cauſe reaſonable and neceſſary. No otherwiſe then for common good of the Realme of *France*, and according to the Lawes and Cuſtomes prouided for the ſame Realme.

27. Alſo that we ſhall trauell to our power, to effect that by the aſſent of the three ſtates of the Realmes of *England* and *France*, all manner of obſtacles may be done away, and this chiefly, that it be ordained and prouided, that from the time that wee, or any of our heires come to the Crowne of *France*, both the *Crownes*, that is to ſay, of *France* and *England*, perpetually be together in one, and in the ſame perſon, that is to ſay, from our fathers life to vs, and from the terme of our life thence forward, in the perſons of our heires, that ſhall be one after another, and

The vnion of the Crownes.

and that both Realmes ſhall be gouerned from the time that we, or our heires, come to the ſame, not ſeuerally vnder diuers Kings in one time, but vnder the ſame perſon, which for the time ſhall be King of both Realmes, and our Soueraigne Lord, as is aforeſaid, keeping neuertheleſſe in all manner of things, to either of the ſaid Realmes, their rights, liberties, cuſtomes, vſages and lawes, not making ſubiect in any manner of wiſe, one of the ſame Realmes to the rights, lawes or vſages of that other.

28. That thenceforth perpetually ſhall be ſtill reſt, and that in all manner of wiſe diſſentions, hates, rancours, enuies, and warres, betweene the ſame Realmes of *France* and *England*, and the people of the ſame Realmes drawing to accord of the ſame peace may ceaſe and be broken.

The vnion of the Subiects.

29. That from henceforth for euermore, peace and tranquility, good accord and affection, and ſtable friendſhip ſhall be betwixt the ſaid Realmes and the Subiects of the ſame, and ſhall keepe themſelues with their Counſels, helpes, and common aſſiſtance againſt all men that inforce them to doe, or to imagine wrongs, harmes, diſpleaſures, or grieuances to them or either of them, and that they ſhall be conuerſant in marchandizing freely and ſurely together, paying the Cuſtomes due and accuſtomed, and that all the confederates and allies of our ſaid Father, and the Realme of *France*, as alſo our confederates of the Realme of *England*, ſhall in eight months ſpace from the time of this accord of peace, as it is notified to them, declare by their letters, that they will draw to this accord, and will be comprehended vnder the treaties and accord of this peace, ſauing neuertheleſſe their obedience to either of the ſame Crownes, and to all manner of actions, rights, and reuenues, that belong to our ſaid Father and his Subiects, and to vs, and our Subiects againſt all manner of ſuch Allies and Confederates.

No peace with the *Daulphin*.

30. That our Father, neither our Brother the Duke of *Burgundy*, ſhall begin nor make with *Charles*, calling himſelfe the *Daulphin* of *Viennes*, any treaty, peace, or accord, but by Counſell and aſſent of each of vs three, or of other the three eſtates of either the ſaid Realmes aboue-named.

31. Alſo that we, with the aſſent of our brother of *Burgundy*, and other of the Nobles of the Realme of *France*, which ought thereunto to be called, ſhall ordaine for the Gouernance of our ſaid Father, ſurely, louingly and honeſtly, after the degree of his royall eſtate and dignity, in ſuch wiſe, as ſhall be to the worſhip of God, of our ſaid Father, & of the Realme of *France*.

32. Alſo that all manner of perſons, that ſhall be our Fathers, to doe him perſonall ſeruice, not onely in office, but in all other attendances, aſwell the Nobles and Gentlemen, as others, ſhall be ſuch as haue beene borne in the Realme of *France*, or in places belonging to *France*, good, wiſe, true, and able to doe him ſeruice, and our ſaid Father; ſhall dwell in places vnder his obedience, and no where elſe, wherefore we charge and command our ſaid Liege-ſubiects, and other being vnder our obedience, that they keepe, and doe to be kept, in all that belongeth to them, this accord and peace, and after the forme and manner as it is accorded, and that they attempt in no manner wiſe, any thing that may be preiudiciall, or contrary to the ſame accord, and peace, vpon paine of life & limme, and all that they may forfeit vnto vs.

The puniſhment of the peace-breakers.

33. Alſo, that we for the things aforeſaid, and euery one of them, ſhal giue our aſſent by our letters Patents, ſealed with our ſeale vnto our ſaid Father, without all approbation, and confirmation of vs, and all other of our bloud-royall, and of the Cities & Townes to vs obedient, ſealed with our great Seale, ſhall make or cauſe to be made letters approbatory, and confirmed of the Peeres of his Realme, & of the Lords, Citizens, & Burgeſſes of the ſame vnder his obedience, all which Articles we haue ſworne to keepe, vpon the holy Euangeliſts. Yeuen at *Troyes* the 30. of May, *Anno 1420*. And the ſame were proclaimed in *London* the 20. of Iune following; for the Copies of this treaty, the French king ſent to euery towne in *France*, as King *Henry* did likewiſe into *England*, there to be publiſhed by Proclamation. Theſe Articles were concluded betwixt the two Kings, in the preſence of Queene *Iſabell*, the Duke of *Burgundy*, & the Kings Councell, the Prince of *Orange*, *Seignieur Chaſtelleux* Marſhall of *France*, with many others the prime Nobility, both of *England* & *France*, both the kings with the Queene, taking their ſolemne oath there, vpon the holy Euangeliſts, as did likewiſe the Duke of *Burgundy*, and the reſt, *Burgundy* * being the firſt man that layd his hand on the booke, & * ſware homage to King *Henry*; who thereupon was ſtiled and proclaimed *Regent of France*.

Holinſh. The teſties of theſe Articles. *Will: Parradin. Annals of Burg.*

* *Titus Liuius* ſets downe his Oath *verbatim*. * *Enguerrant. Nicholas Vigneur. Holinſh.*

(53) In whoſe preſence alſo, vpon the third of Iune, (being the morrow after *Trinity* Sunday) the marriage of King *Henry* and Lady *Katherine*, with all pompous ſolemnity was celebrated in Saint *Peters* Church at *Troyes*, the Biſhop of that See doing the Ceremonies. And after royall feaſts and Princely entertainments, before the diſſolution of that royall aſſembly, King *Henry*, inuiting the French King and others his great Peeres to a ſumptuous banquet, made a pithy and pleaſing Oration vnto them, thus teſtifying his Princely deſire to aduance their weale, and demerit their loue.

King *Henry* married to Lady *Katherine*.

Hiſtory of *Normandy*.

Hollinſhead: but *Polydore* ſaith, this ſpeech was deliuered before at their ſwearing of fealty.

Polydor Virgil.

King *Henries* Oration vnto the States of *France*.

" (54) As the chiefe marke whereunto my cares "and endeauours haue hitherto leuelled, hath beene, " to vnite and concorporate theſe two Kingdomes "of *Fraunce* and *England* into one, which now by "Gods goodneſſe is moſt happily effected; ſo is it "ſtill, and euer ſhall be, both my deſire and care, that "vnto poſterity we may leaue it ſetled in the ſame "ſort, and free from all empeachments of factious "diſcords: that being (as it is) the greateſt, it may "be alſo the happieſt Monarchy of *Europe*. For the "cleere accompliſhment of which worke, there reſts "now nothing, but the depreſſing of the *Daulphin*, "who is by your doome already, not onely depriued "of that dignity, but of ſucceſſion to the Crowne, "and proſecuted as a Traitour to the State; and of "whom this we muſt be aſſured, that while he liues *France* cannot but be in a perpetuall combuſtion. "For preuenting whereof, I both neede and intreate, "both your Counſels and aide, nothing doubting "of our readineſſe in either; for how can we expect "any ſafety, or you any goodneſſe at his hand, who, "in his young yeares, did ſo perfidiouſly murther the "Duke of *Burgundy* his Vncle? I am now, you ſee, "your Regent in preſent, and Succeſſour to the "Crowne in hope; Let it not therefore ſticke in "your hearts, that I am an Engliſhman borne, for "you know I haue much French bloud in my vaines, "which warmes my affections as well to French as "Engliſh; but looke on me as the lawfull heire to the "*Diademe*, both by iuſt Title, and your owne con"ſents, who therefore am, and ought to be, wholly "yours; and your kindneſſe and iuſt dealing bind me "ſo to be. Yours alſo am I now by freſh alliance, "as ſonne in Law to your King, vnto whom I will "performe all offices of loue and honour, as to mine "owne Father; and you his Subiects ſhall I loue and "cheriſh, as mine owne children, and will defend "*France* and the French, ſo long, as you defend my "right with your louing aide, and will deſerue my "loue with your loyall affection.

(55) Theſe affaires thus accompliſhed at *Troyes*, the Kings, the Queenes, and the reſt of the Peeres, in great eſtate rode vnto *Paris*, where all faire countenances were ſhewed, and great entertainment giuen to the Engliſh. But the *Daulphin* and his followers neither feared nor fainted, though the preſent courſes pleaſed not their palats. Their firſt Counſell therefore was how to preſerue themſelues in ſo eminent danger; to ſit ſtill and doe nothing, they knew it was but to increaſe and aduance the ſucceſſes of the Engliſh; and to riſe without ſtrength, was to fall into

Polydor Virgil.

The *Daulphins* counterplots to vpho'd himſelfe.

into further misfortunes, hauing no meanes to hold warre with so potent an Enemy. In this distraction their voice was best heard, that spake most for the safety of the *Daulphin*, (whose onely life gaue breath vnto the after-hopes of *France*) & for the strengthening of those places which might be of most aduantage to themselues, and offence to the Enemie. This then past by decree in that Counsell of warre, that the *Daulphin* should at no time hazard his person in field, and that a leuy of Souldiers should be had, to lie in Garrison in places conuenient; for *Time*, which neuer stands still, they well hoped might yet turne the rice for them, fortune being (said they) as subiect to fawne, as to frowne; in which resolution each man tooke to his charge, and all to withstand the doings of *Henry*.

Denis Sauage in Chron. de Fland.

(56) As these consulted for the state of the French, so in *Paris* a Parliament of the three estates was assembled, wherein such as were guilty of the death of *Burgundy*, were iusticed, the disherizing of the *Daulphin* confirmed, and wars prepared against those Townes which held for him. Against *Sens* the two Kings with their Queenes, *Clarence*, and *Burgundy*, marched; which after 12. daies was rendered vpon composition of life, those excepted as were guilty of the Duke of *Burgundies* death. *Monstreau* was the next, which by force was entred, where the body of the Duke of *Burgundy*, vndecently buried by the *Daulphinois*, was taken vp, & by his sonne *Philip* sent in great pompe to *Dijon* in his Dutchy, and there honourably interred. The Towne being taken, the Castle held out: vnto whose Captaine twenty Captiue Gentlemen were sent, whose liues from King *Henries* mouth (say the French) were sentenced to death, vnlesse they could perswade the Castellan to surrender; but those men (say our English, to mollifie that seuere doome) were all especiall friends of that Captaine, and such as had giuen opprobrious words to the Kings Herauld, being sent vnto them in the siege of *Monstreau*. Howsoeuer, in this extremity they sollicited *Guily* vpon their knees, vrging their owne deaths, and his great danger if he held out; but *Guily* a true Frenchman, and friend to the *Daulphin*, withstood the assault, and thereupon these Gentlemen Petitioners were presently hanged in the sight of the defendants: so bloudy is *Mars* to maintaine his owne Lawes, and so eager was *Henry* of his full conquest of *France*, whose thirsting sword had heretofore beene somewhat ouer-lauish in bloud, but neuer more (perhaps) then in this bloudy act; which I wish might be obliterated from the number of his other glorious actions. Yet at length was that Castle enforced to surrender vpon composition of life, excepting the guilties of *Burgundies* death.

Enguerrant de Monstrel.

Monstreau besieged and gotten.

Iohn Millet.

Holinsh.

(57) Then was the siege remoued to *Melun*, a Towne of great strength, and made more strong by the valours of her Commanders, who were *Signieur Barbason* an absolute souldier, *Pierre de Bourbon* a Prince of the bloud, *Preaux*, and *Burgeois*, whose Garrison was seuen hundred *Daulphinois*: & indeed no default in defence could anywise be imputed, but the Canon opening a breach, the *English* and *Burgundians* made an entry into the Bulwarke, and ouer the Riuer *Seine* built a Bridge with Boates; so that from either quarter they had passage one to the other without impediments, and encamped themselues for their best aduantage; vpon whom the enemy neuertheless made diuers sallies, with the losse of either parties. King *Henry* inforced his siege to the vtmost, and made a myne vnderneath the wals, which being perceiued, the defendants countermined against him; where the King (too forward) as the very first man entring his myne, and *Barbason* likewise his within the Towne, met each other at point of sword, where they performed nobly the parts of priuate souldiers, (nobly indeed, if priuate souldiers they had been, but Princes should remember they are not such) till lastly they agreed to discouer themselues, and first *Barbason* made knowne his name, then King *Henry* did his, whereupon the French Lord suddainely getting backe, caused the Barriers to be closed, and *Henry* returned to his Campe.

Titus Liuius. Melun besieged and gotten.

Enguerrant. King *Henry* fighteth in single combat.

Translator of *Liuie*.

(58) This enterprize failing, King *Charles* himselfe came into the Campe, to induce the defendants to render, at the presence of their naturall Lord; which neuertheless was little respected; for answer was made, that if their King were at liberty, and free from King *Henries* power, they would doe him the duty of naturall subiects, and yeeld him their charge as their Liege-Lord: but being as he was, they desired to be excused, for to the mortall enemy of *France* they would not yeeld.

Enguerrant.

The French refuse to submit to their owne king.

(59) Whilest King *Henry* lay at the siege of *Melun*, the Duke of *Bauier* (who was *Palsegraue* of *Rhyne*, Elector) came to King *Henry*, hauing married his sister, and thence sent a defiance vnto the *Daulphin*, his kinsman by Queene *Isabell* his mother; the Prince of *Orange* likewise came thither vnto *Henry*, but because he required an Oath of him, as a subiect of *France*, he went away displeased, saying, he was a free Prince, and ought neither obedience to *England* nor *France*. At which time the *Parisians*, with more respect of their owne safety, committed their Citie vnto K. *Henries* deuotion, who deputed his brother *Clarence* (though *Count Saint Paul* with his French displeased) Gouernour thereof, and put Garrisons into the *Bastile* of *S. Anthony*, the *Loure*, and the *Hostill de Nesle*. During this siege, mandatory * letters were sent by King *Charles* into *Picardy*, to put all places that held for him in those quarters into *Henries* possession, and to take the Oath of their obedience vnto him as to the *only heire, Successor, Regent, and Gouernour of France*; the execution wherof was committed to the *Count of Saint Paul*, the *Bishops* of *Therouenne* and *Arras*, the *Vidame of Amiens*, the Lord of *Vendueill*, the Gouernour of *Lisle*, *Pierre Marigny* Aduocate of the Parliament, and *George Ostend* the Kings Secretary, beginning thus; *Charles par le Grace de Dieu, &c.*

Nichol. Giles.

Paris yeelded vp to king Henry.

* *Dat* 23. *July. Anno.* 1420. *Denis Sauage.*

Picardy sweares fealty to king Henry.

(60) The distresse of *Melun* was wonderfull great, as well vpon the siegers, as defendants; the one afflicted, and their troupes sore weakened with mortality, the other oppressed with famine, and other defects incident to a long endured siege. In this state eighteene weekes were spent, and more had beene, but that the English were supplied with souldiers out of *Picardy*, whose colours displayed a farre off, put the Towne in hope of relieue as sent from the *Daulphin*, but vpon their neerer approach, *Melun* was rendred by these capitulations. 1. That the Towne and Castle should be deliuered to the King. 2. That aswell the men of warre, as the Burgesses, should submit themselues to King *Henry*, to be dealt-with as pleased the King. 3. That all such as should be found guilty of the Duke of *Burgundies* murther should suffer death. 4. That all the rest of the souldiers should be receiued to mercy, but to be prisoners vntill they put in good caution for their true obedience in after-times. 5. That the Natiues of *France* should be sent home to their owne Countryes. 6. That all the moueables and Armes in the Towne should be carried into the Castle. 7. That all the Prisoners they had taken either before or during the siege, should be enlarged ransome-free, and acquitted of their promises. 8. That for the performance of these Articles, 12. of the principall Captaines, and 6. of the wealthiest Burgesses should deliuer themselues in hostage. 9. That all the English and Scots, should be deliuered to *Henry*, and left at his disposition.

Enguerrant.

Enguerrant de Monstrel.

These things accorded, an English Garrison was put into *Melun*, commanded by *Pierre Varrolt*, *Pierre de Burbon*, *Signieur de Preaux*, and valiant *Barbason*, when sixe hundred Prisoners of qualitie, were sent with a strong guard vnto *Paris*. The guilties of *Burgundies* murther were all of them put to death, amongst whom were two Monkes, and *Bertrand de Chartmont* a *Gascoigne*, (a man in great fauour with King

Enguerrant.

King *Henry*) for that he at King *Henries* entry into *Melun*, had conuayed thence one *Amenion de Lau*, who was prooued guilty of *Burgundies* death. The Duke of *Burgundy* himſelfe, as alſo *Clarence* earneſtly laboured with King *Henry* for *Bertrands* pardon, but the King, though much grieued, and proteſting that he had rather haue loſt 50000. Nobles, yet was reſolued he ſhould die, for example to all ſuch as ſhould dare to offend, vpon preſumption of their neareneſſe and grace with their Princes.

A noble example of Iuſtice.

Iohn Millet.

(61) *Melun* being rendred, and theſe things thus diſpoſed, the two Kings with their Queenes moſt honourably attended, returned to *Paris*, before whoſe entrance the Citizens and Students met them in moſt ſolemne manner, hauing beautified the City with flags, ſtreamers, and rich hangings, throughout the ſtreetes where they ſhould paſſe. The two Kings rode together vnder a rich Canopy, *Henry* vpon the left hand, next vnto whom followed the Dukes of *Clarence* and *Bedford*, and vpon their left hand the Duke of *Burgundy* clad all in blacke, the Princes and Nobles of either Nation mingled together in their degrees, the Clergy with proceſſions, and their venerable reliques, going before them to *Noſtre dame Church*; and the next day the two Queenes entred the City with as great a ſhew. King *Henries* Pallace was prepared in the *Loure*, which was moſt rich and magnificent, and *Charles* his Court in the Hoſtel of S^t. *Paul*, being but homely and meane; for (ſaith *Millet*) young *Henry* commanded all, and his brethren exerciſed ſupreame authority, whiles olde *Charles* ſtood as a Cypher, and the French Nobility had nothing to doe.

Iohn Millet.

The two Kings entred *Paris.*

The two Queens enter *Paris.*

Denis Sauage.

Millet.

Enguerrant de Monſtrel.

(62) During the two Kings abode here, a great Aſſembly was called as well of the Spiritualty, as of the ſecular Nobility, in whoſe preſence, in the great Hall of the Hoſtell, a State for Iuſtice was prepared, where the two Kings ſitting as ſupreame Iudges, vnder one Cloath of eſtate, the Court was furniſhed with Princes and Officers in moſt ſolemne wiſe. Before whom, *Nicholas Rollin* Aduocate from the Duke of *Burgundy*, & the Dutcheſſe his mother, craued audience (& had it granted) vnto an inuectiue & long Oration againſt *Charles Viſcount Narbone*, *Tanneguy*, *Barbaſon*, and others, for the cruell murther of *Iohn* Duke of *Burgundy*; and not only that the murtherers might be accordingly executed, but withall, that a Church might be founded and furniſhed with ſacred Ornaments for twelue Channons, ſixe Chaplaines, and ſixe Clerkes to pray for his ſoule for euer, euery Channon to haue yearely two hundred pound *Paris* money, euery Chaplaine one hundred, and euery Clerke fifty, to be leuied vpon the Lands of the *Daulphin*, and his aſſociates in the murther: that the ſame foundation ſhould be engrauen vpon the Porch thereof, and the like inſcription ſet vp publikely in the Cities of *Paris*, *Roane*, *Graunt*, *Dijon*, *Saint Iames* of *Compoſtella*, & *Ieruſalem*. This motion was ſeconded by a Doctor of Diuinity appointed by the *Rector of the Vniuerſity*, who concluded with an humble requeſt to the King and thoſe Princes, that iuſtice might be done. Whereunto the *Chancellor of France*, in the behalfe of King *Charles*, promiſed that no endeauour on his part ſhould be lacking; and thereupon cauſed his ſonne to be ſolemnely called to the Marble-Table, to anſwere his accuſation, by the name of *Charles* Duke of *Touraine*, and *Daulphin de Vienne*, which done three ſeuerall times, and he not appearing, by arreſt of the ſame Court of Parliament, he was baniſhed the Realme, and iudged vnworthy to ſucceed in any of the Signiories, as well preſent, as to come. But the *Daulphin* appealed from this ſentence, to God and his ſword, and ſtill was the ſame, though his fortunes were changeable. *Mounſieur de Barbaſon* was vehemently accuſed to haue his hand in the murther, and therefore King *Henrie* accordingly gaue ſentence on him to ſuffer death; but he in open Court defended himſelfe, not to bee guilty of the crime, although he confeſſed to be a true ſeruant to the *Daulphin*. Notwithſtanding, had he not appealed to the *Officers of Armes*, King *Henries* iudgement of death had gone againſt him: for the Law-Military, as he there alleaged, forbiddeth, that *any man, hauing his brother in Armes within his danger, ſhould afterwards put him to death for any cauſe or quarrell*, and proued himſelfe to be the Kings *brother in Armes*, for that he had in the *Countermine* coaped in combate with the King. Thus by a quirke of Heraldry acquitted from death, he was neuertheleſſe retained in priſon the ſpace of nine yeares, and laſtly at the winning of *Caſtle-Galliard* from the Engliſh, was deliuered out of moſt ſtraight impriſonment, to the great ioy of the *French*.

Proceſſe againſt the murtherers of the Duke of *Burgundy.*

Holinſh.

A quirke of Heraldry to ouerthrow a Iudiciall ſentence.

(63) This execution of Iuſtice on thoſe Murtherers, was a great, but not the onely act of K. *Henry* at this great Parliament of three Eſtates of *France* in *Paris*. For therein alſo was the finall accord betwixt the two Kings openly acknowledged by the French King, as made by his free aſſent, and with aduiſe of all the Councell of *France*; whereupon it was there alſo ratified by the generall ſtates of *France*, and ſworne vnto particularly vpon the holy Euangeliſts, by all their Nobles and Magiſtrates, ſpirituall and ſecular, who alſo ſet their ſeales to the Inſtruments thereof, which were ſent into *England* to be kept in the Kings * Exchequer at *Weſtminſter*. King *Henries* glory thus aſcended to the higheſt verticall in *France*, his Court was not onely honoured daily both with Courtly and military ſhewes and paſtimes, but alſo was ſtill frequented both with forraine Ambaſſadours, and domeſticke Commiſſioners, whoſe directions depended only vpon his voluntary aſſigne, himſelfe redreſſing all things at his pleaſure, placing and diſplacing Officers and Gouernours, cauſing alſo a new Coyne to be made, called a *Salute*, wherein were the Armes of *France*, and the Armes of *England* and *France*, quarterly ſtamped. King *Charles* the while in his Pallace, was but for faſhions ſake viſited, and but by ſome of his olde ſeruants, his Sunne was drawne ſo neere vnto the ſetting. The great affaires of *France* thus ſetled, (as well as that vnſetled time would permit,) King *Henry* minding to Crowne his Queene in *England*, ordained his brother of *Clarence*, (a wiſe, valiant, and a great Captaine) his Lieutenant-generall of *France*, leauing alſo the Duke of *Exceſter* with 500. men of Armes to keepe *Paris*; and ſo attended with great ſtate, he came to *Amiens* and *Callis*, where taking to Sea, he arriued at *Douer* vpon the third of February, and was receiued of his Subiects as an Angell from heauen, or another victorious *Cæſar* on Earth.

A Parliament at *Paris. Holinſh.*

* Where they yet remaine, ſaith *Holinſh. p.* 578.

King *Henry* returneth into *England.*

Enguerrant de Monſtrel.

(64) All things in a readines for his faire Queens Coronation, vpon the foure and twentieth of the ſame month, with all royalty the ſame was ſolemnized at *Weſtminſter*, and the Engliſh rich diademe ſet on her head. The feaſt was great, with all Princely ſeruices, and the ſtate ſuch as deſerueth the report; for the Queene ſitting at Table, at the right ſide of her Chaire kneeled the Earle of *March*, holding a Scepter in his hand; the Earle *Marſhall* kneeling on the left ſide, held another; and the Counteſſe of *Kent* ſate vnder the Table at her right foote; vpon her right hand at Table ſate the Biſhops of *Canterbury* and *Wincheſter*, and vpon the left the King of Scots, the Dutcheſſe of *Yorke*, and the Counteſſe of *Huntington*; the Nobles giuing their attendance, each man according to his office and place.

Ex Antiq. M. S. D. Roberti Cotton.

Iohn Serres.

The *Daulphin* cited to appeare, & diſinherited.

(65) Preſently, after *Eaſter*, in the moneth of *May*, a Parliament was held at *Weſtminſter*, whoſe chiefeſt intent was to haue meanes to continue the Kings Conqueſt in *France*; but ſuch was the ſtate of thoſe lauiſh times, that, to ſtop the current of this melting mint, ſome, minding more the heapes of their money, then the ſpreading abroad of *Englands* faire Monarchy, exhibited their Bils vnto the three eſtates in Parliament, and petitioned vnto the King, to commiſerate the pouerty of the commons, which (as they ſaid) were beggered by theſe warres. For which

King *Henry* himſelfe giues ſentence iudicially.

Ex Record. Parl. 5^o Hen. 5.

which cauſe, as it ſeemeth, no ſubſidy or ayde was demanded, but the King againe pawning his Crowne to his Vncle *Beaufort*, the rich Cardinall, for twenty thouſand pound, before the ſaid month was expired, with foure thouſand horſe, and foure and twenty thouſand foote returned into *France* to follow thoſe warres.

The King pawneth his Crowne for money. *Pontus Heterus.*

(66) Neither was his haſt more then needed: for *Iohn* Earle of *Bucquhanan*, and *Archbald Dowglas*, two valiant leaders of ſeauen hundred reſolute Scots, repaired into *France* to ayde the *Daulphin*, and ioyning with the French in *Anion*, meant to haue ſurprized the Duke of *Clarence* before he had been aware: in which enterprize, foure ſtragling Scots, taken and brought to his preſence * as he ſate at dinner, reuealed the intent and ſtrength of the Enemy, whoſe approach was very neere at hand. This newes no ſooner came, but the Duke ouer-haſtily got to horſe (ſaying, *they are all ours*) leauing his troupes to follow him with as much celerity as they might. His ſuddaine and vnlooked-for approach, cauſed the Scots to take into the Church of *Bargie* for their ſafety, where whilſt they were making defence, the reſt tooke the Alarme, and the Earle of *Bucquhanan* manned the Bridge, to whoſe ayde *Hugh Kennedie* with an hundred horſe preſented himſelfe.

Alain Chartier.

* Vpon *Eaſter* Eue.

Bucquhanan.

(67) The Duke of *Clarence* ſeeing no poſſibility to free the paſſage with his ſlender troupe of horſe, alighted on foot, and gaue forth with a furious charge, where the Earle of *Bucquhanan* came to blowes, being followed by two hundred horſe; and either ſide fighting with equall courage and rancour. *Clarence* gaue ſingular demonſtration of his great valour, vntill, as he was re-mounting, one *Iohn Swinton* a Scot wounded him in the face with his Lance, and threw him to the ground, being the firſt man of the Engliſh that there was ſlaine, where likewiſe died the Earle of *Kyme*, the Lords *Gray* & *Roſſe*, beſides other men of marke, and fifteene hundred common ſouldiers, the Earles of *Huntington* & *Somerſet*, with *Thomas Beaufort* his brother, were taken priſoners. The * cauſe of this ouerthrow, is imputed to the Dukes haſt in not ſtaying for his Horſemen. *Clarence* that day vpon his Creſt ware a Circlet ſet with precious ſtones, which being taken off his Helmet by a Scot, was ſold to *Iohn Steward* of *Derby*, for a thouſand Angels. For this fortunate dayes ſucceſſe (wherein yet the Enemy alſo loſt eleauen hundred, and ſundry of them men of principal note,) the *Daulphin* made the Earle of *Bucquhanan* Conſtable of *France*. This loſſe receiued, the Earle of *Salisbury* (who followed with the other forces, but came too late to the encounter,) thought to requite, and bringing forward his troupes, the enemy gaue ground, whereby yet hee recouered the dead body of *Clarence*, and ſent it to *Roane*, from whence it was conuayed into *England*.

The Duke of *Clarence* ſlaine.

Alain Chartier.

* *Enguerrant.*

Idem.

Denis Sauage Chron. de Fland.

(68) After this victory the *Dolphinois* beſieged *Alenzon*, which the Earle of *Salisbury* with his beſt forces ſought to relieue; but finding the enemy too ſtrong, retired to the Abbey of *Becq*; in whoſe retreat the French charged vpon him, and ſlew 300. of his troupes, but finding no meanes to poſſeſſe *Alenzon*, raiſed their ſiege and returned to *Anion*.

Enguerrant. de Monſtrel.

(69) King *Henry* therefore vpon notice of his brothers death, was much perplexed, for beſides the naturall affection of a brother, his wiſdome, valour, and councell in the warres was highly eſteemed by him, and to ſpeake truth, there were very few Princes of that age to be equalled vnto him. Wherefore ordaining his other brother *Iohn* Duke of *Bedford* his Lieutenant, and leauing his faire Queene moſt honorably attended, vpon the tenth of Iune he landed at *Callis*, hauing in his company *Iames* king of *Scotland*, in hope either to draw the Scots vnto his ſeruice, or elſe to withdraw their ayds from the *Daulphin*, by the ſight of their own king vnder his royall ſtandard. But the Scots, conſtantly French, being demanded why they would fight againſt their Soueraigne, anſwered directly, that they might not acknowledge any duty vnto *Iames*, who as yet liued vnder the obedience of another. His deſigne thus failing, his confidence was in his right and his ſword.

Denis Sauage.

Bucquhanan.

(70) The morrow after his arriuall he diſpatched the Earle of *Dorſet*, & the Lord *Clifford* with twelue hundred horſe and foot vnto *Paris*, to relieue the Duke of *Exceſter*, who was ſtraightned of victuals by the *Dolphinois*, that harraſed the Country adioyning, taking *Bonneual*, *Galandon*, and ſome other forts, and in his fortunate ſucceſſes, and new conceiued hope then marched to *Chartiers* with ſeauen thouſand men at Armes, foure thouſand Croſſe-bowes, and ſixe thouſand Archers ſtrong, where he began the ſiege, whom the Baſtard of *Thian* brauely reſiſted, and ſent to King *Henry* for aide.

Enguerrant.

(71) *Henry*, after a few dayes ſtay in *Callis*, marched to *Monſtrelet*, and there lodged, quartering his Army in the villages about, where he found the Duke of *Burgogne* ſomewhat impaired of health: three daies ſpent in conference, King *Henry* marched into *Ponthieu*, and the Duke to *Abbeuill* vpon *Some*, to facilitate his paſſage there to be made, whereof ſome doubt was held by reaſon of the Inhabitants diſpoſition, altogether vnſetled, and as ready to offend, as affect. *Henry* in his way tooke the Fort called *La Ferte*, commanded by the Baſtard of *Belluy*, which vpon ſummons rendered, and being committed to the cuſtody of *Borfflers* a Picard, was betrayed againe by him vnto the *Daulphin*: from hence departing, he paſſed the riuer at *Abbeuill*, where hee was royally receiued, and richly preſented, whence he marched to *Beauuois*, *Giſors*, & ſo to *Bois-de Vincennes*, where *Charles* and his Queene reſided, and receiued him with great honour, and laſtly to *Paris* where he was receiued in triumph.

Hiſtory of Normandy.

(72) But more minding a Conqueſt then the delicate pleaſures of Court, after he had conſulted vpon his affaires, and leuied French forces to adde to the Engliſh, he marched toward *Meaux*, intending (in reuenge of his brothers death) to fight with the *Daulphin*, who had now laine before *Chartiers* the ſpace of three weekes, and giuen it forth hee would come into the field. But hearing of King *Henries* comming, and that his Army by the acceſſe of ſupplies from *Paris*, and *Normandy*, was much increaſed, he brake vp his ſiege and departed: which newes related, *Henry* marched to *Dreaux*, and ſate downe before it. The Inhabitants and Garriſon ſenſible of the danger, praied parley, and accorded to render the Towne, if the *Daulphin* did not relieue them by a certain day, which expired, the Towne was deliuered, and eight hundred of the *Daulphins* ſouldiers permitted to depart vpon their Oathes, not to beare Armes againſt King *Henry*, nor his allies, for the ſpace of one yeare: then following the *Daulphin* (who fled ſtill before him) in his march he tooke *Baugency*, *Rougmont*, and other places of defence.

Enguerrant de Monſtrel.

(73) Seeing his purſuit of the flying *Daulphin* to be fruitleſſe, hee diuerted his Army vnto *Luigny* vpon the riuer of *Marne*, where * he cauſed many engines and habiliaments for the warre to be made; hauing a deſigne to beſiege *Meaux* in *Brie*, and infeſt the *Faulxbourg*, ſending before him the Duke of *Exceſter* with foure thouſand ſtrong, to preuent the burning of *Meaux*, by the Inhabitants, and a * few daies after followed himſelfe. His firſt worke was to ſecure his Armie, by entrenching his Quarters, which done and the Artillery mounted, hee beganne to batter the wals, and to make his Mines, wherein neither his induſtry nor perſonall labour was ſpared; and within, the *Baſtard of Vaurus*, with many men of marke, beſides the Inhabitants, and a thouſand trained Souldiers, were as buſie and reſolute for the defence. Meane-while *Iaques de Harecourt*, in ſeruice of the *Daulphin*, with ſeuen hundred ſouldiers harraſed the parts about *Vimeu*, againſt whom, ſome Engliſh Garriſons thereabout aſſembling, ſlew three hundred of his retinue, himſelfe hardly eſcaping by the ſwiftneſſe of his horſe.

Enguerrant de Monſtrel.

* *Circa finem menſis Septemb.*

* *6 Octobris.*

(74) Whilſt

An.D.1421. December 6.

(74) Whilſt King *Henry* lay in his ſiege before *Meaux*, newes was brought him that his Queene, at the Caſtle of *Windſore*, was deliuered of a Sonne, named alſo *Henry*, whereat he exceedingly reioyced, though (as ſome will haue it) he liked not well the place of her deliuery, hauing before commanded the contrary, and prophecying, that *what Henry of Monmouth ſhould get, Henry of Windſore would looſe*. At the ſame time likewiſe he heard that *Auranches* in *Normandy*, was ſurprized by the *Daulphinois*; and aboue three hundred Engliſh there in Garriſon put to the ſword, or taken Priſoners; to remedy which, King *Henry* ſent part of his owne Armie vnto the Earle of *Salisbury* his Lieutenant of *Normandy*, who within few daies recouered *Auranches* and reuenged the death of the ſurprized.

Holinſh.

(75) But *Henries* ſiege leſſened through theſe ſtirs in *Normandy*, and his minde buſied vpon his affaires that way, fitted opportunity to *Signieur de Offemont*, vnto whom the beſieged had many times made knowne their deſires to haue him their Gouernour; on a night therefore (ladders made ready to put ouer the wals to receiue him) he ſecretly approached the place, but being diſcouered by the Centinels, and the alarum taken, he, not able to recouer the ladders, fell into the ditch, whence by reaſon of his heauy armour he could not free himſelfe, and in taking was wounded in the face: the King eſteeming the taking of ſo braue and valiant a Captaine, as a prize of much importance. The Defendants now hopeleſſe of ſuccour, and finding themſelues not able to hold out, carried all their goods from the Towne into the * Caſtell: but the aſſailants diſcouering their actions, and perceiuing their feare, gaue a fierce aſſault, and by force made way into the Towne with their ſwords: Then *Henry* planting his Canons, began to batter the Caſtell, and ſhortly brought it to that extremity, that beſides want of bread, moſt of their hand-weapons were broken, and all of them in a manner dangerouſly wounded; yet deſiſted they not to prouoke the Engliſh with opprobrious words, which cauſed ſuch heauy conditions to be laid on them, as the like had not beene of any ſurrender before.

Enguerrant de Monſtrelet.

* Called the *March. Enguerrant.*

1. That the march of *Meaux* ſhould be rendred vpon the eleuenth of May next enſuing. 2. That *Meſſier Louis de Gaſt*, the Baſtard of *Vaurus*, *Iehan de Romieres*, *Tromagon*, & *Barnard de Meureuille* ſhould be left to K. *Henry* to execute. 3. That *Guicchard de Siſſayi*, *Pierron de Luppe*, *Robert de Geraines*, *Philip de Gamaches*, & *Iohn de Ouraye* ſhould be at the kings will vntill they had rendred, or cauſed to be rendred, all the Townes, Caſtels and Fortreſſes which they or any of them held in *France*, and then to be ſecured of life. 4. That all the *Engliſh*, *Welſh*, *Iriſh*, and *Scots* that heretofore had beene in the Kings obedience ſhould be left to the Kings diſcretion. 5. That all the reſt, aſwell Souldiers as Burgeſſes ſhould be left to the Kings pleaſure, their liues only excepted. 6. That the Earle of *Conuerſon*, who had been priſoner to *Pierron de Luppe*, and at the beginning of the ſiege of *Meaux*, was deliuered at the inſtance of *Henry* for a ranſome, ſhould now bee freed without ranſome. 7. That all the Armes and goods in the *March* ſhould be brought to one place, there ſafely guarded, and an Inuentory of the ſame deliuered vnto King *Henry*. 8. That all the Reliques and Church-ornaments ſhould likewiſe be put in ſafety. 9. That all the Priſoners, aſwell in the *March*, as in any other place, vnder any of their commandements, ſhould be ſet at liberty, ranſome-free, and acquitted of their promiſes. 10. That no man vntill the aſſigned day of rendring ſhould goe out of the *March*, and that none ſhould be admitted to enter into it, but ſuch as King *Henry* aſſigned. 11. That theſe Articles ſhould be ſubſcribed & ſealed by an hundred of the beſt men amongſt them. 12. That for the true performance of the concord, foure and twenty perſons, elected by King *Henrie*, ſhould remaine in hoſtage.

Enguerrant de Monſtrelet.

(76) The place thus rendred vnto the King, hee preſently ſent eight hundred ſelected perſons priſoners to *Paris*, *Roane*, and *England*. The Baſtard of *Vaurus*, and the Gouernour of *Meaux*, the King cauſed to be hanged before the Towne on a Tree, named (by the Baſtard himſelfe) *Vaurus*, whereon he had formerly hanged many *Engliſh* and *Burgundians*, and his head was fixed vpon a pole on the top of the ſame tree. *Meſſier Louis de Gaſt*, *Denis de Vaurus*, brother to the Baſtard, *Iehan de Romieres*, and *Barnard de Meureuille* were ſent to *Paris*, and there executed; the goods of the *March* were diſtributed by *Henry* amongſt his Captaines, & deſeruing men. Then order was taken for repairing of breaches, and a ſtrong Garriſon left in *Meaux* and the *March*. After whoſe ſurrender, *Creſpi*, the Caſtell of *Pierrepont*, *Merlau*, *Offemont*, and ſundry others, ſubmitted themſelues to *Henry*, whileſt the true *Daulphinois* ſet fire on theirs, before he could attaine to their ſiege.

(77) Queene *Katherine*, in *England*, daily hearing of the Kings ſucceſſe, deſired greatly the ſight of his perſon, and to that end prepared her voyage for *France*, vnder the conduct of Duke *Iohn*, the Kings brother, then Regent of *England*, who deputed for the time of his abſence his brother *Humfrey* Duke of *Gloceſter*, & tooke ſhip at *Southampton*. The winds proſperous, the 21. of *May* ſhe landed at *Harflew*, and with ſtill-encreaſing troupes of Noblemen, by eaſie iournyes came to *Roane*, and thence to *Bois de Vincennois*, whither her Husband, her Father and Mother with great ſtate came to meete her, of all whom ſhe was receiued as ſome Angelicall perſon, who together remoued to *Paris*, where King *Henry* and Queen *Katherine* in the *Lowre*, vpon the Feſtiuall of *Pentecoſt*, ſate in their royall roabes, with their imperiall Crownes on their heads, and kept their Court with great confluence of people, King *Henry* aſſigning the affaires of the Prouinces.

Enguerrant de Monſtrel.

An.D.1422.

(78) But though *Champagne*, *Picardy*, *Brie*, and *Normandy*, with the Iſle of *France*, were in *Henries* poſſeſſion, yet was not all reduced to his quiet obeyſance, a great and ſtrong part holding out ſtill for the *Daulphin*, who with 20. thouſand ſtrong, beſieged *La Charity* vpon *Loire*, and tooke it, from whence he marched to *Cone* vpon the ſame Riuer, whoſe Defendants agreed, that if *Burgundy* did not raiſe the ſiege by the 16. of *Auguſt*, they would ſurrender; which the ſaid Duke accepted, and thereupon ſent proffer of battell to the *Daulphin*, who was likewiſe as ready (& by his Herauld gaue his faith) to trie his fortune in the field: The day aſſigned, and preparation made, the Duke of *Burgundy* ſent to king *Henry* for his aſſiſtance; whoſe anſwere was, that himſelfe and his forces would not faile to be with him that day, and run the ſame fortunes with him in the field.

Enguerrant de Monſtrel.

(79) But great *Henries* ſtout minde was croſſed with his now crazy body, his health being ſo impaired with a burning feauer and fluxe, that he was diſſwaded from the March; ſo the command of the Army was committed to his brother *Iohn* Duke of *Bedford*, and the Earle of *Warwicke*, who ioyning their forces, for auoyding of contentions, through all their rankes intermingled the *Engliſh*, *Burgundians*, & *Picardes* together, and ſo the night before the deſigned day of battell, came to *Cone*, and encamped neere to the Towne; yet vndaunted *Henry*, who neuer miſcarried in any of his perſonall enterpriſes, taking his leaue at *Senlis* of K. *Charles*, and the two Queenes, in his horſe-litter (with a guard for his perſon) marched (though weake) after them; but at *Melun* finding his ſickneſſe to encreaſe, and himſelfe (who erſt could endure all things) now vnable to endure trauel, he returned to *Bois de Vincennois*.

King *Henries* ſickneſſe.

(80) The Engliſh colours diſplayed in the *Daulphins* eye, and his power inferiour in ſhew vnto them, howſoeuer he had vaunted, he thought it not beſt to aduenture the field; and therefore diſlodging from *Cone*, he marched to *Barry*, both to protract time, and to weary the enemey. *Cone* thus relieued, the Dukes marched to *Troyes* in *Campagne*, and ſet

downe their Army for the ſiege; but before the cords of their Tents could be ſufficiently made faſt, the Duke of *Bedford* had heauie newes of Great *Henries* encreaſed ſickneſſe, and danger of death: wherefore leauing the Duke of *Burgundy* with the Army, he poſted to *Bois de Vincennois*, where finding the relation too true, he greatly lamented his dying brothers eſtate: but the King much reioycing of his brothers comming, cheerefully comforted his mourning friends and Nobles, and made vnto them this graue and his laſt dying ſpeech.

His cheerefulnes in his ſickneſſe.

His laſt exhortation.

"(81) I well ſee you lament my death; but I doe "not ſo: for this ſhort life of mine ſhall leaue behind "me the witneſſe of my faith, integrity, iuſtice, hone- "ſty and mercy, which ſhal crowne my memory with "glory, and free me from blame and ſlander, which "in long Raignes can hardly be auoided: but you "haue iuſt cauſe to mourne at my vntimely death, "and it cannot be but a generall griefe to my people, "that in ſuch an Ocean of buſineſſe yet depending, I "ſhall leaue you and them deſtitute of a Prince able "to gouerne: but your ſorrow ought to be ſo much "the leſſe, when you call to mind the frailty of world- "ly things, and that euermore there will be ſomewhat "wanting which we deſire. My firſt requeſt vnto you "ſhall be this, that with an vnanimous affection to "aduiſe, fore-ſee and prouide, that the counſel which "I name may be followed. I further earneſtly en- "treat you to loue my Infant *Henry*, to inſtruct him "with your wiſedomes, that by your counſell, care "and loue, he may be made able and worthy to weild "ſo great an Empire. Comfort my deare Wife, the "moſt afflicted creature liuing, extend your loues vn- "to her in the ſame proportion as I haue euer loued "you. Touching the publique, I admoniſh and ex- "hort you to brotherly concord, and neuer to breake "league with *Philip* Duke of *Burgundy*; and if you "ſhall thinke it good, let my brother *Humfrey* Duke "of *Gloceſter* gouerne *England*, and not depart vpon "any occaſion whatſoeuer, vntill my Sonne *Henrie* "be of yeares to ſway the eſtate; and my brother "*Iohn* Duke of *Bedford*, with the aſſiſtance of *Philip* "D. of *Burgundy*, to manage the Realme of *France*. "Concerning *Charles* (commonly called the *Daul-* "*phin*) either he muſt by your ſwords be made to ſub- "mit himſelfe, or elſe you ſhall neuer be in quiet; and "it were as good to render him the poſſeſſion of what "you haue: wherefore ſleep not, and while you haue "meanes and oportunity be induſtrious. Laſtly, I be- "ſeech, charge, and command you, (howſoeuer time "or occaſion may perſwade, or inuite you to the con- "trary) that *Normandy*, receiued by my induſtry, and "your ſwords, being the ancient inheritance of the "Crowne of *England*, be not alienated for any cauſe "whatſoeuer. Among other things then enioyned, he willed that the Duke of *Orleance*, the Earle of *Eu*, *Guacourt*, and *Guicchard de Siſay*, ſhould not be ranſomed, vntill yong *Henry* were of yeares to gouerne.

Enguerrant de Monſtrel.

(82) This ſaid, and drawing neere to the period of his ſhort but glorious life; he demanded of his Phyſitians how long (in their iudgement) he might liue? whereunto when one of them anſwered, Sir, thinke on your ſoule, for your time is not aboue two howers: he made his confeſſion, and his Chaplaines afterward kneeling in prayer, when one of them out of the *Pſalmes* made mention of *Ieruſalem*, the *king* no ſooner heard the name, but with a loud voice he ſaid; *Lord, thou knoweſt that my purpoſe was to conquere Ieruſalem from the Infidels, if it had pleaſed thee to haue giuen me life:* and then *in a right faith, aſſured hope, perfect charitie, and ſound memory, he* * *rendred his ſoule to his Creator, after hee had raigned nine yeares, fiue moneths, and* * *foureteene dayes, leauing none like vnto him amongſt all the Kings and Princes of Chriſtendome, for which cauſe his death was not only bewailed of the Engliſh, whom he glorioufly had ruled, but alſo of the French, whom he had victorioufly conquered.* This was the manner of this triumphant Monarchs end, which moues men iuſtly to wonder

His death. *Tho. Walſingh.*

* *Auguſt* 30. *Fabian.*

* Some reckon but 11. dayes, *Stow* addeth fiue moneths more.

at *Hector Boetius*, who ſaith, he was ſtricken by God for ſacriledge, & died miſerably: *Hectors* friends haue occaſion to wiſh that his Readers ſhould not make that miſerable iudgement the rule and meaſure of crediting or diſcrediting his other writings, yet lamentable his end was indeed, if he periſhed by poiſon, whereof there was a vehement ſuſpition, as *Polydor Virgill* hath auerred, and the carriage of the French affaires afterward makes it more then probable.

Boet. lib. 16. cap. 19

Polydor.

(83) His workes of pious affection were ſhewed in erecting the Monaſteries of *Bethlem* and *Briget*, neere vnto his Manour of *Richmond*, as alſo his Princely gifts vnto the workes and furniture of *Weſtminſter* Church, beſides the brother-hood of S. *Giles* without *Creple-gate London*. And (which had ſurpaſſed all the reſt) he intended (ſuch was his loue to learning, and to the place where himſelfe was a learner) to haue founded in the great Caſtell at *Oxford*, a magnificent Colledge for *Diuines*, and Students of the ſeauen liberall Sciences, * the plot and ordinations of which foundation he had already drawne, & * reſolued to endow it with all the lands in *England*, belonging to Priors-Aliens; but his vntimely death preuented both that, and many other noble workes. To leaue a domeſticke teſtimony of his affection to Armes, he firſt inſtituted *Gartar* principall King at Armes: beſides other augmentations to the Order of Saint *George*. In a word, neuer liued Engliſh King with more true glory, nor euer died any in a more vnſeaſonable time, nor more lamented: for *he was godly in heart, ſober in ſpeech, ſparing of words, reſolute in deeds, prouident in Counſell, prudent in iudgement, modeſt in countenance, magnanimous in action, conſtant in vndertaking, a great Almeſ-giuer, deuout to Godward, a renowmed Souldier, fortunate in field, from whence he neuer returned without victory.* Theſe, with many other (I might almoſt ſay, *all other*) vertues are attributed to this moſt renowned amongſt Engliſh Kings; the more to be admired in him in ſo ſhort a raigne, and in thoſe yeares, he being but of 36. yeares, when he breathed forth his glorious ſoule.

Iob. Stowes Annal.

His workes of deuotion.

* *Iob. Roſſius.*

* *Tho. Gaſcoign. in Dict. Theolog.*

Tho. Walſingh.

(84) His bowels were interred in the Church of Saint *Mauro de Foſſes*, and his embalmed Corps was cloſed in Lead, and attended vpon by the Lords of *England*, *France*, *Normandy*, & *Picardy*, was brought vnto *Paris* (where in the Church of our Lady ſolemne exequies were performed) and thence to *Roane*, where it reſted till all things were ready to ſet forward for *England*; though the Cities of *Paris* and *Roane* ſtroue, and offered great ſummes of gold to haue *Henries* royall remaines enterred amongſt them. His picture artificially was moulded of boyled hides, and countenance painted according to life, vpon whoſe head an imperiall Diademe of gold & pretious ſtones was ſet, the body clothed with a purple roabe, furred with Ermine, in his right hand it held a ſcepter royall, and in the left a ball of gold; in which manner it was carried in a Chariot of State, couered with red veluet, embroidered with gold, and ouer it a rich Canopy, borne by men of great place. Thus accompanied by *Iames* king of *Scotland*, many Princes, Lords and Knights of *England* and *France*, he was conuaied from *Roane* to *Abbeuile*, to *Heſdin*, to *Menſtruill*, *Bologne*, and *Calais*, the Chariot all the way compaſſed about with men all in white garments, bearing burning Torches in their hands; next vnto whom followed his houſhold-ſeruants, all in blacke, and after them the Princes, Lords, and Eſtates in veſtures of mourning adorned; then two miles diſtant from the corps followed the ſtill-lamenting Queene, attended with Princely mourners, her tender and pierced heart more inly mourning, then her outward ſad weeds could in any ſort expreſſe.

Stowes Annal.

The manner of his bringing into *England*.

(85) And thus by Sea and Land the dead King was brought vnto *London*, where through the ſtreets the Chariot was drawne with foure horſes, whoſe Capariſons were richly embroidered, and embоſſed with the royall Armes; the firſt with *Englands* Armes alone, the ſecond with the Armes of *France* and

and *England* in a field quartered, the third bare the Armes of *France* alone, and the fourth three Crowns *Or* in a field Azure, the ancient Armes of King *Arthur*, now wel-beseeming him who had victoriously vnited * three Kingdomes in one. The body with all pompous celebrity was enterred in the Church at *Westminster* (for so *Henry* had by his last will commanded) next beneath King *Edward the Confessor*, vpon whose Tombe Queene *Katherine* caused a royall picture to be laid, couered all ouer with siluer plate guilt, but the head thereof altogether of *massy-siluer*. All which at that *Abbeys* suppression, (when the battering hammers of destruction did sound almost in euery Church) were sacrilegiously broken off, and by purloyning transferred to farre prophaner vses, where, at this day, the headlesse monument, (worthy to be restored by some more Princely and sacred hand) is to be seene, and with these verses written vpon his Tombe.

* *France. England. Ireland.*

Legend des Femmes.

Dux Normanorum, verus Conquestor eorum,
Hæres Francorum, decessit & Hector eorum.

Here Normans Duke, so stil'd by Conquest iust,
True Heire of France, great Hector, lies in dust.

His Wife.

(86) *Katherine*, daughter to King *Charles* the sixt of *France*, vpon an agreement of peace forementioned, was married vnto King *Henry* at *Troyes* in *Champagne*, *Iunij* 3. A. D. 1420. and after *Febr.* 14. was Crowned at *Westminster* with all solemnities. She was his Queene two yeares, and about three months; and surviuing him, was re-married vnto *Owen Theodore* of *Wales*, vnto whom she bare three sonnes, *Edmund*, *Iasper*, & *Owen*, and a daughter, who liued not long. *Owen* tooke the habite of religion at *Westminster*, the other two by King *Henry* the sixt (their halfe-brother) were honorably preferred; *Edmund* was created Earle of *Richmond*, and marrying *Margaret*, the sole heire of *Iohn Beaufort* Duke of *Sommerset*, was Father by her vnto *Henry* (the onely heire of *Lancaster*) afterwards King of *England*. *Iasper* the second brother, was created the same yeare Earle of *Pembroke*, who requited his brothers kindnesse with continuall assistance against the house of *Yorke*; and when that faction preuailed, he was forced to flye into *Flanders*, but it againe waning, he was both restored, and to his greater honor created Duke of *Bedford*, dying without any issue legitimate. This Queene, either for deuotion, or her own safety, tooke into the Monastery of *Bermondsey* in *Southwarke*, where dying *Ian.* 2. A. D. 1436. she was buried in our Ladies Chappell within Saint *Peters* Church at *Westminster*; whose Corps taken vp in the raigne of King *Henry* the seauenth her Grand-childe (when he laid the foundation of that admirable structure) and her Coffin placed by King *Henry* her Husbands Tombe, hath euer since so remained, and neuer re-buried: where it standeth (the Couer being loose) to be seene and handled of any that will; and that by her owne appointment, saith *Report*, (which doth in this, as in most things, speake vntruth) in regard of her disobedience to King *Henry*, for being deliuered of her Son at the place he forbad.

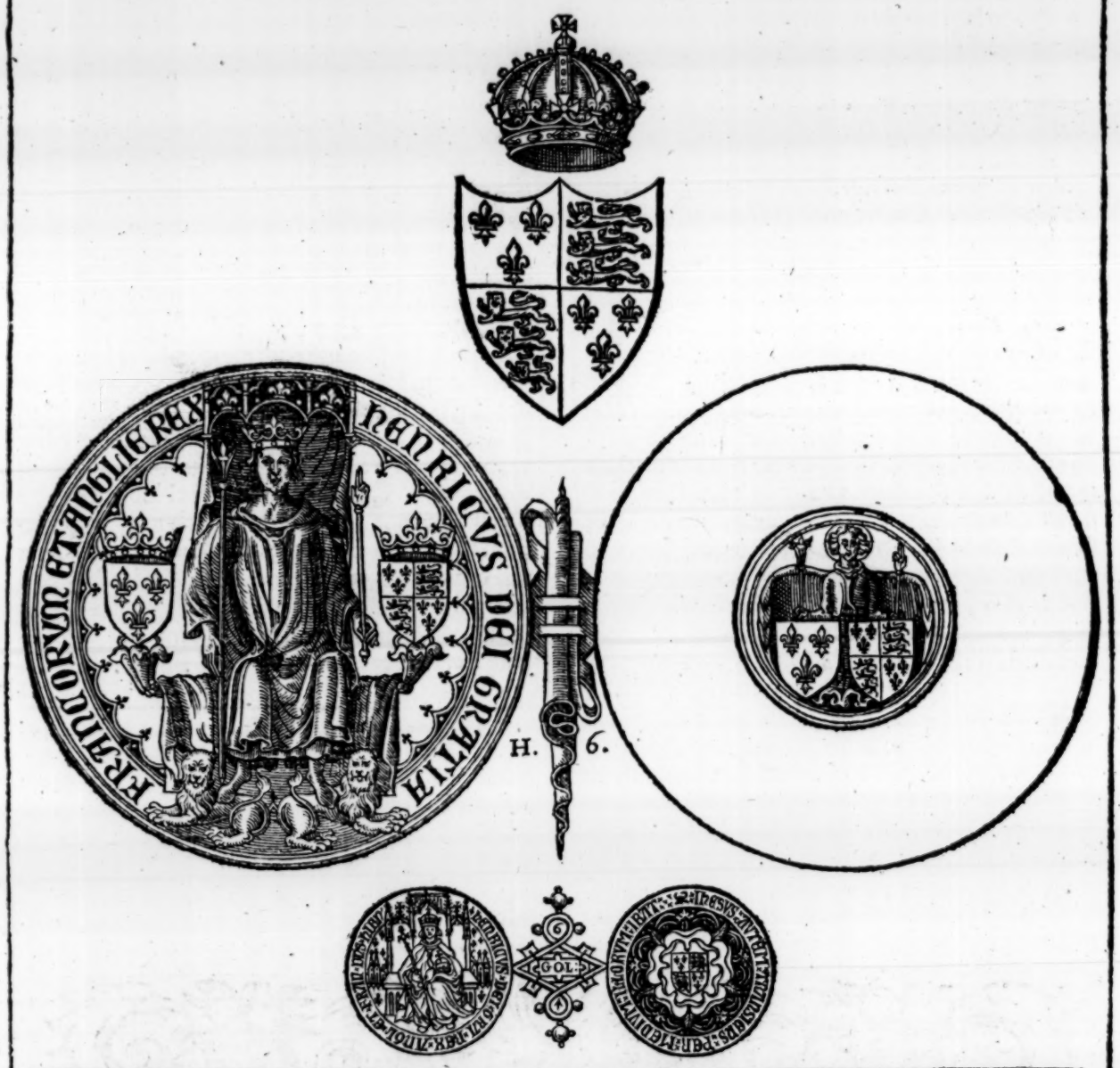
His Sonne.

(87) *Henry* the onely child of a royall couple, borne at *Windsore*, and not nine months old at his fathers death, succeeded in his dominions, though not holding his Empire with the like glory. Crowned he was with the Crownes of two Kingdomes, but vnable by much to weild the Scepter of one, that of *France* was lost by the factions of his Nobles, before it was well wonne; and *Englands* Crowne twice pluckt from his head before his death. Of whose aduentures and variable raigne (the times when *England* lay goared in the bloud of her ciuill warres) we shall speake in the ensuing relation of his innocent, but vnfortunate life.

Henry VI.

HENRIE THE SIXTH, KING OF ENGLAND, AND FRANCE, LORD OF IRELAND: THE THREE AND FIFTIETH MONARCH OF ENGLAND, HIS RAIGNE, ACTS, AND ISSVE.

Monarch 53



CHAPTER XVI.

*Dan.ca.2. v.21. HAd God Almighty (the *giuer and transferrer of Kingdomes) thought good that the Engliſh ſhould haue ſetled in the *Continent* of *Europe*, and not haue beene ſhut vp within their Ilands, he would not ſo ſoone haue depriued them of their late incomparable Captaine and Soueraigne *Henry* the fifth. But it ſeemes that God hauing humbled the French Nation vnder *Henries* victorious hand, ment now again to reſtore them to his wonted fauour by taking away their terrour and triumpher, ſubſtituting his Son (an Infant) in his place, *Henry* of that name the 6. born at *Windſor*, who was crowned about the eight month of his age. The prety hands which could not feed himſelfe, were yet made capable to weild a Scepter, and he that was beholding to Nurſes for milke, did neuertheleſſe diſtribute the ſuſtenance of law and iuſtice to ſo great and warlike Nations. Counſell ſupplies the defect of age. At his Fathers death he had Vncles, men of approued valour and diſcretion, to whom the principall care of all publike affaires by the Fathers laſt prouiſions was committed. *Humfrey* Duke of *Gloceſter* (the yonger brother of two) had the *gouernment of *England* entruſted to his fidelity: the regency of *France* was aſſigned for Prouince to *Iohn* Duke of *Bedford*, the eldeſt liuing vncle of the King, as to a Prince of much magnanimity, proweſſe and felicity in conduct, with whom was *ioyned *Philip* Duke of *Burgundy*. The guard and cuſtody of the royall Infant was aſſigned to *Thomas* * Duke of *Exceſter*: the nurture & education to his *mother, the Queene *Dowager*: vpon the two Vncles (as betweene the two Poles of the Engliſh Empire) the whole globe of gouernment moued: whatſoeuer is done by the Kingly power is ſaid to be done by the King. We ſhall behold notwithſtanding in the tragicall glaſſe of this *Henries* raigne, how farre the imbecillity of the kingly perſon may

*Titus Liuius.

*Iohn Til. Chr.

*Stowes Annal.

*Polydor Virgil. hiſt. lib. 23.

Henry the ſixt began his raigne the laſt day of Auguſt, being the day of his Fathers death. An. D. 1422.

may affect the body politique with good or euill. If Hiſtories were ordayned to ſtirre affections, not to teach and inſtruct, neuer any Princes raigne ſince the Conqueſt did better deſerue to be deſcribed with a tragicall Stile, and words of horror and ſorrow, although the beginning (like the faire morning of a moſt tempeſtuous day) promiſed nothing more then a continuance of paſſed felicities.

(2) For the State of the Engliſh affaires was great and flouriſhing, *England* without tumult, the naturall fierce humors of her people conſuming or exerciſing themſelues in *France*, and *France* her ſelfe (for the nobler parts, together with the grand City of *Paris*, head of that Monarchie) was at their deuotion. There wanted nothing which might aduance the worke begun. Moſt noble and expert Leaders, as thoſe which had beene faſhioned in the Schoole of Warre, vnder the beſt Martiall-Maſter of that Age, the late *Henry*, armes full of veterant Souldiers, moſt of which were of skill ſufficient to be Commanders themſelues: their friends firme, no defect nor breach (by which diſſipation might enter to the ouerthrow of the *Engliſh* greatneſſe) as yet diſcloſing themſelues. Wiſdome, piety, riches, forwardneſſe at home, courage and like forwardneſſe abroad. It is a fruitfull ſpeculation to conſider how GOD carrieth his part in the workes of men, alwaies juſtly, ſometimes terribly, but neuer otherwiſe then to bring all worldly greatneſſe and glory into due contempt and loathing, that the Soule may be erected to her Creator, and aſpire to a Crowne celeſtiall. The firſt diſaduantage which happened to the *Engliſh* cauſe (after the late Kings deceaſe) was the death of *Charles* the *French King*, who ſuruiued the other but * fifty and three dayes. This we may worthily call the firſt (as it was a great, aſwell as the firſt) diſaduantage, for the imbecilities of that Prince were a ſtrength to the *Engliſh*; On the other ſide (God obſeruing a *talio* and *parilitie*) the infancy of young *Henry* was an aduantage to *Charles* the *Daulphin* of *France*, now by them of his faction called King of *France*, as the *Engliſh* vſed in deriſion to enſtyle him King of *Berry*, becauſe little elſe was left vnto him.

* *Paul. Aemyl. in Car.7.*

(3) In *England* (whoſe condition the order of nature wils vs firſt to deſcribe, becauſe there was the ſeat of Counſell, by which all the actions of the generall State were directed) a Parliament was aſſembled to eſtabliſh the Crowne vpon the Infant, and to prouide for the publique vſes and neceſſities of State. Money *(alwaies one of them) was liberally granted. It was a ſtrange ſight (and the firſt time that euer it was ſeene in *England*) which in the next yeare happened, an Infant ſitting in the Mothers lap, before it could tell what *Engliſh* meant, to exerciſe the place of Soueraigne direction in open Parliament. Yet ſo it was, for the Queene to illumine that publique conuention of States with her Infants preſence, remoued from *Windſor* to *London*; through which Citie (her ſelfe royally ſeated, with her young ſonne vpon her lap) paſſed in majeſticke manner to *Weſtminſter*, and there tooke Seat among all his Lords, whom (by the ordinary mouth of that high Court) he ſaluted and ſpake to them at large concerning the premiſes; where, as he vttered the minde of his place by anothers tongue, ſo he elſewhere proſecuted all affaires by other mens hands and Organs.

A Parliament at *Weſtminſter.*

* The leuie therof was 5. Nobles on euery ſacke of Wooll.

(4) The Duke of *Bedford* (as the nature of his place exacted) to ſettle and preſerue the State of *France* for his young Nephew the King, together with *Philip Duke of Burgoigne*, who as yet continued a ſtedfaſt friend to the *Engliſh* Soueraignetie, (knowing the *Daulphin* buſie to recouer *France*) ſtrengthned the confines of their gouernement with Garriſons, aſſembled their powers, and laboured to retaine the hearts of their owne party. The Duke of *Bedford* Regent of *France*, had * words to them to this effect in open aſſembly: *That they ſhould not violate their plighted and ſworne Alleageance, neither by themſelues endeauour, nor endure that by others their Soueraigne Lord young Henry ſhould be defrauded of his inheritance; or that the hatreds and enmities which now began to die between the French and Engliſh names, ſhould through the practiſes of moſt faithleſſe men be renued, and re-inflamed: That they would remember how (by Gods ſpeciall fauour and goodneſſe) the two Kingdomes of France and England were vnited vnder one moſt faire and goodly Monarchie in an eternall league, and lately ſo eſtabliſhed that no humane force could reſiſt. That albeit they had ſuſtained dammage by the warre, yet the ſame would be recouered with aduantage, if they honoured, loued, and obeyed their lawfull Soueraigne Lord King Henry, and proſecuted his enemies with extremity, according to bounden dutie.* This Oration found plauſible admiſſion in ſhew: *Henry* is proclaimed King of *England* and of *France*, and ſuch chiefes as were preſent did their Homages, taking oath to be true: The like Obligation and Sacrament of alleageance was put vpon all the *French* through the *Engliſh* Dominions in *France*.

* *Polyd. Virg. hiſt. lib.23.*

The Regents Oration to the *French.*

(5) *Charles*, (who as ſonne and heire to the late King, entitled himſelfe King of *France*, by the name of *Charles* the ſeauenth) being then about the ſeauen and twentieth yeare of his age, full of courage and new hopes, gathered what force he could: his chiefe Leuies were made in *Daulphinois* and *Italy*, from whence (for money) he drew ſundry troupes. But the beſt ſinewes of his Army moued in certaine thouſands of the *Scotiſh* Nation, which ſerued vnder him. The firſt ſtep which the *Charolines*, or forces of *Charles* made into hoſtile action was vnfortunate, for comming to raiſe the ſiege which the *Engliſh* held about *Crepan they were put to flight, with the loſſe of about two thouſand of their numbers. This was noble in *Charles*, and his *Charolines*, that their minds ſunke not at the horrour of ſuch an euill *Omen*. It was, ſaith *Aemylius* of them, *reſolued to encounter aduerſe fortune with encreaſe of courage*. The Regent on the other ſide was vigilant vpon all occaſions: the power of his Regency extended it ſelfe without contradictiõ *through Vimew, Ponthieu & Picardy, from Paris to Reines, Chalons and Troyes, vp to the water of Loire, and the Sea:* A goodly ſcope of territory, and abſolutely the beſt of *France*. That late loſſe and foile of the *Charolines* was repayred ſhortly after by an ouerthrow in skirmiſh which they gaue to the *Engliſh* party, from whom (with the ſlaughter of about fifteene hundreth) they recouered a great booty, ſpecially of Cattell which the *Engliſh* had gotten in the Countries of *Nugion* and *Main*, but thus intercepted vpon their returne into *Normandie*. *Charles* (which *Paul. Aemylius* omitteth) doubleth that ſucceſſe: for * *Meulan* vpon *Sein* is by him taken where all the *Engliſh* are put to the Sword: but the poſſeſſion was ſhort, and the reuenge ſpeedy: *Thomas Montacute* Earle of *Salisbury* (a man (ſaith *Polydor*) more like the old Romans than people of that age, ſo great was his vertue and cheualry) hauing with him *Iohn* of *Luxemburg*, Generall of the *Burgundian* horſemen, recouers the place, killing all the *French* which were found therein.

* *Paul. Aemyl. in Car.7.*

* *Cranant.* ſaith *Polyd.* who placeth this action in the following yeere.

The bounds of the Engliſh Regency in *France.*

* *Stowes Annal.*

* *Polyd. Virg. l. 13.*

(6) At the City of * *Amiens* in *Picardy*, the three great Dukes of *Bedford* (Regent of *France*) *Burgoign* and *Britaine* meet to conſult of the whole courſe and ſumme of affaires. There they renued the League, adding, *that each ſhould be others friend, and that all of them ſhould defend King Henries right with their beſt forces*. For the better aſſurance of this profitable amity, the Regent (then a Bachelour) tooke to wife the Lady *Anne*, ſiſter to *Philip* Duke of *Burgundy*: while the Regent was abſent from *Paris* vpon theſe juſt occaſions, the *Pariſians* (who not long before had * ſent Ambaſſadors into *England*, to acknowledge their obedience to King *Henry*) practiſed with *Charles* to deliuer their City. The Regent had notice of this dangerous treaſon, and with his preſence retayned them in duetie. The chiefe Actors payed their liues for ſatisfaction of the treſpaſſe. In good time

* *Stowes Annal.*

Polyd. Virg. l. 23.

The whole Field-forces of the English in *France* vnder the Duke of *Bedford*.

time there arriued out of *England* ten thousand fresh Souldiers. Ouer them he ordained Captaines, the famous Earle of *Salisbury*, *William Pole* Earle of *Suffolke*, *Robert Willoughby* and others. Himselfe led about with him for the generall seruice, eighteene hundred horsemen, and eight thousand foote. With these field-forces the maine of the *English* estate in *France* was held together, though not without difficulty, and diuers aduentures. In them he tooke from *Charles* sundry strong Townes, and Fortresses * as *Crotoy*, *Baside*, *Riol*, *Rula*, *Gyrond*, *Basile*, *Mermound*, *Milham*, *Femel*, *Seintace*, and many other.

* *Rob. Fab.*

(7) The Regents chiefe designe was to draw *Charles* to fight, hoping by his ouer-throw to conclude many dayes workes in one. For this cause he drew into *Normandy*. *Charles* was then in *Tourain*, where hee mustereth his people. The Regent prospers in the meane time, and takes by siege a place of good importance, presuming so to dare the *French* out to a Battell. *Iohn Duke of Alanzon* is sent with an Army and instructions to fight, if occasion serued, but *Charles* himselfe was not suffered to hazard his person. Not farre from the Towne * of *Vernoil*, which the * *English* had taken before the * Duke of *Alanzon*, and his *Charolines* could succour it, the two Armies embattelled themselues. The fight began with shot, which seeming not quicke enough to dispatch the worke, the Battels came to hand-stroakes, where for some houres, there was maintayned a constant and doubtfull Battell, with great fury on both sides. The English enured to the French Warres, hauing borne the first heats of their enemies, (which are in that Nation most ragefull:) by perseuerance vtterly brake and put them to flight. The Regent * himselfe with a Battle-axe fought most fiercely, winning immortall honour in that bloudy journey. There were slaine of the enemies side: *Iohn* * *Earle of Boughwhan* Constable of *France*: *Archenbald Dowglas Duke of Tourain*, and Lieutenant of *France*; *Archembald* his sonne *Earle of Wigton*, with many other of the Scots. Of the French there were slaine the *Earle of Vantadowr*, and sundry others. In all there died vpon that side certaine thousands: None writes of fewer then foure or fiue thousand, nor any of aboue fifteene. The great number of the slaine, is not the measure of a victory, but the vse and effects which it drawes. The Duke of *Alanzon* himselfe was taken Prisoner, with about two * hundred others of speciall worth. The *English* payed for this noble victory, the bodies of about two thousand of their Souldiers which lost life there, for it was fought vpon faire tearmes in the open Fields, and carried by meere man-hood. That which followeth till the siege of *Orleance*, *Paul* * *Æmylius* comprehendeth in some few Lines. *The fierce Conquerour besiegeth Mantz in Main, and with Ordnance beates downe part of the wals. It yeelds hereupon. The English Garrison left therein, after the taking not being sufficient to containe the Towne in due subiection, is compelled to flie to a Tower for their safetie, the enemies which were admitted into it by the Burgers enjoying the rest. The Lord Talbot (the most noble Captaine of the English) presently arriues to the rescue, and puts the malefactors to death. The English Empire extends it selfe to the Riuer of Loire. Charles they call in scorne the King of Berry.* Thus roundly he.

*Polyd.Virg.li.23.

* *Gagwin.*
* *Paul.Aemil.*
* *Hect.Boet.lib.16.*

* *In Carol. 7.*

The Regents victory at *Vernoil* in *Perch*.
* *Stowes Annal.*

* *Hect.Boet.lib.16.*

In nine Articles and capitulations drawne and concluded at the yeelding of *Mantz*, this was one, as perhaps it was in euery like occasion. *That if any persons were found within the City, which had beene consenting to the murther of Iohn Duke of Burgoine, father to Philip Duke of Burgoine, in full reuenge whereof, he had hitherto adhered to the English, that * they should simply be at the Regents mercy.*

The murtherers of *Iohn* Duke of *Burgoin* excepted in capitulations.

* *Rob Fab. Chron.*

(8) The chiefe things which passed in *England*, during these happy proceedings in *France*, were briefly these:

Iames Steward the young King of *Scots*, hauing beene casually taken vpon the Sea, in the raigne of King *Henry* the fourth; and after his fathers death not sufficiently tendered nor respected by the *Scots*, remained still a Prisoner. The rather therefore to hinder the Scots, (that was the hope) from ayding the French, it was now thought fit by the Councell of *England* to enlarge him. Which was accordingly done vpon pledges. Not long after the which, he married the Lady *Iane*, daughter to *Iohn Earle of Sommerset*, neere Cosen to King *Henry*. Principall setters-forward of this marriage (as by likelihood of his liberty also) to honour their Family with a Kingly alliance, were the *Earle of Sommerset* and the *Bishop of Winchester*, both of them *Beauforts*, who together with sundry other of the *English* Nobility, conducted the new married Couple to the Scottish Borders. Much of his ransome was abated, and his new kinsemen bestowed vpon him * store of Plate, Gold, and Siluer, and among other gorgeous Ornaments suits of hangings, in which the labours of *Hercules* were most curiously wrought. But this wise King (hauing had the benefit of excellent and Princely education in *England*) did not suffer any obligations contracted in the time of his durance, to preponderate with him the Generall State of *Scotland*, whose freedome did much depend vpon the fortune of *France*, whereby the maine drift of his enlargers was not much aduanced. The reason notwithstanding which led this action was probable, and so much the more commendable, for that it was tempered with humanity. The forreine mischiefe thus howsoeuer intended, hereby to be auoyded or qualified, *Sir Iohn Mortimer*, (a dangerous fire-brand at home) being Prisoner in the Tower, was arraigned for many treasonable speeches vsed to a yeoman, (seruant to *Sir Robert Scot* *, Keeper of the Tower of *London*) to draw the said yeoman to let him escape: promising him great matters. The poynts of his speeches were as that fellow charged vpon him in open Parliament.

* *Hect.Boet.lib.17. Grafton.*

* *Rob.Fab.1.Conc.*

1. That the said Mortimer meant to flie into Wales to the Earle of March, and with an army of forty thousand men to enter England, and strike off the Protectors head, and the Bishop of Winchesters.

2. That the Earle of March ought by right to be King of England, and if the Earle would not, that then he himselfe was next Heire.

The title of *Mortimer* to the Crowne, sought to be crusht.

3. That if he could not safely reach to the Marches, he would saile to the Daulphin of France, and there serue with honor, which he was assured of.

For these ouertures of escape, and conspiracie, the Knight was drawne, hanged, and headed: Of whose death no small * slander arose. Perhaps he that writes so, doth meane that the whole was but a stratageme to rid him out of the way. *Edmund* Lord *Mortimer Earle of March*, the party whom the said Knight mentioned, was sent not long after with many other Lords, and competent numbers of men, into *Ireland*, where he deceased without issue, whose great Patrimony descended to *Richard Plantagenet Earle of Cambridge*, the fatall disturber of the realme of *England*, vpon the pretence of *Mortimers* title to the Crowne.

* *Hal.Chron.*

Camb. Britan.

(9) The amity with the Duke of *Burgoin*, which the English had hitherto found so auaileable toward their Conquests, hauing otherwise receiued some few slight flawes, was now in danger of vtter breaking vpon this occasion: *Humfrey* Duke of *Gloucester* Protector of the Realme, following councell vnworthy of his person and place, contracted himselfe with the Lady *Iaqueline of Bauaria*, *Inheritrix* of *Holland*, *Zeland*, *Henault*, and many other faire Dominions in the *Netherlands*, notwithstanding that *Iohn Duke of Brabant*, her former husband was then liuing, and that the suit of diuorce commenced by *Iaqueline* * depended still betweene them. The Duke of *Burgoin* held with *Brabant*. This bred bitter humor in the Duke of *Gloucester*, who being not vsed to meete with any rubs or confrontments, and now when in person he came with an army to take

The Duke of *Gloucester* rashly marrieth another mans wife.

* *Gener.Histor.* by *Edw.Grimston.*

Iames the first King of Scots set at liberty out of *England*.

The Duke of Burgoin challenged by the Duke of Glouceſter to fight.

seiſon of *Henault* in right of his ſuppoſed wife, finding himſelfe hard ſet vnto, by the aides which *Burgoin* miniſtred to the Duke of *Brabant*, he challengeth Combat of the Duke of *Burgundy*, calling him traitour. It was accepted, and the *lie ſtrongly thruſt vpon *Glouceſter*, who (leauing the light Lady at her Towne of *Monts* in *Henault*) returned into *England*, doing nothing of that for which at that time hee came. Mediation tooke vp the quarrell afterward betweene the Duke of *Burgundy* and him. Not long after the returne of the Duke of *Glouceſter* into *England*, the firſt marriage which had beene made and conſummated betweene the Duke of *Brabant*, and the ſaid Lady *Iaqueline*, was pronounced lawfull by Pope *Martin* the fifth. Hereupon the Duke of *Glouceſter* (hauing ſuſtained many loſſes, aſwell of friends as treaſure, in puniſhment of that great ſinne, in taking anothers Wife) forthwith marries *Eleanour*, daughter to *Reignald* Lord *Cobham* of *Sterborough*, whereby hee made her amends for that * vnlawfull familiarity which had formerly paſſed betweene them.

* *Stowes Annal.*

Court-factions in *England*.

Mean-while the Court of *England* doth well ſhew that the King was an Infant, for it was full of dangerous emulations and ſidings, the Duke of *Glouceſter* (whoſe high office it was to tender the wel-fare of the King and State) laying ſundry grieuous accuſations againſt the Cardinall *Beaufort* (ſonne of *Iohn* Duke of *Lancaſter*) Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and Lord Chancellor, as being a perſon very dangerous vnto both.

See Foxe his Martyrologie in Hen. 6.

(10) The newes of theſe home-contentions comming to the *Duke of Bedford* into *France*, eaſily drew him home, though the State of that Realme could not well want his preſence. For *Iohn Duke of Britain*, (notwithſtanding his late renouation of league with the Regent at *Amiens*) jealous of the * *Engliſh* greatneſſe, turned ſuddenly to *Charles*, and with him, *Arthur*, *Earle of Richmond* his brother. This puts freſh ſpirit into the drooping *Prince*. *Arthur* is by *Charles* made Conſtable of his *France*, in place of the Scottiſh Earle, who was ſlaine at the bloudy Battell of *Vernoil*. The Duke of *Britaine* ouer-liues this reuolt but a ſmall time. *Arthur*, to declare his forwardneſſe on the behalfe of *Charles*, aſſembleth about twenty thouſand men, and with them ſodeinely beſiegeth *S. Iean* a towne of *Normandy*, vpon the Frontier of *Britaine*; which *Edmund Duke of Sommerſet*, Gouernour of *Normandy*, had lately fortified and ſtuft with Souldiers. The vnexpected arriuall of the *French*, did greatly at the firſt perplex the *Engliſh*, but vpon better aduiſe, they valiantly ſallied out vpon them, both before and behind, which ſtroke ſo great terrour into the enemy, that with loſſe of their Artillery, and many of their people they forſooke the ſiege. To redeeme this diſhonour, he turnes his fury vpon the Countrey of *Anjou*, which in many parts hee depopulates and ſpoyles. The Regent being reſolued to returne into *England*, leaues behinde him *Beauchamp* * *Earle of Warwick*; as lieutenant, who was lately arriued in *France*, hauing ſix thouſand freſh Souldiers in his company.

*Polyd. Virg. l. 23.

The new Conſtable of *France* miſcarrieth in his firſt enterprize.

* *Holinſh.*

The Duke of *Bedford* returnes into *England* to appeaſe the Court-factions.

(11) The preſence of the *Duke of Bedford*, Regent of *France*, was to the State of *England* very neceſſary. For the wiſdome and authority of ſo great a Prince, being eldeſt Vncle to the King, and one whom many great deedes made famous, allayed the diſtemper which he found at his arriuall. It was a worke worthy of his labour, and he alſo found it to be a worke indeede, and not eaſily effectuable. The differences were debated firſt at S^t. *Albans*, then at *Northampton*, laſtly in a Parliament at *Leiceſter*, which continued there till toward the end of Iune. The Duke of *Bedford* himſelfe, to auoid the note of partiality, for that his brother of *Glouceſter* was a party, did not intermeddle otherwiſe then as in Generall words to perſwade amity, but the whole cauſe was referred to arbitrators of greateſt Nobility and prudence: by whoſe endeuours all thoſe differences and grieuances were equally thruſt into one ſacke, to be ſealed vp for euer by obliuion, and without mention of amends on eyther ſide, the Duke and Biſhop, (the one hauing ſworne by his * Prince-hood, the other by his Prieſthood, truely to obſerue the award,) ſhooke hands; and were fully for that time reconciled. After which holy and neceſſary worke of priuate attonements, enſued acts of feſtiuitie and honour. For in the ſame Towne of *Leiceſter* the young King, not then fiue yeares of age, was at the high Feaſt of *Pentecoſt* dubbed Knight by the Regent of *France*. Immediately whereupon the King honoured *Richard* Earle of *Cambridge*, (who by the fatall errour of the Counſell, was at this Parliament created Duke of *York*, the ſame who was father to *Edward* the fourth) with the order of knighthood, and about forty more with him. This *Richard Duke of Yorke* was hee, who brought vpon this Kingdome and nation moſt dolefull diuiſions, to the vtter extirpation of all the male Lines of either Houſe, that is to ſay, his owne, and that of *Lancaſter*, whereof the young King was head. From *Leiceſter* the King was conueighed to *Killingworth*, and *Thomas Duke of Exceſter* dying, *Beauchamp Earle of Warwicke*, was conſtituted *Guardian* and Tutor to the King.

The Protector and the Biſhop made friends.

* *Holinſh.*

The King receiues Knighthood, and dubbeth *Richard* Duke of *York*.

An. D. 1425. *An. Reg. 4.*

(12) The Regent hauing thus worthily prouided for the quiet eſtate of the King and Country, returnes to his charge in *France*. There went ouer at the ſame time a choiſe and great number of freſh men, vnder the conduct of that immortally renowmed, the Lord *Talbot*, whoſe victories (ſaith *Polydor*) were ſo many, that his name was not onely moſt dreadfull to the *French*, but moſt famous through the World, euen at this preſent. That yee may know the man not to haue beene ſtudious of fine Phraſes; vpon the one ſide of his ſword-blade was engrauen, *Sum Talboti*, and vpon the other this boyſterous blunt ſentence;

Pro vincere inimicos meos.

An. D. 1427. *An. Reg. 5.*

The Regent, and the Lord *Talbot*, with freſh forces paſſe into *France*.

Talbots Mot.

The Duke of *Alenzon* (taken at the Caſtell of *Vernoil*) was ſet at liberty vpon payment of two * hundreth thouſand Sceuts of gold. At *Mountarges* about *Orleance* the *Engliſh* receiued an ouerthrow with the loſſe of about fifteene hundreth of their numbers, and in *Britaine* the *French* ſuſtained great dammages by a Captaine of the Duke of *Sommerſets*. Theſe were petty matters: They of *Mantz* in *Maine* had drawne in the *French* by night, who maſſacred the *Engliſh*. *William* Earle of *Suffolke*, Captain of the place ſends to *Iohn* Lord *Talbot* for ſuccour. It came, and that ſo vnexpectedly, that the *French* were alike diſtreſt. All but Souldiers were ſpared, and many alſo of them, though thruſt into Priſons. The Traitours which had cauſed ſo much miſchiefe, had their deſerts by death. From hence the Lord *Talbot* marched to other enterpriſes. The quality of our taske cals vs to the maine.

* *Gagwin.*

(13) *Thomas* Lord *Montacute* Earle of *Saliſbury*, being with the Regent at *Paris*, and conſidering what forces of men, and all prouiſions the *Engliſh* then enjoyed, be-thought himſelfe of ſome action which might anſwere the greatneſſe of his owne name, and of the publique meanes. The ſiege of *Orleance* is by him propounded to the Councell; The credite of the Motioner was alone an argument of power to conuince the poſſibility. His deſires were therefore furniſhed with all competent prouiſions. They of *Orleance* hearing what a ſtorme was comming (for the name of this Earle was worthily terrible) with great diligence ordaine for their defence. The * Suburbes (anſwerable in bigneſſe to a good City) they leuell with the earth, that the enemy might not from thence annoy them. Men, victuals, munition, and conſtant intentions to fight for their liberty, and ſafe-gard abounded. The Earle of *Saliſbury*, the Lord *Talbot*, and a dreadfull puiſſance vnder moſt expert commanders preſent themſelues before it. *Orleance* was and is an Epiſcopall See, a Parliament-

* *Paul. Aemil.*

The ſiege of *Orleance*.

Parliament-towne, and Vniuerſity, richly ſcituate vpon the riuer of *Loire*, whoſe beſt glory it is, being the chiefe City which that renowned ſtreame watereth. No enemies appearing abroad, hee * approacheth cloſe to the wals. Aſſaults * prouing vaine, he entrencheth about it, and to ſecure his campe, caſts vp ramparts and other workes, one of which (by reaſon of the hugeneſſe thereof) was called *London*, by the name of the chiefe City of *England*. The Fort which ſtood at the Bridge-foot beyond the *Loire*, he ſeiſeth vpon, and cloſeth them vp on euery ſide. *Charles* of *France* could miniſter no ſufficient ſuccor. God, when mans helpe failes interpoſeth his hand, which as all of vs daily feele, ſo is it moſt conſpicuous in the deliuerance of Nations. The City is driuen to ſome miſerie through the beginning want of all things; for the ſiege had now endured about 60. daies, * not without much bloud-ſhed on both ſides. The Earle of *Salisbury* impatient of ſuch delay, purpoſeth to giue a generall aſſault. The better to conſider vpon the courſe, he ſtands to take view at a window, barred with Iron, which ouer-lookt the City toward the Eaſt. Behold how God began to vncut the knot of thoſe bands with which the *Engliſh* held *France* bound; a bullet of a great piece (which lay ready leueld at that window) diſcharged by the Gunners * ſonne, a lad, ſtroke the grates, whoſe ſplinters ſo wounded the Earle, and one Sir *Thomas Gargraue*, that they both dyed of the incurable hurts within few dayes. Heare now the common judgement of Writers concerning this Earles loſſe: * *Preſently after the death of this man the fortune of the war changed.* * *Now both mortall and immortall powers began to looke fauourably vpon the State of France.* This to the * *Engliſh* was *Initium malorum: for after this miſhap they rather loſt then wan, ſo that by little and little they loſt all their poſſeſſion in France: and albeit that ſomewhat they got after, yet for one that they wan, they loſt three.* So that *Polydor* not without cauſe (after many other great praiſes) doth elſe-where call him the man in whom the ſafety of the *Engliſh* State conſiſted. *The vertue therefore of a fortunate Generall is ineſtimable.*

(14) Howbeit the ſiege did not determine with his life, *William* Earle of *Suffolke*, the Lord *Talbot*, & the reſt maintayned the ſame all the Winter. The wants of the Campe were relieued from *Paris* by a conuoy, vnder the guard of Sir *Iohn Faſtolfe* and fifteene hundred ſouldiers, who arriued ſafe in deſpite of all the attempts to diſtreſſe them, which the *French* made. The City would yeeld it ſelfe, but not to the *Engliſh*. The Duke of *Burgundy* they were content ſhould haue the honour. A ſubtle ſtratagem, rather then an offer of yeelding, for there was likelihood in it to breake thereby the amity betweene the *Engliſh* and him. The Regent and his Counſell being ſent vnto, thought it not reaſonable (*Æmylius* erroniouſly makes the late Earle of *Salisbury* the Author of that refuſall) neither indeed was it, theirs hauing beene the coſt and labour. The Duke of *Burgundy* conſtrued this repulſe ſowerly, which marred his taſte of the *Engliſh* friendſhip euer after: yet the Regents anſwer was juſt and honeſt. *That the warre was made in King Henries name, and therefore Orleance ought to be King Henries.* Among theſe difficulties ſtood the *French* affaires. *Charles* of *France* vnderſtanding the miſerable ſtraites of his deare City, and ignorant how to remedy ſo neere a miſchiefe; there preſented herſelfe vnto him, at *Chinon*, a young Maide about eighteene yeares olde, called *Ioan* of *Loraine*, * daughter to *Iames* of *Arck*, dwelling in *Domremy* neere *Vaucaleurs*, a * Shepheardeſſe vnder her father, whoſe flockes ſhe tended, *bids him not faint*, and conſtantly affirmes, that *God had ſent her to deliuer the Realme of France* from the *Engliſh* yoake, and reſtore him to the fulneſſe of his fortunes. She was not forthwith credited; but when the wiſe of both ſorts, as well Clerkes as Souldiers had ſifted her with manifold queſtions, ſhee continued in her firſt ſpeech ſo ſtedfaſtly, vttering nothing but that which was * modeſt, chaſte, and holy, that honour and faith was giuen vnto her ſayings. An * old woman directed her. *Ioan* armes her ſelfe like a man, and requires to haue that ſword which hung in * S. *Katherines* Church of *Fierebois* in *Touraine*. This demaund encreaſed their admiration of her; for ſuch a * ſword was found among the old Donaries or Votiue tokens of that Church. Thus warlikely arrayed ſhe rides to *Blois*, where forces and freſh victuals lay for the reliefe of *Orleance*. She with the Admirall and Marſhall of *France* enters ſafe. This did greatly encourage the fainting *French*. *Ioan* the Maid of God, ſo they called her, (though * ſome haue written that it was a practiſe or impoſture) writes thus to *De la Pole* Earle of *Suffolke*, who ſucceeded *Salisbury* in the maine charge of that ſiege.

" (15) *King of England, doe reaſon to the King of*
"*heauen, for his bloud-royall; yeeld vp to the Virgin*
"*the keyes of all the good Cities which you haue forced.*
"*She is come from heauen to reclaime the bloud-royall,*
"*and is ready to make a peace, if you be ready to doe*
"*reaſon: yeeld therefore, and pay what you haue taken,*
"*King of England:* I am the chiefe of this war, *where-*
"*ſoeuer I encounter your men in France, I will chaſe*
"*them, will they or no. If they will obey, I will take*
"*them to mercy.* The Virgin comes from heauen to
"driue you out of *France*. *If you will not obey, ſhe will*
"*cauſe ſo great a ſtirre as the like hath not beene theſe*
"*thouſand yeares in France. And beleeue certainly,*
"*that the King of heauen wil ſend to her, and her good*
"*men of Armes, more force then you can haue. Goe*
"*in Gods name into your Countrey: be not obſtinate,*
"*for* you ſhall not hold *France of the King of heauen,*
"the ſonne of S. *Mary*, but Charles ſhall enjoy it, *the*
"*King and lawfull heire, to whom God hath giuen it.*
"He ſhall enter Paris with a goodly traine; *You Wil-*
"*liam de la Pole Earle of Suffolke, Iohn Lord Talbot,*
"*Thomas L. Scales, Lieutenants to the Duke of Bed-*
"*ford; and you Duke of Bedford, terming your ſelfe*
"*Regent of the realme of France, ſpare innocent bloud,*
"*and leaue Orleance in liberty. If you doe not reaſon*
"*to them whom you haue wronged, the French will doe*
"*the goodlieſt exploit that euer was done in Chriſten-*
"*dome.* Vnderſtand theſe newes of God, and of the Virgin. Yet *Charles* had at this time no whole Countries vnder his obedience, * but *Languedoc* & *Daulphin*, againſt which both the *Sauoyard* and *Burgundian* prepared, but miſcarried, the Prince of *Orenge*, the third confederate, being diſcomfited.

(16) This letter was entertained by the *Engliſh* with laughter. *Ioan* reputed no better then a Bedlam, or Enchantreſſe. Though to ſome it may ſeeme more honourable to our Nation, that they were not to be expelled by a humane power, but by a diuine, extraordinarily reueiling it ſelfe. *Du Serres* deſcribes this Parragon in theſe words: *She had a modeſt countenance, ſweete, ciuill, and reſolute, her diſcourſe was temperate, reaſonable, and retired, her actions colde, ſhewing great chaſtity without vanity, affectation, babling, or courtly lightneſſe.* Let vs not diſſemble what we finde written: By her encouragements and conduct the *Engliſh* had *Orleance* pluckt out of their hopes, after they had ſuffered the Duke of *Alanzon* to enter with new force, and with much loſſe were driuen to raiſe the ſiege. *Ioan* her ſelfe was wounded at one ſally in which ſhee led, being ſhot through the arme with an arrow. Iudge what ſhee eſteemed of that hurt, when ſhe vſed theſe admirable and terrible words: *This is a fauor, let vs goe on; they cannot eſcape the hand of God.* In all aduentures ſhe was one and formoſt. The *Engliſh* loſt at this ſiege, the Earle of *Salisbury*, the Lord *Molins*, the Lord *Poynings*, and many other. But doe not raſhly beleeue *Serres* in ſaying, that of all ſorts were ſlaine in ſuch Sallies, as the martiall Virgine made eight thouſand. Our Writers ſay but * ſixe hundreth. The Lord *Talbot* marched away with aboue nine thouſand, whom *Ioan* would not ſuffer the *French* to purſue. In memorie of this admirable deliuerance, they of that City erected a monu-

* *Polyd. Virg.*
* *Paul. Aemyl.*
* *Polyd. Virg. l. 23.*
The Earle of *Salisbury* ſlaine, with a great ſhot, before *Orleance.*
* *Hollinſh.*
* *Polyd. Virg.*
* *Paul. Aemil.*
* *Fabian.*
The ſiege continued notwithſtanding the Earles death.
Orleance offers to become *Burgundian*, but the *Engliſh* would not admit thereof.
* *Serres Iamlet* by *Edward Grimſton.* *Ioan* the martiall *Maid*, miraculouſly ſent to deliuer *Orleance* and *France.*
* *Paul. Aemyl.*
* *Serres Inuentar.*
* *Polyd. Virg.*
* *Serres Inuentar.*
* *Polyd. Virgil.*
* *Gerard. Seg. de Haillin*, and ſome other *French* Authors.
Serres out of the Originall Copie, tranſlated by *Edw. Grimſton.*
The *Virago* her Letter to the Engliſh Generall before *Orleance.*
The deſcription of *Ioan la Pucelle de Dieu*, or the Maid of God.
The ſiege of *Orleance* raiſed.
* *Serres.*
* *Stowes Annals.*

monument, where *Charles* the ſeuenth K. of *France*, and *Ioan* the Martiall-Maide were repreſented, kneeling in Armour, eleuating their eyes and hands to heauen, in ſigne of thankes and acknowledgement.

The re-flux or ebbe of the Engliſh greatneſſe in *France*.

(17) There was an interchangeable taking and recouering of Townes and places of importance vpon both ſides. The Lord *Talbot* tooke *Lauall*, and the Earle of *Suffolke* puts himſelfe into *Iergeaux*. Thither the Duke of *Alanzon* with *Ioan* and other great Captaines come, which they force by aſſault. Sir *Alexander Pool* the Earles brother was ſlaine, with many others in the fight; the Earle himſelfe remayned priſoner. The Duke added ſome other places to this Conqueſt: Soone after his numbers are augmented by the repayre to him of *Arthur* Conſtable of *France*; the Earle of *Vandome*, the Lord *Dalbret* and others, ſo that now their whole Army contayned about twenty and three thouſand men. With theſe they encounter the Lord *Talbot* (who had ſcarce the fifth part of their numbers) at a Village called *Patay*, whom they charged ſo ſodainly, that his Archers had no time to fortifie their battels (after their manner) with a Palizado, or empalement of ſtakes, ſo that the chiefe fight muſt be made vpon horſe-backe. After three houres bloudie reſiſtance, the *Engliſh* were put to the worſt. *The Lord *Scales*, the Lord *Hungerford*, Sir *Thomas Rampſtone*, and euen the Lord *Talbot* himſelfe (being firſt wounded in the backe) were taken. The footmen enforced to truſt to their ſwords, vnder the ſhelter of ſuch horſemen as remained, retreated in order, and came to a place of ſafetie. The *Engliſh* loſt aboue a thouſand, the *French* aboue 600. This blow ſhooke the whole fabricke of the *Engliſh* greatneſſe in *France* at the very foundations, awaking multitudes (euen of thoſe who before had vowed fealty to the *Engliſh*, and now had colour of diuine warrant for violating that vow) to joyne with the victors for the recouery of common liberty. There followed the preſent reuolt of ſundry Townes; neither was it long before *Charles* himſelfe iſſues out in Armes, recouers the City of *Aunerre* and *Rheimes*; where, according to the Maides direction, hee was ſolemnely crowned King. Hitherto ſhe might be thought prophetical and fortunate. It ſhould ſeeme now that the chiefe part of her imployment was accompliſhed, yet ſhe flouriſhed a while longer. The Duke of *Bedford* to buttreſſe the ſhrinking ſtate of *Engliſh* affaires in *France*, and to encounter euill fortune in the face, vpon the vnpleaſant newes of *Orleance* reſcued, and *Talbots* taking, muſters his whole preſent forces, which made aboue tenne thouſand *Engliſh*, beſides certaine wings of *Normans*: with theſe hee marcheth out of *Paris*, and oppoſeth himſelfe to the Current of *Charles* his new hopes, who meant to attempt that City, ſome of whoſe Citizens held ſtrict & ſecret correſpondence with him. But vpon this affrontment, hee ſuſpended the execution of that deſigne, hauing as then no hope to atchieue it. The Regent returnes to *Paris*, *Ioane* the *Pucell* diſſwaded *Charles* from fight.

Polyd. Virgil.

* Stowe Annal.

The L. Talbot taken in battel.

* Polyd. Virgil.

(18) Places of ſpeciall note, as *Campaigne* and *Beauuois* yeelded themſelues voluntarily to *Charles*. The Regent hauing ſetled the Eſtate, and Garriſons of the chiefe City, paſſeth into *Normandy*, to prouide for a ſafe retreat there, if perhaps the *Engliſh* (by the ineuitable will of God) ſhould be enforced to quit their other holds and dominions: which hee began to ſuſpect, for that he had intelligence of a ſecret purpoſe, which the *French* purſued; to winne the *Burgundians* from King *Henries* ſide. While the Regent was abſent vpon this occaſion, *Charles* got the Towne of Saint *Denis*, (a neighbour to *Paris*) though hee held it not long by practiſe. From thence he ſends the *Duke of Alanzon* and *Ioan* to try their friends and fortunes at *Paris*. They found not hoped ſucceſſe, for the *Engliſh* gaue them ſo rough an encounter, that *Ioan* her ſelfe was * wounded; and the reſt with much ſlaughter driuen to fall off. The *Regent* hearing of theſe attempts, entruſteth

Charles crowned King of France at Rheimes.

* Paul. Aemyl. ob. Tit. Chron.

the Coaſt-Townes of *Normandy*, to the care of *Richard Duke of Yorke*, and *Roan* (the capitall City of that Dutchy) to *Edmund Duke of Sommerſet*, himſelfe ſpeedes to *Paris*, where he commends the Souldiers and Citizens for that they had not imitated the diſloyalty of their Neighbours. New ſupplies came out of *England*. The next enterprize was to reduce *Champaigne* to obedience. *Iohn* of *Luxemburg* with *Burgundians* and ſome *Engliſh* beſiegeth it. Here the glory of *Ioan* vnfortunately ended; for comming to the reſcue ſhee entred indeede, but afterward ſallying forth, her troupes were beaten, and her ſelfe (being betrayed, ſay her fauourers) taken priſoner by the ſaid Burgundian * Knight, who for the value of her ranſome (ten thouſand pounds *Turnoys*, and three hundreth Crownes yearely rent) deliuered her vnto the *Engliſh*. The ſiege was notwithſtanding rayſed; they ſent her to *Roan*, where ſhe (about nine or tenne moneths after) was burnt to death. *Clelia* was ſaued by * *Porſenna*; and it is not to be doubted but that the magnanimity of the *Engliſh* would haue ſpared her, had they not found it neceſſary to deface the opinion which the *French*, euen with ſuperſtition, had conceiued of her. Our * Writers ſhew how the courſe of her life being legally examined by the Biſhop of *Beauuois* (in whoſe Dioceſſe ſhee was taken) and ſhe thereupon for ſorcerie, bloudſhed, and vnnaturall vſe of man-like apparrell, and habiliments contrary to her Sexe, condemned to dye, was notwithſtanding, vpon her ſolemne abjuring of ſuch her lewde practiſes, pardoned her life, till againe conuicted of perjurious relapſing, though acknowledging her ſelfe a * ſtrumpet, and fayning to be with child, ſhe deſeruedly vnderwent that puniſhment which ſhe ſought to delay. The rumor of her end, and the ignominious cauſe thereof, was ſomewhat incommodious to the affaires of *Charles*. It was thought that the comming of King *Henry* to *Paris* would be much more.

Ioan taken priſoner.

Chron. de Britaign. apud Holinſh. pag. 604.

* *Sores* ſaith by the baſtard of *Vandome*. *Holinſh.*

She is burnt for a witch at *Roan*.

* *Tit. Liu. Patau. Decad. 1.*

* See *Holinſh. in Hen. 6.*

The French got this ſentence to be reuerſed by the Pope 26. yeares after.

* *Stow.*

K. Henry is to come in perſon into *France*.

(19) Hee had already with great ſolemnitie receyued the Crowne of *England* at *Weſtminſter*, being about nine yeares olde, a moſt faſhionable and waxen age for all impreſſion either of good or bad. The next yeare after his Coronation in *England*, he paſſeth ouer into *France*; there alſo to receiue the Diademe thereof. The *Conſtableſhip of England*, was before his departure, aſſigned by *Patent*, for tearme of life, to *Richard Duke of Yorke* (which gaue him a more feeling of greatneſſe, and ſecretly whetted his ambitious appetite,) vpon this occaſion. One *Iohn Vpton* of *Feuerſham* in Kent *Notarie*, accuſed *Iohn Down* of the ſame place Gentleman, *That he and his complices did imagine the Kings death at his Coronation*: The Combate was graunted, and in *Smithfield* (the Duke of *Yorke* exerciſing the office of high Conſtable) they fought in liſts. In the end the Kings name was vſed to part and forgiue them. It is a vice to ſuſpect too farre. The Duke of *Yorke* (a moſt ſubtle man) ſeemes neuer in heart to haue beene a true ſubject to King *Henry*: yet no man ſaith, he was any author in this. *Henry*, (the Common-wealth hauing yeelded to liberall grants of mony) is now ready to enter *Paris*. *England* remayned vnder the gouernement of the Duke of *Gloceſter*.

Richard Duke of *Yorke* made Conſtable of *England*.

(20) There is no doubt that the Engliſh there, at their Kings preſence, ſet forth their greatnes to the full ſhew. The young King attended vpon with two *Engliſh Cardinals*, *Yorke* and *Wincheſter*, and great Princes of his bloud, *Dukes*, *Earles*, *Barons*, *Prelates*, and the flower of our nation, with many, aſwel *French* and *Burgonians*, as *Normans* and others, excellently well appoynted, makes a triumphant entry into the head City of that moſt noble Monarchy. There was no ſigne in the People but of joy and welcome; the ſhowes were many and magnificent. Vpon the ſeauenth day of *December*, he was ſolemnely Crowned King of *France*, by the * Cardinall of *Wincheſter*, his great vncle, in the * chiefe Church of *Paris*, called of *our Lady*. The Duke of *Bedford* entertained the

A.D. 1431. *An. Reg. 10.*

Henry crowned King of France in Paris.

* Paul. Aemyl.

* Iob. Tyl. Chron.

minds of the Assembly with a set speech, wherein he declared, *King Henrie his Nephewes vndoubted title to that Crowne, and commended the same to their fidelities, adding ample promises of honour and emolument.* Such of the French Nobility as were present, did their homage. The people had good and gratious words giuen vnto them and certaine * quantities of money, corne, and wine, in the nature of a donatiue, liberally distributed among them. *Proclamations* were made, that all *French-men* who came in by a day there named, should be protected. The Kings Patents and grants touching *French* matters, passed vnder the Seale & stile of *Henry King of the* **French-men, and of England*, which Seale (for variety) wee haue prefixed, as we found it annexed * to a writing directed by the King *to his Court of Requests in his Pallace at Paris*; but for English affaires he vsed another Seale, being in euery poynt like vnto that * of King *Henry* the fourth, and (as some thinke) the very same stampe, (which therefore we haue here omitted,) as likewise some * Charters of his there are, whereunto he affixed the seale of his father. *Charles of France* esteemed not himselfe the lesse a King for all this, but pursues his affaire. His people tooke the City of *Chartres* by a stratagem, the Bishop whereof (because a *Burgundian*) they also put to the sword with others. Neither were the *English* idle. *Iohn Duke of Norfolke, Thomas Earle of Arundel, Richard Beauchamp Earle of Warwicke, the Earle of Suffolke*, and others, made vp this losse with aduantage. Their actions are placed by some, as done before the Coronation, which is likely. The King hauing thus taken possession of *France*, not long after tooke his farewell thereof. His returne was by *Roan*, and so ouer land to *Callis*, from whence vpon the eleauenth day of *February*, he arriued safe at *Douer*. His vncle the *Duke* of *Gloucester* was able to giue an honest, and good account of the Gouernement during the Kings absence. The suppression of an Insurrection, beginning at *Abington* in *Oxfordshire* was not the least seruice. A weauer (the Bailiffe of the Towne) was the vlcerous head, to which that corruption gathered; who had changed his owne name, and called himselfe; *Iacke Sharpe of Wigmores land in Wales*. The speciall colour of his attempt was, * *to haue massacred Priests; whose heads* (hee said) *hee would make as cheape as Sheepes-heads; that is, two or three, or ten for a penny.* But the mention of *Wigmores lands*, the ancient inheritance of *Mortimer*, (then the possession of the fatall *Duke of Yorke*, who afterward in the right of that name, challenged the Crowne of *England* from King *Henry*) insinuates somewhat further. The varlet forfeited his head and foure quarters for his attempt. It is to be wondred that the *Councell of Estate* vnder King *Henry*, hearing that title so often glanced at, prouided not better against the mischiefe. But the eies and hearts of the wise are blinded, when God hath a purpose to reserue a scourge, or to hide the fire which shall afterward be vsed to consume a nation. Vnquiet humors were aswell abroad as at home. The souldiers of *Callis* discontented with their wages, as too little, began to be mutinously troublesome. The Regent comes thither in person in *Easter weeke*, where he exerciseth necessary discipline seuerely. Foure, the most faulty lost their heads, one hundred and ten are cashiered, and banisht from the Towne, as sixe-score others had formerly beene. Why dwell wee vpon so petty accidents? The losse of the Kingdome of *France* is imminent. Let vs diligently note the degrees which God found out to depriue our Nation of that honour. In this journey of the Regent, King *Henries* interest was not aduanced. The Regent (a widdower) roade from thence to *Turwin*, where (without the *Burgundians* priuitie) he married the *Lady Iaquet*, aged about * seuenteene yeares, * daughter to *Peter of Luxembourg* Earle of S. *Paul*. no friend to the *Burgundian*. This was nothing prosperous to the *English* affaires. For *Anne*, the Regents former wife, sister to the *Duke of Burgundie*, being, while shee liued, a strong reason and assurance of amitie, weakened the same by her death; and this second marriage, not pleasing the *Burgundian*, did yet more diminish it. These were but degrees.

In the meane space, the accidents of warre between the English and French, were manifold and perplext, now wee, now they leesing, or gaining, as opportunity serued: which vncertainties brought forth their ordinary progenies, fearefull outrages, and * scarcitie of all things needfull for the vse of man. It would be wearisome, and not much necessary, to recount the particular lesser actions, neyther indeede is it easie; for who can readily tell the sieges, surprises, skirmishes, and the like, being so confusedly set downe by Authors, wherein diuers of both Nations wanne to themselues much honour, and serued the vses of those times, and their owne? The vttermost effect of those great labours, was, that the English *Regency* fell not forthwith into nothing. Permanent leaders in those publique seruices were the Regent himselfe; their maine Pillar and chiefe life, *Thomas Earle of Arundel, Richard Earle of Warwicke, Henry his Son, the Lord Willoughby, the thrice noble Iohn Lord Talbot*, (who was now at libertie,) the *Lord Scales*, besides Knights, Esquires, and other valiant Captaines a multitude.

(21) The fortune of *Renate Duke of Barre*, is not to be omitted, for that afterward, our King vnluckely married into his house. He had to * wife *Isabell* the daughter, and heire of *Charles Duke of Loraine*, by whom he had issue two sonnes, and two daughters, the youngest of which was *Lady Margaret*, whom King *Henry* afterward tooke to Wife. *Charles Duke of Loraine* dying, *Renate* thinkes to succeede in that Estate. *Anthony Earle of Vallemont*, brother to *Charles*, presumes he hath a neerer right. The matter comes to be determined by blowes. *Charles* King of *France* was a stedfast supporter of *Renates* claime, in lieu of like offices performed by *Renate* to him in the times of most difficulty. The Regent, and *Philip Duke of Burgundy*, stood for the Earle. Their aides preuailed so much, that *Renates* forces were beaten, with losse of about * three thousand, from the siege of *Vallemont*, and himselfe with not fewer then two hundred others remained prisoner to the *Duke of Burgundy*, one of whose subiects commanded in chiefe at that enterprise. This * *Renate* was afterward entituled to the Crowne of *Naples*, and *Sicilia*, by the testament of *Ioane* Queene of them. The King of *France* might seeme to haue sustained a grieuous losse by the enthralment of this Duke: but the *English* gayned nothing thereby: for his perswasions, and priuate offices on the behalfe of King *Charles*, did not a little prepare the *Burgundians* heart (which now was knit to the *English*, but with feeble Arteries) to accept in time the holy impression of reconcilement. The French, who liued vnder the Regency, or in danger of the *English*, made choise of the *Burgundian* to protect them, which could not be embarred to them, for that he was as yet King *Henries* pretended friend. Indeede this Scene and vnstable state of affaires was full of horrour, which *Polydore Virgil* describeth well enough. *While the English and French* (quoth he) *contend for Dominion, Soueraignty, and life it selfe, mens goods in France were violently taken by the licence of warre, Churches spoiled, men euery where murthered, or wounded, others put to death, or tortured; Matrons rauished, Maides forcibly drawne from out their parents armes to be deflowred, Townes daily taken, daily spoiled, daily defaced, the riches of the Inhabitants carried whither the Conquerors thinke good; houses and villages round about set on fire: no kinde of cruelty is left vnpractised vpon the miserable French; omitting many hundreth kindes of other calamities, which all at once oppressed them. Adde hereunto that the Common-wealth being destitute of the helpe of Lawes, (which for the most part are mute in times of war and mutiny) floateth vp and*

* *Polyd. Virgil.*

* *Gallorum*, to distinguish, (it seemeth) from the former meere titular, of *Gallie Rex*; so also the *French* Kings vsually stile themselues.
* *In custodia Io. Guillim Heraldi peritiss. Dat. H. 6. 7.*
* *Inter Charias Collegi Eton.*

The King returns into *England.*

The Protector breakes an insurrection at *Abington* in the *Shell.*

* *Stowes Annal.*

The Duke of *Bedford* marrieth the Earle of Saint *Pauls* daughter.
* *Hollinsh.*
* *Serres.*

* *Ioh. Til. Chron.*

* *Paul. Aemil.*

Renate Duke of *Loraine* and *Barre* taken prisoner.
* *Polyd. Virgil.* l. 23.

* *Paul. Aemyl.*

The miserable face of *France* by occasion of these warres.

and downe, without any anchorage at right or iuſtice. Neither was England her-ſelf void of theſe miſchiefes, who euery day heard the newes of her valiant Childrens funerals, ſlaine in perpetuall skirmiſhes and bickerings, her generall wealth continually ebd, and wained, ſo that the euils ſeemed almoſt equall, and the whole Weſterne world ecchoed the groanes and ſighes of either Nations quarrels, being the common argument of ſpeech and compaſsion throughout Chriſtendome.

(22) The courſe certainly which the *Engliſh* held, did onely faintly keepe aliue the generall State of the Regency, without giuing period to the warre, eyther by finiſhing the Conqueſt, or ſetling that which was conquered. Some would haue had large ſupplies of men, and treaſure leuyed, that King *Charles* might no where haue any reſt: Of this opinion were *Bedford* * himſelfe, the Dukes of *Yorke* and *Sommerſet*. This Counſell was not followed, but another, in lhew more frugal, which fed the euils, but redreſſed none. Preſent ſparings doe oftentimes draw after them infinite waſtes, and no husbandry proues ſo ill as vnſeaſonable Parſimonie. In the meane time, the Earle of *Arundel*, and the Lord *Talbot*, carry about victorious Armes, and terrifie *Anjou*, *Main*, and other places, with their ſucceſſes. In *Normandie*, neuertheleſſe the common people drew together in huge multitudes. There were three-ſcore * thouſand of them rebelliouſly knotted together in *Vexin*, *Norman*, and twenty thouſand in *Caux*. Their purpoſe was, (through diſlike of the *Engliſh* Gouernement, or practiſe of the *French*) to haue reacht one hand to King *Charles*, and to haue thruſt King *Henries* Officers out. What is a Multitude without aduiſe? To ſtop their inſolency and courſe which * they held toward *Cane*, the Earle of * *Arundel*, and *Robert* Lord *Willoughby*, with about thirteen hundred light horſe, and ſixe thouſand Archers, march againſt them, by direction of the Dukes of *Yorke* and *Sommerſet*, who had the chiefe Lieutenancies in *Normandy*. They diuide their forces to vſe them with the more aduantage. The Earle ſtayes in Ambuſh with two parts, the Lord *Willoughby* drawes them into it with the third. A thouſand of the Rebels were cut downe before the ſouldiers hands could be ſtayed to ſpare the reſt, who baſely (as it became them) threw away their weapons, and fel to the earth, crying mercy. The multitudes were ſuffered to returne, their ring-leaders loſt their liues. All that the World could collect by this popular Inſurrection, was, *that the Normans would be gladly rid of the Engliſh.* Nothing elſe was done. This Earle of *Arundel* hauing done ſundry noble deedes during the warres in *France*, receiued his deaths-wound ſhortly after in a skirmiſh at *Gerberoy* in *Beauuoſine*, where *La Hire* (a famous Captaine among the enemies) had the day.

(23) The *Regency* yet held, and the miſeries of *France* (being burnt vp by the fiery reflections of two Counter-Suns) were nothing diminiſhed: Who ſhould giue to them a Period? while the Duke of *Burgundy* continued *Engliſh*, it could not be. To prepare therefore a ſeparation between them, ſuch of the Nobility as went ouer to the Burgundian Duke told him, * *That King Charles vpon all occaſions (when ſpeech was miniſtred) ſpake of him honourably, and inwardly wiſhed him well, and that he neuer heard any mention of the murther committed vpon the Duke his father, (cauſe of the ſonnes hatred to France) but hee heartily ſighed, proteſting hee was neither partie nor priuy thereunto.* Theſe and the like mollifying ſalues applyed to the tumors of his reuengefull affections, did worke ſtrongly, the rather for that his minde heretofore poſſeſſed with the Engliſh amitie, was now vacant in that part, the ſame (by the meanes of ſundry jealouſies and auerſions) lying open to contrary impreſſions. There wanted but an outward honourable meanes to faſhion him entirely to the French party. Let vs heare * *Serres* in this poynt: The Deputies of the *Generall Councell* preſſe both French, Engliſh, and Burgundians to end all quarrels by ſome good compoſition. The Citie of *Arras* is allowed of them all to treat in. From the * Pope and *Counſell of Piſa*, there came the Cardinals of S. *Groſſe* and *Cypres*, with twelue Biſhops. For the King of *France*, there was the Duke of *Bourbon*, the Earle of *Richmond* Conſtable of *France*, the Archbiſhop of *Rheims*, Chancellor of *France*, & many others, great, noble, wiſe, and learned men. For the King of *England*, the two Cardinals of *Yorke* and *Wincheſter*, the Earles of *Suffolke* (* *Iohn Holland* Earle of *Huntington*) the Biſhop of Saint *Dauids*, *Iohn Ratcliffe* Keeper of the great Seale, the Lord *Hungerford*, *Ralfe*, the wiſe Officiall of *Canterbury*, and ſome Doctors of Diuinity. For *Philip* Duke of *Burgundy*, the Duke of *Guelders*, the Earle of *Naſſau*, the Biſhop of *Cambray*, Count *Vernambourg*, the Biſhop of *Leige*; fiue other great Earles, beſides the Deputies of many his beſt Townes, ſufficient to ſhew, that though he was in title but a Duke, yet that his greatneſſe was equall to a King. When it came to communication, the *Engliſh* being alſo in poſſeſſion, *vrged farther for themſelues the right of deſcent, and the act of Charles the ſixth, father to this Charles, by which act the Crowne of France was ſetled vpon Henry the fifth, and the iſſue of the Lady Katherine his wife, and therefore they propounded no other condition of peace, but that Henry their King might haue all, and * Charles to hold of him. The French offered Normandie and Guien.* There ended the hope of agreement betweene them, for neither party would accept. King *Charles* therefore reſoluing to mayme the *Engliſh* faction vpon any termes (how baſe ſoeuer) ſends Duke *Philip* a blanke, bids him therein to preſcribe his owne conditions and demands: he did ſo: and his *Conditions were ſo vnreaſonable, and ſo many, euen a great volume full,* (ſaith a French man) *as it is ſtrange, ſo great a Monarch ſhould ſtoope ſo much to his ſubject and vaſſall, but that neceſsity hath no law.* They * joyne hereupon moſt firmely, and the Duke (a man wholly tranſported by profit) declares himſelfe a publique enemy to all the enemies of King *Charles*, and friend to all his friends. This was the firſt parting-ſtroake which ſeuered the French Dominions from the Engliſh Soueraigntie: the euent declared, that the Engliſh had done more wiſely, if they had accepted *Normandy* and *Guyen*; but as the caſe ſtood then, they could not in honour doe it; and Councels are not to be meaſured by euents; for ſo the moſt fooliſh may ſometimes paſſe for prudent. King *Henry* not onely loſt now hereby a moſt needfull friend, but was compelled to relye vpon his ſingle ſtrengths, aſwell againſt King *Charles* his naturall enemy, as againſt the Duke of *Burgundy*, who plainely ſeemed to haue betrayed the cauſe. To ſet a gloſſe vpon this fact, the Duke * diſpatcheth Ambaſſadors into *England* to King *Henry* (who, as * *Æmylius* erroneouſly ſaith, was preſent at this treaty of *Arras*) to make knowne the reaſons of his peace with King *Charles*, and to perſwade the King to entertaine the ſame. This Ambaſſage was ſo odious to the *Engliſh*, that they forbare not to call the Duke *a deceitfull man, a turn-ſeruer, a perjured perſon, and a Traytor.*

(24) The popular hatred alſo was ſuch againſt the Dukes Subjects, reſiant in *London*, that they were beaten and ſlaine many of them, before the furie thereof could be ſtayed by Proclamation. The Ambaſſadours returne with honeſt admonitions to their Maſter, againſt which, his eares and ſenſes were ſtrongly mured; for King *Charles* had ſet about them as it were a Barricado of royalties, priuiledges, honours, money, Cities, Townes, and whole Prouinces, which he confirmed to the Duke, onely to with-draw him from vs. The whole Counties of * *Aux*, *Erre*, *Ponthieu*, *Bolein*, *Artois*, the towne of *Abbeuile*, and other lands, the Cities and Townes in *Picardy*, vpon the water of *Some*, *Amiens*, *Corbie*, *Peron*, *S. Quintin*, but theſe laſt as it were in gage till

* foure

* Polyd. Virg.

* Serres Iuuenc.

The Commons of Normandy riſe againſt the Engliſh.
* Holinſh.
* Polyd. Virgil.

The Earle of Arundel ſlaine.

* Paul. Aemyl.

* Inuent. of France.

* Eugenius 4.

Commiſſioners at *Arras* to compoſe the quarrels of the Engliſh, French, and Burgundians.

* Holinſh.

* Polyd. Virgil. li. 23.

Serres in Char. 7.

Serres.

The French and Burgundian agree.
* 24. Sept. 1435.
Serres.

The incredible rate at which King *Charles* purchaſed the Burgundians good will.

* Paul. Aemyl.

* Polyd. Virgil.

* Polyd. Virgil.
* In Carol. 7.

* Paul. Aemyl.

* foure hundreth thousand Crownes were satisfied: Briefly, what not? the Charity of King *Charles* was so feruent to make the Duke of *Burgundy* a true French-man once againe; he payde so deare for it, that we may thinke him worthy to obtaine his desire; yet was it worth his cost; for *Aimylius* saith most truely, that *the ceasing of that indignation did redeeme the French from a forraine gouernement, as the first assuming thereof had made the English, Lords ouer France.* But, howsoeuer the high and just displeasure which this Prince tooke for the wicked murther of his father, (abundantly satisfied before this treatie) moued him first to embrace the English amity, he afterward most subtilely conuerted the reuenge (by way of taking amends) to the enlargement of his proper riches, power, and amplitude. After his Ambassadors returned, he sends backe all contracts to the Duke of *Bedford* at *Paris*, and renounceth the alliance of *England* with a watch-word, *that euery one should looke to himselfe.*

An. D. 1435. *An. Reg. 14.*

The Burgundian renounceth to the Regent his friendship with *England.*

(25) Each man hereupon (saith * *Serres*) sharpens his sword, and scoures his Armes, to recouer that by force which they could not obtaine by *reason*; *Serres* might better haue said, *reasoning.* All things certainely fauoured the *French* designes; for this was the generall estate of the *English* affaires. King *Henry* scarce out of his Child-hood; and when he came to mans age, not Man enough to manage so turbulent occurrents; the Princes of the bloud weakely vnited in loue, for the common good; the Protector vigilant ouer *England*, the Regent carefull for *France*, but both priuately enuied; *Richard Duke of Yorke* (whose strenghts daily increased, which in time he meant nothing lesse then to vse for the benefit of King *Henry*,) ambitiously reseruing himselfe for a deare day; most of the great warriours slaine; and in briefe, a great inability (for want of a Soule, willing and fit to looke so sterne and dismall aduentures in the face) through the whole body of the *English* forces; which though otherwise they might haue lingred out the warre, and kept their footing, yet the death of the great Duke of *Bedford*, Regent of *France*, doubled the difficulty, or rather the impossibility. In taking this triumphant Peere away, God made it manifest, that he held the *English* vnworthy and vnfit to continue their Empire among the *French* any longer. This Prince not long after this reuolt of *Duke Philip*, dyed at* *Paris*, vncertaine to some, whether through griefe of the euils he foresaw, or other malady. But the *Analogy* and colour of his whole former life, doth contradict their conceit, who think that such a griefe should determine his daies, because it could not but proceed from a kinde of feare and despaire, an humor absolutely opposite to Magnanimitie, wherein hee abounded. How mighty a *Prince* he was this his * *style* sheweth; *Regent of France; Duke of Bedford, Alanzon, and Anjou, Earle of Maine, Richmond, and Kendale; and Constable of England.* But (which excelleth his greatnes) he was one of the best Patriots and Generals, that euer blossomed out of the royal *Rosiar* of *England*. His valour was not more terrible to the enemy, then his memory honourable. For (doubtfull whether with more glory to him, then to the speaker) * *Lewis* the eleuenth being afterwards counselled by certaine enuious persons to demolish and deface his stately Tombe, (wherein, *with him*, *saith one, *was buried all the Englishmens good fortune in France,*) which was erected ouer his body in the North-side of the high Altar in our Ladies Church at *Roan*, vsed these indeed most Princely words.

The Duke of *Bedford* Regent of *France* dieth at *Paris.*

* *Camboden* in *Bedfordshire*: saith he was slaine in battell before *Vernoyl.*

* Master *Camden loc. citat.*

* *Stowes Annals*, but Master *Camden* saith it was *Charles* 8. *Cambd. ibid.*

(26) *What honor shall it be to vs, or you, to breake this Monument, and to pull out of the ground the bones of him dead, whom in his life-time, neyther my father, nor your Progenitors with all their puissance, were once able to make flie one foote backward? who by his strength, pollicie, and wit, kept them all out of the principall dominions of the Realme of France, and out of this noble Dutchy of Normandy? wherefore I say first, God saue his soule; and let his bodie now lye in rest: which when he was aliue, would haue disquieted the proudest of vs all: And as for the toombe, I assure you it is not so worthy, or conuenient, as his honour and acts deserued.*

King *Lewis* his Princely testimony of the late Regents vertues.

(27) The Regent being now dead, the late peace made at *Arras* betweene King *Charles* and *Philip* Duke of *Burgundie*, presently disclosed, and put forth effects most dangerous to the *English*; for many Townes voluntarily yeeld, and multitudes of the French, (who hitherto through feare contayned themselues) starting away, all the English Dominions were full of priuate conuenticles, practises, and correspondences with the Enemy. Such English as then were in *France*, are not altogether sloathfull, but yet, through a fatall either security or negligence at home, there was not speedy sufficiencies of resistance ministred.

(28) *Richard* Duke of *Yorke*, (whose seruices neuer did good to the *English* common-wealth) is created Regent of *France*, and *Edmund Duke of Sommerset* (his perpetuall riuall, or perhaps an intelligent censor of his manners) continues his commands in *Normandy*. The Duke of *Sommerset* * opposed the aduancement of *Yorke* to that slipperie dignity. He was no babe in so doing, but more fore-seeing then the Protector, and all the Councell of *England*: Yet his opposition was vnseasonable, and fruitlesse; for the others carriage had wonne such a party about the King, (whom he meant by embracing to pull down) that notwithstanding the disaduantage of his silenced title, which was alone a great cause to haue made him euerlastingly incapable of so great trust & means, he preuailed. But before he could arriue, *Paris* was lost. *Robert* Lord *Willoughby* was Gouernour there for the *English*, who had with him but about two thousand, the faith of the Citizens was presumed vpon to make vp the rest at a pinch, for a common resistance. On the contrary, they perceiuing vpon what tearmes the English affaires stood in *France*, chiefly after the late Regents death, conspire against them. The treason was carried so cunningly by some of the principall Magistrates of the Towne, who capitulated for a generall pardon from King *Charles* (which was gladly yeelded vnto,) that the mischiefe sooner tooke effect, then it could be discouered. *Thomas Lord Beaumont* began the losse with his misfortune; for *Arthur* Earle of *Richmond*, Constable of *France*, houering about *Paris*, in hope to recouer the same, the Lord *Beaumont*, with certaine hundreths of *English*, fell into his danger about *Saint Denis*, and were distressed. While as yet the terror of this discomfiture (not great in regard of the numbers slaine, but in regard of the Circumstances) was freshest, the French aduance their Banners vp to the City, where a gate was opened vnto them by their partisans. What should the *English* doe in this generall mischiefe? The townesmen, lately vassals, turne enemies on a sodaine: women and children assaile the *English* from their windowes with all sorts of missill things. Many are beaten downe and massacred in the streets. The Lord *Willoughby* Gouernour of *Paris*, *Lewis* of *Luxemburg* Bishop of *Therouenne*, Chancellour of *France* for the *English*, the Bishops of *Lisieux* and *Meaux*, with other, flie to * *S. Anthonies* gate, and the Bastile, places which they had reserued for defence till extreame necessity. Many more had beene saued in those places, but that the perfidious Citizens drew chaines thwart the streetes, and empeached their retreat. Heare the rest in a * *Frenchmans* words.

Richard Duke of *Yorke* made Regent of *France.*

* *Holinsh. Stow Annal.*

The Parisians conspire to dispossesse the *English.*

* *Paul. Aemyl.*

* *Serres Inuent.* by Edw. Grimston.

(29) *All runne to the Bastile. The Tournels are presently seized; and all approaches vnto the Bastile are soone wonne. Such as were within it, at first made some shew of defence, but all things were prepared to force them: they demand a Parlea, and agree to depart with their liues and baggage. They are conducted about the Towne beneath the Loure, to embarke vpon the Riuer of Sein, and so passe to Roan. They could not well haue passed through the Citie. The people hereof aduertised,*

The City of *Paris* yeelded vp to the *French.*

aduertiſed, runne to the walles, and cry out with great ſhoutes, baiting the Engliſh like Dogs, whom a little before they had feared, and honoured as their maſters.* Rob Fabians Chronicle. Gagwin.

Who of the Engliſh reades theſe things without indignation? but they are the perpetuall manners of the baſe multitude, and the fortune therein of the Engliſh, the ſame which followeth all like accidents. Some will thinke that the Lord *Willoughby*, and his people might haue done more nobly, to haue taken vp their graues in the place which they pretended to make good againſt the French. Fortitude is neuer ſeparated from Prudence. Succour was deſpaired. The Duke of *Yorke* was not as yet arriued, and in maintaining their ſtrengths againſt the whole City of *Paris*, and all the preſent French forces, for the ſpace of about ten dayes, they ſufficiently cleared themſelues both in point of honour and loyalty. *Paris* * is thus loſt in the worſt time for an Army to march in. They did wiſely to chooſe ſo vnſeaſonable a ſeaſon, their market might haue elſe beene marred; for the new Regent (not ſo much hindred from ſooner comming by the Duke of *Sommerſets* emulations, which ſome affirme, as by the very quality of the winter weather) arriued afterward, accompanied with the Earles of *Salisbury* and *Suffolke*, the Lord *Falconbridge*, and other worthy perſons, with an Army of eight thouſand men. *But this Regent did neuer good in France:* He who ſo* writes, might haue alſo ſafely added, *nor elſewhere*. The Engliſh affaires were not as yet come to the very breake-necke poynt. They held (in the late conquered parts of *France*) *Normandy* entire, though not without much trouble; for the people againe rebell in *Caux:* but that miſchiefe was deſtroied with the greater and more mercileſſe confuſion of the authors and actors, then the former. About fiue thouſand of them were trampled to death by the iuſt fury of the Engliſh, vnder the leading of the Lord *Scales*, the Lord *Hoo*, and others. They burnt all their dwellings, made booty of their goods, draue their whole numbers out of the country. The Lord *Scales* not long after diſcomfited *La Hire*, and his Company not farre from *Roane*. The war was handled on all ſides without full or compleat armies: Skirmiſhes were the ordinary formes of fighting. The French were ſchooled from ſetling their reſt vpon a pitcht field. Thus houered the affaires.

*27. Febr. An.D.1436.

The new Regent comes with an Army into *France*.

* *Stowes Annal.*

(30) *Philip* Duke of *Burgoigne* had as yet in perſon giuen no proofe againſt the Engliſh of his affection to King *Charles*. Now he addreſſeth himſelfe to an enterpriſe worthy of that expectation, the recouery of *Callis*. You would ſuſpect that he continued ſtill a friend to the Engliſh, in making choyce of a ſeruice, wherein he was moſt likely to waſte his time in vaine, and yet make ſhew of much forwardneſſe; but he was reall, though the rather ſtirred thereunto by the deſire of priuate reuenge. The Engliſh, vpon his forſaking their alliance, had attempted to kindle the *Gauntois*, and other of the *Flemiſh* Townes (Subiects to the Duke) to riſe in rebellion: but the opinion that king *Henries* fortunes in *France* were deſperately ſtooping, made their wils too danke to take fire. The notice notwithſtanding of this attempt came to the Duke, which ſharpened him to reuenge, whereof (as the former paſſages abundantly declare) hee was not ordinarily thirſty. He brings his Army before *Callis*. Chiefe commanders there for King *Henry*, were the Lord *Dudley* who had charge of the Caſtel, and Sir *John Ratcliffe* of the Towne. The Dukes purpoſe was to haue cloyed the harbour by ſinking ſhips laden with ſtones, and ſuch like choaking materials; but vpon the ebbe-water the Caliſians deliuered the hauen from that perill. The King of *England* aduertiſed that his precious Fort and Towne of *Callis* were thus emperilled, *Humfrey* Duke of *Gloceſter* the Protector comes in perſon with a very great Fleete (ſome write fiue hundreth ſaile) to the reſcue, and in it a great puiſſance, with full purpoſe to giue battell, glad perhaps that he might now reuenge old grudges. It is able to moue choler, to conſider how Writers torter vs with the diuerſities of reports; but the generall agreement is, that the D. of *Burgundy* did raiſe his ſiege before he was fought with. Some * ſay the very rumor of the *Protectors* approach draue him away, and that the Protector came the next day after the Burgundians flight. Others excuſe him (probably enough) in ſaying that the *Flemings* grew vnweildy to his commandements, and would needes home.

Callis beſieged by the Burgundian.

The Protector of *England* reſcues *Callis* with a great Fleet and hoaſt.

* *Polyd. Virgil. l.* 23.

(31) The *Protector* was maſter of the Dukes Camp, and ſpent eleauen dayes in his Dominions, burning *Poppering* and *Bell*, and greatly damnified him about * *Grauelin* and *Bolognois*, then ſetleth he the ſtate of *Callis*, and * returnes, with great honour, to his charge into *England*. But the Engliſh were thought to haue created ſtore of worke for this buſie Duke at home, where many great tumults roſe, in * one of which, his owne perſon was indangered at *Bruges*, *Liſle-Adam* the Captaine of his guard being there preſently ſlaine. Hence it came perhaps that a meane * was found, by contracts made with *Iſabel* the Dutcheſſe, his third wife, (a moſt witty woman, a Portugeſſe,) to hold a league with *England*, and yet no breach with *France*.

He returnes with honour into *England*.

* *Serres.*

* *Robert Fabian.*

* *Serres.*

* *Polyd. Virg. l.* 23.

(32) Theſe haue hitherto beene the actions of Men, let vs not neglect two great Ladies, becauſe much concerning our Hiſtory depend on their courſes. Queene *Katherine*, the widdow of King *Henry* the fift, and mother by him of this ſixt *Henry*, about this time departed out of the world. This moſt noble Lady, when her Husband the King was dead, being not of iudgement (by reaſon of her tender yeares to vnderſtand what became her greatneſſe, or hauing found perhaps that greatneſſe was no part of happineſſe,) ſecretly marrieth one *Owen ap Theodore* or *Teder*, * the moſt noble and moſt goodly Gentleman of all the *Welſh* Nation, and endued with * admirable vertues, who drew his deſcent from holy *Cadwallader*, laſt King of the *Britaines*. This Husband had by her ſundry children, two of which, *Edmund* and *Iaſper* doe beare a part in the royall hiſtory, and King *Henry* the ſixt (their halfe-brother) created the firſt of them Earle of *Richmond*, the other of *Pembroke*. This *Edmund* is he, who by *Margaret* the daughter of *Iohn* Duke of *Sommerſet*, (grand-childe to *Iohn* of *Gaunt* Duke of *Lancaſter*,) had *Henry* the 7. the moſt famous and prudent King of *England*.

An.D.1437.

Katherine Queen Dowager of *England* dyeth.

* *Paul. Aemyl.*

* *Polydor. Virgil.*

King *Henry* the 7. her Grand-child.

(33) In that yeare in which this excellent Queene dyed, the yong Dutcheſſe *Dowager* of *Bedford* (widdow to the late Regent of *France*) married alſo (below her degree) a vigorous Engliſh Knight, one Sir * *Richard Wooduile*, of which match yet *Serres* needed not to haue ſpoken ſo contemptibly, calling him an Engliſh aduenturer, of ſmall account; ſhe thereby (ſaith he) giuing cauſe to laugh at her: which cenſure taſteth perhaps of the French leuen and preiudice, becauſe the Lady was ſiſter to the Earle of Saint *Paul*, who would not make one in the peace of *Arras*, but held with the Engliſh.

* *Stowes Annals.* The Dutcheſſe *Dowager* marrieth *Wooduile*.

(34) But let vs ſee the ſequell. Out of this Matrimony alſo ſprung Queenes; for her Husband (afterward made Earle of *Riuers*) had ſundry children by her, whereof *Elizabeth* being one, had the honour to marry *Edward* the fourth King of *England*, and hereby was both her ſelfe a Queene and a Progenitreſſe of thoſe glorious Kings and Queenes which followed: for from her and this match ſprang another *Elizabeth*, the renowned Wife of King *Henry* the ſeauenth, as King *Henry* himſelfe did of the former: both thoſe marriages proued moſt fortunate to *England*: but another marriage which then threatned preſent danger to King *Henry*, was that which *Iames* the firſt King of *Scots* made with *France*, who gaue his daughter the Lady *Margaret*, to *Lewis* the *Daulphin* for wife, and ſent new ſupplies of men againſt the Engliſh: hee meant alſo to haue attempted ſome perſonall hoſtility, but that hee was moſt wickedly murthered by certaine bloudy Traitors in *Perth*, ſuborned thereunto by *Walter* Earle of *Athol*, (his

Elizabeth wife to *Edward* 4. a daughter of that bed.

The murther of K. *Iames* the firſt of *Scotland*.

(his owne neere kinſeman) in hope to attaine the Crowne; crowned indeed he was, but not (as his Witches and Sorceters had ambiguouſly inſinuated) with the Crowne of that Realme, but with a *Crown of red-hot yron, which was clapt vpon his head, being one of the tortures wherewith he ended at once his wicked daies and deſires.

*Hoſſ. Boet. lib. 17.

The new Regent doth nothing.

(35) Let vs now caſt our eye to the doings of our new Regent the Duke of *Yorke*, that we may be witneſſes, how farre by his endeauours, the affaires of King *Henry* were aduanced in *France*. The ſilence at this time is euery where very great, yet had he opportunity to haue atchieued ſomewhat. Two thouſand French horſemen were mutined, and roued vp and downe in great diſorder. *Paris* was fearefully puniſhed with famine, and the attendants of famine, peſtilentiall maladies. The Countries about lay open: the Courtiers were diſcontented and diuided: Nothing is yet done by our Regent, which * ſome impute to *Edmund* Duke of *Sommerſets* oppoſition, who out of enuy and diſdaine hindred his diſpatch. Wee muſt in the meane time finde out them that did ſomewhat. The Duke of *Sommerſet* himſelfe, accompanied with the Lords *Talbot* & *Fauconbridge*, with other Gallants, and a competent force of the Engliſh, beſiege *Harflew*, which the Normans in the late rebellion tooke from them, and ſtill maintained againſt them vnder French Captaines: King *Charles* ſends ſome of his principal Commanders, with foure thouſand men, to reſcue the Towne; who did their beſt, but not able to effect any thing, *Harflew* was rendred to the Duke.

* Iouuent. of Fran.

* Stow p. 616.

Harflew recouered by the Duke of *Sommerſet*.

The Earle of *Warwicke* comes Regent into *France*, and *Yorke* returnes.

(36) In Nouember *Richard* Earle of *Warwicke* came as Regent into *France*, being ſurrogated in that office to the Duke of *Yorke*, who returned into *England*. Hee carried with him a thouſand freſh Souldiers, and arriued at *Harflew*, from whence he repaired to *Roane*, the chiefe ſeat (*Paris* being now loſt) of the Engliſh Dominions in North *France*, as *Burdeaux* was in the South; whither now the Earle of *Huntington*, with certaine troupes and companies of Souldiers, was ſent as *Seneſcall*. This new Regent buſied himſelfe in the generall affaires of his place. Vnder him the Duke of *Burgoins* forces were driuen from *Crotoy*: *Abbeuile* freed from the danger of a *Baſtile*, with which the Duke had pent that Towne in; and the Engliſh for twenty dayes ſpace together tooke their pleaſure in ſpoyling the Country of *Picardy* about *Amiens* and *Artois*. Theſe and ſome other actions hauing beene worthily carried during this Regents gouernment, himſelfe dyeth. The Duke of *Yorke* againe ſucceeds him. Our intereſt in *France* was retained, not ſo much by King *Henries* miniſters and Armies, as by remiſſeneſſe of King *Charles*, whom alſo *Lewis* the *Daulphin* (afterward King) did greatly trouble by rebellious deceſſions, and abſentments of himſelfe. The feare of the Engliſh reconciled the ſonne to the Father the ſooner. King *Charles* was now fallen in diſlike with his people, but to redeeme his credit, he attempts the recouery of *Pontoyſe* (a towne neere to *Paris*) which the Lord *Clifford* had not long before ſurprized by ſtratageme and money (an ordinary meanes as then for the expugnation of places) and comes in perſon to the enterpriſe. There attended vpon him for that ſeruice about ten or twelue thouſand men. The Lord *Clifford* is within, and makes a braue defence.

An. D. 1438.

The Duke of *Yorke* Regent againe.

King *Charles* and his Sonne reconciled againſt the Engliſh.

The ſiege of *Pontoyſe*.

(37) The Duke of *Yorke* lately landed in *Normandy*, as Regent, aſſembleth his maine ſtrengths, being about ſeauen or eight thouſand; offers the French King battell. Hee keepes himſelfe within his trenches. The Duke (according to the ancient humor and diſcipline of the Engliſh, who loue to ſet all vpon a puſh) deſirous to fight, vnexpectedly paſſeth the Riuer of *Oyſe*, which ranne betweene the two Campes. King *Charles* diſlodgeth ſo fearefully, that the French doe not ouer-boldly excuſe him of * flying. The Duke hauing had the ſpoyle of the French Kings Campe, re-fortifies *Pontoyſe*, and aſſaults a *Baſtile*, where *Charles* had left three thouſand Souldiers to maintaine the face of a ſiege. It was held better to purſue the King, who was gotten to *Poiſie*. There the Duke of *Yorke* againe very nobly prouokes him to a field. It would not be; King *Charles* ſaw the hazards were not equall, and therefore endures his bravado. He could doe no more, but is of neceſſity to returne to the maine of his charge in *Normandy*, and doth ſo. King *Charles* ranne into ſuch obloquie and contempt with his people by this diſhonourable retreate, but chiefly with the *Pariſians*; that if he had not attempted againe and preuailed againſt *Pontoyſe*, it might haue ieoparded his whole eſtate; for there was a faction which would haue made vſe of his diſgrace. He returnes in great fury to the ſiege, and finally enters the Towne, not without much bloudſhed. *Serres* ſaith, that fiue hundred Engliſh left their dead bodies at the breach. The King was one of the firſt that entred, chooſing rather to be thought temerarious then timerous. This exployt eſtabliſhed his opinion among the people. A ſatiety of warre filled both ſides, and the eſtate of *England* vnder King *Henrie*, whoſe ſoftneſſe and lenity gaue way to ſundry dangerous Court-factions, needed quiet Commiſſioners to meet at *Callis*: nothing is concluded but the enlargement of *Charles* Duke of *Orleance*, for the ſumme of three hundred thouſand Crownes. He had beene Priſoner in *England* about twenty and ſixe yeares, euer ſince the Battell of *Azincourt*, where hee was taken. The Duke of *Burgundie* was a ſpeciall Actor in his enlargement, with a purpoſe to ſecure his owne greatneſſe by benefites: this high-borne Prince, for the murther of his Father, being naturally the head and chiefe of that deadly fewde, which had moſt mortally raged betweene the houſes of *Burgundie* and *Orleance*. *Humfrey* Duke of *Gloceſter* prudently foreſeeing the dangers like to enſue on *Orleance* his enlargement, ſtoutly oppoſed himſelfe thereunto, and that vpon important reaſons which * hee required to haue regiſtred, that they might remaine on Record for a teſtimony and diſcharge of his duty in that behalfe.

King *Charles* purſued by the Duke of *Yorke*.

Pontoyſe taken by King *Charles*.

Charles Duke of *Orleance* ſet at liberty by the Engliſh.

* *Rot. Parent. de H. 6. 18.* the copy whereof I had from the learned M. *John Clapham*.

1. Firſt, for that the French King wanted diſcretion and iudgement to order his affaires, which defects might be ſupplyed by the Duke, (being a man of experience and very ſubtle) if he ſhould be ſet at liberty.

2. That the ſaid Duke might procure an vnion of the factions (now hotely maintained in *France* among the Nobility) to the preiudice of the Crowne of *England*, and hazard of the loſſe of the Kings territories in *France*.

3. That the Dutchy of *Normandy* (hauing ſuſtained a great charge in maintaining the warre) ſeeing the Duke of *Orleance* deliuered, and no royall Army on the Engliſh part to withſtand the common enemy, was likely enough to reuolt.

4. That if the Duke ſhould be deliuered, it might be probably coniectured, that he would ſooner break his oath, which hee ſhould (being priſoner) make to the King of *England*, then the oath of his alleageance to the French king his Soueraigne Lord, of whom he holdeth his lands and dignity.

5. If the Articles concluded betweene his Maieſtie and the French on the Dukes behalfe, ſhould not be performed, what remedy might his Maieſty haue or expect?

6. That conſidering his coſen of *Huntington* was to leaue the Dutchy of *Guyenne*, and for that the alliance betwixt the ſaid Duke, and the Earles of *Armignack* and *Foix*, and the Lord *de la Bret*, was to be ſuſpected as dangerous, it was very neceſſary that good prouiſion ſhould be made for defence of that Countrey, being his Maieſties ancient inheritance.

7. That his Maieſty hath no allyance with any Chriſtian Prince, but only the King of *Portugall* (being but of tender yeares, and farre off:) and therefore it was not ſafe for his Maieſty to deliuer him, that was likely to proue his Capitall enemy, and to ſeeke

* *Serres.*

seeke meanes to depriue him of thoſe lands which his noble Father had left him.

8. That if any of his Maieſties kindred, or other Lords on that ſide the Sea, ſhould happen to be taken priſoners, the ſaid Duke of *Orleance* might ranſome foure or fiue of them.

9. That it were fit to take aduiſe of the Lords, and other his Maieſties Subiects in the Realme of *France*, and Dutchy of *Normandy*, whether they thought it expedient that the ſaid Duke ſhould be deliuered or not. Otherwiſe the world might crie ſhame theron, when men ſhould cal to mind the loſſe of his Brethren of *Clarence*, and *Bedford*, and other noble Perſonages, in defending and keeping thoſe Lands.

10. If he (the ſaid Duke of *Gloceſter*) ſhould conſent to the ſaid Dukes deliuerance (the ſame being alſo quite contrary to the laſt will of his Maieſties Father) ſuch inconueniences as would enſue thereupon, ſhould be imputed to him.

(38) Notwithſtanding, the weight of ſo many thouſand Crownes ouer-peyſed all theſe important and ponderous reaſons; and the warre eates on ſtill in the body of *France*, but not with ſo ſharpe teeth, nor ſo full engorgement as before. Townes and people are taken on both ſides. The County of *Amiens* was ſpoyled by the Engliſh Lords, *Willoughby* & *Talbot*; The Regent and the Duke of *Sommerſet*, march into *Anion*, where they charged their carriages with much ſpoyle, and returned. Then the Duke of *Sommerſet* ſeuers himſelfe, and doth ſundry exployts in and about *Britaine*. *Diep* in *Normandy* being beſieged, was reſcued by the *Daulphin* of *France* to our loſſe. The contemplation of theſe mutuall violences touched all Chriſtendome: for the Turke, common enemy thereof, encreaſed. Ambaſſadours are ſent from all parts, to determine theſe bloudy differences. *William de la Pole* Earle of *Suffolke*, was chiefe for the Engliſh. A truce was hereupon taken for eighteene months, betweene King *Henry* & King *Charles*, and an hope of perpetuall amity, weakely grounded vpon a match which the Earle of *Suffolke* contracted for King *Henry*, with *Margaret* the daughter of *Renate*, titulary King of *Sicile*, *Naples*, and *Ieruſalem*, Duke of *Anion* and *Loraine*, Prince of the bloud. To effect this, the Earle couenanted *that the Engliſh ſhould abandon the poſſeſſion of Anion, and Main to her Father*. A ſtrange purchaſe of a wife, who though ſhe brought youth, beauty and hope of a perpetuall peace with *France*, (the more profitable opportunity whereof, the Engliſh had more bruely then happily neglected) yet was ſhe otherwiſe without portion. The Earle notwithſtanding (whoſe drift herein could not be without manifeſt ambition, to make himſelfe one of the greateſt of *England*, by this gratification of the French, with his Maſters charge and diſhonour) is not abaſhed to expect publique thankes for this high ſeruice, and an whole fifteene for the charge of her tranſportation. Sundry Lords of Councell, and the King himſelfe, thought him worthy, and according to his deuiſe & ouerture, the whole affaire was carried. *Suffolke* made *Marqueſſe* is ſent ouer with many honorable perſons, both men and women, to conduct the faire and goodly (but moſt vnfortunate and fatall) Bride into *England*. * *Polydore* giues vs no vnfitting Character of this Lady. *She* was prouident enough, very deſirous of glory, abounding in diſcourſe, counſell, gracious behauiour, and manly courage; but not free from womens humour, which (ſaith he) is vſually vehement and apt to change. In *England* ye may eaſily ſuppoſe, that ſhee was moſt roially entertained; *Humfrey Duke of Glouceſter*, among others, meeting her with a traine of * fiue hundred horſemen in a liuery, that worthy Poet *Iohn Lydgate* Monke of *Burie*, deuiſing the ſpeeches for ſuch gratulatory triumphs as were made at her entrance into *London*. The King being married lawfully enioyes her embracements, from which he was often afterward violently ſeparated by the miſeries of a moſt cruell warre, wherein ſhe had her piteous portion. *Suffolke* in the meane time hauing the moſt aſſured fauour of the Queene, purſues his ambitious purpoſes. She in the meane time was ſolemnely crowned Queene of *England* at *Weſtminſter* vpon the * thirtieth of *May*.

A ſhort truce and a match concluded for King *Henry* with the titulary king of *Sicils* daughter.

An. D. 1444. *An. Reg. 22.*

* *Hiſt. Angli. 23.*

* *Holinſh. Robert Fabian.*

She is married to King *Henry*, and Crowned.

* A.D. 1445. *An. Reg. 23.*

(39) Would to God it ſtood now with the quality of this argument, to turne our eyes from the view of thoſe actions which enſued; for here the mournefull tragedies of our poore Country began. But we cannot but open thoſe olde and moſt execrable ſores, that, in their example, all true Engliſh bloud may the rather be tender ouer their bowels, beholding ſuch effects as the diuell and all the furies of hell were (by Gods ſeuere permiſſion) Actors in. *Fabian* giues vs the cauſes and contents of thoſe effects, in theſe graue and few words.

Fabian.

" (40) *It appeareth that God was not pleaſed with that "marriage: For after this day, the fortune of the world "began to fall from the King, ſo that he loſt his friends "in England, and his reuenues in France: For ſhortly "after, all was ruled by the Queene and her Counſell, "to the great diſprofit of the King and his Realme, and "to the great mauger* (it is *Fabians* word) *& obloquy "of the Queene, who* (as ſince hath been well proued) *"had many a wrong, and falſe report made of her. All "which miſery fell for BREAKING OF THE "PROMISE, made by the King vnto the Earle of "Arminacks* * *daughter, as moſt writers agree: which "miſery in this Story ſhall ſome-deale appeare by the "looſing of Normandy*, (as all things elſe, except *Callis*, "which the Engliſh held in *France*) *the diuiſion of "the Lords within this Realme, the rebellion of the "comminalty againſt their Prince and Soueraigne, & "finally the King depoſed, and the Queene with the "Prince faine to flee the land, and loſt the rule thereof "for euer.* Thus he: but all this farre ſhort of the euils that were the brood and of ſpring of the following times. The Parliament in the meane time grants aydes of money, that vpon expiration of the truce, there might be preſent abilities to maintaine warre. The Duke of *Yorke* is reuoked, & the Duke of *Sommerſet* (in an euill houre) is ſent in his place, with ſuch prouiſions as were reputed competent.

* This contract by proxie is ſaid to haue beene made in the twentieth yeare of king *Henry*; and that the Earle of *Suffolke* was chiefe, if not ſole actor in breaking it.

The Duke of *Sommerſet* Regent of Engliſh *France*.

(41) *Humfrey* the renowned Duke of *Glouceſter*, Lord Protector, felt the firſt ſtroke of the euill Angell, which was ſent to puniſh *England*, and to roote out her Nobles. This Duke was much hated of the Queene, and her faction, as the onely man who by his prudence, as alſo by the honour and authority of his birth & place, ſeemed to empeach that ſoueraigne command, which they pretended to ſettle in the Kings owne perſon, but meant indeed (as the manner is vnder ſoft Princes) to raigne themſelues in anothers name. Many great Lords were drawne on (at the time of a Parliament then * holden at Saint *Edmunds-Bury*) to concurre for his ruine, not perceiuing, that thereby they pluckt vp the floud-gate, at which the Duke of *Yorke* entered, ouerwhelming all of them in a deluge of bloud. Whether they had any true or iuſt feare of *Glouceſter* himſelfe, leaſt perhaps he ſhould take reuenge vpon ſome particular perſons among them, is doubtfull, though it be probable enough, that they had. Heare ſome things that fore-went this Parliament. About fiue or ſixe yeares before,* the Dutcheſſe of *Glouceſter Eleanor*, was conuented for *witchcraft and ſorcery*, and afterward endited of *treaſon* in the *Guild-hall* in *London*, before the Earles of *Huntington*, *Stafford*, *Suffolke*, & *Northumberland*, and certaine Lords, as *Fanhope*, & *Hungerford*; with others, and Iudges of both benches; of which crime ſhee was appealed by one *Bolingbrooke* an Aſtronomer, and *Thomas Southwell* a Chanon, which *Southwell* was charged to haue ſaid Maſſes ouer certaine inſtruments, by which the Aſtronomer ſhould practiſe Necromancy againſt the life of the King. Theſe being taken, accuſed her as acceſſary, ſhee hauing deſired the helpe of their Art, to know what would befall her. Some part hereof ſhe

The Duke of *Glouceſters* troubles.

An. D. 1447.

* In February.

* *Stowes Annal.* The Dutcheſſe of *Glouceſter* arraigned of ſorcery and treaſon.

ſhe confeſſed, for which ſhe was put to publike and ſolemne penance in *London*, vpon three ſeuerall daies, with wonderfull ſhame to her perſon, and after ſhee was committed to perpetuall priſon vnder the ward of Sir *Thomas Stanley* in the Caſtle of *Cheſter*, but from thence remoued to *Kenelworth*. *Her pride, falſhood, auarice, and lechery were cauſes of her confuſion*, ſaith *Stow*; who hath ſet forth that buſineſſe very diligently, though not ſeeming to attribute much credit to that accuſation of treaſon. The Duke of *Gloceſter* her vnhappy Lord and Husband (whom ſhee by loue-cups and enchantments was ſaid to haue enueigled, vſing therein one *Margery Gurdmain* a witch of *Ey* in *Suffolke*, who was burnt in *Smithfield*) ſtung with this reproach, might reaſonably be thought not vnwilling to doe ſomewhat. Howſoeuer that was, his deſtruction borrowed countenance from that opinion. The Duke therefore being come to attend in this Parliament at *Burie*, was arreſted of high treaſon by *Iohn* Lord *Beaumont* high Conſtable of *England*, the Dukes of *Buckingham* and *Sommerſet*, with others. Certaine of the Kings houſhold were appoynted to guard him. Not long after hee was found dead. His body was ſhewed to the Lords and Commons, as if he had died of a palſey or an apoſteme. Of thirty and two of his ſeruants which were attached, Sir *Roger Chamberlaine* Knight, *Richard Middleton*, *Thomas Herbert*, *Arthur Turſey* Eſquiers, and *Richard Nedham* Gentleman, were condemned of high treaſon, & had this vnexampled puniſhment. They were drawne from the Tower to *Tiburne*, hanged, let down quick, ſtript naked, marked with a knife to be quartered, and then a Charter of pardon ſhewed for their liues by the *Marqueſſe* of *Suffolke*. But the yeoman * of the Crowne had their liuelyhood, the executioner their cloathes. Their pardons were thus obtained by the earneſt diligence of Doctor *Gilbert Worthington*, a famous Preacher, Parſon of Saint *Andrewes* in *Holborne*. *Thomas Wilde* Eſquire, the Dukes ſeruant alſo, being condemned and pardoned among other, had for a preamble in his Letters Patents words importing, * *that he had beene one among many other traitours againſt the King, with Humfrey Duke of Glouceſter, who went about, and practiſed, to deliuer Eleanour, late wife to the Duke, from out of priſon, for which purpoſe he had gathered a great power & number of men, to come to the Parliament at Burie, there to haue contriued the Kings deſtruction.*

The Duke of Gloceſter dead.

A ſtrange ſparing of life forfeited for treaſon.

* *Record. apud Stowes Annal.*

* *Record. ibid.*

(42) Such was the end of this great Prince, who, notwithſtanding this open ſhewing of his body, and theſe pretended crimes, was by the people of *England* thought to be doubly murthered, by detraction, and deadly practiſe. He was not only a true louer of learned men, but himſelfe alſo * *learned*, and (ſaith our Author) *a father of his Countrey*. His maine opinion concerning the gouernment of King *Henries* French dominions, was as mainely oppoſed by the Cardinall of *Wincheſter*, and others, who altogether perſwaded *Peace*, to which the noble Duke (ſtanding preciſely vpon the honour and Maieſty of the Engliſh name,) was * an abſolute enemy. From this troubled fountaine of diuided Councell many following blacke aduentures did flow. The Duke thus brought to his end, *good men* (ſaith *Polydore*) *fearefull of their own ſafeties, did of their own accord forſake the Court, into whoſe roomes many ſucceeded, who for the more part looking how to riſe in dignity made open an eaſie way for new factions*. The Cardinal of *Wincheſter* (the other halfe-arch of the Kingdome) ouerliued not the Duke aboue fifteene or ſixteene dayes. The whole frame of gouernement was thus drawne to repoſe it ſelfe vpon the Queene, and ſuch fauourites, as the King by her commendation the rather liked.

* *Polyd. Virg. l. 23.*

* *Hall* in the Dukes Articles againſt the Cardinall.

The Cardinall of *Wincheſter* deceaſeth.

(43) The *Marqueſſe* of * *Suffolke*, prime man in grace, was created Duke, which made him a more conſpicuous marke of enuie, then that any ſhadow of the King or Queene could ſhelter or protect. *After the Cardinals * death, the affaires in Fraunce (where Sommerſet was now Regent) were neither duly looked vnto, nor the gouernours of the Countrey well aduiſed.* But the King and Realme of *England* lay, much more then *France*, open to the ineuitable, deepe, and pernicious conſpiracies of *Richard* Duke of *Yorke*. He (by the errour of King *Henrie*, and the euill ſtarres of our Countrey) being of himſelfe a great Prince, and growne ſtronger by affected popularity, *perceiuing the King to be a Ruler, and not to Rule, began ſecretly to allure his friends of the Nobility, and priuily declared to them his title to the Crowne, as likewiſe he did to certaine Gouernors of Cities and Townes*, which attempt was ſo politickly and cloſely carried, that his prouiſion was ready, before his purpoſe was opened. The very ſtate of things inuited this fatall conſpiracy: a milder King then *England* was worthy of; a Councell out of fauour with the people; manifold loſſes and diſhonours abroad; a turbulent and iealous condition of things at home. Of all which and much more, the Duke of *Yorke*, hauing King *Henry* the fourth (the enemy of his houſe) for a perillous example, made his pretious vſe, cheriſhing the popular auerſions, without ſeeking to redreſſe any euils, but repreſenting them worſe then they were, thereby to ripen that breach of loyalty in the hearts of men, which his ambition wrought vpon. His diſplacement from the Regency of *France*, did not a little (perhaps) offend him at firſt, becauſe the Duke of *Sommerſet* got it ouer his head; but it will not be long, before *Sommerſets* euill carriage of that truſt, and the declining fortune of *England*, will giue him occaſion to reioyce at the foile of his dreaded enemy. Let vs not be long in the rehearſall of the publique ſhame and dammage of our nation.

Richard Duke of Yorke practiſeth to attaine the Crowne.

Stowes Annals.

(44) During the truce betweene *England* and *France*, one Sir *Francis Surien* an *Arragonois* (Knight * of the *Garter*) ſeruing vnder the Regent, vnlawfully ſurprized *Fougers*, a towne of *Britaine* vpon the confines of *Normandy*. Reſtitution is demanded. The Duke of *Sommerſet* (a *proud man* (ſaith *Serres*) who *thinking to do better then the reſt, did abſolutely ruine the Engliſh affaires*) contrary to good diſcipline, cheriſhing his ſouldiers in their riots and diſorders, neglected the iuſtice of Nations in that poynt. The French make this their example, and ſurprize *Port de l'Arch*, and towne after towne, ſo many and ſo faſt, that King *Charles* (who, that he might haue God on his ſide, and wrong on his enemies, contained himſelfe with great modeſty, till * he ſaw all quiet reſtitution deſperate,) recouered *Roan*, *Cane*, and all *Normandy* within a ſhort ſpace after.

* *Serres.*

The loſſe of *Normandy* occaſioned by breach of truce.

* *Serres.* *Normandy* loſt. An. D. 1449.

(45) Thus *Sommerſet*, and the *Engliſh*, are compelled to quit *Normandy*, not only inglorious, but alſo in *England* it ſelfe vncommiſerated. The next maine parcell of the *Engliſh* inheritance, beyond our Ocean, was *Gaſcoine*. King *Charles* and his people deſirous (againſt plaine right) to make all that theirs, whatſoeuer was comprehended within the *French* language, inuaded that *Dutchie* alſo, and within very * few yeeres after (the fortune of warre, and diſloyalty of the people euery where fauouring them) extorted the ſame out of the *Engliſh-mens* poſſeſſion, after it had continued theirs about two hundreth foure-ſcore and nine yeares, to the immortall diſhonour and dammage of our nation. The Duke of *Yorke* in the meane time, who thirſted for the Crowne of *England*, hath occaſion miniſtred to impe more feathers into his aſpiring wings. *Ireland* is in tumult. Thither the Duke paſſeth, and not onely appeaſeth the diſorder of that Nation, *but * wan ſuch fauour among them, as could neuer be ſeperated from him, and his linage*. Thus diligently the Pioner makes his mines into the quiet and felicitie of his Countrey, calling his cauſe the quarrell of right and iuſtice, as pertending that the Crowne of *England* appertained to his name and family.

An. D. 1450. *Secundum Iob. Til.*

*A.D. 1452. ſaith *Polydore* and *Til.*

Gaſcoigne loſt.

(46) But the odour of this vile ſucceſſe in *France*, comming into *England*, filled mens hearts and ſenſes with great perturbation. The Queene and *Suffolke*

* *Stowes Annals.*

*A.D. 1448. *An. Reg. 26.* *ffolke* made Duke.

* *Stowes Annals.*

folke ſuffer obloquie for theſe effects in the generall iudgement. The Common-wealth is not ſilent. A Parliament is called to be holdē at *Weſtminſter*, which from thence was aſſigned to be kept at *Leiceſter*. The place likes not; few appeare. It is brought backe to *Weſtminſter*. There the whole body of publike counſell meetes. Many * Articles are exhibited by the lower houſe againſt the Duke of *Suffolke*, wherein hee is charged *with euill demeanour, miſpriſion* and *treaſon:* who thereupon is committed priſoner to the Tower: from thence, within foure or fiue weekes he is diſcharged, which more augmented the generall indignation then his commitment had miniſtred ſatisfaction. The perilous Duke of *Yorke* warmes himſelfe at theſe blazes, and vnder-hand cheriſheth them as opportunity will permit, hauing his cunning factors and inſtruments fit for ſuch occaſions ſecretly ſpread ouer the Realme, to inſtill the poyſons of diſcontentment, and deſire of change into the giddy multitude. When we reade in our vulgar Chronicles, *that about this time Adam Molins Biſhop of Chicheſter, Keeper of the Kings Priuy Seale (through the procurement of Richard Duke of Yorke) was by ſhipmen ſlaine at Portſmouth*, and yet no cauſe of ſo foule and wicked a murther expreſſed, it cannot but offend any curious Reader, who would receiue ſatisfaction rather by the reaſon of actions, then by the euents. His guiltineſſe in the fact was ſo apparant, that King *Henry* in his anſwer, made a yeare or two after to the Dukes diſſembling and deceitfull letter, confidently mentioneth the ſame, where thus he ſpeaketh. *Sooth it is, that long time among the people hath beene vpon you many ſtrange language, and in ſpeciall anone after your diſordinate and vnlawfull ſlaying of the Biſhop of Chicheſter, diuers, and many of the vntrue ſhipmen and other, ſaid (in their manner) words againſt our ſtate, making menace to our owne perſon by your ſayings, that yee ſhould be fetched with many thouſands, and you ſhould take vpon* * *you that which you neither ought, nor as we doubt not will attempt, &c.* What cauſe led the Duke to commit this ſo impious a deed, may eaſily now be coniectured, being none other but the common hatred he bare to all ſuch wiſe or valiant perſons, as might in any ſort vphold the moſt iuſt & gracious *Henry*; & this ſincerity in the Biſhop could not be but a grieuous crime in the Dukes ambitious eyes, whoſe greatneſſe was euen then too intollerable; for where was the Kings iuſtice when ſuch a fact might hope of impunity? The Duke did effect it by his bloudy complices, as he did many other moſt ſeditious and perfidious things, while hee was abſent in *Ireland*. *Thomas Thanie* notwithſtanding, calling himſelfe *Blew-beard*, being a *Fuller* of *Canterbury*, and attempting to gather the people, miſcarrieth in his treaſon, and for that was hanged and quartered: this was a preamble to the following tumults. The Duke of *Yorkes* whole and onely hopes were repoſed in the generall perturbations of his Countrey.

(47) The Duke of *Suffolke* (a principall pillar of King *Henries* ſafety) being ſet at liberty, attends the King and Queene in their Parliament at *Leiceſter*. Behold the humour of the Commons which were ſowred with the peſtilent leauen of *Yorkes* conſpiracy. They cannot endure the ſight of this Prince, becauſe his re-aduancement ſeemes done in deſpight of them. Calumniations and odious ſurmiſes are exhibited againſt him: he muſt downe, to make way for King *Henries* moſt vnworthy ruine. The moſt vile part of this Parliamentall accuſation was, that they ſhould charge that for a crime vpon *Suffolke*, which themſelues had vniuerſally in another former Parliament aſſented vnto, and ratified. Which was the deliuery of *Anion* and *Main* vpon the marriage, concluded (for the good of *England*, if others had not inuerted or interrupted the ſucceſſe by their temerity) with *Renate*, Father of Queene *Margaret*. Neither did the enuy only of the ſecret *Yorkiſts* ouerlade this noble Gentleman, but the impotency of the Duke of *Sommerſets* faction, whoſe raſhneſſe and vanity hauing loſt all *Normandy*, would gladly find any others ſhoulder, vpon which to caſt the imputation, either in part or whole. In that former Parliament aſſembled immediately vpon *Suffolkes* returne from that treaty with *Renate* out of *France*, this was the ſumme of the whole proceedings: *Suffolke* (as he was very eloquent) made knowne to both Houſes, his counſels and ſeruices, and the effect of his Embaſſie, praying they might be approued, and enrolled for his diſcharge. Whereupon * the next morrow, *Burley*, Speaker of the lower houſe, and the body thereof, repaired to the Kings preſence, then ſitting among the Lords, and there * humbly required, *that the requeſt of the Marqueſſe* (afterward created Duke of *Suffolke*) *might be granted:* and the Lords made the like petition, kneeling on their knees. The King condiſcended to their deſires, and ſo the whole matter was recorded for his acquitall.

(48) What can be more euident? or who can enough admire the vanity of popular mutability? The Duke (the principall marke, though the Biſhop of *Salisbury*, the Lord *Say*, and others were alſo accuſed) vnable to ſtand the puſh of ſo generall an oppoſition, muſt be baniſhed. The King vnwillingly giues this ſentence againſt the Duke, or rather againſt his owne life and ſafety: fiue yeares are limitted to his exile. Being vpon the ſea, hee is taken by his enemies, who at *Douer-road* ſtroke off his head vpon the ſide of a Cocke-boat. This diuelliſh murther (for it was none other, the Kings authority being not vſed therein) committed vpon ſo great a Prince, was the leſſe pittied, for that he was noyſed among the people to haue beene a priuie actor in the noble Duke of *Gloceſters* death, who periſhed (ſaith a learned * Authour) *by the fraud and practiſe of a woman*, (belike) Queene *Margaret*. The Biſhop of *Salisbury* beforeſaid, more impiouſly, and irregularly loſt his life in the following tumults, being murthered (after he had finiſhed diuine Seruice) by his owne Tenants, who dragged him from the Altar to an hill-top, and there (while hee was making his laſt prayers) cleft his ſacred head: The Lord *Say* Treaſurer of *England*, fell likewiſe into the peoples fury, and had his head cut off by the commandement of that execrable Rebell *Iacke Cade*, at the Standard in *Cheape*, as yee ſhall hereafter learne.

(49) *This William Duke of Suffolke* * *was indeed a great and worthy perſon; for when his Father, and three Brothers had valiantly powred forth their liues for their Countrey in the warre of France, he ſerued in them foure & thirty yeares, in ſeuenteene of the which hee neuer returned home, hee was once taken priſoner, being then but a Knight, and payed for his ranſome twenty thouſand pounds ſterling, he was fifteene yeares Priuy Counſellour, and thirtie yeares Knight of the Garter.* Notwithſtanding all which, the ſame Authour truely addeth: *That as for theſe cauſes he was in higheſt grace with the King, ſo he was the more diſgracious or hated of the people, and for* * *certaine very ſleight matters, and thoſe not very apparant, hee was driuen into baniſhment, and* (as you haue already heard) *was intercepted vpon the Sea in his paſſage to France, and by his aduerſaries killed.* What honeſt heart doth not melt at the relation of theſe violent contempts of all Religion, honour, reaſon and iuſtice? yet are they but the drops which doe forgoe thoſe many bloudy ſhowres, which the cloud of *Yorkes* faction rainde vpon our miſerable Nation. They who murthered this great triumphant Gentleman, were certaine perſons who wafted vpon the Seas in a Barke called the *Nicholas* of the Tower, which belonged to *Iohn* * *Holland* Duke of *Exceſter*, Conſtable of the Tower of *London*, whom Gods reuenging hand ſhall not leaue vnpuniſhed.

(50) The *Yorkiſts* hauing thus rid *Suffolke* out of the way, thought it now a fit ſeaſon to ſpring their practiſe. Hereupon the Commons of *Kent*, (who haue ſeldome refrained in ſuch turbulent times)

* *Hall Chron.* The Duke of *Suffolke* committed priſoner to the Tower and enlarged.

The Duke of *Yorke* procures the murther of the Lord Priuie Seale.

* The Crowne of *England*.

A Fuller executed for treaſon.

The Duke of *Suffolke* king *Henries* chiefe ſtay, accuſed by the Commons at the Parliament.

* This was in An.D.1446.

* *Stowes Annals.*

The Duke of *Suffolke* going into baniſhment is wickedly murthered.

* *Cambd.* in *Gloceſter.*

The bloudy effects of the Duke of *Yorkes* popularity.

* *Cambd.* in *Suffolke.*

The noble and great deſerts of the Duke of *Suffolke.*

* *Leiſculius de cauſis quæ parùm luquebant.*

* *Stowes Annals.*

while the Duke of *Yorke* was as yet in *Ireland*, take Armes. One *Iacke Cade* is their Captaine: hee had beene the ſeruant of a *Suſſex* Knight, Sir *Thomas Dagre*; kils a woman with Childe; abiureth the land; turnes French; ſwearing ſeruice to them, and now returning, is the inſtrument to hang out *Mortimers* name, like a flag, to draw a party, faining himſelfe to be a Coſen to the Duke of *Yorke*. A peſtilent deuiſe, to ſound the affections of the multitude, and to proclaime the Title to the Crowne, which the Duke (as heire of that family) afterward challenged; for who would not aske, what ſhould mooue him to vſe the name of *Mortimer*? This *Cade*, whom ſome (by contraries) call *Iohn Amend-all*, (that is, *Iohn Marre-all*) hauing drawn great numbers to follow him, encamps at *Blacke-Heath* by *Greenewich*, and in his writings cals himſelfe the Captaine of *Kent*. His pretences (as of all like diſloyall actions) were the common good, and ſuch other. The King at the report of theſe ſtirres, is ſtirred. The Captaine of *Kent* demands,

The Kentiſh Rebels vnder *Iacke Cade* giue out the name of *Mortimer*.

Cades demands.

1 *That* Richard *Duke of* Yorke *bee called out of* Ireland, *and (with certaine others named for ſtales and colour) be principally vſed in Counſell.*

2 *That as the Duke of* Glocester *was falſly proclaimed a Traitour, ſo the Authors of his death might be puniſhed.*

4 (For the third Article contained no demaund, but onely ſcandalous matter to aggrauate hatred againſt the dead Duke of *Suffolke*, and his liuing adherents;) *That all the extortions* (ſo the Rebels phraſed them) *daily vſed among the common people, might be laid downe: that is to ſay, the greene waxe, which is falſly vſed, to the perpetuall deſtruction of the Kings true Commons of* Kent. *Alſo the Kings Bench, the which is too grieuous to the Shire of* Kent, *without prouiſion of our Soueraigne Lord, and his true Councell. And alſo in taking Wheat and other graines, Beeſe, Mutton, and all other victuall, the which is importable to the ſaid Commons, without the brieſe prouiſion of our ſaid Soueraigne Lord, and his true Councell, they may no longer beare it. And alſo vnto the Statute of Labourers, and the great extortioners, the which is to ſay, the falſe Traitors,* Sleg, Cromere, Iſley, *and* Robert Eaſt.

Stowes Annals.

(51) Thus traiterouſly, to the Kings welfare, and ſcandalouſly to his moſt gentle gouernment, writes this arrogant Captaine of Rebels. The King vpon view of theſe braues, beginnes to feele the indignity and danger. An Armie is raiſed, *Cade* retires to *Seuenoke* in *Kent*. The King ſuppoſing hee had fled, ſends after him * Sir *Humfrey Stafford* Knight, and other Gentlemen, with ſome forces. Wee reade none of theſe things without a ſuſpition, that the King was alwayes betraied by ſuch hypocrites about him, as would not haue him proſper. Marke the euent. At *Seuenoke Cade* abides, probably not without encouragement from ſecret Traitours, and after long fight ſlew Sir *Humfrey*, with many others. Hee armed himſelfe in the dead Knights abillements, with guilt ſpurres. The King and Queene hearing of this miſhappe, leaue the Tower of *London* to the cuſtody of the Lord *Scales*, and of that renowned Eſquire *Mathew Gowgh*; and *London* it ſelfe to the Lord Maiors fidelity, themſelues departing to *Kenilworth*. The headlong crewes of *London* fauour the Rebell, and giue entrance. *Robert Horne* Alderman, like an honeſt wiſe man, would haue had them reſiſted. This free neceſſary ſpeech endangered his life; honourable in his memory for the hazard onely, what ſhould hee haue beene if hee had gloriouſly loſt it? but money buyes out his perill with the Tyrant, who fined him at * fiue hundred Markes. The time was very ſlippery and looſe; for the *Eſſex*-men alſo were encamped vpon *Mile-end* by *London*: All men are afraid of their own eſtates; ſuch ſecret well-wiſhings attended vpon the Arch-Rebels pretences. The King before he had left *London*, was enforced (by ſuch hollow friends as were about him) to commit the Lord *Say*, Treaſurer of *England* to the Tower, after

* *Pygot.*

The firſt ciuill conflict vnder this King, where *Cade* hath the victory.

Horne, a worthy Alderman of *London*, perſwading the reſiſtance of *Cade* is in danger of his life.

* *Robert Fabian.*

An. D. 1450.

that the valiant and loyall Sir *Humfrey Stafford* was ſlaine, and the newes of his vnlucky defeate were confirmed.

(52) *Cade* therefore being admitted into *London* vpon the ſecond of Iuly with his forces, (where for a ſhort while, to delude the people with a ſhew of conſcience, they abſtained from robberies) ſtrikes with his ſword vpon *London-ſtone*, ſaying; *Now is Mortimer Lord of this Citie.* At night he returnes into *Southwarke*: One * *Robert Poinings* of *Southwarke* Eſquire, was his Sword-bearer and Caruer. It is needleſſe to be particular in this Rebels behauiour: The next day he returnes, and the Lord *Say* is beheaded in *Cheapſide* (as is before ſaid) at *Cades* commandement, and his body cut into quarters. The King being by the loſſe of ſo truſty and graue a ſeruant, not a little weakened.

Cades behauiours in *London*.

* *Stowes Annals, ad A. D. 1458.*

(53) The next tragedy was *Cromeres* an Eſquire, and high Sheriffe of *Kent*, (the Lord *Sayes* ſonne in law) who is drawne out of the Fleet (and to appeaſe the *Eſſex* Rebels) ſacrificed, by beheading, without any tryall, at *Mile-end*. The Citie ſtirres not for all this. *Malpas* and *Gerſtie*, two rich Citizens, at whoſe houſes *Cade* had ſeuerally dined, being ſpoyled and robbed by him (leſt perhaps it might appeare, that he who durſt commit treaſons, had not alſo the heart to commit felonies) teach what others are to expect. The Maior, *Thomas Chalton* and the wiſer wealthy ones, ouer-ruled by faction till then, ſee their danger now, and ſecretly ſend to the Lord *Scales* for ayde. *Mathew Gowgh* at night is come among them as ſent by him. The Kentiſhmen, hearing their entry was barred, runne furiouſly to armes. *Cade* endeauours to open his way by force; but in deſpight of all his power, the Citizens made good & defended *London*-bridge againſt him, though with the loſſe of many valiant and honeſt men, for the conflict endured all night, till nine in the morning. Among ſuch as were ſlaine on the Kings ſide, were *Iohn Sutton* Alderman, *Mathew Gowgh* himſelfe, and *Robert Heyſand* Citizen. *This Gowgh* (an Eſquire of *Wales*) *was a man of excellent vertue, manhood, and zeale to his Countrey, and of great renowne in the warre of France*, where he had ſerued with ſpeciall commendations faithfully, for the ſpace of aboue twenty yeares. His deſerts at this time deſerued a Statue in the City, for whoſe ſafety hee ſpent his laſt bloud. To giue a quicke end to theſe miſeries, impunity is proclaimed for all offenders, and ſent to them in the Kings name by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, Lord *Chancellour*, vnder the great Seale of *England*: the rebels are ſcattred with this aſſurance of their ſafeties, and euery man retires in peace from following ſo peſtilent an Impoſtor. A * thouſand Markes (when *Cade* afterward attempted new troubles) are promiſed to him, who kils or takes this counterfeit *Mortimer*. *Alexander Eden*, a Gentleman of *Kent*, had the happineſſe to diſcouer and kill him at *Hothfield* in that County: his wretched carkaſe was brought to *London*, where his falſe head was ſet ſentinell vpon *London-bridge*, and his quarters were aduanced for terrour in ſeuerall parts of *Kent*. There died alſo by the ſtroke of Iuſtice twenty and ſixe more, wherof eight were executed at *Canterbury*, and the reſt elſewhere in *Kent* and *Suſſex*. The multitude it ſelfe * came naked in their ſhirts to the King on *Black-heath*, humbly praying mercy, which they obtained.

Cades ſecond ciuill conflict vpon *London*-bridge.

Alderman Sutton and *Mathew Gowgh* ſlaine in the conflict. *Polyd. Virg. li. 23.*

* The Kings proclamation.

Cade proſcribed and killed.

* *Febr. 23.*

(54) The Kentiſh rebellion thus pacified, farre greater & farre more dangerous troubles enſued, *as it * fareth in humane bodies, which relapſing into ſickneſſes, are ſhaken ſo much the more terribly.* Theſe troubles had their fountaine and mediate Originall from *Richard* Duke of *Yorke*, no degenerous ſonne of that *Richard* whom K. *Henry* the fift had created Earle of *Cambridge*, and enriched with much wealth, honouring him aboue others, in regard of his bloud & parentage; *but * no bounty, nor benefits could change a treacherous diſpoſition*, for (as you haue heard before) he

* *Polyd. Virg. li. 23.*

* *Tho. Wal. in H. 5.*

he conſpired to murther his benefactor King *Henry* the fifth, as the Duke of *Yorke* (his true progeny) laboured to depoſe this King *Henry* his aduancer. The humors of the popular body, were, in the laſt commotion, not obſcurely diſcouered. The Commonweale had perhaps ſome few enormities, through the abuſe of Magiſtrates and men in place, but yet ſuch, as the malady was infinitely leſſe pernicious then the remedy. Vpon this intelligence the Duke comes ſodainly out of *Ireland*, and to begin his vſurped cenſureſhip and dictature, apprehends * *Iohn Sutton* Lord *Dudley*, *Reignald* Abbot of Saint *Peters* at *Glaſtenbury*, and another, whom he impriſoneth within his Caſtell of *Ludlow*. Intollerable beginnings of more intollerable ſequele. *Edmund* Duke of *Sommerſet was the man*, who (after *Suffolks* death) moſt ſupported the Kings ſide by * his *vigilancie, cares, dangers, and good Counſels, endeauouring by all meanes to cleare the Realme from factions, and to preſerue the King and ſtate in quiet.*

The Duke of *Yorke* comes out of *Ireland.*

* *Stowes Annals.*

* *Polyd. Virg. l.23.*

(55) *Yorke* ſeeing this, doth finde that *Suffolke* periſhed in vaine, if *Sommerſet* held like grace; againſt whoſe perſon he had a particular pretence of quarrel, for that the City of *Caen* in *Normandy*, which was the Duke of *Yorkes* charge, was rendred vp to the French by him, when the Engliſh affaires grew deſperate in thoſe parts; Sr. *Dauid Hall* Knight, being at that time Captaine there for his Lord and Maſter the Duke of *Yorke*, and not allowing it, although the renowned *Talbot* himſelfe was preſent at the render, & became an hoſtage for performance of the Capitulations. *Yorke* hereupon conſults with his ſpecial friends, *Richard* Earle of *Salisbury*, and *Richard* his Sonne, (who was afterward that moſt ſeditious & great fighting Earle of *Warwick*) *Thomas Courtney* Earle of *Deuonſhire*, *Edmund Brooke* Lord *Cobham*, and others, how *Yorke might get the Crowne of England*, and for that cauſe *how to ruine or fret out the Duke of Sommerſet*, who ſtanding, they were to looke for ſtrong oppoſition. In the end, they conclude to take armes, but yet to *ſmother the mention of the Duke of Yorkes title, giuing out to the world for the reaſon of their doings, that they meant all honour and obedience to king Henry, & only to remoue certaine bad men from about his perſon, who afflicted the people, and made a pray of the Common-wealth*: which, to gaine the more credit, & to blind the good King, the ſubtile Duke declares by Proclamation; * wherein, thus ſpeaketh that ambitious Hypocrite. *God knoweth, from whom nothing is hid, I am, haue been, and euer will be, his true liegeman, &c. And to the very proofe it is ſo, I offer my ſelfe to ſweare that on the bleſſed Sacrament, and receiueit, the which I hope ſhall be my ſaluation at the day of doome, &c.* In that it was the euill hap of the Duke of *Sommerſet*, that *Normandy* was loſt during his Regency, his enemies had the more commodity to incommodate him with the people, who forbare not at his returne to offer to him ſundry diſhonours and iniuries, till vpon paine of death they were reſtrained, for breach of which Proclamation, one had his head cut off in *Weſt-Cheape London*.

The Duke of *Yorke* armes vpon pretence to reforme the ſtate.

An. D. 1452.

* *Dat. 9. Ian. 30. H. 6.* at the Dukes Caſtell of *Ludlow*.

He publiſheth a declaratory ſchedule in his iuſtification.

(56) The King (notwithſtanding all his Coſens Arts and diſſimulations) ſeeing the hooke through the baite, and the ſnake through the graſſe, by the aduiſe of his truſty friends, chiefly of *Edmund* Duke of *Sommerſet*, thinkes not fit to relye vpon his enemies good nature, but hauing a ſtrong power, and ſtore of honourable men to conduct them, hee marcheth toward *Wales* againſt the Duke. The King did herein wiſely, but not ſo much as the cauſe required. *Yorke* hauing notice of the Kings approach turnes aſide, & with all ſpeed marcheth toward *London*. That City, (the vaine hope of all Rebellions,) would not harken; Thereupon he ſlides with his people into *Kent*, the neſt of his hopes, and at *Brent-heath* neere *Dertford* (a towne about twelue miles from *London*) encampeth, meaning to fight. The King is not ſlow, but leauing his march toward *Wales*, pitcheth vp his roiall Pauillion vpon *Black-heath*, with a purpoſe to teach his Coſen of *Yorke* more duty. Behold the fortune of *England*. God puts an excellent opportunity into the Kings hands, of tearing vp the danger of his houſe by the rootes, for the Duke was farre inferiour in numbers. Such therefore as ſecretly fauoured him, fearing his ouerthrow, were willing to aduiſe a reconcilement. Meſſengers goe betweene the hoaſts. The Duke in his wonted manner, *pretends loialty and particular iniuries, as that the Kings ſeruants, Sir Iohn Talbot at Holt Caſtell, Sir Thomas Stanley in Cheſhire, and others in other places, were ſet to harken vpon him. That by * two of the Norrices, Bulkley, Gruſt, Bould, (and other Gentlemen) he was forbidden to land at Bewmaris, or to haue any refreſhment, affirming that he* (the Duke of *Yorke*) *was againſt the Kings intent, and as a Traitor.* The King ſtoopes ſo much as to anſwer the Letter, letting him to know: *That the ſuſpition vniuerſally conceiued of his behauiours moued thoſe effects: neuertheleſſe, in regard of the humble obedience which was now proteſted, hee, for the eaſing of the Dukes heart, doth declare, repute, and admit him as a true and faithfull ſubiect, and as his welbeloued Coſen.* The Duke then aduanceth his practiſe one ſtep further, and writes to the King, that Iuſtice might be done vpon all perſons of what degree ſoeuer, which were guilty, or noiſed to be guilty of treaſon: aiming at the Duke of *Sommerſet*, whom he doubted not to ouerwhelme with ſleights and calumnies, as hee and his had done the Duke of *Suffolke*.

The King marcheth againſt the Duke of *Yorke*.

The Kings army being greater then the Dukes, peace is vnhappily made.

* *Ex literis Regis & Ducis.*

(57) The King is contented (ſuch weake or treacherous counſels he relied vpon) that *Sommerſet* (for his ſatisfaction) ſhould be commanded Priſoner to his * owne houſe, and *Yorke* (hauing firſt diſſolued his Armie) ſhould come in perſon, and put himſelfe into the Kings hand. When he was come, *he exhibites a great complaint againſt the pride and auarice of the Duke of Sommerſet, and cunningly accuſing none but him, he ſeekes the good will of all others.* A cunning drift as any, conſidering that hereby he deriued vpon his enemy all the enuie of the people, and left him ſingle to withſtand the effects. *Sommerſet* (a Prince of great ſpirit and wit) not thinking it reaſonable, as well in regard of his owne honour as the Common-wealths intereſt, to endure ſuch indignity, preſents himſelfe to the King againſt his accuſer, and reſoluing not to be tender-mouthed in the ſo apparent perill of the King and Realme, whoſe quiet was vndermined, anſweres *Yorke* face to face, and, in plaine termes *accuſeth him of higheſt treaſon, as hauing conſpired to depoſe the King, and take vpon himſelfe the Soueraignty*: vehemently vrging: That * the Duke of *Yorke might be committed* and *arraigned, to the intent that by his deſerued death, and the diſenablement of his ſonnes, Ciuill warre might be extinguiſhed, praying finally that God would not ſuffer the enemy of the Kingdome to eſcape the hand of iuſtice.*

* *Polyd. Virg. l.23.*

* The Duke of *Sommerſet* confidently accuſeth the Duke of *Yorke* of treaſon.

(58) This had in likelyhood beene done, but that the publique faith ſeemed to ſtand engaged for the Dukes indemnity, he hauing come in vpon the Kings word, and alſo for that the hearts of men were not well aſſured to the King, which by executing *Yorke* would perhaps haue beene more vnſetled, becauſe (not looking into the depth of the Kings perill) it would haue beene thought that he had beene deſtroyed to gratifie *Sommerſet*, and not to ſecure the Realme. There was hope likewiſe to recouer *Aquitaine*, for that *Burdeaux* had offered to returne: Laſtly, the Dukes ſonne and heire, *Edward* Earle of *March* (afterward King) was reported to be ready with a great force of *Welſhmen* to ſuccour his Father. Vpon theſe and other reaſons, the Duke is no longer reſtrained, as vpon *Sommerſets* moſt weighty accuſations he had beene, and to aſſure the gentle and indulgent King of his alleageance, hee *makes his ſubmiſſion, and ſolemnely TAKES HIS OATH to be true, faithfull & obedient ſubiect.* This was done vpon the tenth of March in the Church of S. *Paul* in *London*; the King himſelfe, and moſt of the chiefe

The Duke of *Yorke* takes his Oath to be true to King *Henry*.

Nobility being preſent, as the Dukes of *Buckingham*, *Norfolke*, and *Sommerſet*, nine Earles, the Viſcounts *Beaumont*, & *Wels*, many great Barons: Of the Clergy, the Cardinall of *Yorke*, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Biſhops of *Wincheſter*, *Elye*, and *London*.

(59) Let vs view the forme and words of this Caution vpon which King *Henry* (meaſuring other mens hearts by his owne) aduentured to repoſe his life and Kingdome, which are theſe.

The Dukes Oath and ſubmiſſion.

"I *Richard* Duke of *Yorke*, confeſſe and beknowne "*that I am and ought to be humble ſubiect and liege-* "*man to you my Soueraigne Lord, K.* Henry *the ſixt,* "*and owe therefore to beare you faith and truth, as to* "*my Soueraigne Liege-Lord, and ſhall doe all dayes to* "*my liues end: and ſhall not at any time will or aſſent* "*that any thing bee attempted or done againſt your* "*moſt noble perſon, but whereſoeuer I ſhall haue know-*

Ex vetuſt. Cod.

"*ledge of any ſuch thing imagined or purpoſed, I* "*ſhall with all ſpeed and diligence poſsible to me, make,* "*that your highneſſe ſhal haue knowledge thereof, and,* "*ouer that, doe all that ſhall poſsible be to me to the* "*withſtanding, and let thereof, to the vttermoſt of my* "*life: I ſhall not any thing take vpon me againſt your* "*royall eſtate or obeiſance that is due thereto, nor ſuffer* "*any other man to doe, as farre forth as ſhall be in my* "*power to let it. And alſo ſhall come at your comman-* "*dement, whenſoeuer I ſhall be called by the ſame, in* "*humble & obeiſant wiſe, but if I be letted by any ſick-* "*nes or impotency of my perſon, or by ſuch other cauſe* "*as ſhal be thought by you my Soueraigne Lord reaſo-* "*nable. I ſhall neuer hereafter take vpon me to gather* "*any rowt, or to make any aſſembly of your people with-* "*out your commandement, or licenſe, or in my lawfull* "*defence, in interpretation or declaration of the which* "*my lawfull defence I ſhall report me at all times to* "*your highnes, & if the caſe require to my Peeres; nor* "*any thing attempt againſt any of your Subiects, of* "*what eſtate, degree, or condition that they be. But* "*whenſoeuer I find my ſelfe wronged and agrieued, I* "*ſhall ſue humbly for remedy to your Highneſſe, and* "*proceed after the courſe of your lawes, and none other* "*wiſe, ſauing in mine owne lawfull defence, in manner* "*aboueſaid, and otherwiſe haue to your Highneſſe as* "*an humble and true ſubiect ought to haue him to his* "*Soueraigne Lord. All theſe things aboueſaid I pro-* "*miſe you truely to obſerue & keepe, by the holy Euan-* "*geliſts contained in the Book that I lay my hand here* "*vpon, and by the holy Croſſe I here touch, and by* "*the bleſſed Sacrament of our Lords body, that I ſhall* "*now with his mercy receiue. And ouer I agree mee,* "*and will, that if at any time hereafter, as by the grace* "*of our Lord God I neuer ſhall, any thing attempt by* "*way of feate, or otherwiſe againſt your royall Maie-* "*ſtie and obeiſance, that I owe thereto, or any thing* "*take vpon mee otherwiſe then is aboue expreſſed, I* "*from that time forth be vnabled, held, and taken as* "*an vntrue and openly for-ſworne man, and vnable to* "*all manner of worſhip, eſtate or degree, be it ſuch as* "*I now occupie, or any other that might in any wiſe* "*grow to me hereafter. And this I haue here promi-* "*ſed and ſworne proceedeth of mine owne deſire and* "*free volunt, and by no conſtraining nor coaction. In* "*witneſſe of all which things aboue written, I Richard* "*Duke of Yorke aboue writ, ſubſcribe with mine owne* "*hand and ſeale.*

This Oath he alſo tooke at *Weſtminſter* and *Couentrie* at ſundry times. Who now can conſider the effects of this ſo publique and ſolemne Oath, and doth not tremble in euery part? Let vs haſten to their view, leſt God perhaps may quietly ſeeme to haue beene mockt to his face by a vaine ambitious man.

Hope conceiued to recouer *Gaſcoigne*.

(60) To diuert theſe home-breeding rancors and practiſes, by employing the wits and bodies of men in other more honeſt things, the Earle of *Candal* (ſonne * to *Captal de Budie*, who had vpon neceſſity ſubmitted his Seignouries to *Charles* the French King, but reſerued his perſon out of that obedience) & the Lord *L'Eſparre*, come ſecretly from *Burdeaux* and pray an Armie, for that *Burdeaux* and the *Gaſcoigns* would returne to the Engliſh, if they might be ſupported. An Armie is decreed for their reduction. *Iohn* Lord *Talbot*, the firſt Earle of *Shrewsbury* of his name, as Generall in that enterprize, lands in *Gaſcoigne*, where hee doth ſundry exployts, and the fame of his former cheualrie flying before with terrour, makes many places the rather to yeeld. *Burdeaux* her ſelfe ſecretly opens a gate vnto him, which the French Garriſon perceiuing fled out at a Poſtern, but many being ouertaken were ſlaine by the Lord *L'Eſparre* and the Engliſh. New ſupplies and victuals arriue, whereof the Earle of *Shrewsburies* younger Sonne, (*Vicount Lile* by his Wife,) was a principall conducter. *Burdeaux* thus throughly man'd and fortified, the Earle is aduertiſed that the French lay at ſiege before *Caſtillion*, a place of importance vpon the riuer of *Dardonne*. Thither the Earle marcheth, and with too great a confidence charging the enemie vpon vnequall termes, was there ſlaine, together with his ſonne the *Viſcount Lile*, and others. *Burdeaux* receiued ſuch as fled. The Engliſh fortunes and hopes which began to quicken, made this vnhappy *Cataſtrophe* in * Iuly, to the infinite loſſe of our nation and griefe of the *Gaſcoignes*, who generally miſliked the French, and inclined to the Engliſh, hauing ſo honorably, and for ſo long a time gouerned thoſe dominions. This was the end of that great Earle, after he had for the ſpace of twenty and foure yeares ſerued his Prince and Countrey in the French warres, with higheſt commendation; * *a moſt noble and moſt valiant man, by whoſe vertue the Engliſh name did chiefly become terrible in France. Burdeaux* it ſelfe, & all other places after this, were by ſiege brought again vnder the French King, who proſecuted thoſe affaires in perſon. From that time forward the Engliſh neuer obtained there any hold or further footing, the felicity of this attempt breaking all combinations of the *Gaſcoignes*. This Dutchie of * *Aquitaine* contained foure *Archbiſhopricks, foure & twenty Biſhopricks, fifteene Earledomes, two hundred and two Barons, and aboue a thouſand Captainſhips and Bailywicks.* The loſſe of ſo goodly an inheritance, which had continued Engliſh for almoſt 300. yeares, the world may eaſily coniecture how iuſtly it was grieued and lamented for. In this falne eſtate of the Engliſh, the Queene vpon the thirteenth day of *October*, was deliuered of her firſt ſonne, who was named *Edward*, prouing the childe of ſorrow and infelicity.

The Earle of *Shrewsbury* and his younger Son ſlaine in battell.

*A.D. 1453. *An. Reg. 31.*

* *Cambden in Shropſhire. Polyd. Virgil. in Hen. 6.*

The Engliſh quite expelled out of all *Aquitaine*.

* *Stowes Anal.*

Prince *Edward* is borne.

(61) It were to be wiſhed we might now rather number the following euils of *England*, then deſcribe them; for, what can we learne out of ſuch vnnaturall and ſauage deſtructions, but matter of horrour and deteſtation? but ſith they muſt be handled, (the law and neceſſity of our taske exacting it,) the ſooner to be quit of ſo vnpleaſing obiects, it will be beſt abruptly to thruſt into the narration. The Duke of *Yorke* (wickedly careleſſe of an Oath ſo religiouſly and publiquely taken,) to make his way to the Crowne more eaſie, hath now procured his chiefe and moſt fearefull enemy the Duke of *Sommerſet* to be ſodainely arreſted of high treaſon, (doubtfull whether by any authority but his owne) in the Queenes great Chamber, and ſent to the Tower of *London*, vpon pretence that he had capitall matter to charge him with. *Yorkes* principall friends (vpon confidence of whom he dared ſo high things) were *Richard Neuill* Earle of *Salisbury*, ſecond Sonne of *Ralfe Neuil* Earle of *Weſtmorland*, whoſe daughter the Duke of *Yorke* had married. This *Richard* was Earle of *Salisbury* in right of *Alice* his Wife, ſole heire to *Thomas Montacute*, the famous Earle, ſlaine at the ſiege of *Orleance*. The Dukes other maine hope was *Richard Neuill* (Sonne of the former *Richard Neuill*,) who in right of his Wife, the Lady *Anne*, (ſole-Siſter, and heire of the whole bloud to *Henry Beauchampe* Duke of *Warwicke*) was by this King *Henry* the ſixt created Earle of *Warwicke* in a moſt vnhappy houre both for the King and Kingdome, being * *inuicto animo &c.* a man

An. D. 1454.

* *Cambd. in Warw.*

a man of an vndaunted minde, but flitting faith.

(63) The King in the meane ſpace, while the Duke of *Sommerſet* was thus endangered, lay ſicke; and *Yorke* (as Regent) ſwayed and ouer-ſwayed in Court; but when the King (perceiuing malice and practiſe to be the chiefe baſes of *Yorkes* accuſations) had recouered his health, and reſumed the gouernment, *Sommerſet* is ſet at liberty, and made Captaine of *Callis*; *Yorke* and his adherents repayre to open force: They leuy their army about the Marches of *Wales*, with which they repayre toward *London*, the maine object of Pretendents. The King hearing of his enemies approach, is accompanied with *Humfrey Duke of Buckingham*, *Edmund Duke of Sommerſet*, *Humfrey Earle of Stafford*, *Henry Piercie Earle of Northumberland*, *Iames Butler Earle of Wiltſhire and Ormond*, *Beaufort Earle of Dorcet*, *Iaſper Teder Earle of Pembroke* the Kings halfe-brother, *Thomas Courtney Earle of Deuonſhire*, *the Lords*, *Clifford*, *Sudley*, *Berners*, *Roſſe*, and others, and with them enters into *Saint Albans* in warlike manner, hauing certaine thouſands of common Souldiers. Thither alſo the Duke of *Yorke* and his adherents came. This was toward the end of May: The Dukes requeſt to the King was, *that hee would deliuer ſuch perſons to be deſeruedly puniſhed as he would name.* The King (to let them know who he was) returnes this confident anſwere: *That hee and the reſt were Traitors, and that rather then they ſhould haue any Lord from him who was with him at that time, he himſelfe would for their ſake in the quarrell vpon that day liue and die.*

The King marcheth to Saint *Albans* againſt the Duke of *Yorke*.

(64) The *Yorkiſts* hereupon aſſaile the Kings people within the Towne, and *Warwicke* breaking in through a Garden, a ſharpe battell is begun. The loſſe fell lamentably vpon King *Henries* ſide; for beſides the Duke of *Sommerſet*, there were ſlaine the Earles of *Northumberland* and *Stafford*, the L. *Clifford*, with ſundry worthy Knights and Eſquires, of which forty and eight were buried in Saint *Albans*, there being ſlaine aboue fiue thouſand of K. *Henries* party, and of the *Yorkiſts* about ſixe hundreth. The King himſelfe was ſhot into the neck with an arrow; & other of his chief friends were likewiſe ſore wounded and taken. The Earle of *Wiltſhire*, and *Thomas Thorpe* Lord chiefe Baron of the Exchequer, with others, ſaued themſelues by flight. The Duke of *York*, the Earles of *Salisbury* and *Warwick*, with the King, (whom they in ſhew did vſe moſt reuerently, and as if they had meant nothing vnto him but good faith) vpon the morrow ride to *London*, where in Iuly immediately following, a Parliament is holden in King *Henries* name. The fore-runner whereof was a Comet, or Blazing-Starre, which appeared in the moneth of Iune, the beames whereof extended themſelues into the South. The firſt popular act of this aſſembly was, *to reſtore the memory of Humfrey Duke of Glocester to honour, declaring him to haue beene a true ſubject to the King and Realme.*

The Duke of *Sommerſet* ſlaine and the King taken in battell.

Humfrey Duke of Glocester declared to haue beene a true ſubject.

(65) The next prouiſions which the *Yorkiſts* made, were for themſelues, and their owne ſecuritie, willing and commanding that *the Duke of Yorke and his partakers ſhould incurre no blame by reaſon of the journey at Saint Albans*: the whole fault whereof was laid vpon the dead Duke of *Sommerſet*, the Lord Chiefe Baron, and one *William Ioſeph* Eſquire, who (ſay they) kept from the King a pacificatorie Letter which the Duke of *Yorke* had ſent. It is a wonder and a ſhame to reade how officiouſly theſe violent Lords (meaning nothing leſſe) behaued themſelues to the King, of whoſe Majeſty they will needes ſeeme to be the onely Champions and Conſeruators. The Duke of *Yorke* in the ſame Parliament creates himſelfe *Protector* of *England*, the Earle of *Salisbury* is made Lord Chancellour, and the Earle of *Warwicke* (his ſonne) Captaine of *Callis*: they ſpared as yet to touch King *Henries life*, *becauſe the people did wonderfully honour, eſteeme, and reuerence him for his ſingular holineſſe, and for that he had great friends left aliue, and a ſonne.* In the meane ſpace, *that they might without trouble, and at their pleaſure, vncrowne or kill him, they by little and little diſplaced the ancient Counſellors, and ſubſtituted their aſſured fauourites.* Another Act of that abſolute force and fraud which they exerciſed in this dreadfull perturbation of all things, was the drawing of *John Holland* Duke of *Exceſter* out of *Sanctuary* at *Weſtminſter*, conuaying him to *Pomfret*-Caſtle in the *North*.

The Duke of *Yorke* Protector of the Realme.

Poly. Virg. in H. 6.

(66) *Henry Beaufort Duke of Sommerſet*, (ſonne of the former) the *Duke of Buckingham*, (whoſe ſonne and heire the *Earle of Stafford* was ſlaine at S. *Albans*) and other the Kings friends, perceiuing whereunto this faire ſhew tended, conſult with the Queene at *Greenewich* concerning her husbands danger, & how to preuent it. Hereupon the Duke of *Yorke* is diſplaced from the *Protectorſhip*, a ridiculous title to be aſſumed, where the *King* was aged about fiue and thirty, and had no other fault or vnfitneſſe, but that he was too good to liue among them. The Earle of *Salisbury* was alſo depriued of his *Lord Chancellorſhip*.

An. Reg. 34.

The Duke of *Yorke* is diſcharged of the vſurped *Protectorſhip*.

(67) The King hauing thus recouered his dignity and authority, but not ſufficient means to ſuppreſſe his dangers, the *French* take courage at our inteſtine diuiſions, and landing at *Sandwich* with fifteene thouſand men (part of their forces) they kill the *Maior*, *Baliffs*, and other officers of that Towne, with ſundry Gentlemen of the Country, ſpoyle all they could lay hand vpon, and among all, they rob two great veſſels laden with merchandiſe, which lay there bound for *London*, and departed. Another part of them, burnes *Foway* and certaine other townes in *Deuonſhire*. On the other ſide, the *Scots* hoſtilly entred into *Northumberland*, but vpon notice that the Duke of *Yorke* approached with a power, they returned, hauing not as yet done any great harme.

The *French* take *Sandwich* in *Kent*, and *Fowey* in *Deuonſhire*.

(68) Theſe indignities and loſſes might haue vnited the disjoyned affections of true *Engliſh* hearts, which was greatly deſired by ſuch as loued their Countrey: For which purpoſe the King, Queene, and their chiefe friends, being at *Couentrie*, the Duke of *Yorke*, the Earles of *Salisbury* and *Warwicke* are ſent for by the Kings Letters vnder his priuy Seale, to giue their attendance, whither they come, but they (eyther warned of ſome plot contriued againſt them, or fearing it, or faining to feare) ſodainely leaue the Court, without leaue, the Duke departing to *Wigmore* in the *Welſh* marches, the *Earle of Salisbury* to his Caſtell of *Midleham* in the *North*-Country, and the *Earle of Warwicke* to *Callis*, whoſe bodies though thus diuided, their mindes continued moſt firmely factionated. But the King (a patterne of **Chriſtian* goodneſſe) being tender ouer the generall eſtate of his Countrey, and wonderfully deſirous to reconcile differences among his ſubjects, that they might the better withſtand their imminent forreine enemies, returnes to *London*, there to conſult how to effect his holy wiſhes. The great Lords are perſwaded to * meete there; which they did; but yet not without ſtore of followers, for the Duke brought with him foure hundred men, the Earle of *Salisbury* fiue hundreth, the Earle of *Warwicke* ſixe hundreth: The Dukes of *Exceſter* and *Sommerſet* eight hundreth, the Earle of *Northumberland*, the Lords *Egremond* and *Clifford* fifteene hundreth. This was the faſhion of that ſwording age.

The King at *Couentrie*, from whence the Duke of *Yorke*, and the *Yorkiſts*, depart ſodainly.

**Cambr. Eutbrey* pag. 214.

* In *Ianuar.* An. D. 1458. *An. Reg.* 36.

The Lords meet the King at *London* to compoſe all quarrels.

(69) In March, the King and Queene with a very royal company alight at *Weſtminſter*, to accompliſh (if it were poſſible) this charitable and neceſſary worke of attonement and reconciliation. *Godfrey Bolein* was at that time Lord *Maior of London*, (being the anceſtor of two renowned and vertuous *Queenes of England Anne*, ſecond Wife to King *Henrie* the eight, and *Elizabeth* their daughter,) through whoſe great vigilancie and prouidence, the Citie ſtood ſo well guarded, that the Kings peace was dutifully kept, notwithſtanding the great Lords of both the factions (*Yorkiſts* and *Lancaſtrians*,) were with ſo great troupes of followers lodged within, and about the

Godfrey Bolein at this time *Maior of London*, the anceſtor of two *Queenes*.

the ſame: for during the whole time of their abode he had *fiue thouſand Citizens in Harneſſe, himſelfe riding daily about the City and Suburbes, to ſee the publique quiet preſerued: and for the night watch there were aſſigned to three Aldermen two thouſand corſlet-men.

* *Rob. Fab. Chron.*

(69) During this watch, a great Councell was holden by the King and Lords, where at length by the diligent trauaile, good exhortation, and prudent aduiſe of the Archbiſhop of *Canterburie*, and of other learned and godly Prelates, the parties offended were induced to a communication, and afterward to a finall accord: the points whereof, conſidering they held ſo ſhort a while, (*for* as * one ſaith truely *the diſſimuled loue-day hung but by a ſmall threed*) it were friuolous to dwell in their reheatſall. The King himſelfe (a ſingular teſtimony of the opinion which all parties had of his integritie) was whole arbitrator of their differences. Certaine ſatisfactions were awarded to be made by the Duke of *Yorke*, with the Earles of *Warwicke* and *Salisbury*, for the death of *Edmund Duke of Sommerſet*; and others ſlaine at S*t*. *Albans*. And the ſame Duke of *Sommerſet*, the Earle of *Northumberland*, the Lord *Clifford*, (ſlaine in that battell by the *Yorkiſts*) are declared for true Liegemen to the King at the day of their deathes, aſwell as the Duke of *Yorke*, the Earles of *Warwicke* and *Saliſbury*. So both parts ſtand *juſti fide* and *recti in curia*. Many other articles and awards were made, to ſolder and glue together their alienated hearts and affections. The rejoycement cauſed by this ſeeming peace (which on the behalfe of the Kings perſon was vndoubtedly ſincere and true) was wonderfully great among all good Engliſhmen, who flocked to the publique celebration thereof. For vpon our * Ladies day in Lent, a ſolemne proceſſion was made within the Cathedrall Church of S*t*. *Paul* in *London*, where the King (adorned with Crowne and robes of Majeſtie) went in perſon, before whom went hand in hand the Duke of *Sommerſet*, and the Earle of *Salisburie*, the *Duke of Exceſter*, and the *Earle of Warwick*, and ſo of either faction one and one, and behinde the King himſelfe, came the Queene and Duke of *Yorke* with great familiarity in all mens ſights. O religion, O honour, O ſinceritie, that your diuine vertue ſhould not haue contayned theſe ſpirits in the harmony of ſweet obedience; but if you could not, what alas ſhould? *England* muſt be more ſeuerely ſcourged, then that ſo goodly a bleſſing of publike reconciliation ſhould continue, whereby the proud tops of her Nation (offenſiue to God and Men) being taken off, the way might be opened to other names or races, which as yet were nothing thought on.

The quarrels ended by the Kings award with ſhew of common-liking.

* *Martij* 25.

(70) There is no reaſon to doubt, but that the Duke of *Yorke*, (a man of deepe retirement in himſelfe) ſecretly continued his purpoſe for the Crowne, notwithſtanding all theſe his verniſhed pretences, and did onely therefore not as then put for it, becauſe he preſumed the time was incommodious. Againe the Queene (true head and life of the contrary part) as well in regard of her ſelfe, her husband, and young ſonne, may in likelihood be thought to haue laide downe any thing, rather then the wakefulneſſe and jealouſie, which former perils, and the enemies preſent ſtrength, might worthily keepe aliue in her. The thinne aſhes therefore, which couered theſe glowing coles, were thus againe firſt vnraked and ſet to blaze.

The probable condition of things after the reconcilement.

(71) The King and many of the Lords, ſtill being at *Weſtminſter*, there hapned (or perhaps * was plotted) a fray betweene one of the Kings ſeruants and a follower of the *Earle of Warwick*, who hurt the Kings ſeruant. Hereupon his fellowes of all ſorts, (as Cookes with their ſpits, &c.) in great diſorder aſſaile the Earle himſelfe, as he was comming from the Councell, and had there ſlaine him, but that the euill fate of *England* and his owne, reſerued him to doe and ſuffer greater miſchiefes. The Earle hardly gets to his Barge, and reputing all things vnſure about the King, gets ouer to his place at *Callis*. The *Yorkiſts* directly charge the Queene with this, as with a plot drawne for the Earles deſtruction. Not long after this, the young Duke of *Sommerſet* is ſent Captaine to *Callis*. *Warwicke* will reſigne no roome, notwithſtanding the Kings commaund, alleaging he was made by Parliament: *Sommerſet* is rejected, with danger to his perſon. *Warwicke* partly maintaines himſelfe, and ſuch as ſtucke to him in that charge, with ſpoyles which he got at Sea; How lawfully it appeares not; though *Warwicke* is ſaid to haue beene *Admirall* by Patent, though now reuoked. The Ordinary Bookes haue, that he, with foureteene ſayle of men of warre, ſet vpon three Caricks of *Gene* or *Genoa*, and two of *Spaine*, greater then the *Caricks*: three of which *Merchant-fleete* (which how they ſhould be lawfull prize, we ſee not) he vanquiſhed after two dayes fight, with the loſſe of about an * hundreth men of his owne, and a thouſand of theirs: The booty was worth, at meane rates, ten thouſand pounds; ſuch alſo as followed the *Duke of Sommerſet* comming into his hands, he beheaded at *Callis*. Theſe were ſtrange darings in the *Earle of Warwicke*; whom yet the vnskilfull, and drunken multitude ſo highly praiſe: but what are theſe in regard of them which will preſently follow?

* *Rob. Fabian*, who alſo reports a much greater number of Merchants ſhips.

(72) The *Duke of Yorke* in the meane time, and *Warwicke* with his father, the *Earle of Salisbury* (the *Triumuirs of England*) conſult of their affaires: *Salisbury* is reſolued with ſword in hand to expoſtulate the danger and injury offered to his ſonne at *Weſtminſter*. The Queene (a Lady of incomparable magnanimity and fore-ſight) confident in this, *that now King Henry, or the Duke of Yorke muſt periſh, and that one Kingdome was not wide enough for both their Families*, beſtirres her ſelfe to maintaine the poſſeſſion of a Crowne, and to aduance to the ſame her owne fleſh and bloud Prince *Edward*, by ruining his houſe, whoſe whole building conſiſted of Lancaſtrian beneficence. She conſults, ſhe ſends, ſhe ſpeakes, ſhe giues, and ſtrengtheneth her ſelfe with friends on all ſides, chiefly in *Cheſhire*, cauſing her ſonne to diſtribute ſiluer Swannes (his badge or deuiſe) to all the Gentlemen of that Countie, and to many other through *England*. *Salisbury* ſets forward from his Caſtell at *Middleham*, with foure or fiue thouſand men. *Iames Touchet* Lord *Audeley*, encounters him vnaduiſedly vpon *Blore-heath* neere *Muckelſtone*. The fight was long and bloudy, but in the end King *Henries* euill-fortune gaue the better of the day to the Earle of *Salisbury*, where, beſides the valiant Lord *Audeley* himſelfe, were ſlaine not fewer then two thouſand and foure hundreth, but the chiefe loſſe fell vpon the *Cheſhire*-men, who ware the Princes Liuerie.

The ciuill warre begins againe.

Battell at *Blore-heath*, where King *Henries* ſide hath the worſt.

(73) The Earle of *Salisbury* in this ſort opened to himſelfe a way to *Ludlow*, where the head of their combination, *Richard* Duke of *Yorke*, buſied himſelfe to gather forces: being met, they conclude, that ſeeing the matter was now become deadly, they would deale in cloudes no longer, but fight it out to the extremity. Men are drawne out of all parts with large hopes and promiſes of ſharing in their fortunes, and the Earle of *Warwicke* bringing with him from *Callis* (which he left with his friends) that valiant Captaine *Andrew Trolop*, and a Band of ſtout and choyſe Souldiers, comes to the generall Rendeuou of the *Yorkiſts*, the Caſtell of *Ludlow*. The King in the meane ſpace, (and not before it was neede and time) hath aſſembled a great puiſſance of faithfull Subjects, and being * attended with the Dukes of *Sommerſet* and *Exceſter*, and other of his chiefe friends marcheth againſt his enemies. His firſt worke was, to offer them generall pardon. It is refuſed, and called by them *a ſtaffe of Reede, or Glaſſe-Buckler*. The ſword muſt decide the quarrels: whereupon the King commands his Standards to aduance: while he was in his March, * a letter fraught with the wonted

The Duke of *Yorke* and his friends take Armes.

* *Wheathamſted.*

* Dated at *Ludlow* 10. October.

Polyd Virgil. l. 23. makes it doubtfull, *caſune an aſtu.*

The Earle of *Warwicke* aſſaulted, and eſcaping ſeedes to *Calis.*

An.D. 1459.

wonted hypocriſies) is deliuered to the King. There are in it among many other inſinuations theſe alſo: *Moſt Chriſtian King, right high and mighty Prince, and our moſt dread Soueraigne Lord, &c. We ſent vnto your good grace by the Prior of the (Cathedral) Church (of Worceſter) and diuers other Doctors, and among other by M. William Linwood Doctor of Diuinitie, which miniſtred vnto vs ſeuerally the bleſſed Sacrament of the body of Ieſus, whereupon we and euery of vs depoſed of our ſaid truth and dutie.*

The horrible abuſe of Chriſtian Sacraments to beguile the King.

(74) Thus theſe prophane and ambitious men play with GOD, who in the end will ſeuerely be auenged on them for their impiety: but the letter made no ouerture of any courſe, vpon which they would yeeld to lay downe Armes, alleadging, *they would but make their way to the King for redreſſe of abuſes, and that they were enforced to ſtand together for their owne defence, againſt ſuch great Courtiers and Fauourites*, as (ſay they) *intended their deſtruction*; meaning indeede ſuch perſons whoſe vigilancy and manhood might protect and guard him from their practiſe and violence. The King is now in ſight, whom the Triumuirs *Yorke*, *Warwicke*, and *Salisbury*, being ſtrongly entrenched before *Ludlow*, *meane to aſſaile. *Andrew Trollop* (who had in the Kings pay done great ſeruice vpon the *French*) was acquainted with all their counſell, and finding himſelfe extreamely deceiued, (for hee thought, and ſo by the Earle of *Warwicke* was made to beleeue, that the preſeruation of the King was intended, and not deſtruction) abandons the *Yorkiſts* camp at mid-night, & with a choiſe number of truſty men preſents himſelfe and ſeruices to the King, who graciouſly receiued him and his. The truth of the Triumuirates plot, and bottome of their conſpiracies was thus made clearely knowne: The *Yorkiſts* vpon notice of *Trollops* act, deſpairing of ſucceſſe at that preſent, flie. The Duke of *Yorke* with the Earle of *Rutland* his yonger ſonne into *Ireland*, the Earle of *March* his eldeſt ſonne and heire, *Warwicke* and *Salisbury*, with much difficulty eſcape to *Callis*, which place (as *one ſaith probably) *if Henry had in time taken from his enemies, they had without queſtion beene forthwith irrecouerably ruined.*

* Graſton Chron.

Captaine *Andrew Trollop* forſakes the Triumuirs or *Yorkiſts* Campe.

The *Yorkiſts* are ſcattered without battell.

*Polyd. Virg. li. 23.

(75) The multitude which ſerued vnder *Yorke* found mercy, but their Tenants were many of them executed, maimed, or generally ranſackt. The towne of *Ludlow* it ſelfe was ſpoyled to the bare wals, and Dutcheſſe of *Yorke* depriued of all her goods. What leſſe could be the effects againſt the friends of ſuch aduerſaries, vpon ſo publique an act and aduantage? The poynt is followed more ſharpely vpon the great Offenders in the next Parliament, which was holden at *Couentrie*: there *Richard* Duke of *Yorke*, *Edward* Earle of *March*, *Richard* Earle of *Warwicke*, *Edmund* Earle of *Rutland*, *Richard* Earle of *Salisbury*, *Alice* Counteſſe of *Salisbury*, (in whoſe right her Husband was Earle) two or three Lords, nine Knights, and certaine other, were openly of high Treaſon attainted, and their whole eſtates confiſcated.

The Duke of *Yorke* and others attainted of high treaſon by Parliament.

(76) *Callis*, a moſt important piece, being in the meane ſpace violently poſſeſt by *Warwicke*, the Duke of *Sommerſet*, the Lords *Roſſe* and *Audley*, are ſent with forces to take it; their ſucceſſe was euill, for the Duke was glad to flie, his Souldiers were robbed, by *Warwicks* men, of their harneſſe, the Lord *Audley* is taken into the Towne, and the Lord *Roſſe* hardly eſcaped. Letters are hereupon written into forraine parts, entreating * *that no relieſe be miniſtred to the Traitors who kept Callis* againſt the King, and all men are at home forbidden *to tranſport any victuall or refreſhment thither*. Euident it is, that the Councell of *England* rather wiſhed that the Town and Caſtel had beene *French* againe, then as it was; neyther therein erred they, for it could not be ſo miſchieuous to the maine of their cauſe, as now it was. The Duke of *Sommerſet* being in *Guines*, a neighbour-Caſtell, doth daily by his Souldiers skirmiſh with the *Caliſeans: *Warwicke* meditates other things. He muſt ſpeake with the Duke of *Yorke*, at whoſe commandement all *Ireland*, (where he abode) ſeemed to be readie; but is aduertiſed that the King had certaine Ships, which lay at *Sandwich* to tranſport ſupplies and ſuccours to the Duke of *Sommerſet*. He meanes not to leaue ſuch a perill behinde him vnremoued; hauing therefore eſpyed his time, hee wils his people to ſlip ouer in the night to *Sandwich*, which they accordingly did, tooke the Lord *Riuers*, and his ſon *Anthony Wooduile* priſoners, and brought away all the Ships, except one called *Grace de Dieu*: one Sir *Baldwine Fulford* Knight, hauing (after this) aſſumed to doe ſeruice vpon the Earle of *Warwicke*, and to take him, returnes empty. *Warwicke* ſayles now to *Ireland*. The King makes the Duke of *Exceſter* Admirall, and giues him commiſſion to apprehend the Earle of *Warwicke*. The Duke with a great Nauie puts forth to Sea from *Sandwich*. Behold the ill carriage of things: At *Dertmouth* many of his Souldiers, pretending want of money and victuals, forſake him. Meane-while the Earle of *Warwick* paſſeth by, the Duke, not daring to aſſaile him, nor hee willing to aſſaile the Duke, for that he was Admirall and of the Kings bloud. Such was the act and cunning of the *Yorkiſts*, to pretend reuerence vnto that which moſt of all they thirſted to ſhed. Fiue hundreth freſh ſouldiers attend at *Sandwich*, to be ſhipt ouer to the Duke of *Sommerſet* for ſafe-conducting him into *England*. *Warwickes* men ſodainely come vpon them, ſlew *Montfort* their Captaine, and many other, and diſarmed the reſt. Such was the diſtracted eſtate of our poore Country at this time, through the pride and reſt-leſſe ambition of one or two vnhappy men. But though nothing was more plaine then that the Duke of *York* ſought the crowne of *England*; yet nothing is truer, then that they as yet pretended nothing leſſe, for the veneration of King *Henries* purity of life, would haue preuailed with the people greatly to their prejudice.

The Earle of *Warwickes* men take the Lord *Riuers* and ſome of the Kings Nauy at *Sandwich*.

The *King* armes to Sea, but cannot take the Earl, who returnes from *Ireland* to *Callis*.

(77) The King failing thus to obtaine the perſon of *Warwicke*, or his Towne of *Callis*, the *Yorkiſts* ſend ouer certaine Articles into *Kent*, in which (as if they were the onely *Patriots* and beſt Subjects of the world) they complaine of *certaine generall enormities concerning injuries done to the Church, and the ill miniſtration of juſtice, abuſe of purueyers and takers, the Kings pouerty by the corruption of his officers*, and the like plauſible ſtuffe: where they ſpeake of the King, they ſequeſter him from all exception, as being of *ſo noble, ſo vertuous, ſo righteous, and ſo bleſſed diſpoſition*: (theſe are their words and the truth) *as any Prince earthly*. Where they ſpeake of their enemies, (that is, the Kings principall friends and faithfull Subjects) they name the *Earle of Salisbury*, *the Earle of Wiltſhire, & the Lord Beaumont*, which muſt euer be an honour to their memories, and put the blame (if it were blame-worthy) of ſuch attaindors which were enacted againſt the *Yorkiſts* at *Couentrie*, vpon theſe three Lords ſpecially. Where they ſpeake of themſelues and their intentions, *they profeſſe all ſincerity* and loyalty to King *Henry*, and that they only meant to come vpon their guard to ſpeake with him concerning the common-wealth, and their owne ſafeties, and that now they would attempt the ſame againe, *in the name of the Land*, and not to ſuffer ſuch miſchiefes to raigne vpon them. The concluſion of their cunning and painted pretences hath theſe fained holy words: *Requiring you* (the people) *on Gods behalfe, and praying you in your owne, therein to aſſiſt vs, doing alway the duty of Liegemen in our perſons to our ſaid Soueraigne Lord, to his eſtate, prerogatiue and preheminence, and to the ſurety of his moſt noble perſon, whereunto we haue euer beene, and will be as true as any of his ſubjects aliue: whereof wee call God, our Lady Saint Marie, and all the Saints in Heauen, to witneſſe, and record.* But of the thing it ſelfe, (that is to Crowne the Duke of *Yorke*) they make not the leaſt mention: What wanted in theſe men to the height and depth of humane malice? They preuaile with the multitudes; a ſhallow-braind, but a great

The *Yorkiſts* ſend ouer Articles to ſeduce the people.

* *In Articul. ad Archiep. Cantuar. & Duce Ebor. miſſ. Articul. 8.*

great and many-headed beast. The Lord *Fawconbridge* is sent to sound their affections, and to draw the purulent matter to an head: hee findes great forwardnesse. The Earles of *March*, *VVarwicke*, and *Salisbury* aduertised of all things, land in *Kent*. But the people onely were not deluded; for *Thomas Bourchier* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, & other graue men, beleeued they meant sooth; which that they might the rather doe, the Earle of *Warwicke* made open oath vpon the Crosse of *Canterbury*, *that they had euer borne true faith and alleagiance to King Henry*. A strange humor in the *English*, that could neither brooke bad nor benigne Princes. The King had before their comming quit the City of *London*, as not greatly trusting the affections which the people therof bare toward such as the *Yorkish* faction had made odious about him, and appoynted the Rendeuow of his forces at *Northampton*, where he abode. The enemy (shewing friend) aduanceth thither. It is a shame to reade that some of the great Prelates would simply be drawne to countenance such an enterprise: but their intentions were different; they hoped to reconcile enmities, the Earles to make *Yorke* King. Mean-while their complices labor to take the Tower of *London*, within which there were for King *Henry* these loyall Nobles. The Lord *Scales*, *Hungerford*, *Vescie*, *Louel*, *De la ware*, and *Candal* a Gascoigne, with sundry others.

The Earle of Warwicke lends his side an Oath.

(78) At *Northampton* things were carried thus: The King meaning there to abide his aduersaries, when it was not thought meete to admit the Earle of *Warwicke* to his presence, (which thing was colourably sued for to raise a ground of justification for battell) they prepare on both parts. The Earles of *March* and *VVarwicke* (with like or greater cunning, then they had desired admission to the Kings speech) let cry through the field, that no man should lay hand vpon the King, nor common people, but vpon the Lords, Knights, and Esquiers.

(79) The hoasts joyne. No stroake they gaue but seemes to wound vs also. Let vs swiftly turne our eyes from so vnnaturall slaughters. The * Lord *Grey* of *Ruthen* began the discomfiture of the Kings side, for he (let the World judge with what commendation,) hauing the poynt, did quit his place, and fled to the Earles. The Kings army is defeated, and vtterly broken. Many were slaine and drowned. *Polydor* and *Grafton* say tenne thousand: The chiefe of the Nobles who there lost their liues, were the Duke of *Buckingham*, *Iohn* Earle of *Shrewsburie*, (a * most hopefull young Gentleman, and in all poynts like his heroyicke Ancestors) *Iohn* Vicount *Beaumont*, *Thomas* Lord *Egremond*, and among sundry other prime men, * Sir *William Lucie*, who making hast to the fight, was vpon his first approach chopt downe with an Axe. The Kings Ordnance could not play, there fell so great a raine.

* The Battell at Northampton, where the King is taken.

* Stowes Annals, who varieth in many circumstances of this battell from some other writers.

* Polyd Virgil. Grafton Chron.

(80) This wofull Battell was fought vpon the * ninth of Iuly. The King (as a man borne to all calamities and miseries; though he not therefore the lesse, but the more happy through that excellent fortitude of minde, with which hee inuincibly sustayned them) comes into his enemies hands; but the Queene and the Prince, and the remains of their scattered fortunes flie into the North, there to reenforce their powers, and *to* * *subdue* (as she caused them to be proclaimed) *the Kings Rebels and enemies*. The Tower of *London*, after this misfortune, renders it selfe. The Lord *Scales* is wickedly murthered vpon the *Thames* by Wherrimen, belonging to the Earle of *VVarwicke*, as he intended to passe to * *Sanctuary* at *VVestminster*. The Earles when they were possessed of the King, continued their admirable hypocrisies (which God will terribly plague them for) thereby to leade the people on, and had to him these words.

* Rob. Fabian. Grafton Chron. An.D.1460. *An. Reg. 38.*

* Rob. Fab. Chron.

* Stowes Annal.

(81) *Most noble Prince, displease you not, though it hath pleased God of his grace to grant vs the victory of our mortall enemies, who by their venemous malice haue vntruly stirred and moued your Highnesse to exile vs out of the Land, and would haue put vs to finall shame, and confusion: we come not to vnquiet or grieue your said Highnesse, but to please your noble person, desiring tenderly the high wel-fare and prosperity thereof, and of all your Realme, and to be your true Liegemen while our liues shall endure.* Our soules are amazed at these acts, and men blush to publish to the World things so vnworthy.

The Earles words to the King.

(82) The * *Florentine Secretary* was scarce borne at this time, but the *Diuel* was as great a Master then as afterward. The King and Earles in the meane time goe to *London*, where a Parliament was summoned in his name to be holden in *October* following. The Duke of *Yorke* (aduertised of his victorie) speedes from *Dublin*, the chiefe City of *Ireland*, to be at that Parliament, where wee shall at last see the true face of his purpose, his owne selfe taking away the maske which hitherto concealed it.

* *Machiauel.*

(83) *Scotland*, by reason of late affinity with the house of *Beaufort*, whose chiefe and top was the Duke of *Sommerset*, (descended from *Iohn* Duke of *Lancaster* by the Lady *Katherine*) was a special back, and Second, to King *Henry* in all his tempestuous aduersities; but now that refuge was also hazarded: for King *Iames* the second, partly in fauour of King *Henry*, and partly as making vse of the troubles in *England*, layeth siege to *Rocksbrough* (*Bellenden* the *Scot* calleth the same Castle * *Marchmont*) being in the custody of King *Henries* enemies, where while himselfe (whose * skill and delight in shooting of Ordnance was great) comming downe the trenches to see the * *Lion* (a new great piece which had lately beene cast in *Flanders*) and the other Artillery discharged, one of them brake, and with a shiuer thereof slew the King, and dangerously wounded the Earle of *Angus*. This vnhappy accident hapned vpon a Sunday, the * third day of August. The Queene of Scotland neuertheless maintaineth the siege, and as well obtaines that place, as the Castell of *VVarke*, both which shee (in reuenge) threw to the earth. *Iames* the third, a childe of seauen yeares old succeeded to his father, as well to the cherishment of the distressed English, as to the Crowne.

The humanity of *Scotland* to King *Henries* friends distressed.

* *Hect. Boet. transl. lib. 17. cap. 5.*

* *Lesla. in Iam. 2.*

* *Grafions Chron.*

Iames the second King of *Scotland* slaine with the shiuer of a great piece. An.D.1460.

* *Lesle in Iam. 2.*

(84) The Parliament being begun, about the * eight of October at *Westminster* in King *Henries* name, thither comes with flying speed, *Richard* Duke of *Yorke*, who brake open the Kings lodging-Chamber, and placed himselfe therein, suffering the King to prouide else-where. Then makes he his claime to the Crown of *England*, and publisheth it in open Parliament, together with his pedigree. The whole house (such among them excepted as were priuy to the Dukes intention) was * greatly dismayed, both for that he did set himselfe in the Kings Seat, and for this his vnexpected challenge: But the Duke though at first he greatly meant to haue deposed King *Henry*, and with speed to be crowned himselfe at *Alhallontide* next, yet finding such amasement and silence, he sends them his pedigree and his claime in writing, that they might the better consider, yeelding (as it seemes) to be ordered therein, according to their generall agreement; during the treaty whereof, he would not visit King *Henry*, alledging, himselfe was peereless in *England*. The maine poynts of his Title were as followeth. *King Edward the third had issue, Edward Prince of Wales, William of Hatfield, Lionell Duke of Clarence, Iohn of Gaunt D. of Lancaster, Edmund D. of Yorke, Thomas D. of Gloceſter, and William of Windsor. Edward Prince of VVales died, liuing his Father, & left issue Richard the second King of England, who died without issue: as did also VVilliam King Edwards second sonne.*

An. Reg. 39. The Duke of *Yorke* returnes out of *Ireland* to clame the Crowne of *England*.

* *Rob. Fabian.*

The main poynts in the Duke of *Yorkes* pedigree.

(85) *Lionel the third sonne had issue Philip his daughter and heire, married to Edmund Mortimer Earle of March, who had issue Roger Earle of March, who had issue Edmund Earle of March, Roger, Anne, and Eleanor, which Edmund, Roger, and Eleanor died without issue. Anne (the heire of that house) marrieth Richard*

Richard Earle of Cambridge, the ſonne of Edmund Duke of Yorke, fifth ſonne to King Edward the third, which Earle of Cambridge had Richard commonly (ſaith the Booke,) called Duke of Yorke.

(86) *Iohn of Gaunt the fourth ſonne and younger brother to Lionel, had iſſue Henry, who immediately after King Richards reſignation, vnrighteouſly (ſaith the Booke) entred vpon the ſame, for that Edmund Earle of March, ſonne of Roger Earle of March, and of Philip daughter and heire of the beforeſaid Lionel Duke of Clarence, elder brother to Iohn Duke of Lancaſter was then aliue, and that aſwell the ſaid Henry, eldeſt ſonne to Iohn Duke of Lancaſter, as his deſcendents haue hitherto holden the Crowne of England, &c. vniuſtly, for that himſelfe the ſaid Richard Plantagenet Duke of* Yorke *was the lawfull heire, being the ſonne of Richard Plantagenet Earle of Cambridge, and of Anne before ſaid.*

(87) This was the effect of the Duke of Yorkes title, which for the poynts of the Pedegree was very true, though in barre thereof the friends of King *Henry*, (without denying any part of the premiſes, being all of them more euident then that they could be honeſtly denyed) had not a little to ſay for him: for they could among other things alledge, *That Richard the ſecond reſigned vp his Crowne and Regality at large; and that none elſe making claime but Henry Duke of Lancaſter, he was thereunto by the conſent of all the three Eſtates admitted; that Richard Earle of Cambridge was for high Treaſon attainted and executed, & his Iſſue made incapable of any inheritance, that this Richard his ſon now challenging the Crowne of England, being reſtored by the meere clemency and goodneſſe of this King Henry the ſixt, had voluntarily acknowledged him for his lawfull Soueraigne, and ſworne the ſame, and that the ſaid Richard was finally for treaſon attainted, and adiudged vninheritable: they could hereunto haue added ſundry Acts of Parliament, made to eſtabliſh the right of the Lancaſtrian line, the ſucceſſion of three Kings, all Henries, that is to ſay, the fourth, fifth, and ſixth; the politick addreſſes of the firſt of thoſe Kings, the noble victories of the ſecond, & the holy life of the third; which three Kings liues contained of raigne about threeſcore yeares, in which number this was the nine and thirtieth of King Henry the ſixth, who was deſcended of the male line, and the Duke of* Yorke *but of a female: of which female line none had euer bin in poſſeſſion of the Crowne.* Great and weighty poynts, (if any) and the rather to be conſidered, for that King *Henries* perſon being (in very truth) Priſoner, no act of his to eſtabliſh *Yorkes* title could bind in law or conſcience, and the leſſe, for that he had a wife, and by her a ſonne, who was at liberty, and ready with Armes to free his father, or hazard to deſtroy the whole Engliſh name. But they who (on *Yorkes* behalfe) abſtractiuely diſputed theſe higheſt queſtions, knew a rule of law, which ſaith, *Iura ſanguinis nullo jure ciuili dirimi poſſunt*; and the Lancaſtrians were not without their ſpeculatiue and remote conſiderations, to countenance the particulars of their cauſe. Thus wee ſee that in Monarchies (though the nobleſt forme of Regiment) where lineall ſucceſſion is the rule of inheritance, there ſometimes fall out as great and as indeterminable difficulties, as where Election deſigneth the Succeſſor: whereof the *French* tragedies which our Nation made among them, and now theſe in *England*, are without all exception, the moſt fearefull inſtances. For *France* had heretofore her time of affliction, but now (O deareſt *England*) it was thine.

Allegations for K. *Henry* the 6. and the Lancaſtrian title.

(88) While this weighty controuerſie was debated, a Crowne which hung for garniſhment in the middle of the roofe where the Knights and Burgeſſes of the Parliament met to conſult, and the crowne which for like cauſe ſtood vpon the higheſt Tower of *Douer*-Caſtell,* fell ſodainely downe, which were vulgarly conſtrued * to portend, *That the raigne of King Henry was at an end, and that the Crowne ſhould be tranſferred from one royall line to another.* But the Queene, her ſonne Prince *Edward*, and her faſt friends in the North (the ſeat of their hopes) being nothing diſcouraged at their late ill fortunes, prepare all the forces they can to recouer King *Henry* and the Kingdome; which thing whiles they are purſuing, the concluſion of the Parliament concerning the Crowne was, *That Henry the ſixth ſhould raigne, and be King during his life, the remainder to reſt in Richard Duke of* Yorke, *and the lawfull heires of his body in generall tayle, King Henries heires to be excluded.* The Duke in the meane time is proclaymed heire apparant, and called Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall*, Earle of *Cheſter*, and Protector of *England*. The agreement was engroſſed, ſealed, and ſworne vnto. The Queene wil haue nothing to doe in this bargaine, being ſo dangerous and prejudicious to her ſelfe, her Husband, and her ſonne; and therefore when the King (at the Duke of *Yorkes* inſtigation) ſent for her to repaire vnto him; ſhe relying vpon the Dukes of *Sommerſet* and *Exceſter*, and other the Kings friends, vtterly refuſeth: *Henry* continueth King. The Armes therefore, which ſhe taketh for his deliuerance, haue the more juſtice. The Duke of *Yorke* miſſing the prey he expected, leaues the King with the Duke of *Norfolke*, and the Earle of *Warwicke* at *London*; himſelfe with the Earles of *Salisbury* and *Rutland*, and certaine forces,* ſetteth forward to *Wakefield* to purſue the Queen and her ſonne, ſending direction to the Earle of *March* that he ſhould follow with all his power. The Caſtell of *Sandall* ſtandeth pleaſantly vpon a ſmall hill, in view of the faire towne of *Wakefield*; there the Duke of *Yorke* (comming thither vpon Chriſtmas-Eue) repoſeth himſelf, and expecteth the encreaſe of his numbers. The Queene aduertiſed, thinkes it wiſdome to fight before the Duke grow too ſtrong; and thereupon marcheth forward, hauing an Army of eighteene thouſand men, led by the Dukes of *Sommerſet* and *Exceſter*, the Earles of * *Deuonſhire* and * *Wiltſhire*, the Lords *Neuill*, *Clifford*, *Roſſe*, and in effect all the Northerne Nobility. The hoſt (or ſo much thereof as they thought neceſſary to ſhew) preſents it ſelfe before *Sandall*, to prouoke and dare the Duke to battell. His bloud impatient of theſe braues, and ignorant perhaps, that the enemy had ſo great a multitude, will needes fight, though the Earle of *Salisbury*, and Sir *Dauid Hall* (an ancient ſeruant of his, and a great Souldier) gaue him aduiſe to ſtay, till his ſonne (the Earle of *March*) approached with ſuch Welſhmen and Marchers, as he had in great numbers aſſembled. But God would forbeare him no longer, but like a ſeuere Maſter meanes to take a preſent account: at which he found whether all the kingdomes of the earth are worth the leaſt ſinne, much leſſe a wilfull perjurie.

Signes fore-going the end of King *Henries* raigne.

* *Caxton Chron.*
* *Grafton:*

Henry to be King for terme of life, and the Duke of *Yorke* after his death.

* *Menſe Decemb.* The Duke of *Yorke* purſueth the Queene in the North.

* *Stowes Annal.*
* *Graft. Chron.*

The Queenes Army comes to *Wakefield.*

(89) The Queene therefore addeth ſtratageme and wit to her force, to the entent he might not eſcape her hands; whereupon the Earle of *Wiltſhire* vpon one ſide of the Hill, and the Lord *Clifford* vpon the other, lye in ambuſh to thruſt betweene him and the Caſtell; the Dukes of *Sommerſet* and *Exceter*, ſtand embattelled in the open field. Their pollicy had the wiſhed ſucceſſe; for the Duke being not fully fiue thouſand ſtrong, iſſueth out of the Caſtle downe the hill. The battels which ſtood in Front, joyne furiouſly, when ſodainely the Duke of *Yorke* ſees himſelfe incloſed, and although he expreſſed great manhood, yet within one halfe houre, his whole Armie was diſcomfited, himſelfe and diuers his deare friends beaten downe and ſlaine. There lay dead about him the Lord *Harington*, Sir *Thomas Neuil*, ſonne to the Earle of *Salisbury*, Sir *Dauid Hal*, with ſundry Knights and others, about two thouſand & two hundred; among which were the heires of many *Southern* gentlemen of great account, whoſe * bloud was ſhortly after reuenged. Let vs not linger vpon the particular accidents of this battell, but conſider what it wrought for King *Henries* aduancement; yet theſe few things are not to be vn-remembred. The Earle of *Rutland*, (a younger ſonne to the

They ouer-throw the Duke of *Yorke*, and kill him.

* *Graft. Chron.*

the Duke of *Yorke*) being about twelue yeares olde, was also slaine by the Lord *Clifford*, (who ouertooke him flying) in part of reuenge for that the * Earles father had slaine his. A deed which worthily blemished the Author; but who can promise any thing temperate of himselfe in the heat of martiall furie? chiefly, where it was resolued, *not to leaue any branch of Yorke line standing*, for so doth *one make the Lord *Clifford* to speake.

* *Grest. Chron.*

* *Grafton Chron.*

(90) That mercilesse proposition was common (as the euent will shew) to eyther faction. The Duke of *Yorkes* head, crowned with paper, is presented to the Queene. Cruell joy is seldome fortunate. *Cæsar* wept ouer *Pompeis* head, but the Queene (ignorant how manifold causes of teares were reserued for her owne share) makes her selfe merry with that gastly and bloudy spectacle. The Earle of *Salisbury*, after wounds receiued, being in this battel taken prisoner, is conueighed to *Pomfret Castle*; from whence the common people (who loued him not) * violently haled him, and cut off his head; which perhaps was not done without the good liking of others. The Dukes head, together with his, were fixed on poles, and set vpon a gate of *Yorke*, and with them, (if *Grafton* say true) the heades of all the other prisoners which had beene conducted to *Pomfret*.

* *Stowes Annals.*

(91) This battell (called of *VVakefield*) was fought vpon the last day of *December*; of whose weathers complexion if their courages had participated, mischiefe might haue made her stop here, which now is in her swiftest course.

An. D. 1461. *An. Reg. 39.* The Earle of *March* pursues his fathers designes.

(92) For the *Earle of March*, sonne, and heire to this late valiant *Duke of Yorke*, hearing of this tragicall aduenture, giues not ouer: but, hauing gathered an army of about twenty thousand to march against the Queene, he findes employment neerer hand: being certified, that *Iasper Teder Earle of Pembrooke*, (half-brother to King *Henry*) and *Iames Butler Earle of Ormond* and *Wiltshire*, had with them a great force of *Welsh* and *Irish* to take him. The youthfull and valiant Earle of *March*, whose amiable presence and carriage made him gratious with the people, (and the rather for that he had the generall good word of * *women*,) meanes to try his fortune against the said Earles. He sodainely therefore turnes backe from *Shrewsbury*, and at a place called *Mortimers-Crosse* neere *Ludlow*, where the enemy abode, he sets vpon them. It was *Candlemas*-day in the morning, at which time there appeared, (as some write) three Sunnes, which sodainely joyned in one. This luckie prognosticon, and ominous Meteor, exceedingly fired the *Earle of March*, and was (some say) the reason, why he vsed for his *Badge*, or royall deuise, the *Sunne in his full brightnesse*. The Battels maintaine their fight with great fury; but, in the end, the *Earle of March* obtaines the victory, killing of his enemies three thousand, and eight hundreth men; the Earles saued themselues by flight. The sonne of honour and fortune did thus begin to shine, through Clouds of bloud and miserie, vpon *Edward*, whom shortly we are to behold King of *England*. There were taken * *Sir Owen Teder* (father to *Iasper Earle of Pembrooke*,) who was beheaded by *Edwards* commandement, as also *Sir Iohn Skudamor* Knight with his two sonnes, and other.

* *Phil. Comin.*

The battell at *Mortimers-Crosse* where *Edward* is victorious.

* *Graft. chron. Stowes Annal.*

(93) The Queene on the other side (hauing ordered her affaires in the *North*, setled the estate thereof, and refreshed her people,) within a while after drawes neere with her *Northern* army to S*t*. *Albans*. There came before them an euill fame of their behauiour to *London*, whose wealth lookt pale knowing it selfe in danger; for the *Northern* army, (in which were *Scots*, *Welsh*, and *Irish* as well as *English*,) made bold by the way with what they liked, making small distinction of sacred or prophane, after they were once past the riuer of *Trent*, Captain *Andrew Trollop* being their Coronell. King *Henry* himselfe in person, with the Dukes of *Norfolke* and *Suffolke*, the Earles of *Warwicke* and *Arundel*, the *Lord Bonuile*, and other, with a great puissance encampe at S*t*. *Albans*, to giue the Queene battell, and stop her farther passage toward *London*. But the Lords of her faction being ready to attempt on her behalfe, assaile the Kings forces within the towne, and after some sharpe affronts, breake through, and driue their aduersaries out with much bloud-shed, till they fell vpon a squadron or battalion of the Kings, wherein there were about foure or fiue thousand men, which made good their ground for a while with great courage, but in the end the Queenes side clearely wanne the day. There perished in this conflict about two thousand.

The second battell at Saint *Albans*, where the Queene is victorious, and recouers the King.

This hapned vpon *Shroue-tuesday*, the seuenteenth of *Februarie*. The King, Queene, and Prince meet joyfully, where hee Knights his sonne, (being eight yeares olde,) and thirtie others. The Lord *Bonuile* and Sir *Thomas* * *Kiriel* of *Kent* being taken in the fight, were beheaded, but all the other great men escape. The common people of *London* doe notwithstanding stand wholly for the beautifull *Earle of March*, and stand the more confidently, because they had sure intelligence, that he had vanquished the Earle of *Pembrooke* in the *Marches of Wales*, and that the Earle of *Warwicke*, escaping from S. *Albans*, had met with the *Earle of March* neere *Cotswold*, and that both with joynt-forces were marching toward *London*. These newes made the King and Queene retire into the *North*, and leaue that City and the Southerne Countreyes to their Enemie, till they might recouer a fairer opportunitie, or more sufficiencies. *Edward* vpon notice of the Kings departure, entreth *London*, and giues period to *Henries* raigne, which is accounted to take end after he had successiuely ruled this Land the space of thirtie eight yeares, sixe moneths, and foure dayes.

* *Tirel*, saith *Rob. Fabian.*

The King and Queene returne into the *North*.

His Wife.

(94) *Margaret* the wife of King *Henrie*, was the daughter of *Reynate* King of *Ierusalem*, *Sicilie*, and *Arragon*, *Duke of Andegauia*, *Loraine*, *Barre*, and *Calabria*, *Earle of Prouince*, *Cenomania*, and *Guize*. She by proxie was espoused vnto King *Henry*, at the City *Tours* in *Touraine* in the Church of S*t*. *Martin*; *VVilliam de-la-Poole* being Procurator to the King in the presence of the *French* King & his Queen, which King was Vncle to the Brides Father, and the Queene Aunt vnto her mother. She with great pomp was conueyed to *South-hampton*, and thence to the *Abbey of Tichfield*, where the yeare of Grace 1445. and twenty two of Aprill, she was solemnely married to King *Henry*; and honourably attended by the greatest Estates of the Land, was crowned at *VVestminster* the thirtieth of May following. She was exceedingly beautified in face, and of goodly feature, of a great wit, and deepe pollicie, but of stomack farre aboue her sexe, as in the managing of those troublesome times did too well appeare. She was his Wife twenty sixe yeares, and twenty nine daies: and (after her Husbands depulsion from his regall Throne) her forces being vanquished at the battell of *Tewskbury*, in a poore Religious House, whether shee had fled for the safetie of her life, was taken prisoner, and so carried Captiue to *London*, where she remained in durance, till *Duke Reynate* her father did purchase her liberty with great summes of money, vnto whom she returned, and lastly died in her natiue Countrie.

His Issue.

(95) *Edward* the onely Childe of King *Henry* and Queene *Margaret* his Wife, was borne at *VVestminster* the thirteenth day of October, the yeare of Christ 1453. and the 31. of his fathers Raigne, and the next yeare following, vpon the fifteenth of March, by authoritie of Parliament, was created Prince

Ord. 35. Hen. 6.

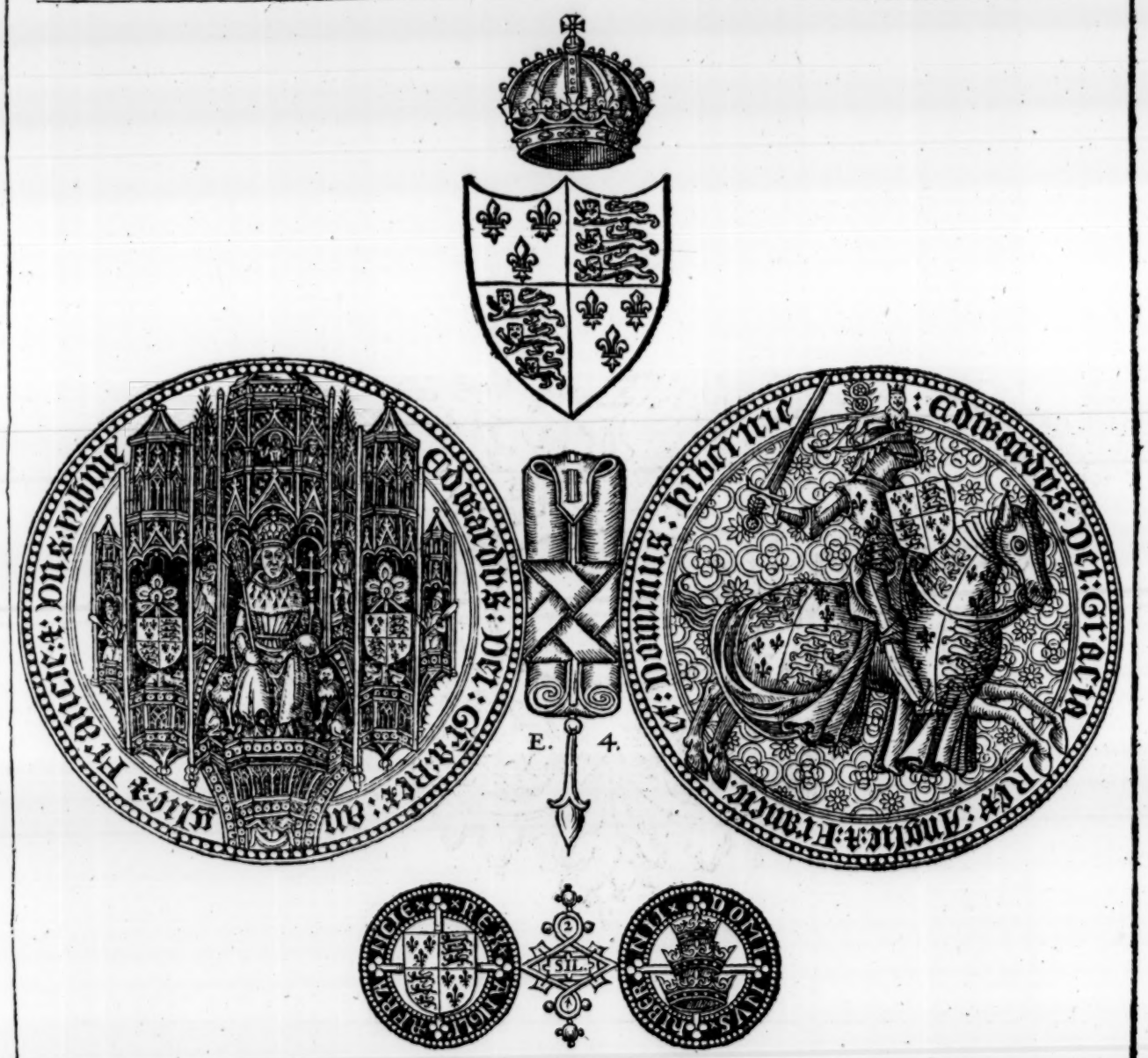
Prince of *VVales* & Earle of *Cheſter*: For the title of Duke of *Cornwall* (as it is noted by warrant of record) is reputed vnto the Kings eldeſt ſonne, the very day of his natiuity, and by vertue of a ſpeciall Act is preſumed and taken to be of full and perfect age, ſo as he may ſue that day for his liuery of the ſaid Dukedome, and ought by right to obtaine the ſame; hauing his royalties in the Stannarie, wrackes at Sea, Cuſtomes, &c. the firſt Duke thereof was *Edward*, commonly called the *Blacke Prince*, whom his Father, King *Edward* the third, created in great Eſtate Duke of *Cornwal*, by a wreath on his head, a ring on his finger, and a ſiluer verge. Hee proued a Prince of great hope and forwardneſſe, being skilful in martiall knowledge, matters of gouernement, and Lawes of the Realme. At the age of ſeauenteene, the better to bandie againſt his Fathers Competitor, King *Edward*, (the Maul of the Lancaſtrians claime) affianced in *France*, *Anne* the ſecond daughter of *Richard the Make-King*, Earle of *VVarwicke*; whoſe other daughter was married to *George Duke of Clarence*. This Prince when the day was loſt at *Tewkesburie*, ſought to eſcape thence by flight, but being taken, was brought into the preſence of King *Edward*, whoſe reſolute anſweres enraged the Conquerour ſo much, as he daſhed him (an vnprincely part) on the mouth with his gauntlet, and *Richard* the *Crookbacke* ranne him into the heart with his dagger. His body was buried without all ſolemnity, among the poore and meane perſons ſlaine, in the monaſticall Church of the blacke Friers *in Tewkesburie*. *Anno Domini* 1471.

Edward IIII

EDWARD THE FOVRTH, FIRST KING OF THE HOVSE OF YORKE,

KING OF ENGLAND AND FRANCE, LORD OF IRELAND, THE FIFTIE-FOVRTH MONARCH OF THIS LAND, HIS RAIGNE, ACTS, AND ISSVE.

Monarch 54



CHAPTER XVII.

EDward, whose birth was at *Roan* in *Normandy*, and bearing the title of *March* in *England*, hauing wonne the battell at *Mortimers* Crosse, (though the *Lords* his Confederates had lost that of Saint *Albans*) from *Ludlow* hasted towards *London*, and on his way was seconded by *Richard Neuill*, the stout Earle of *Warwicke*, to the great encrease of his number and power, which so terrified Queene *Margaret*, now ready to possesse the South, that with her Husband and Sonne, in a perplexed feare, she returned againe into the North; vpon which aduantage *Edward* now Duke of *Yorke* presently played. For *London* vn-resolued whether Prince to obey (the one very powerfull, and the other in possession) daily consulted for their safest estate; when on the suddaine *Edward* with *Warwicke* entred their Gates, whose warlike Visages so daunted the aduerse affected, that they began with the first to make him way to the Throne, and the Noblemen likewise made him offers of their seruice, to establish his claime, neither were the Clergy to learne the obseruance of time, or to sway with the man vpon whom the World smiled. All these set in Counsell to conferre of the State, Duke *Edward* made knowne his title to the Crowne, and in well-set termes declared, how the body of the whole Parliament formerly had thereunto consented, and *Henry* himselfe subscribed with his owne hand; whose title, though now carried through three descents; yet what right *Lancaster* had, they all knew, and how insufficient this last man was for rule, *France* to their dishonour did witnesse, where all was lost through his neglect, whose simplicitie euer minded more his priuate deuotions,

Edward Duke of *Yorke*, and *Richard* Earle of *Warwicke*, come vnto *London*.

The City of *London* doubtfull vnto whether part to yeeld.

Prince *Edward* sheweth his right to the Crowne.

deuotions, then the potent managing of a Soueraignes command.

(2) Theſe things vrged (and moſt of them true) their voices went current, that *Edward* was the vndoubted King, whereunto the *Londoners* the ſooner yeelded, for that his dreaded Northerne Army was then encamped in Saint *Iohns* field: neither was any reſeruation made (as before) of *Henries* naturall life, but he is now abſolutely neglected, as vnworthy of his Crowne, how acceptable ſoeuer he had raigned till then, whoſe following miſeries were not ſo much lamented, as his conſtant patience was admired in vndergoing the ſame. *Edward* thus mounted, before his foote had well touched the firſt ſtep, was vpon Sunday the ſecond of *March*, among his Northerne Souldiers proclaimed King; *William* Lord *Fauconbridge* Earle of *Kent* declaring his claime, and diſabling King *Henry* of ſtile or Gouernement, whoſe weake head (as he alledged) had ouer-long blemiſhed the Engliſh Crowne.

King Henry depriued of his Crowne.

Edward Duke of *Yorke* proclaimed *King of England.*

(3) Vpon the next day, with all pompe he was conueied to *Weſtminſter*, and ſet vpon the Kings ſeat in the Hall, where holding the Scepter of Saint *Edward* in his hand, the voice of the people was againe demanded, and againe granted; ſuch was the hap of vnfortunate *Henry*, and condition of the multitude euer to diſlike the preſent, and to affect the new: but no *interim* left to diſſwade or attempt, the next day his ſtile and title was againe proclaimed by the name of *King Edward the fourth*, being the fourth of March, and * about the 20. yeare of his age.

March 3.

*He was borne An. Dom. 1441. Aprill 29.

(4) Theſe ſodaine alterations made the richer ſort ſomewhat fearefull, eſpecially, thoſe whoſe hart ſtood firme for King *Henry*, (who was now in the North new muſtering of men) and among thoſe, *London* afforded many, as King *Edwards* jealouſie ſuſpected, whereof one *Walker* a ſubſtantiall Citizen and Grocer was a ſufficient proofe, who for wordes ſpoken concerning his owne ſonne, that *hee would make him heire of the Crowne*, (meaning his houſe hauing that Signe) was the eight day of this Kings raigne apprehended, and beheaded in *Smithfield*. And albeit his words intended no treaſon, (the Grocer not once dreaming to touch King *Edwards* title) yet the time being when the Crowne lay at ſtake, the tenture of the Law made them his death. This rough beginning moued many to doubt, that they had wronged themſelues in wronging King *Henry*, which opinion was more confirmed in that hee retained * a great ſumme of money borrowed of the Staplers-Merchants, and diſburſed in his affaires, whoſe reſtitution he vtterly denied with an auſtere commandement to ſurceaſe the demaund. But hearing how *Henry* was beloued in the North, and what followers were gathered to recouer him the Crown, vpon the twelfth of March with a complete Army hee ſets forth of *London*, accompanied with his brethren, and many other Nobles: with whom marching towards *Pomfreit*, he there appoynts the Lord *Fitzwater* to keepe the paſſage of *Ferribrig*, omitting no directions of a worthie commander.

The feares of the *Londoners.*

Walker a Citizen beheaded for words.

Dangerous to meddle with a Crowne. *Grafton.*

*18000. pounds.

(5) King *Henry* for his part though nothing ſo warlike, yet thought it beſt policy to imploy ſuch leaders as deſired reuenge againſt the houſe of *Yorke*; ſuch were the Duke of *Sommerſet*, the Earle of *Northumberland*, and the Lord *Clifford*, whoſe fathers had beene ſlaine in the firſt battell of S. *Albans*, which laſt, though in degree the leaſt man, yet ſought to raiſe his fame with the firſt, and therefore to leaue no attempt vnaſſayed, hee ſo ſodainely charged vpon the Troupe appointed for *Ferribrig*, that the Lord *Fitzwater* vnarmed (only with a Pollax in his hand) came haſtily to the Brigge, thinking a fray had been among his owne Souldiers, where, with the Baſtard of *Salisbury*, hee and many of his men were ſlaine by the enemy.

King Edwards beginnings ſomewhat diſliked.

King Edwards expedition into the North.

The Lord *Fitzwater*, and Baſtard *Salisbury*, ſlaine.

(6) The brute of which guſt blowne into ſtout *Warwickes* eare, hee mounted his Courſer, and poſting to *Edward*, puffing, blowing, and almoſt out of breath, ſaid, *Sir, I pray God haue mercy on their ſoules, which in the beginning of your enterprize haue loſt their liues; I ſee no ſuccour in the world, but in God, to whom I remit the vengeance.* And ſo alighting, forthwith ſlew his horſe with his ſword, ſaying, *Let him flie, that flie will; I will tarry with him that will tarry with me:* which he confirmed by kiſſing the croſſe of his ſword, the vſuall complement of couenants made by martiall men. The valiant Lord *Fauconbridge* fearing leſt this beginning would giue an edge to the ſequell, got ouer the Riuer at *Caſtleford*, three miles from the Bridge, meaning to incloſe the takers vpon their backes, which *Clifford* perceiuing, ſought to auoyde, and whether for haſte, heate, or paine, put off the gorget he wore, when ſodainely an arrow without an head, ſhot from the Bow of ſome layde in ambuſh, pierced through his throat, and ſtucke in his necke, which ſet a period vnto his life.

Earle *Warwicke* approach and ſpeech to King *Edward.*

The L. *Cl.* ſlaine with headleſſe arr.

(7) The next day more fatall for *Englands* bloud, was celebrated with ſpeares in ſtead of Palmes, vſually borne on * that Saboth of Lent, in whoſe dawning, the Lord *Fauconbridge*, who commanded the foreward (the Duke of *Norfolke* being ſicke) tooke the field on a plaine, betwixt the Townes of *Towton* and *Saxton*, where King *Edward* ioyning his whole forces (being forty eight thouſand, and ſix hundreth ſixty perſons, as King *Henries* were alſo threeſcore thouſand) cauſed proclamation to be made, that hee who feared to fight, might forthwith depart, but if any ſouldier abiding, ſhould ſeek to fly or turne back, he ſhould be ſlaine by his next fellow, and the ſlayer to receiue a great reward, beſides the ſtipend of a double pay.

An. D. 1461. Difference of Authors hath here bred ſome confuſion of yeares.
*March 29.

King *Edwards* proclamation much forwarded his ſeruice.

(8) Both Armies ready to ioyne, a ſmall fleet of ſnow hapned to fall, which with the winde was carried into the face of the *Lancaſtrian* hoaſt, whereby their ſight was much impeached, which aduantage *Fauconbridge* ſoone eſpying, forth-with commanded his Archers to ſhoot each man a flight, and then to ſtand without further proffer. The Northerne men feeling the arrowes, but not ſeeing the Archers, made haſte to acquite them with the like, and ſhot their whole ſheaues of arrowes without intermiſſion, but ſhort of the marke by threeſcore yards at the leaſt; which ſtorme being paſt, and all their ſtore ſpent, the worthy *Fauconbridge* aduanced forward, and within reach of his Archers ſore galled the enemie, making a double aduantage of what they had done: for their owne quiuers being full, when the others were empty, they gathered vp and ſhot theirs, againſt their owne ſhooters, yet left ſome of them ſticking to gall the legs of their purſuers: by which only ſtratagem, as was conſtantly auerred, the battell and day was loſt and wonne.

The battell at *Towton.*

A politicke practiſe in warre.

(9) The fight was bloudy, and continued ten houres, for all being Engliſh, acquit themſelues Engliſh-like, no taking of priſoners, nor looking for ranſome, but all to retaine, and to get honour that day; wherein died the Lords *Beaumont*, *Neuill*, *Willoughby*, *Wells*, *Scales*, *Gray*, *Dacres*, *Fitzhugh*, *Beckingham*, and *Clifford*, (who dyed the day before) the two Baſtards of *Exceſter*, Knights, Eſquiers, & Gentlemen a great number, and in all (on both parts) thirty fiue thouſand, ninety & one; ſo that not onely the field lay ſtayned with Engliſh bloud, but the riuers ran red for a great diſtance, ſo markable is this battell of *Englands* ciuill warres.

Palme Sundayes bloudy battell.

(10) *Henry*, who neuer was victor whereſoeuer he came, hearing this loſſe which ſeemed irrecoueruble, with his Queene and ſonne haſted into *Scotland*, where, of *Iames* the young King hee was royally entertained, with comfort of aſſiſtance to recouer his eſtate, in regard whereof he ſurrendred the ſtrong towne *Barwicke* into the Scots hand, and concluded a marriage betwixt Prince *Edward* his ſonne, and Lady *Magaret* the ſiſter of the ſaid King. Theſe things thus effected, milde *Henry* conceiued ſome new budding hopes, and Queene *Margaret* his wife, (indeed

King Henry with his Queene and Sonne flee into *Scotland.*

Iohn Leſly.

Lady *Margaret* of *Scotland* promiſed in mariage vnto Prince *Edward.*

Queene *Margaret* passeth into *France*.

indeed the better warrier) passed thence into *France*, where, of King *Lewis* and her father *Renate* she obtained more men then her coffers were able to relieue with pay; the bane of all courage in aduentures of warre.

An. D. 1461. King *Edward* crowned.

(11) Victorious *Edward*, after those his prosperours successes in the North, in triumph returned to *London*, and the eight & twentieth of Iune with great solemnity was crowned at *Westminster*, where in S. *Peters* Church, the next day it was againe most solemnly set on his head, and the third day so crowned he came to Saint *Paules* in *London*, and therein was censed with great applause of the People. In Nouember following a Parliament began, wherein K. *Henry*, Queene *Margaret*, and Prince *Edward* their Sonne, were disherited of their right to the Crowne; the Dukes of *Excester* and *Sommerset*, and the Earle of *Deuonshire*, with an hundred and forty moe, were attainted also, and disherited; so fortune dallieth in setting the Dice of her fauours, or frownes.

King Henry and Prince *Edward* disherited by Parliament.

An. D. 1462. Queene *Margaret* returned into *Scotland*.

(12) Queene *Margaret* stored with men, but in want of money, with her French powers made into *Scotland*; whose comming was most welcome to the two Kings there, and thence, with great shew of enterprize, hoised her sailes for *England*, but hauing touched the bay of *Tinmouth*, (whether vpon better aduise, or feared with their owne shadowes,) she with her French put backe to the Sea, where such a sore tempest tooke them, as had not Queene *Margaret* in a small Caruell got vnto *Barwicke*, she had not liued to vexe the new King, nor seene the vnfortunate losse of her Husband, her Sonne, and Realme, nor the miserable calamities of her owne olde age. Her French, by Bastard *Ogle*, were beate into *Holy Iland*, many slaine, and foure hundred of them put to their ransomes.

Bastard *Ogle* ouercommeth the French.

An. D. 1463.

(13) This fainting French enterprize, though it dulled the edge of some spirits, yet did it nothing daunt the courage of the Queene, her better hopes being fixed vpon the Scots valour; so, (leauing Prince *Edward* for safety in *Barwicke*,) with her Husband and Scots shee entred *Northumberland*, tooke the Castle of *Bamburgh*, and so passed forward vnto the *Bishopricke*, their forces daily increasing, through the confluence of such English as fauoured King *Henrie*.

Queene *Margaret* entreth *Northumberland* in hostile manner.

(14) King *Edward* hearing these stirres in the North, made his preparation both by Sea and Land, and with his Brethren, and Nobles, came to *Yorke*, from whence he sent *Iohn Neuill* Lord *Montacute*, with a power of men, as somewhat mistrusting the loialties of the *Northumbrians*, who passing forward, vpon *Hegely-Moore* was sodainely encountred by the Lords *Hungerford* and *Roos*, with-whom was Sir *Ralph Piercy*, a most valiant Knight; but *Montacute*, accompanied with such as would neither looke backe, nor stand gazing on, abode the encounter, and at the first push put backe the two Lords, and finally slew the said *Piercy*, who no waies would depart out of the field; but in dying said, *I haue saued the birde in my breast*, meaning his oath made to King *Henrie*.

King Edward commeth to *Yorke*.

The skirmish vpon *Hegely-Moore*.

The saying of *Sir Ralph Piercy* at his death.

(15) Lord *Montacutes* Sunne thus mounting in the *Horizon*, cast forth the rayes of his rising fame, which as he well hoped would higher ascend. And therefore learning by espials, that *Henries* hoast lay incamped vpon a plaine called *Liuels*, neere vnto *Hexham*, by the *Water Dowill*, he hasted thither, & so valiantly assaulted their Campe, as after great slaughter, in chase were taken Lord *Henry* D. of *Sommerset*, the Lords, *Roos*, *Mollins*, and *Hungerford*, all which were beheaded, and Sir *Ralph Gray*, who first solemnly disgraded, his guilt spurres cut from his heeles by the Master-Cooke, his Sword broken ouer his head, his Coat-armour rent, another reuersed put on by the King at Armes, was so led to his execution. King *Henry* himselfe got away (as *Stow* saith) into *Lancashire*, where, with some few hee liued full hardly in Caues, and vnknowne, more then a yeare, but (saith *Grafton*) he fled into *Scotland*, which is more likely.

Montacutes victory at *Hexham*. May 15.

Lords taken and beheaded.

The disgrading of *Sir Ralph Gray*.

Iohn Stow. *King Henry* put o flight.

Rich. Grafton.

(16) *Edward* thus cleared of the Cloud-threatning storme, thought best ere others did light, to prouide for himselfe, and therefore he raised *Bulwarkes*, built new *Fortresses* in places of danger, put forth his espials vpon the Marches of *Scotland*, and commanded that none should keepe *Henrie* or *Margaret* in secret, whose sight, he feared, would draw the affections of many, which otherwise stood in case of obedience. But ouer-borne *Henry* (whether past all feare, or inforced by destinie) in disguised apparrell past into *England*, where he was soone apprehended by one *Cantlow*; but *Stow* saith, by *Thomas Talbot* in *Cletherwood* besides *Bungerley Hippingstones* in *Lancashire*, being betrayed in *Waddington Hall* as he sate at dinner, and thence brought to *London* with his legs bound to the stirrups, arrested by *Warwicke*, his guilt spurres taken off, and committed Prisoner to the Tower of *London*.

King *Edwards* care and prouisions.

King *Henry* disguised commeth into *England*, and is apprehended.

King *Henry* hardly vsed, arrested, and committed prisoner to the Tower.

(17) The Lyon thus pent, his pawes cut or pared, and *Queene Margaret* in *France* with her father *Renate*; King *Edward* now quiet, set his minde vpon Gouernement for the good of his Realme. In his Court of *Kings Bench* he vsed to sit in person certaine daies together, to see how his lawes proceeded with justice; ordayned penall Statutes against excessiue pride in Apparrell, especially against long picked shooes then vsually worne, which grew to such an extreame, that the pikes in the Toes were turned vpward, and with siluer chaines, or silke laces tied to the knee. But among many good prouisions, one proued very bad, as the sequell shews; for concluding a league with King *Henry* of *Castile*, and *Iohn* King of *Arragon*, he granted a license to transport certaine numbers of *Coteswold Sheepe*, which are since growne to such an exceeding increase, as the Clothes made of their Woolles is a great hindrance to our Marchants, which aduenture in the Leuant Seas.

King *Edwards* care of Iustice.

The pride and abuse in shooes.

Sheep transported into *Spaine*, very hurtfull vnto *England*.

(18) His next care was to finde a fit *Queene*, both for the hope of Issue to succeede, and for alliance and power to assist (if need were) against *Henries* claime. First therefore minding to send into *Scotland*, to desire in marriage the Ladie *Margaret*, (sister to King *Iames* the third) thereby to frustrate *Henries* further hope; was made to beleiue that the said Ladie was, by reason of sickenesse, not capable of conception, which altogether declined his affection from that way. Next, as some say, a motion was made for *Lady Elizabeth*, sister and heire apparant vnto *Henry* King of *Castile*, as a match most conuenient, considering King *Edward* had thereunto a Claime, whose great Grandmother was one of the heires of *Castile*, being the daughter of *Don Peter* the King, besides which high match, and combination of alliances, a hope was conceyued that the Dutchies of *Guien* and *Aquitaine*, might be recouered by the assistance of these *Castilians*, without great charge or trauell to the *English*. But the tender spring of the one, and the lusty growth of the other, would not be grafted into one stocke to beare fruit, shee little aboue sixe, and hee about twenty three, farre vnfit to abstaine till shee could giue him content.

King *Edwards* care for choise of his Queene.

His second project for a match. *Rich. Grafton*.

Cambden. *Rich. Grafton*.

(19) A third Princesse was assaid, against whom could be no exceptions, for birth, beautie, yeares, or Alliance, which was Lady *Bona*, daughter of *Lewis Duke of Sauoy*, and sister to *Carlot* the *French Queen*, at that time residing in the *French* Court. This double string was thought most fit for King *Edwards* bow; for the Duke more remote, might strengthen him abroad, and the *French* neerer home would be made a good neighbour, hauing the Night-bird still singing in his eare: especially to cast a rubbe in King *Henries* way, whose hopes lay most vpon *Lewis*, for that *Renate* of *Anjou*, stiling himselfe king of *Naples*, *Sicil*, and *Ierusalem*, had more honour by that verball stile, then rents or reuenues to maintaine his estate, or any subjection acknowledged by them; so as if King *Lewis* were *Edwards*, *Anjou* was not to be feared

His third assay for a wife.

The allegations for the benefit of forraine marriages.

Lady *Bona* fittest Queene for *Edward*, *Neuill* the great Earle of *Warwick*

feared. This match being most approued in counsell, none was held more fit to solicite the businesse then Lord *Richard Neuill* the great Earle of *Warwicke*, a man esteemed for power a Demy-King, and for magnificence and hospitality matchlesse: in whose house at *London* (as some haue verified) sixe Oxen were spent euery day, and most Tauernes in the City full of his meat.

Robert Fabian.

Warwicke wooing and entertainements in *France*.

(20) *Warwicke* in great state arriued at *Tours*, and his message knowne, was accordingly entertained in the French Court, where he wrought the Queene her selfe to be the chiefest Agent; who drew on her sister *Bona*, with recommending the state and stile of a magnificent Queene (a sound very tunable in a Ladies eare,) and her Husband *Lewis*, with assurance of a potent and wise Allie, a pleasing theame to soft-natured-Princes, as the French King was. And indeed to all she vndertooke all good contentments; so as on that side all things were cleare, and *Warwicke* dismissed with Courtly French complements, the Earle *Damp-martin* was to passe into *England* for the finall confirmation.

K. *Edwards* last & sodaine choise of his wife.

(21) But whilest *Warwicke* had beene industriously wooing in *France*, King *Edwards* affection in *England* was working another way; for being on hunting in the Forrest of *Wychwood* beside *Stony-Stratford*, hee there found other game, that made game in his eye, which was the Lady *Elizabeth Gray* attending the Dutchesse of *Bedford* her mother, who then soiourned at his Mannour of *Grafton*, whither hee repaired for his recreation. She had beene attendant vpon Queene *Margaret* the Wife of King *Henry* the sixt, and had beene married vnto *Iohn Gray* Esquier, knighted and slaine at the battell of S. *Albans*, vpon King *Henries* part, who now was a suiter vnto the King, for some thing taken away in the extremity of that time, to be restored towards the maintenance of her estate. But howsoeuer her suit pierced his eare, her sweetly composed feature strangely affected his heart; more formall she was, and louely in countenance, then either tall, or exceedingly faire; yet both sufficient to meete in one person, of an excellent witte, a sober demeanour, a modest looke, a feminine smile, and her speech vttered in such a naturall eloquence as her answeres euer set on edge King *Edwards* desires, which howsoeuer distastefull to the appetite of his wanton bed, (affirming with blushes, that as shee accounted her selfe most vnworthy of the name of his Queene, so she held her selfe of more worth, and her chast honour dearer then to be his Concubine) yet held they him in chase till she had taken him in the snares of her loue.

Iohn Hardings continuer.

The Lady *Elizabeth Gray* a supplicator to king *Edward*.

The beauty and feature of the Lady *Elizabeth Gray*.

K. *Edwards* mother seeketh to diuert his loue.

(22) Their many meetings and louers complements, made the olde Dutchesse of *Yorke* (the Kings Mother) much to suspect it would bee a match; to hinder which, with a Parents authority she entred discourse, alleadging it honourable, safe, and of much profite to linke with some great Princesse in forraigne Lands, both for the increase of possessions abroad, and (as the case stood) to bee assisted at home: that *Warwicke* had gone so farre in his suite in *France*, as if in himselfe now were the stay, she feared their displeasures would not be staied. To marry his Subiect shee held it vnprincely, especially one without reuenewes, alliance, or riches, no other thing mouing, but a wanton dotage on the person; and although that in Lady *Elizabeth* nothing was to be misliked, yet was there nothing so excellent, but the same was incorporated in farre greater Ladies, more meete as she thought of a Queenely estate. A Virgin (quoth she) is most fit for a sacred Prince his side, whose head is annoynted with holy Oyle, and whose Maiesty is outwardly more sublime then the Leuiticall Priests: yet were they forbidden to make widdowes their wiues, lest the holy callings should be defiled with the staine of Bigamy.

The counsell and conference of the olde Dutchesse of *Yorke* with her Sonne K. *Edward*.

How and vnto whom it was expedient for a King to marry.

(23) When his Mother had said, and expected his answere, the King who had taken counsell of his owne desires, and knew himselfe to bee out of his mothers rule, partly in earnest, and partly in pleasance, made her this reply: That marriage being a spirituall type, ought rather to be conioyned where God had framed the parties to consent (as this of his was) then in regard of any temporall respect whatsoeuer. That his choise was pleasing to himselfe, and would be to his Subiects he certainly knew, whose amity before all other Nations hee most preferred and desired; neither could he giue them better occasion of loue then in this, that being their Soueraigne, hee disdained not to marry into their Tribes; and so likewise for his Issue, there could not any Prince be better beloued then hee that was their naturall Prince so borne of both Parents. That if forraine alliances were so needfull, hee had many of his kin, to contract them, and that with content of all parties: but for himselfe, to marry for possessions, or to please others with displeasing his own affections, hee saw it no wisedome, hauing already sufficient of the one; and the other offended, euen sweet pleasure would seeme sowre pils; especially, the choise that is made by another mans eye. That there are many comparable to her, said hee, I make no question, and am the more glad, let them haue them that like them, I will not repine, neither I hope will any abridge me of that which I allow vnto others: the Prouerbe is (Mother) that marriage goes by *Destiny*, but to be wiued against a mans own liking, is an earthly *Purgatory*: And therefore my Cosen *Warwicke* I am sure, neither loueth me so little, to grudge at that I loue, nor is so vnreasonable to looke that I should in choise of a wife, rather be ruled by his eye, then by mine owne; as though I were a *Ward*, that were bound to marry by the appoyntment of a Guardian: I would not be a King with that condition, to forbeare mine owne liberty, in choyse of mine owne marriage. As for possibility of more inheritance by new affinity in forraine land, it proues oftner the occasion of more trouble then profite; and we haue already title by that meanes, to so much, as sufficeth to get, and keepe well, in one mans dayes. That she is a widdow, and hath already children, by Gods blessed Lady I am a *Bachelour*, and haue some too, and so each of vs hath a proofe, that neither of vs is like to be barren. And therefore (Madam) I pray you be content, I trust in God she shall bring a young Prince, that sha'll play on your lap, to your great pleasure, and your selfe shall blesse the wombe that bare such a babe: and as for your obiection of Bigamy, let the Bishop hardly lay it in my way, when I come to take *Orders*; for I vnderstand it is forbidden a Priest, but I neuer wist that it was forbidden a Prince.

K. *Edwards* reason for his owne free choise.

His Mothers deuise to crosse his purpose of marriage.

(24) The Dutchesse seeing the King so set on his owne choyse, that she could not pull him backe, tooke it in such disdaine, that vnder pretext of her duty to Godward, she deuised to frustrate the match, and rather gaue furtherance, that Lady *Elizabeth Lucy* should be his Queene, whom not long before hee had with wanton dalliances enticed to his bed: for which act, vnder pretence of a contract with her, whose husband he was before God, (as shee alleadged) his Mother openly obiected against this his intended marriage, in the discharge (forsooth) of her owne conscience, which was the cause of such an obstacle, as either the Bishops durst not, or the King, proceed to the solemnization of this Wedding, till the same were clearely purged, & the truth openly testified: whereupon Dame *Elizabeth Lucy* was sent for; which Lady, albeit she was instigated by the Kings Mother, and others, to auerre the same, yet when she was solemnely sworne to speake truth, she confessed that they were neuer assured indeede, howbeit shee affirmed his *Grace* spake so louing words vnto her, as she verily hoped he would haue married her, and that if it had not beene for such kinde words, she would neuer haue shewed such kindnesse vnto him. This poynt cleared, and no impediment resting, the

Lady *Lucy* instigated to claime marriage of K. *Edward*.

King

K. *Edward* married Lady *Elizabeth Grey*.

King tooke to wife this later beloued Lady, *Elizabeth Grey*, who had beene formerly married vnto his enemy, and many times prayed full heartily for his losse, in which God loued her better then to grant her her boone, reseruing greater honour for her selfe and her posterity.

The descent and parentage of the Lady *Elizabeth Grey*.

(25) She was honourably descended, especially by the surer side, whose Mother was *Iaquelin*, daughter to *Peter* of *Luxemburge* Earle of S. *Paul*, and Dutchesse to *Iohn* Duke of *Bedford*, Regent of *France*; after whose death she married Sir *Richard Wooduile* Knight, and among others bare vnto him this *Elizabeth*, *Englands* faire Queene, who being priuately married at the Mannour of *Grafton*, was afterwards crowned Queene at *Westminster* with all due celebrations, vpon the sixe and twentieth of *May*, *Anno*, *1465*. Her Father then by this new made sonne in law, and Soueraigne Lord, was created Lord *Riuers*, and made high Constable of *England*, her Brother Lord *Anthony*, married to the sole heire of the Lord *Scales*, and her Sonne *Thomas Grey*, borne to her first Husband, was created Marquesse *Dorset*, and married to the heire of the Lord *Bonuile*.

Queene *Elizabeth* crowned.

The Queenes kinred highly preferred.

Earle *Warwicke* sore offended against king *Edward*.

(26) But when *Warwicke* had knowledge the wanton King had got a new Wife, and his courting of Lady *Bona*, to be but a ball to make *Edwards* play; hee stormed not a little, whose credite hee tooke to be crackt in the French Court, and himselfe rather thought to haue dallyed in this motion, then to deale by commission from his King, for which cause hee conceiued so inward an indignation, that his affection was withdrawne from King *Edward*, and thenceforth ranne vpon *Henrie*, retained in prison, to which end hee temporized with the present King, applauded the Queene, and bare countenance in Court with no discontented shew: The King as wary as *Warwicke* was, cast no eye of dislike, or of any suspition, gaue him countenance in Court, and in familiar conference heard him before others; yet lest the stem of his greatnesse should ouertop his Crown, and his Brethren, the spreading branches, shadow his designes, hee tooke the Chancellorshippe from *George Neuill*, the one of them, then Bishop of *Excester*, afterward Archbishop of *Yorke*, and from the other *Iohn Neuill* Baron *Montacute*, the Earledome of *Northumberland*, bestowing the same (at the suite of the Northumbrians, set on by himselfe) vpon *Henry Piercy*, whose father was slaine at *Towton*, and himselfe at that present fled into *Scotland* for safety. Whereupon *Montacute* was remoued, and to auoide suspition was created Marquesse, a greater name, but farre lesse in power. And to haue a stake in store howsoeuer the Dice chanced to turne, hee sought to ioyne friendship with forraine Princes, hauing offended *France* for the refusing of his Queenes sister: so as he sought, and obtained the amity of *Henry* King of *Castile*, and of *Iohn* King of *Arragon*, and tooke a truce with his neighbour the *Scotish* King for fifteene yeares following.

Temporizing betwixt the king and the Earle of *Warwicke*.

Francis Goodwin Catal. of English Bishops.

Iohn Neuill created Marquesse *Montacute*.

Rich. Grafton.

An. D. 1468.

(27) But these confederates for the more part too farre to be called for by whistle, fortune beyond expectation set him another euen at his elbow, which was *Philip* Duke of *Burgundy*, Prince of *Flanders*, *Brabant*, and *Zealand*, whose onely sonne legitimate, (*Charles* Earle of *Charoloys* a widdower, and without any Sonne) he sought to conioyne to King *Edwards* faire Sister, not so much for any loue hee bare to the House of *Yorke*, himselfe being a *Lancastrian* by his Mothers side, as to bandy against *Lewis* King of *France*, whom he had lately ouercome in a battell at *Montleherry*, and as then stoode vpon his defence, as he was sure King *Edward* did. This motion King *Edward* and his Councell well-liked, only *Warwicke* withstoode it, in fauour of the French: but the Lady *Margaret* sent ouer according to her estate, and *Warwicke* left fuming with a discontented minde, after some complements of mirth with his brethren the Archbishoppe, and *Montacute*, at his Towne of *Warwicke*, brast forth into warlike consultations for the deposing of *Edward*, & restauration of *Henrie*, whose wrongs (as he alleadged) did crye for right at their hands. The Bishoppe lightly consented to side for King *Henry*; but the Marquesse would hardly bee drawne from King *Edward*, which *Warwicke* perceiuing, layd his lime-twigges yet another way.

A marriage mcued betwixt Earle *Charles* and Lady *Margaret*.

Phil. Com. l. 3. c. 4.

(28) For being a man of a deepe reach and wit, hee well saw that *George* Duke of *Clarence* the Kings second brother, bare not the best liking to the sway of the times: him therefore hee sought to allure to his fist, which once mand, *Edward* should loose the best Faulcon for his game; him therefore by Problemes hee meant first to proue, and according to their digest, purposed to proceed. So falling in familiar conference with *Clarence*, beganne to complaine of some vnkindnes in the King, both in breach of some promises, and staine of his honour in the French Court. The Duke as discontented as *Warwicke*, interrupted his tale before it was told: Why my Lord (quoth *Clarence*) do you looke that a Leopard should haue no spots in his skinne, or a Camelion no colours but one? in faith you are deceiued, and loose but your labour to wash the naturall Blackamore? for will you haue him kinde that is by nature vnkinde, and to be respected of him that respects not his owne bloud: or thinke you (a Cosen and Allie) to be raised by him, that seeth (if not seeketh) his owne Brethrens fals? For the heire of the Lord *Scales* (you see) hee hath married to his Wiues brother, the heire of the Lord *Bonuile* and *Harington* to his wiues sonne, and affianced the heire of the Lord *Hungerford* to the Lord *Hastings*, marriages indeed more meete for his two brethren and kinne, then for such new fondlings as he hath bestowed them vpon. But by my *George* I sweare, if my Brother of *Glocester* would ioyne with mee, wee would make him know that we are all three one mans Sonnes, and of one and the same Mother.

Earle *Warwicke* ploteeth king *Edwards* deposition.

Warwicke draweth *Clarence* into action against the king his brother.

(29) Earle *VVarwicke* hauing that which he greedily sought after, seconded the resolution with his owne assistance, imparting now boldly what confederates he had made, and to ioyne more faithfully in this his designe, he proffered *Clarence* his eldest daughter Lady *Isabel* in marriage, faire and well qualified, with the one halfe of his Wiues inheritance, she being sole heire vnto *Henry Beauchampe* Earle of *VVarwicke* her brother, and nothing inferiour to any of those whom *Edward* had bestowed vpon others, which no sooner was spoken, but was as presently embraced, and the plot conferred how to proceede, which was concluded, forth-with to saile vnto *Callis*, (whereof the Earle was Captaine, and where the Virgine Lady lay) as well to confirme the contract betwixt them, as to be absent when the commotion should begin, as the safer from suspition, and the surer to strike when the Ball came to hand, to stirre which, the Archbishop and *Montacute* were appointed for the North.

Warwicke and *Clarence* make affinity.

An. D. 1469.

The occasion pickt to make Malecontents.

(30) The occasion pickt to make Malecontents, was the abuse of Charity vnto an Hospitall dedicated to Saint *Leonard* in the Citie of *Yorke*, whose reueneue stood most vpon corne, yearely received from Farmers in the Country, as an Oblation of their first graine. This, the factious made their onely ground, vnder a holy pretext (forsooth) that the poore were defrauded, and the Master and Priests onely fed and waxen fat. To redresse which, one *Robert Hulderme* entred in action, and with fifteene thousand strong enterprised for *Yorke*, in which City the Lord Marquesse *Montacute* was President for King *Edward*, who with a small number, but well chosen, issued out against the enemy, put them backe, and stroke off the head of their Captaine before the gates of *Yorke*: but whether he did it in policie to grow more in trust with the King, or else of duety of obliege, not moulded throughly to the commotion, is vncertaine. But certaine it is, the rebels were nothing daunted at *Huldernes* death, but rather made the more resolute

Huldeme Captaine of the Commotion.

to

to continue what they had begunne.

(31) To which end they chooſe them two Chieftaines, of greater account, and eminent calling, which were *Henrie*, Sonne and heire to the Lord *Fitz-hugh*, and *Sir Henry Neuill*, Sonne and heire to the Lord *Latimer*, the one of them being Nephew, and the other Coſen-germane vnto the Earle of *Warwicke*; theſe but young, and not altogether experienced in Armes, chooſe for their Tutor *Sir Iohn Conyers* a Knight of ſuch courage, skill and valiantneſſe, as in the North-parts few were his like: who meaning to ſtrike at the head, determined to march forthwith to *London*, proclaiming in his way, that *Edward* was neither a iuſt Prince vnto God, nor a profitable King vnto the Common-weale.

Two Captaines made by the rebels.

Sir *Iohn Conyers* choſen generall of the rebels.

(32) King *Edward* hearing of theſe Northerne proceedings, and that his Brother and *Warwicke* were preparing againſt him, ſent for the Lord *Herbert*, whom he had created Earle of *Pembrooke*, to be his Generall in the North (who partly to deſerue the Kings liberality in aduancing him to ſuch honour, and partly in emulation he bare toward *Warwicke*, being the ſole obſtacle (as he tooke it) why he obtained not the Wardſhip of the Lord *Bonuils* daughter and heire for his eldeſt ſonne) did not a little reioyce of that his imployment. And therefore accompanied with *Sir Richard Herbert* his Brother, and eighteene thouſand well-furniſhed *Welſhmen*, marched towards the enemy, and after him was ſent *Humfrey* Lord *Stafford* with ſixe thouſand Archers to ſecond him in his warres. Theſe Lords meeting together, had notice by eſpials that the Northern made forwards towards *Northampton*: to intercept whom, the Lord *Stafford* lately made Earle of *Deuonſhire* was imployed, & *Sir Richard Herbert*, who with two thouſand horſe layd themſelues couertly by the ſide of a wood, and ſodainely ſet vpon the rereward, the reſt hauing paſſed: but the Northerne very nimbly turned about, and bad the *Welſhmen* ſuch welcome as few of them returned to tell of their entertainement.

The Lord *Herbert* Earle of *Pembrooke* made Lord generall.

Diſcontents betwixt *Pembrooke* and *Warwicke*.

The Lord *Stafford* repulſed.

(33) The King vnderſtanding of this hard beginning, muſtred his ſubiects on euery ſide, intending to cope with the Northerne himſelfe. And Earle *Warwicke* as forward to forward his fortunes, gathered his friends, with purpoſe to encounter with *Pembrooke* and his *Welſh*. But before any ſupplies came to either of both; it chanced the Armies to meete at vnawares, vpon a faire plaine called *Danesmore* neere to the Towne *Hedgecot*, three miles from *Banbury*, and preſently fell to a bickering, wherin *Sir Henry Neuill* Knight, ſonne of the Lord *Latimer*, vpon a luſty courage, venturing ſomewhat too farre, was taken priſoner, and notwithſtanding hee yeelded himſelfe to his Takers, was cruelly ſlaine, which vnmartiall act reſted not long vnrepaied with the loſſe of moſt of the *Welſh* the next day. For the field withdrawn, the L. *Stafford* repaired to *Banbury*, and there tooke his lodging, where his affections were much enamoured vpon a faire Damſell in the Inne. But the Earle of *Pembrooke* comming to the ſame Towne, tooke into the ſame Inne, and commanded the Lord *Stafford* to prouide him elſewhere, contrary to their agreements made before, whereat *Stafford* was diſpleaſed, and departing thence with his whole Band, left the Earle naked of men in the Towne, and diſabled the field of the Archers, whereby the day was loſt vpon the Kings part, for which he ſhortly loſt his owne head.

King *Edward* prepareth againſt the Earle of *Warwicke*.

Pembrooke and *Stafford* fall out for their Inne.

(34) The Northerne enflamed for the death of young *Neuill*, the next morning moſt valiantly ſet vpon the *VVelſhmen*, and by the force of Archers, draue them from their ground of aduantage, which *Pembrooke* wanting, ſupplyed with his owne proweſſe, and *Richard* his brother with his Pollaxe twice made way through the battell of the Northern, without any mortall or deadly wound: ſo that by their valours it was verily ſuppoſed the field had beene wonne, had not *Iohn Clappam* an Eſquire and ſeruant to *Warwicke* diſplayed his Lords Colours with his *White-Beare*, and from an eminent place cried a *Warwicke*, a *VVarwicke*, whereat the *VVelſh* were ſo terrified, as they turned and fled, leauing their Generall and his brother alone in the field, who valiantly fighting, were incompaſſed and taken, with the death of fiue thouſand of their men. The Earle with his brother *Sir Richard Herbert* were brought to *Banbury*, where with ten other Gentlemen they loſt their heads, *Conyers* and *Clappam* being their Iudges.

The valour of *Pembrooke* and of Sir *Richard Herbert*.

An. D. 1469.

The Earle of *Pembrooke* with others beheaded.

(35) This ſecond victory thus got, and the Northerne now fleſhed; vnder the leading of *Robbin of Riddiſdale*, haſted to the Kings Mannor of *Grafton*, where the Earle *Riuers* Father to the Queene then lay, whom with his Sonne *Iohn*, they ſodainely ſurprized, and in *Northampton* ſtrucke off their heads without any iudgement. The deaths of theſe Lords the King greatly lamented, and ſought to reuenge: firſt therefore writing his Commiſſions for the apprehenſion of Lord *Humfrey Stafford* of *Southwicke* (who by diligent ſearch was found at *Brentmarch*, and beheaded at *Bridgewater*, as he worthily deſerued) next hee prepared a mighty Army, and with the ſame marched towards *VVarwicke*, his company increaſing euer as he went.

Robert of *Riddiſdale* captaine of the Northernmen.

The Earle *Riuers* with his ſonne *Iohn* ſurprized and beheaded.

Lord *Stafford* beheaded.

(36) King *Edward* ſet downe his tents at *Wolney*, foure miles from *VVarwicke*, where the Duke and the Earle of *VVarwicks* hoaſt lay ready for Battell, but by the mediation of friends a peace was intreated, and letters written from either parties, expreſſing the grieſes and wrongs ſuſtained, with proffers of redreſſe, in amending all, and in ſhew ſo farre it proceeded, as the King conceiuing a certaine hope of peace, reſted ſecure, not fearing any foule-play, which politique *VVarwick* (by his ſpiall perceiuing) thought it not wiſdome to looſe the aduantage, and thereupon in the dead of the night with a ſelected Company he entred the Kings Camp, killing them that kept the watch, tooke the King in his bed, and brought him his priſoner to his Caſtle of *VVarwicke*, and thence by eaſie iournyes in the night had him conuayed to *Middleham* Caſtle in *Yorkeſhire*, not farre from *Richmond*, where vnder the cuſtody of his Brother *George Neuill* Archbiſhoppe of *Yorke* he was retained.

Io. Stowes Annals.

King *Edward* taken at *Wolney*.

Is impriſoned in *Middleham* Caſtle.

(37) His vſage was Princely, and according to his eſtate, which he often acknowledged to the Archbiſhoppe with all kinde thankes, and complements of wordes, whereby hee wrought himſelfe into ſuch truſt and fauour, as hee had the Forreſts to hunt in, and the Parkes for his pleaſure, whoſe pales are well knowne, vnſufficient wals to pen the Lyon in, as appeared by this King, who being abroad and on hunting, *Sir VVilliam Stanley*, with *Sir Thomas Burgh* brought him freſh horſe, and ſuch a crew of followers, that his Keepers more feared their owne liues, then were forward to force him backe againe to priſon, and ſo let the game goe without further chaſe. King *Edward* thus eſcaped, *VVarwicke* like a wilde man furiouſly raged, but ſeeing no remedy, made vſe of neceſſity, and gaue forth that himſelfe ſo cauſed it, hauing power to make Kings, and to vnmake them againe.

King *Edward* eſcaped out of priſon.

Warwickes ſayings to make and vnmake Kings.

(38) The King forthwith repaired to *Yorke*, where with great honour hee was ioyfully receiued, and abode certaine daies, which made him well hope of a further ſupply of friends and men, but fayling thereof, and fearing the Archbiſhops purſuite, with a ſmall traine he poſted to *Lancaſter*, where hee found the Lord *Haſtings* his Chamberlaine well-accompanied for his Conuey. His ſpirits then reuiued, and traine daily increaſing, with ſpeedy iourneyes hee came vnto *London*: where all his ſtudies and conſultations were, how to be reuenged vpon theſe diſloyall Lords, his brother, and Earle *VVarwicke*, and they againe fretting at the Archbiſhoppes folly ſought to make ſtronger their factions againſt the King.

Warres prepared vpon both parts.

(39) The Land thus rent by theſe vnnaturall

The miseries of ciuill warres.

diuisions, and no estate sure to enioy what was theirs, the Nobles a new began to sollicite the parties vnto a Peace, hauing first obtained liberty to post too and fro without their impeachments, and so effectually layd downe the state of the Land, whose ruines now were so eminent by these intestine warres, that the Natiues lamented, the Forrein reioyced, and God they saw highly displeased, whose sword thus giuen into their hands, was to be feared would be the destruction of the Englisli, as *Nabucadnezzars* of *Babell* was of *Iudea*, and indeed so effectually wrought, that the Duke and Earle vpon perfect confidence came to *London*, accompanyed with a small number in respect of their great danger: where falling into conference with the King, hee tasked them with disloialty, and they him with ingratitude, so that their spleenes were nothing appeased, but much more increased, and with high words departed, the King vnto *Canterbury*, and they againe to *Warwicke*.

The King and the Lords meet at *London*.

An. D. 1470. A commotion in *Lincolneshire*.

(39) The stout Earle, whose stomacke must haue vent, otherwise the Caske must needs breake, caused new stirres to be raised in *Lincolneshire*, vnder the leading of *Sir Robert Wels*, an expert souldier, and sonne of the Lord *Wels*, who with thirty thousand Commons disturbed the Countrey, and in euery place proclaimed King *Henrie*; setting downe his battell not farre from *Stamford*, meaning to abide the encounter of his opposers; which when the King heard of, he sent for the Lord *Wels* his father, commanding him to write to his sonne to surcease the Warres, and so marching towards *Stamford* tooke *Wels* in his company, with a good hope that the sonne would not beare Armes against his owne father in field; but howsoeuer he had writ, or the King conceiued, *Sir Robert* went on in his former designes, which so sore moued *Edward*, that he beheaded Lord *Wels* with *Sir Thomas Dimocke* that had married his daughter, although hee had giuen them promise of safety and life.

The Lord *Wels* and *Sir Thomas Dimocke* beheaded.

(40) Young *Wels* then hearing of his Fathers death, sought the reuenge vpon this vntrusty Prince, and not staying for *Warwicke*, who was in preparing to come, set manfully vpon the King and his power, where betwixt them was performed a most bloudy fight, till at last *Sir Robert* was taken, with *Sir Thomas Deland*, and others, whereat the *Lincolnshire* men were so terrified, that casting off their Coates, they all ranne away, in regard whereof this battell to this day is called, *the battell of Loscoat-field*, wherein were slaine ten thousand men at the least: after which victory the King commanded *Wels*, with many other of note to be put to death, as the cheife causers of these dangerous Commotions.

The battell at *Stamford*.

Sir *Robert Wels* taken.

Loscoat-field.

Sir *Robert Wels* put to death.

(41) This vntimely conflict and vnfortunate ouer-throw, made *Clarence* and *Warwicke*, at their wits end, who vnprouided to field against *Edward*, gaue way to necessity, and from *Dartmouth* in *Deuonshire* embarked themselues and wiues for *France*, both to instigate King *Lewis*, no friend vnto *Edward*, and to secure themselues in *Callis* (whereof *Warwicke* was Captaine) till fortune had changed the hand of her play. These, crossing the Seas, cast Anchor before the Towne of *Callis*, and gaue notice they were ready to land, but the Lord *Vawclere* a *Gascoigne*, whom *Warwicke* had substituted his Deputy, discharged diuers peeces of Ordnance against them, and sent word flatly they should not come there: meane-while the Dutchesse of *Clarence* fell in trauell, and was there on Shippe-board deliuered of a faire Sonne, which Child the Earles deputy would scarcely suffer to be baptized in the Towne, nor without great entreaty permit two flagons of wine to be conueyed aboard to the Ladies lying in the hauen. For which his good seruice, King *Edward* by his letters Patents made *Vawclere* chiefe Captaine of *Callis*, and discharged the Earle, as a Traitour or Rebell against him.

Warwicke and *Clarence* flee into *France*.

Phil. Comines lib. 3. cap. 4.

The Dutchesse of *Clarence* deliuered of a son vpon shipboard.

(42) *Charles* Duke of *Burgundy*, being then at S. *Omers*, owing Earle *Warwick* an old grudge for gainestanding his marriage, thought now a fit time to requite the discourtesie; and therefore sent many thankes vnto *Vawclere*, with promise of a thousand Crownes pension by yeare, if he stood firme for his Wiues brother King *Edward*, himselfe laying the Coast to impeach his arriuage. But how *Mounsieur Vawclere* stood affected, whatsoeuer shew hee made, *Comines* the French kings Historian doth tel, who sent *Warwicke* word of the danger he stood in, of the said Duke, and of *Duras* the Kings *Admirall*, so as to land would be his finall confusion: His counsell therefore was that he should make into *France*, vnto whose King he should be most welcome; and as for the Town of *Callis*, he willed him to take no thought, but promised to make him a good reckoning thereof, when time should best serue. Whereupon the Earle wayed anchor for *Normandy*, and in his way tooke many rich Ships of the Duke of *Burgundies* Subiects, which netled him not a little, but yet found no docke to rub out the smart.

The Duke of *Burgundy* bends himselfe against Earle *Warwicke*.

The double dealings of *Vawclere*.

Earle *Warwicke* saileth into *Normandy*.

(43) King *Lewis* hearing of the arriuage of *Warwicke*, and knowing his troubles to arise for his Ambassage to *Bona*, and faith vnto *France*, sent certaine Princes to conduct him to the Castell of *Amboys*, where a supply was made against all necessities, and himselfe and traine most honourably intertained, whereat the Duke of *Burgundy* sore repined, and sent *Lewis* word that he disliked his doings, with threats of reuenge, if he ayded him against his wiues brother. This, notwithstanding the French king gaue all comforts to these fugitiues, and prepared his assistance for their restorations, and the raising againe of godly King *Henry*.

King *Lewis* relieueth *Warwicke*.

Burgundy offended with *Lewis* for relieuing his enemy.

(44) Queene *Margaret* hauing fled *England* and soiourning in *France* with her Father *Renate*, (a King in name, but scarcely able to beare the State of an Earle) saw now the Iron hot, and ready to be strucke, therefore with her Sonne Prince *Edward*, *Iohn* Earle of *Oxford*, and *Iasper* Earle of *Pembroke* (who lately had escaped out of prison in *England*) came vnto *Amboyse*, where by meanes of the French King a combination of Alliance was confirmed betwixt the Prince of *Wales*, young *Edward*, and *Anne* the second daughter to the Earle of *Warwicke*, then present with her Mother and Sister in *France*. That King *Henry* should be againe restored, the *Duke of Clarence*, and the Earle tooke a solemne Oath neuer to desist whiles they had power, and in the nonage of the Prince they ioyntly were to be deputed his Protectors, and the lands sole Gouernors.

Renate of great stile and small power.

A marriage concluded betwixt Prince *Edward* and *Anne* daughter of Earle *Warwicke*.

(45) *Edward* in *England* hearing what *Queene Margaret*, his brother *Clarence*, & stout *Warwicke* in the French Court had done, was struck into a sodaine dumpe, being as doubtfull of friends, as fearefull of foes, and therefore such as were alied to the *Lancastrians*, or fauorites of the down-cast K. *Henry*, he began somewhat roughly to deale with: many therefore that were guilty daily tooke Sanctuary, or yeelded themselues to his mercy, among whom *Iohn Marquesse Montacute* brother to *Warwicke* was one, who with fairest words of promises, was receiued into fauour, and vpon whose example many others came in, which notwithstanding meant to stand out if occasion should serue. But no busier was *Edward* to keepe the Crowne on his head, then these Lords in *France* were resolute to strike it off: in middest of whose consultations behold how it happened.

King *Edward* driuen into his dumps.

Marquesse Montacute is taken into King *Edwards* fauour.

(46) There came from *England* to *Callis* a damsell belonging (as she said) to the Dutchesse of *Clarence*, who signified vnto *Monsieur Vawclere* that shee came from King *Edward* with a declaration of peace, which hee fearing to impart the conditions to other, had made her the instrument, the better to passe without any suspect, and hee glad to heare for the Earles sake (whom he entirely affected) gaue her his safe conduct vnto the Duke of *Clarence* then at *Amboys*; where hauing priuate accesse vnto him, shee told, that it was neither naturall nor honourable for him to take part against the house of *Yorke*; that

A maid Ambassador vnto the Duke of *Clarence*.

The conference of the damsell with the Duke of *Clarence*.

that the houſe of *Lancaſter* was not onely by the whole Court of Parliament debarred to be the indubitate Heire of the Kingdome, but that King *Henrie* himſelfe had diſcharged his Iſſue from claime, as it ſtandeth (ſaid ſhe) vpon Record to be ſeene, contrary to which, as he might well perceiue this marriage of Prince *Edward* with the Earles daughter, did onely aime and intend to the vtter extinct of the Houſe of *Yorke*, whereof himſelfe was one, and in neere poſſibility of the Crowne, *Edwards* Iſſue young, and not many, and the King very wanton, a ſinne commonly puniſhed with want of poſterity, which if it ſo chanced, then hee, or his were the next. Theſe reaſons wayed, ſo ouer-wayed the Dukes further deſignes, that hee promiſed thereafter a more brother-like affection, as (ſaid hee) *Edward* ſhould finde; with which good newes ſhe returned into *England*, *Warwicke* vtterly ignorant what was ſaid or done.

The Duke of *Clarence* inclineth to his brother.

(47) All now in a readineſſe for the returne, ſhips, money and men ſupplied by the French King, the Admirall of *France* was ſent to ſecure them from the Duke of *Burgundies* Fleet, which with an extraordinary number and power lay in the mouth of *Seyne*, to fight with *Warwicke* when he ſhould looſe out of Harbour: but ſee how the Heauens fatoured, and frowned vpon the parties, for the night before they ſhould hoyſe ſaile, ſuch a ſtormy tempeſt tooke the Dukes Fleete, lying more remote from the Lee, that they were ſcattered aſunder, ſome into *Scotland*, ſome into *Denmarke*, and many of them drowned. But the Seas calmed, and the winde ſeruing faire, the Engliſh ſet ſaile and landed at *Dartmouth*, whence they had ſhipped into *France* almoſt ſixe moneths before.

Warwicke and *Clarence* returne into *England*.

Septemb. 13. *An. Reg. 10.*

(48) King *Edward* relying vpon *Burgundy* abroad, and thinking all friends who fawned at home, gaue himſelfe daily to follow the Hound and the Hawke, and nightly to his Court-pleaſures in dancings and daliances with damſels, little minding their approach that meant to marre his mirth; for *Warwicke* now landed, proclaimed King *Henry*, commanding all from ſixteene to ſixty, vpon a great penalty to take Armes againſt *Edward* Duke of *Yorke*, the moſt vniuſt vſurper of *Henries* rightfull Crowne, and vncredible it was, to ſee the confluence of them which came armed to him, who ere-while applauded and approued none but King *Edward*. Thus making towards *London*, his company daily encreaſed; which the youthfull King ſeemed little to regard, but verily ſuppoſing hee had now *Warwicke* in his trappe, wrote to *Burgundy* to ſecure the Seas, leſt he ſhould eſcape againe into *France*, and to his Lords of *England*, to attend him in his wars; but very many neglected his commaund, and few or none made their repaire. Which when *Edward* perceiued, hee was ſtrucke into a great feare, and with his brother of *Gloceſter*, the Lord *Haſtings* his Chamberlaine, and the Lord *Scales* the Queenes brother, hee haſted towards *Nottingham*, there to determine what was to be done.

King *Edwards* ſecurity.

Earle *Warwicke* in the Weſt proclaimeth King *Henry*.

K. *Edwards* opinion touching *Warwickes* approach.

(49) In the mean-while the baſtard *Fawconbridge* in the Weſt, and the Earle of *Pembroke* in *Wales*, euery where proclaimed King *Henry*; and to forward the matter, D. *Godard* preaching at *Pauls-Croſſe* declared by reading of Billes, and diuers other proofes, that King *Henry* was the vndoubted and true heire vnto the Engliſh Crowne. Neither is the L. *Montacute* now the man that he was, who hauing muſtered ſixe thouſand, in the name of King *Edward*, and brought them forward almoſt to *Nottingham*, on the ſodaine drew backe his forces, alleadging that *Edward* was vngratefull, and regardles of his friends, as himſelfe ſaid, himſelfe was the example, who hauing ſerued him in many bloudy battels, was rewarded with a verball word *Marqueſſe*, without any maintenance at all, no not ſo much as Pyes poore neſt: and therefore hee had iuſt cauſe neuer to draw his Sword in his quarrell any more, and them that did, he aſſured them ſhould receiue the like reward in the end.

Sunday after *Michaelmas*. *Stowes Annals*. Doctor *Godards* Sermon.

Marqueſſe *Montacute* reuolteth from K. *Edward*.

(50) Theſe, with the like diſtaſtures, diuulged among the rude multitude, it was a world to ſee the face of this new World, for in euery ſtreet Bonfires were made, in euery Church Bels rung, Ditties were ſung at euery meeting, & euery man cryed King *Henrie*, King *Henrie*, whoſe *Eccho* likewiſe redoubled, a *Warwicke*, a *Warwicke*, and indeed all ſo applauded the paſſage now on foote, as King *Edward* hearing the rumor, thought it not ſafe any longer to ſtay, and therefore with thoſe truſty Lords and ſome others, hee fled from his hoaſt beſides *Nottingham*, paſſing the Waſhes towards *Lynne*, with greater difficulties then was befitting a Prince to aduenture; and thus without any order taken for his Realme, in two Hulkes of *Holland*, and one Engliſh ſhippe, deſtitute of all neceſſary prouiſions, ſet ſaile toward *Burgundy*, and in the way was encountred by the Eaſterlings, *Englands* great Enemies, hauing much adoe to cleare himſelfe from their ſurpriſe.

How vncertaine it is to ſtay on the multitude.

K. *Edward* is forced to flee *England*. October 3.

Edward in danger of taking on the Sea.

(51) In theſe times of miſerie the Queene (whoſe marriage was the onely cauſe of all theſe ſtirres) vpon the firſt of October had ſtolne out of the Tower, and taken Sanctuary at *Weſtminſter*, where like a woman forſaken ſhee ſolitarily remained, and on the fourth of Nouember following was deliuered of a Sonne, which without all pompe, more like a priuate mans Childe then a Prince, was there alſo baptized by the name of *Edward*, who after his fathers death, a while was King of *England*, as ſhall be ſaid; other Sanctuaries were full of King *Edwards* friends, that prayed deuoutly for his proſperous health, and well hoped the world would againe turne, as ſhortly it did. One King thus fled, and the other in priſon, the Kentiſh, whoſe conditions are multable at the change of Princes, came to ſeeke prey in *London*, where they knew it was to be had: *Ratcliffe*, S. *Katherines*, and *Southwarke* they robbed, and within the Cittie did ſome hurt beſides, yea, and ſurely more had done, had not Earle *Warwicke* in good time come to the reſcue, which encreaſed his name, that was great enough before.

Queene *Elizabeth* tooke Sanctuary in *Weſtminſter*.

Prince *Edward* borne in the Sanctuary.

The Kentiſh Commotioners doe much hurt about *London*.

(52) Earle *Warwicke* accompanied with his brother the Archbiſhoppe of *Yorke*, the Prior of Saint *Johns*, the Duke of *Clarence*, the Earle of *Shrewsburie*, Baſtard *Fawconbridge*, Lord *Stanley*, and other Gentlemen, ſome for loue, ſome for feare, and ſome to gaze at this wauering World, vpon the ſixt of October entred the Tower of *London*, wherein King *Henrie* had beene retained priſoner almoſt the ſpace of nine yeares, and there againe elected him for their lawfull King, and forthwith conuayed him, roabed in a long blew Veluet gowne, through *London* vnto the Biſhoppes Pallace, where a pompous Court was kept vntill the thirteenth of the ſame moneth, vpon which day hee went in proceſſion crowned to the Cathedrall Church of S. *Paul*, the Earle of *Warwicke* bearing his traine, and the Earle of *Oxford* the ſword, the people on euery ſide crying, God ſaue King *Henrie*.

John Fortеſcue.

The States take King *Henry* out of the Tower.

King *Henry* again reſtored, goeth crowned to *Paul's*.

(53) Thus farre proceeded, and *Henrie* re-eſtabliſhed, a Parliament was begunne at *Weſtminſter* the ſixe and twentieth day of Nouember following, wherein King *Edward* was declared a Traitor to his Country, an vſurper of the Crowne, and all his goods confiſcated; the like iudgement paſſed againſt all his partakers; wherein alſo it was enacted, that all ſuch perſons as had taken Armes in his quarrell, ſhould be ſeuerely puniſhed; among whom, *Iohn Typtoft* Earle of *Worceſter*, King *Edwards* Lieutenant in *Ireland* was attainted, who being found hid in the top of a tree in the Forreſt of *Waybridge*, not farre from *Huntington*, was brought to *London*, and vpon Tower-hill beheaded. Moreouer, all Statutes made by King *Edward* were clearely reuoked, abrogated, and made fruſtrate: the Crownes of *England* and *France* entayled to King *Henrie*, and the Heires-male lawfully begot of his body, and for the

King *Edward* debarred from gouernment by Parliament. The Parliament Rowle.

John Typtoft Earle of *Worceſter* beheaded.

The Crownes of *England* and *France* entailed to King *Henry*.

George Duke of *Clarence* entailed to the Crowne.

Earles reſtored.

Earle *Warwicke* made gouernour of the Realme.

Queene *Margaret* hindered by tempeſt to come into *England*.

The Duke of *Burgundy* perplexed.

Phil. Com. lib. 3.

Earle of *Warwicke* eſteeme in *Callis*.

King *Edward* coueteth aide of his brother the Duke of *Burgundy*.

The Duke of *Sommerſet* diſſwadeth *Burgundy* to aid K. *Edward*.

want of ſuch heires vnto *George* Duke of *Clarence*, and his heire-males lawfully produced, and the ſaid Duke to be the next heire to his father *Richard* Duke of *Yorke*, diſabling his elder brother *Edward*, by the vertue of his Atteindor; and *Iaſper* Earle of *Pembroke*, *Iohn* Earle of *Oxford* with other, attainted by the vſurper *Edward*, to be reſtored in bloud, dignities, and ancient poſſeſſions; and finally, Earle *Warwicke* the good Common-wealths man, made Gouernour of the Realme in theſe turbulent times, vnto whom was aſſociated *George* Duke of *Clarence*, this great Earles ſonne in Law, and *Warwickes* brother *Montacute* vpon his ſubmiſſion obtained his pardon, which was the eaſilier gotten for his ſeruice at *Nottingham*.

(54) Queene *Margaret* appointed to follow into *England*, if fortune did fauour theſe great Lords ſucceſſe, now hearing of the faire Sun-ſhine, wherein her Husband King *Henry* was ſet, amidſt the ſtormie winter blaſts, which the ſeaſon afforded, with Prince *Edward* her ſonne, ſet ſaile from *France*, towards that wiſhed and temperate climate, where the ſpring of new Regality beganne to bud forth, but was met with ſuch tempeſt and ſtorming ſeas, as ſhee was forced to returne, and deferre her iourney vntill another time, to her great griefe and ſore diſcontent. In like perplexity was the Burgundian Duke, who neither durſt giue *Edward* his outward aſſiſtance (the *French* and *VVarwicke* being ſo mighty oppoſites) nor leaue him in diſtreſſe, leſt the ſparkes of diſcontent ſhould flie from the eyes of his faire wife, and therefore to know whether *Vawclere* the Gouernour of *Callis* ſtood reſolute for him, according to Couenants, hee ſecretly ſent *Philip Comines* the hony-mouth Hiſtorian, to drop ſome of his ſweet eloquence into his gold-thirſting eare.

(55) *Comines* comming to *Callis*, and obſeruing the ſequence for which he was ſent, ſaw euery man weare the Earle of *Warwicks* badge, for no head could bee gallant that was not adorned with his ragged ſtaffe, nor no dore frequented that was not painted with his white Croſſe. Inſomuch that *Vawclere* himſelfe had a Iewell in his Hatte, wherein was a white ragged ſtaffe, embroidered with gold, and others his followers the like wrought in ſilke, gold, and ſiluer; and to ſtampe the print deeper, a liking report was brought to the towne, that *Warwicke* had prepared foure thouſand valiant men to warre vpon the frontiers of *Burgundy*. But *Comines* in conference ſo wrought with the Councell, and they againe with Earle *VVarwicke*, as he was contented to leaue off the enterpriſe, Duke *Charles* promiſing to ſide with K. *Henrie*.

(56) King *Edward* hearing what his brother of *Burgundy* had done, and being daily ſolicited from his friends in *England*, thought it no policy long to delay, leſt *Henry* ſhould take growth to a bigger ſteame; and therefore repairing to his brother in the towne of Saint *Paul*, required his ayde, as the onely man on whom hee relied, aſwell for the bond of alliance in the marriage of his ſiſter, as alſo in regard of the orders which they both ware, the King that of his, which was the golden Fleece; and the Duke the Gartar and Roabe of Saint *George*. In the Court of *Burgundy* at that time lay *Edmund* Duke of *Sommerſet*, coſen-germane remoued vnto Duke *Charles*, a great enemy againſt the houſe of *Yorke*, and now ſet himſelfe to thwart King *Edwards* ſuite, alleadging, that it was more honourable for the Duke of *Burgundy* to ſide with the *Lancaſtrians*, from whom he was deſcended by his Grand-mother the daughter of *Iohn* of *Gaunt*: as alſo in the vprightneſſe of King *Henries* title, held good in her brother, & his Grand-father, and in her Nephew his father without all exceptions.

(57) The Duke perplexed betweene theſe great ſupplicants, did then, as many doe now, ſpeake much, and meane nothing leſſe, or elſe ſay little, and meane to doe much. To *Sommerſet*, for *Henry*, he outwardly promiſed all helpe and aſſiſtance, but neuer gaue the leaſt, and to *Edward* no comfortable words of ſupply, and yet vnderhand hee hyred him Shippes, furniſhed him with munition, and lent him fifty thouſand Florences in money. And now the ſeaſon ſeruing for warre, King *Edward* with two thouſand ſtrong beſides his Mariners made ouer for *England*, attempting to take land in *Norfolke*; but thoſe coaſts guarded, hee waffed more Northward; and entring *Humber*, landed at *Rauenſpur* in *Yorkeſhire*, when laying aſide all claime to the Crowne, and pretending nothing but his Dutchy of *Yorke*, he ſhewed the rude multitude the Letters and ſeale of the Earle of *Northumberland*, which as he affirmed, and made them beleeue was ſent for his ſafe conduct to enioy the ſame, and in euery place where he came proclaimed King *Henry* himſelfe, wearing an Eſtrich Feather, which was Prince *Edwards* Liuery, and paſſing to *Yorke* in no other ſhew then a Subiect, his oath firſt taken to be true to King *Henry*, entred the City, which preſently hee ſurpriſed and aſſumed to himſelfe.

Burgundie temporizeth with his ſuites.

K. *Edward* paſſeth into *England*, pretending no more then to be Duke of *York*.

Ann. 1471. March. 14.

King Edward ſtraines his oath to winne the Citie of *Yorke*.

(58) Earle *Warwicke* now hearing that *Edward* was landed, before he had marched very farre in the maine, ſent ſtrait charge to his brother the Marqueſſe *Montacute* then reſiding at *Pomfret* (with a ſufficient Army to ſecure thoſe parts) that hee ſhould not ſuffer his acceſſe vnto *Yorke*, leſt he grew more potent, then was to bee wiſhed; himſelfe making ready with all poſſible ſpeed to repaire into thoſe parts; but whether the Marqueſſe purpoſely winked, or elſe (and that rather) would not ſee at all, hee made no great haſt to fore-lay his way to *Yorke*, neither ſought to empeach the paſſage: when *Edward* from thence marched in a more hoſtile manner towards *Nottingham*; taking his way not farre from *Pomfret*, and as it were through the middeſt of his enemies; which encouraged many to fauour his deſignes, holding that *Montacute* was either a friend, or afraide to deale againſt ſo powerfull an enemy.

Earle *Warwicke* writes to his brother Marqueſſe to impeach *King Edwards* paſſage.

(55) The White Roſe thus bloomed, and the red falling his leafe, all tooke the time of this pleaſant ſpring, and flocked to *Edward* as to their *Aprill* Sun, who now more able, and therefore more bold, made forward towards *Leiceſter*, where the Earles of *Warwicke* and *Oxford* with a great power were, but becauſe *Clarence* was abſent, they let *Edward* hold on without any encounter, whoſe traine as hee paſſed was like to a riuer that in the running is euer encreaſed with new ſprings, which *VVarwicke* perceiuing, thought it more then time to giue battell, well knowing that his brothers forbearance had giuen him that head. And to that end ſent vnto *Clarence*, then about *London* in leuying of men, but hee ſomewhat too backeward, and *VVarwicke* too forward, tooke into the City *Couentrie*, meaning from thence to ſet on the enemy. But *Edward*, whoſe ſtar had now paſt the darke threatning cloud, pitched his tents neere vnto that Citie in a plaine field, and valiantly bad the Earle come to battell. But hee then miſtruſting (as in truth he had cauſe) that the boldneſſe of *Edward* was backt by a *Clarence*, kept cloſe within the Wals, with a purpoſe to ſee how the world would goe.

K. *Edwards* Army encreaſed.

Iohn Stow.

Warwicke ryeth into the City *Couentry*. March. 29.

K. *Edward* challengeth Earle *Warwicke* to fight.

(60) *Edward* loth to looſe time about one Cities ſiege, raiſed his Campe, and haſted forward toward *VVarwicke*, vnto which Towne likewiſe his brother *Clarence*, with foure thouſand ſtrong was on march: Theſe meeting vpon a plaine, three miles from the Towne, ſet their battels in Aray, as if they meant to haue fought, but the *King*, his brother *Gloceſter*, Lord *Riuers*, *Haſtings*, and others, without any gard made towards *Clarence*, which when he beheld, himſelfe accompanied with ſome of eſtate, encountred his brother with a louing countenance and friendly cheare, ſo as no ſparke of hatred was perceiued betwixt them, but with all brotherly affections entred into amity and peace, which afterwards proued the confuſion of the Duke. *Clarence* thus got, ſought to

K. *Edward* drawe-eth towards *London*.

K. *Edward* and his brother *Clarence* meet and are reconciled.

Clarence ſeeketh to draw *Warwicke* vnto K. *Edward*.

to draw *VVarwicke* into the ſame traine, to which end he ſent certaine meſſengers vnto him; firſt to excuſe his owne fact, as too vnnaturall for him to vnſheath his ſword againſt his owne brother, as alſo he ſought to ſtay the effuſion of *Engliſh* bloud, which in theſe quarrels lay ready to be ſhed: His peace with *Edward* he promiſed to worke, and that with ſuch honour as *Warwicke* ſhould know himſelfe not onely a father to *Clarence*, but likewiſe vnto *Edward*, great *Englands* King. Vnto all which motion *VVarwicke* gaue eare only, with this reply, *Goe tell your Duke* (ſaid he) *that I had rather be an Earle, and alwaies like my ſelfe, then a falſe and perjured Duke, and that ere my oath ſhall be falſified (as his apparantly is) I will lay downe my life at my enemies foote; which I doubt not but ſhall be bought very deere.*

The words of *Warwicke* in anſwere to *Clarence*.

K. *Edward* marcheth forward.

(61) This ſtout reſolution made *Edward* more warie, and therefore to obtaine *London*, the only key that opened the doore to the Crowne, he haſted thitherward, whoſe Citizens hearing of the increaſe of his hoſt, and waying that *Henrie* was but a milke-ſop to him, thought it moſt ſafety to ſayle with the faireſt winde, and therefore ſet open their Gates, and with publique applaud cryed, King *Edward*. Which when the *Duke of Sommerſet* with others, left to attend the innocent King *Henry*, heard, they fled for their liues; and left him in the Biſhops Palace at *London*, where his Competitor King *Edward* tooke him, and ſent him againe priſoner to the Tower. With ſo many windes are the ſailes of their ſhips filled, which ſeeke the Port of their ſafety by the affections of the people: for euen the ſame day had *Henrie* beene carryed through the Citie (as it were) in triumph, and had heard the ſhouts of the Commons in euery ſtreete crying; *God ſaue King Henrie*.

London receiueth King *Edward*.

K. *Henry* againe taken, and ſent to the Tower of *London*.

Edw. Hall.

(62) But Earle *VVarwicke* hearing how things went in *London*, and now fully conceiuing that the hazard of Battell muſt determine either with, or againſt him, being come to Saint *Albans*, fell into a deepe conſideration what was to be done: His aſſiſtants were *Iohn Duke of Exceſter*, the *Earles of Oxford* and *Sommerſet*, and *Marqueſſe Montacute* his Brother, whom notwithſtanding he did not greatly truſt, being alwaies too-fauourable to the contrary Faction. Theſe in Counſell held it beſt pollicie to follow the Enemie, and before the body grew too-great, to lop off the branches, leſt they ſhould ſhaddow their Sun-ſhine too farre. In which reſolution, they haſted forward, and came vnto *Barnet*, with a full purpoſe to recouer *London*: but *Edward* well knowing the ſtate of the City vnfurniſhed for ſiege, and ready to take ſtampe of any impreſſe, meant not to be pent within thoſe weake wals; and therefore taking with him vnfortunate *Henry*, leſt any confederacy ſhould be made in his abſence, he marched with all poſſible haſt, to encounter his oppoſites, before they came too-farre, and vpon *Gladmore* neere vnto *Barnet* ſet downe his Tents cloſe to the enemy, the eue of *Chriſts* reſurrection, ſo careleſſe is *Mars* of diuine celebrations, that the holieſt Feaſt is prophaned, when his Sword is drawne.

Earle Warwicke commeth to S. *Albans*.

K. *Edward* carrieth *King Henry* with him to battell.

(63) The next day being the Paſchall whereon *Chriſt* roſe from death, which with due reuerence is celebrated in all the Chriſtian World, theſe Engliſh contenders for a terreſtriall Crowne, with Irefull hearts and hands as ready, made ready to digge each others graues: for at breake of day *Warwicke* began to Marſhall his Army, which he diuided into three Battalions: The right Wing was led by the *Marqueſſe* his brother, with the *Earle of Oxford*, conſiſting chiefly of Horſe-men, himſelfe with the *Duke of Exceſter* led the left; and the maine battell was commanded by *Edmund Duke of Sommerſet*, which was ſupplied for the moſt part with Archers. K. *Edward* likewiſe ordered his men. The fore-ward was led by *Richard Duke of Glouceſter* his brother, a good ſouldier and ſufficient for aduiſe, the middle by himſelfe, and his brother *Clarence*, hauing King *Henry* in their company; And the Rere-ward was commanded by the Lord *Haſtings*, euer moſt firme for the Houſe of *Yorke*, reſeruing a freſh ſupply, when occaſion ſhould ſerue.

Aprill 14.

Barnet-Field fought vpon *Eaſter*-day.

The ordering of the battels.

(64) The Battels joyned, were manfully maintayned by the proweſſe of *Oxford*, vpon that part of the Kings, againſt which he fought, which with great violence he forced backe, ſo that many of them fled to *London*, bringing newes that with *Warwicke* went the day: and ſurely in great forwardneſſe it was, had not fortune thwarted it by an vnexpected chance: for the day being foggy, and ouer-caſt with Miſts, hindred their eyes of any farre ſight, ſo as the ſtarres embroidered vpon the *Earle of Oxfords* mens Coats, were miſtaken for the Sunne, which King *Edwards* men wore, in which errour *Warwickes* Battell let flie at their owne fellowes, who were in great forwardneſſe to haue wonne the day, and they not knowing the cauſe of the error cried, *treaſon, treaſon, we are all betraid*. Whereupon the Earle of *Oxford* with eight hundred fled the Field, leauing the chance to be caſt for the Crowne; which when *Warwicke* perceiued, with words like a Souldier, he incouraged his men, and ſeeing the freſh ſupply of his enemy draw now vnto fight, he furiouſly ruſhed into the midſt of their Battell, wherein he aduentured ſo far as he could not be reſcued, but valiantly fighting was ſtrucke downe, and among them ſlaine, hauing re-paid his danger with many a wound. The *Marqueſſe Montacute* made forward to ſecond his Brother, (who till then had beene the *Mars* and *Make-King* of *England*) but was ſo ouer-laid by his oppoſites, that they ſent his Soule likewiſe from his body, whereby was ended that bloudy daies taske.

John Stow. A miſtaking of the Souldiers, which was the loſſe of the field.

Great *Warwicke* ſlaine in fight.

Marqueſſe Montacute ſlaine in battell.

(65) In this Battell vpon King *Edwards* part, died, the *Lord Cromwel*, the Lord *Bourcher*, the Lord *Barnes*, ſonne and heire to the Lord *Say*, and *Sir Iohn Liſle* Knight: In the quarrell of *Henry* died *Richard Neuill Earle of Warwicke*, and *Iohn Neuill Marqueſſe Montacute* his brother, and vpon both ſides of common Souldiers (ſaith *Hall*) ten thouſand, *Stow* ſaith foure thouſand, and *Fabian* farre leſſe: all which were buried vpon the ſame Plaine; where afterwards a Chappell was built: the Duke of *Exceſter* being left for dead in the field, recouered, and tooke Sanctuary at *Weſtminſter*. *Edmund* Duke of *Sommerſet*, & *Iohn Earle of Oxford* eſcaped the field, and fled into *Wales*, where with *Iaſper* Earle of *Pembrooke* they ſtill plotted to ſet vp King *Henry*, whom God and deſtinie would haue to be caſt downe.

Nobles and others ſlaine at *Barnet-field*.

Edw. Hall. Iohn Stow. Rob. Fabian ſaith 1500.

The Duke of *Sommerſet*, and the Earle of *Oxford*, fled into *Wales*.

(66) The ſame King *Edward* vpon the ſame day as an abſolute Conquerour, lead the vnfortunate *Henry*, his Captiue, to *London*, and entring the City in triumph-wiſe, offered his royall Standard in the Cathedrall Church of *Saint Paul*, whither the ſlaine bodies of *VVarwicke* and *Montacute* in two Coffins were brought, and lay there bare-faced, and vnburied the ſpace of three dayes, leſt a falſe Brute ſhould be made that they were not dead. After which they were conueyed to *Bilſam Abbey*, and interred in that Priory among their Anceſtors.

Rich. Graſton.

Edward triumpheth, & offreth his banner in S. *Pauls*.

(67) *Edwards* affaires thus farre proſper ed t *London*, the windes that had croſſed *Queene Margaret* before, came fauourably about to fill her Sailes for *England*, & indeed to accompliſh the decree, which Heauen had appointed: ſhe with her ſonne Prince *Edward* and their *French* followers landed vpon Eaſter-eue at *Weymouth*, and the Counteſſe of *Warwick* at *Porteſmouth*, who hearing the ſorrowfull newes of her Husbands death, tooke Sanctuary within the Abbey of *Beaulieu*. And *Queene Margaret* vnderſtanding of the loſſe of *Barnet-field*, with-drew aſide to the *Abbey of Ceerne*, vnto whom preſently reſorted *Edmund Duke of Sommerſet*, with *Lord Iohn* his Brother; *Iohn Courtney* Earle of *Deuonſhire*, *Iaſper* Earle of *Pembrooke*, *Iohn Lord Wenlock*, and *Iohn Longſtrother* Prior of *Saint Iohns*.

Queene *Margaret*, with Prince *Edward*, landed at *Weymouth*.

The Lords comfort Queene *Margaret*.

(68) Theſe, with many words of hope, comforted the ſorrowfull Queene, and proffered her their aſſiſtance

assistance to erect Prince *Edward* her sonne, though it were done with the losse of their owne liues, requiring her onely to vndertake the authority of the war, and themselues would vndergoe the charge and burthen thereof, by whose valour and power, they doubted not to daunt the pride of the vsurping *Edward*; who now held himselfe sure, and began to grow careless. To these their resolutions the warlike Queene most gladly consented, and gaue all encouragements vnto them she could; when falling in counsell how to proceede, her care (according to the naturall affection of a Mother) was most vpon the safetie and life of her sonne: and therefore aswell for their owne parts (if fortune should faile in this their first attempt) as for the feare which the *Yorkist* would possesse (who whiles Prince *Edward* his corriuall liued, could not account the Diademe his Bride) shee thought it best to send him backe againe into *France*, till GOD had set the Crowne where it should stand: whence he might supply them with new forces, or at least-wise ouer-awe *Edward* for tyrannizing too farre. But the Lords contrary-wise alledged, that Prince *Edward* being the morning-Sunne of the Lancastrians hopes, and the rayes very splendent to most English eyes, was to be present in field himselfe, whose sight would both heat the courage of his own Souldiers, and attract the glance of his aduersaries hearts, eyther to fight faintly, or else, and that rather, to come to his side. Thus their counsell at that time preuailed; and thus resolued, euery man departed to make ready his power, the Queene with her *French* repayring to *Bathe*.

Queene *Margarets* care for Prince *Edward* her sonne.

The opinions of the Lords.

(69) But *Edward* in *London* had not sat two daies in rest, before he heard of Queene *Margarets* arriuage, and the confluence of people out of *Cornewall*, *Deuonshire*, and of the Westerne parts, which hourely flew to giue her assistance; wherefore committing to the Tower King *Henry*, and *George* Archbishop of *Yorke*, with a selected company, he marched to meet them, intending to cut off many springs before they should joyne to the body of a Riuer, whose streame without danger could not be passed: therefore from *Windsor*, *Abington*, *Chichester*, and *Malmesbury* he proceeded; seeking and vrging his enemies to battel: but the Queene and her forces fearing to abide in *Bathe*, remoued to *Bristow*, *Berkeley*, and *Gloucester*, & lastly at *Tewkesbury*, Duke *Sommerset*, her Generall, pitched downe his Tents, not staying the comming of the Earle of *Pembroke*: his battell he marshalled into three fights, whereof himselfe and his brother *Iohn* Lord *Sommerset* lead the foreward; the middle Battalion was commanded by *Edward* the young Prince, vnder the conduct of the Lords *Saint Iohn* and *Wenlocke*, and the Rereward gouerned by *Iohn Courtney* Earle of *Deuonshire*, a mortall enemy against the house of *Yorke*.

King Edward prepareth against *Queene Margaret*.

King Henry committed to the Tower of *London*.

The ordering of Queene *Margarets* battels.

(70) King *Edward*, who was come now within sight of his enemies, diuided likewise his Army into 3. Battalions, committing the Foreward vnto the guidance of his Brother *Richard* Duke of *Gloucester*, a good Souldier, and of a deepe reach and pollicy: the Main he vndertooke to gouerne himselfe, and the Rereward was commanded by the Lord *Hastings* his Chamberlaine. The field thus marshalled, and the signe of battell being giuen, a most bloudy fight began, the King had planted his Ordnance at most aduantage, which *Gloucester* frankly bestowed among the Dukes men, and they lodged betwixt ditches, bushes, and hedges, with their showers of arrowes galled *Gloucesters* followers, so as by his command his battell gaue backe, as though they would shrinke, which *Sommerset* no sooner perceiued, but that he came on, and ouercome with courage, came out of his strength, when by a certaine passage before-hand prouided, he came vnto the place where King *Edward* was embattelled, thinking verily that *Wenlocke* had followed at his backe, who as it seemed meant nothing lesse.

The ordering of *King Edwards* battels.

The battell at *Tewkesburie*.

(71) The aduantage espied, Duke *Richard* made good his retreat, and with fresh supplies of two hundred spears so charged *Sommerset*, as his battell was disordered, and put to fearefull flight, himselfe recouering the Middle-ward, found there the L. *Wenlocke* idle, whilest others were thus working for their liues, whom he most opprobriously reuiled in the termes of a Traitor, & with his battell-axe stroke his braines out of his head; when presently *Gloucester*, and after him the King entred the Trench, wherein all of the Queenes part went to wracke; for there were slaine in this battell on her side, *Iohn* L. *Sommerset*, *Iohn Courtney* Earle of *Deuonshire*, the Lord *Wenlocke* in manner as we haue said, Sir *Iohn Delues*, Sir *Edward Hampden*, Sir *Robert Whittingham*, and Sir *Iohn Lewkener*, with three thousand others besides.

This battell was fought vpon *Saturday* the 4. of May, the 11. of *King Edwards* raigne, and yeare of Christ, 1471.

L. *Wenlocke* slaine for not following *Sommerset*.

Lords slaine at *Tewkesbury*.

(72) Among them that fled, Prince *Edward* was one, whom Sir *Richard Crofts* apprehended before he got to *Tewkesbury*, but *Edmund* Duke of *Sommerset*, *Iohn Longstrother*, Prior of *Saint Iohns*, many Knights and Esquiers tooke Sanctuary in the Abbey, and other places of the towne, notwithstanding they were taken forth and arraigned before *Richard* Duke of *Gloucester*, who that day sat Constable of *England*, where they were condemned, & had iudgement of death, which they immediately suffered vpon a Scaffold set vp in the Towne. With these two Lords died twelue worthy Knights, besides others of inferiour degrees.

Prince *Edward* apprehended.

The Duke of *Sommerset* and others executed.

(73) Then was Proclamation made for the apprehension of Prince *Edward*, promising to his taker an annuity of an hundred pounds during his life, and if the Prince were liuing, his life to be spared: vpon which promises Sir *Richard Crofts* presented young *Edward* vnto the King, whom with a sterne countenance he a-while beheld, and as sternely demanded, how he durst so presumptuously with Banner displayed enter into his realme; whereunto the Prince made this reply; to recouer (said he) my Fathers Kingdomes and his most rightfull inheritance, possessed by his Father and Grand-father, and from him immediately belonging vnto mee; how darest thou then which art his subject, display thy colour against him thy Liege-Lord? which answere moued King *Edward* so much, as with his Gantlet he dashed the Prince on his mouth, whom *Richard* Duke of *Gloucester* with others of the Kings seruants most shamefully murthered, euen in his presence, and at his feet: whose body was buried without all solemnity among other poore and meane persons, in the Church of the Monastery of the Blacke-Fryers in *Tewkesburie*.

Prince *Edward* apprehended, and his answers.

Prince *Edward* most shamefully slaine.

(74) Queene *Margaret* in this fatall day of battell fled towards *Worcester*, and by the way tooke into a poore Religious House in that her present distresse: but three dayes after shee was apprehended and brought vnto *Worcester* to King *Edward*, who committed her to sure and strait keeping, in which City she a while remained. But sodain news brought him, that the Northern-men were in Armes, and meant to aduenture for her liberty, the Conquerour marched to *Couentrie*, and there made preparation further to proceed: which when these hot spirits perfectly vnderstood, their courages grew colder, and their weapons cast away, they came thronging to *Edward* to offer him subjection; yet the Lancastrians were not so minded, but rather intended once more to try whether fortune would afford them her smile.

Queene *Margaret* taken out of her Sanctuary.

The Northerne men submit vnto *King Edward*.

(75) A fit instrument they had to forward the enterprise, namely *Thomas Neuil*, bastard *Fawconbridge*, Son of L. *Fawconbridge* Earle of *Kent*, a great supporter of King *Edwards* Crowne: howbeit this Bastard being a man of a turbulent spirit, and forward for action, Earle *Warwicke* had made him his Admirall to keepe the narrow Seas, that none should haue way to strengthen King *Edward*, which his office he executed beyond his Commission, and became a taker of all Merchants goods, being ayded with 300. Male-contents from *Calis*.

Bastard *Fawconbridge* Captaine of the *Lancastrians*.

(76) His

Edw. Hall.

Fawconbridge aſſaileth London.

(76) His enterpriſe deſperate, and his name growne fearefull at Sea, he meant to make it no leſſe on the Land; for putting in at *Douer*, many miſgouerned and looſe perſons daily drew to him, ſo as his power grew to be ſeauenteene-thouſand ſtrong: with theſe through *Kent* he made his way towards *London*, meaning to doe much, the land ſo moleſted with inteſtine warres; and lodging his hoaſt on the South-ſide of *London*, commanded the Citizens to giue him acceſſe, that with King *Henry*, (whom he meant to releaſe from the Tower) he might paſſe through their ſtreetes, to meete and encounter the vſurping *Edward*. But the *Londoners* knowing the rudeneſſe of theſe Rake-hels, kept their gates ſhut, & guarded the ſame with ſufficient ſtrengths: whence ſome Lords of the royall-bloud therein reſiding, ſent vnto *Edward* of their preſent danger, who preſently ſent them fifteene hundred of his beſt Souldiers, after whom in perſon he warily marched, leading with him his priſoner Queene *Margaret*, whoſe bounds he well knew, gaue him the full ſcope of liberty.

The Citizens withſtood his entrance.

(77) *Fawconbridge* in the mean-while thirſting after ſpoyle with his Ships, ſecured the *Thameſis* aboue S^t. *Katherines*, purpoſing with his land-forces to paſſe the Riuer at *Kingſton*: but hearing that *Edward* was on his March, and fearing to be cut off from the benefit of his Ships, he altered his minde; when to open his way into *London*, he cauſed the Bridge to be fiered, and three thouſand of his men being ſet ouer *Thameſis* by his Ships, diuided themſelues into two Companies, the one aſſaying to enter at *Algate*, and the other at *Biſhops-gate*, both which they likewiſe ſet on fire, ſo that the Citie was in three places fired and aſſaulted at once, but with ſuch euill ſucceſſe to the aſſailants, that ſeauen-hundred were ſlaine, and the bold Baſtard driuen to his Ships.

Fawconbridge forced backe to his ſhips.

(78) Vpon the twentieth of May, the Conqueror *Edward*, with his captiue Queene *Margaret*, entred *London*, and ſo into the Tower, the one in pompe commanding the place at his pleaſure, the other in teares to remaine a moſt penſiue priſoner, where her husband, the down-caſt King *Henry* was kept in hard durance. The place being thus charged with the preſence of two Kings and their Queenes: the Crooke-backe of *Gloceſter* intended to cleare by taking him away that ſtood in his Brothers way, whoſe Succeſſor as is thought he then meant to be; and making his inward minde more deformed then were his outward Lineaments, without regard of bloud-defiled hands, ſtabbed the moſt innocent *Henry* to the heart with his Dagger, in which act at once began the ones happy reſt, and the others foule guilt, which accompanied his conſcience to the day of his death.

King Edward, with his Captiue Queene *Margaret*, enter *London*.

King Henry murthered in the Tower by *Richard* Duke of *Gloceſter*.

(79) The body of this murthered King was vpon the Aſcention-Eue layde in an open Coffin, and from the Tower guarded with many bils and glaues, was ſo carried through the ſtreetes vnto the Cathedrall Church of Saint *Paul*, where it reſted vncouered one day, and began to bleed againe afreſh, a ſorrowfull ſpectacle to moſt of the beholders, and thence was it carryed to the Blacke-Fryers Church, where it likewiſe lay bare-faced, and bled as before, all men being amazed at the ſorrowfull ſight; and laſtly, it was put into a Boat without Prieſt, Clarke, Torch, or Taper, ſinging or ſaying, and was ferried vnto the Abbey of *Chertſey* in *Surrey*, and there without pompe interred: But afterwards King *Henry* the ſeauenth tranſlated his body vnto his Caſtle of *Windſor*, where in a new Tombe at the entrance into the Chancell of the Chappell, and South-doore of the Quier, it was princely beſtowed, but ſince the Tombe is remoued, and where the Corps is now laide is not vulgarly knowne.

King Henry carried bare-faced through the ſtreetes of *London*.

Stowes Annals.

King Henry buried at *Chertſey*, and remoued to *Windſor*.

(80) Thus liued and thus died this innocent and juſt King, who had beene proclaimed in his Cradle, crowned in his Infancy, and againe at more age had the Emperiall Diademe of *France* ſet on his head, liuing vprightly, louing his Subjects, and raigning thirty eight yeares, was in that time toſſed with variable ſucceſſe, for twice he was impriſoned and depriued of his Crowne, betrayed, ſmitten, and wounded, and in all things became a worthy example of fortunes vnconſtancy. He was of ſtature very ſeemely, of body ſlender, of face beautifull, and by a naturall inclination abhorred all vice, farre from pride, giuen to prayer, well read in the Scriptures, vſing workes of Charity, and ſo chaſte, as no ſuſpition of incontinency could be conceyued in him: nay, ſo farre to the contrary, that when certaine Ladies preſented themſelues before him in a Maske, with their Haire looſe, and their Breaſts vncouered (he then a Bachelour, and able of marriage) hee immediatly roſe vp, and departed the preſence, ſaying; Fie, fie, forſooth yee are too blame. Oath he vſed none, but in weighty matters, his affirmation was forſooth, and forſooth; very mercifull to the poore, and ſo pittifull to Malefactors, as he commanded the quarters of Traitors to be taken downe from the Gates, and buried, and ſo farre from reuenge, that he willingly pardoned the greateſt offences againſt him; for a Ruffian intending his death, wounded him in the ſide with his Sword, what time he lay priſoner in the Tower, and being reſtored to his kingly eſtate, he freely forgaue the fact; and another like Ruffian ſtriking him on the face, he puniſhed with this only reprehenſion; *Forſooth you are to blame to ſtrike me your annointed King:* for theſe and his other patient vertues, King *Henry* the 7. aſſayed to haue him canonized a *Saint*, but Pope *Iulius* the 2. demanding too-great a ſumme, the King went no further in the ſuite: notwithſtanding, in the repute of the vulgar he was taken for no leſſe, ſo as his red Hat which he had worne, healed the head-ach, when it was put on, as the ſimple beleeued.

The vertues of *King Henry*.

Holinſhead.

Cambd. Brit. in deſcript. of Surrey.

(81) The monument of his zeale to true piety, and care for poſterities, are his famous Colledges of *Eaton* and *Cambridge*, the Chappell of which laſt, ſhewes the magnificence that the whole ſhould haue beene of, had their Founder raigned to haue finiſhed them himſelfe: for the performance whereof hee enfeoffed certaine Biſhops, with other noble perſonages by his Letters-Patents, with lands and poſſeſſions, to the yearely value of thirtie-foure-hundred pounds very neere: but as his life ended before that nature had thereunto ſet her owne ſeale; ſo theſe remain vnperfected of the excellent beauties intended, which their zealous Founder meant to haue adorned them withall.

Kings-Colledge in *Cambridge*, and *Eaton* in *Barkſhire*, founded by *King Henry*.

(82) And his ſorrowfull Queene *Margaret*, who twentie-ſixe yeares before this his death, with all pompe and royalty had beene crowned Queene of *England*, and had ruled all in all, now a poore Priſoner in diſtreſſe and wants, weares out her time in teares and laments, and wiſheth for nothing more then the day of her death; which Duke *Renate* her Father well vnderſtanding, made ſuite to King *Edward* to haue her releaſed by ranſome; and laſtly, bought her liberty at ſo deare a rate, as he firſt pawned, and afterward ſolde to *Lewis* the French King, the Kingdomes of *Naples*, and of both the *Siciles*, to pay and re-pay the price of her redemption, vnto which poore father, this ſorrowfull daughter returned, and ended her aged dayes, where ſhe had begun the dayes of her life.

Queene *Margaret* ranſomed out of Priſon.

(83) Victorious *Edward* thus leading *Mars* chayned to his Chariot, and now himſelfe led by Fortune to the high chaire of Eſtate, ſits an abſolute Monarch, ſure, and without oppoſite, vnto whoſe rayes all eyes turne a ſubmiſſiue aſpect: onely baſtard *Fawconbridge* departed from *London* (as we haue ſaid) and with-drew vnto *Sandwich* with his diſquiet Crew, made ſhew to doe much, and did ſomewhat more then befitting, by rape, and robbing, where thoſe rude Marriners came, which *Edward* hearing of, haſted to *Canterbury* in perſon himſelfe, fully reſolued to weede vp by the rootes thoſe new ſprouted

The inconſtancy of *King Henries* fortunes.

blades

Bastard *Fawconbridge*, with his vnruly crew, yeeld to King *Edward*.

blades of rebellion, and made great preparation to accompliſh the ſame, which the Baſtard hearing (though ſtrong in his Sea-men) durſt not bandy againſt, but ſent his ſubmiſſion, with proffer of ſeruice and loyall obedience, and indeed ſo temporized with the King, as beſides his pardon obtained, the Sword of Knighthood was laid vpon his ſhoulder, and he was preſently made the Kings *Vice-Admirall* for the Seas. In which his office he ſo bare himſelfe (eyther by his owne deſerts, or the Kings Conceit) as he not long enjoyed the ſame, but was at *Southampton* beheaded, and other of King *Henries* olde fauourites likewiſe ſought-after, and daily indangered.

Baſtard *Fawconbridge* pardoned of life, and rewarded with Knighthood.

Rob. Fabian.

Baſtard *Fawconbridge* beheaded.

An.D.1472.

(84) In which times of feare, *Iaſper Earle of Pembrooke*, with his Nephew young *Henry* Earle of *Richmond*, fled into *Britaine*, where, of that Duke they were moſt courteouſly entertayned, with aſſurance made, that no wrong ſhould be offred them, during their ſtay in his dominions. And ſo theſe two Earles the vncle and nephew, there attended the day of their wiſhed ſucceſſe.

Henry of *Richmond* fled into *Britaine*.

The Storie of *Iohn* Earle of *Oxford*.

(85) But *Iohn* Earle of *Oxford*, who had withdrawne himſelfe from *Barnet-field* firſt into *VVales*, and thence into *France*, was farre more vnpatient of thoſe rough times, for hauing gotten ſtore of prouiſion by ſtrong hand at Sea, with ſeauenty-ſeauen men onely ſurprized Saint *Michaels-Mount* in *Cornewall*, and made that peece good againſt the King, which he kept and re-uictualled, but whether by force or fauour King *Edward* much ſuſpected, and therefore the more willingly came to a compoſition with his Subject, who vpon the pardon of his life deliuered the *Mount* to the King: and as ſome ſay the rather, for that his minde was then troubled with many ominous ſignes. For certaine *Boornes* about this time burſt out of the Earth, as *Woe-mere* at *Market* in the County of *Bedford*, whoſe name carried the quality of his nature. In *Kent*, at *Canterburie*, *Leuiſham*, and *Langley*-Parke, at *Croyden* in *Surrey*, and at *Hungeruill* neere *Dudley*-Caſtle one running very foule: all of them predictions, as that credulous age beleeued, of great troubles to come: and therefore not truſtiug a new reconciled enemy, King *Edward* ſent the ſaid Earle Priſoner vnto the Caſtle of *Hames* in *Normandy*, where he remained the ſpace of twelue yeares, vnto the laſt of King *Richard* the third, moſt ſecurely guarded, and ſo ſtraitly kept, as *Ladie Margaret* his *Counteſſe* could not be ſuffered to haue acceſſe vnto him, in all that time. Neither was ſhee allowed any thing out of his reuenewes, or from the King, to maintaine her eſtate, but was forced to liue vpon the Charity of others, and by the workes that ſhe made with her Needle; both of them very ſhort to ſupply her great wants. This vnmercifull and almoſt vnhumane vſage, was the more extreamely followed, for that *Oxford* himſelfe, his father and brother, had euer ſided with the *Lancaſtrians*. And her ſelfe being ſiſter vnto *Richard* Earle of *VVarwicke*, the Capitall obſtacle againſt King *Edwards* proceedings, was held either dangerous, if her wealth ballanced her birth and eſtate, or elſe vnworthy of his fauour, whoſe good fortunes as was ſuggeſted, ſhe euer maligned.

Waters brake out of the Earth.

Iob. Stowes Annal.

The Earle of *Oxford* ſent priſoner into *France*.

The hard and inhumane vſage of the Counteſſe of *Oxford*.

The Story of Lord *Henry Holland* Duke of *Exceſter*.

(86) But much more miſerable was the eſtate of *Lord Henry Holland*, Duke of *Exceſter*, and Earle of *Huntington*, who flouriſhed ſo long as King *Henries* pillar ſtood crowned on his baſe, and the *Lancaſtrians* (of whoſe Houſe himſelfe was) ouer-ſwaide the times; he being the ſonne of *Lady Elizabeth*, the ſecond daughter of *Iohn of Gaunt*, and hauing married the ſiſter of *Edward* the then raigning King, was notwithſtanding driuen to ſuch want, as he may ſerue an example to all, how vncertaine *Adams* ſons are of any continuing greatneſſe. For (ſaith *Philip Comines*) *I once ſaw the Duke of Exceſter runne on foot bare-legged, after the Duke of Burgundies traine, begging his bread for Gods ſake, but he vttered not his name, he being the neereſt of the houſe of Lancaſter, and brother in law vnto King Edward, and being knowne what he was, Burgundy gaue him a ſmall penſion to maintaine his eſtate.*

Phil. Comines, lib. 3. cap. 4.

(87) But when King *Henry* was againe reſtored, and the Title of the Crowne laid vpon the ſucceſſe of *Barnet-field*, this man, *Lord Henry*, bare himſelfe moſt brauely againſt King *Edward*, and in fight was ſtruck downe, and left for dead, where, in his bleeding wounds he lay moſt part of the day, but yet recouering, and got to *Weſtminſter*, he there took Sanctuary to ſaue his life, for which, he became Suiter vnto the King; but his wife, *Lady Anne*, ſiſter vnto King *Edward*, ſued as earneſtly for a diuorce, which with great inſtancy ſhe laſtly obtained againſt him. How he releaſed himſelfe from the wrath of the King, is vncertaine, and how he came by his death no man can tell, for his body was found caſt vpon the ſhoare of *Kent*, as though he had periſhed by ſhipwracke vpon the Sea.

Edw. Hall.

The vnlouing parts of an vnlouing wife. *Iohn Stow.*

The Lord *Henry* ſuppoſed to haue beene drowned.

(88) Now *Edward*, to finiſh all factions, thought beſt to lop off both bough and branch, that gaue any ſhadow to the *Lancaſtrians* deſignes, to which end he rather picked, then found occaſion of treaſon, in *George Neuill Archbiſhop of Yorke*, whoſe goods, lands, and Lordſhips, he ſeized vpon, got poſſeſſion of his rich Plate and Iewels, whereof one in his Miter was of ſuch valew, as the King cauſed it to be ſet in his Imperiall Crowne, and the Archbiſhop to be ſent ouer Sea to the Caſtle of *Hames*, where he remained a Priſoner a long time after, with no ſuch curteous intertainement as himſelfe had vſed to *Edward* when he was his Priſoner.

The Archbiſhop of *Yorkes* goods ſeized vpon.

(89) But the eſcape of *Pembrooke* and of Earle *Richmond* troubled the King not a little, the onely men now left to bandy againſt him, and therefore were moſt followed with a ſuſpitious eye. Inſomuch as *Edward* wrote vnto the Duke of *Britaine* their receiuer, with promiſes of heapes of gold to haue them ſent backe and deliuered vnto his hands: but the Duke that had giuen them his ſafetie before, anſwered the Engliſh Ambaſſadors, that it ſtood not with honour, ſo to betray theſe diſtreſſed Princes, fled to him for reliefe, yet, he faithfully vndertook, that they ſhould be ſo followed, as King *Edward* ſhould ſleepe quiet from their moleſtations, which being no better, *Edward* notwithſtanding made the beſt of it.

K. *Edward* ſends into *Britaine* to recouer *Richmond* and *Pembrooke*.

(90) All now in quiet, and *Edward* raigning without any Competitor, or malignant diſturber, cauſed a high Court of Parliament to be aſſembled at *Weſtminſter*, wherein he re-eſtabliſhed thoſe Acts, which *Henry* had abrogated, and abrogated thoſe that were made againſt his Fauourites; at which ſeaſon the Duke of *Burgundy* ſent his Ambaſſadors vnto *Edward*, crauing his ayde againſt the *French* King, which was the more willingly heard and granted, as well for his fauors receiued of the Duke, in time of his neceſſitie, as for ſpleene againſt *Lewis*, who had aided *Warwick* to diſpoſſeſſe him of his Crown. And indeede this was a ſparke, that was likely to ſet the hearts of the *Engliſh* on fire to recouer *France*, loſt by *Henry* the laſt King.

K. *Edward* abrogates King *Henries* lawes.

Burgundie ſends for ayde into *England* againſt *France*.

An.D.1474.

(91) All things in a readineſſe, King *Edward* repayred to *Douer*, and there embarked himſelfe for *Callis*, with the greateſt Army that euer from *England* ſet ſailes into *France*: for he had in his Company fifteen-hundred Noble-men, and men at Armes, all of them mounted, and moſt of them barbed, who with the Archers on horſe-backe alſo, made vp the number of fifteene thouſand, beſides a great number of foot-men and others to pitch Tents, to attend the Artillerie, and incloſe their Campes. Before the Kings departure from *England*, he had ſent *Gartar* King at Armes vnto King *Lewis* with a letter of defiance: whoſe contents demanded no leſſe, then the whole Realme of *France*, which if he refuſed, hee threatned to inuade his Dominions with fire and ſword.

King *Edwards* expedition into *France*.

Phil. Comines, lib. 4. cap. 5.

The great preparation of King *Edward*.

King *Edwards* demaund.

(92) The Letter receiued, and read in ſecret by *Lewis* himſelfe, he priuately ſent for, and conferred with

Lewis his conference with the *Engliſh* Herald.

with the Herald, telling him that it was not *Edward*, but *Burgundy* that raked abroad these dying sinders, who as a man discomfited and vnfurnished for warre, would draw in the *English*, by his slie dealings, to their inestimable Charges, to supply his defects; that *Burgundie* being of the House of *Lancaster*, hated most deadly the Family of *Yorke*; and more for feare then loue married *Edwards* sister. As touching the Constable he told him, though *Edward* had married his Neece, yet he would deceiue him, as he had done his owne Master of *France*, who had heaped many and extraordinary benefits vpon him. And lastly with the gift of three hundred Crownes, and the promise of a thousand more, he instigated the Herald to worke a peace. *Gartar* very thankefully tooke the French Gold, and counselled *Lewis* to send a Herald vnto his Master King *Edward* to demand a safe-conduct for conference: and so openly rewarded with thirtie Elles of Crimson-Veluet he departed.

K. Lewis moueth *Gartar* to be a meanes for peace.

(93) King *Lewis* nothing so pompous as other Princes are, nor attended with Heralds continually in his Court, was therefore inforced vnto this present shift: he caused a seruant of the Lord *Hales* to be arrayed like an Herald in a trumpets banner, and sent him in haste into King *Edwards* Campe; where hauing audience, he shewed the great desire the King his Master had of peace, whose amity with *England* he had euer held, excusing his receit of *VVarwicke* with the necessity of time, whom he aided not against *Edward*, but against *Burgundy*, who as he instantly alledged, had now drawn the *English* to this excessiue charges, that he might thereby conclude a better composition for himselfe, and to amend the broken state of his owne affaires; lastly, he desired that the King of *England* would grant a safe-conduct vnto the Ambassadors of the *French* King his Master, who should more fully informe his Majestie, and giue his safe-conduct for a further conference in these affaires: and so wisely this counterfeit worded his message, that the King and Nobles liked well the ouerture, and thereupon granting a safe-conduct sent with him an English Herald, to receiue the like and other assignements from the *French* King.

Phil. Com. lib. 4. ca. 7.

A counterfeit Herald sent to King Edward.

The Heralds perswasions.

An English Herald sent to *King Lewis*.

(94) But when the Duke of *Burgundy* vnderstood that a peace was trauersed betwixt *Edward* & *Lewis*, he stormed not a little, and with no small haste from *Luxemburgh*, accompanied with sixteen horse only, came to his brother King *Edward*, and in a great rage reproued him of breach of promise, and vncourteous requitall of his former kindnesse, that thus would enter amity with his great foe, and in outward semblance more ready to bite then to barke, burst into these reproofes.

The Duke of *Burgundy* commeth to the *King*.

Edw. Hall fol. 231.

"Haue you (quoth hee) Brother, passed the "*Seas*, entred *France*, and without killing of a poore "flie, or burning of a silly Sheepe-coate taken a shame- "full truce? Oh *S. George!* Did *Edward* your noble "Ancestor euer make Army into *France*, and retur- "ned without Battell or Conquest? That victori- "ous Prince King *Henry* the fifth (as neere of kinne "vnto you as mee) whose bloud you haue eyther "rightfully or wrongfully (God knoweth) extin- "guished and destroyed, with a small puissance con- "quered *Normandy*, kept it, and neuer would come "to composition, till he had the whole Kingdome of "*France* offred him, and was made heire apparant "vnto that Crowne. Contrariwise, you without a- "ny thing done, proffer of Battell, or gaine of honor, "haue now condiscended vnto a peace as profitable "for *England* as is a poore Peascod: haue I (thinke "you) for my particular vse drawne the *English* for- "ces into *France* (which am able of my selfe to de- "fend mine owne cause?) I tell you plainly no; but "rather to aid you, to recouer your ancient Territo- "ries wrongfully withholden: and that you shal wel "know I need not your aide, I will heare of no truce "with the *French*, till three moneths after your "arriuage in *England* at the least; And thereupon "furiously arising, he threw downe the Chaire, "wherein he had sat, and offred to depart.

Burgundies hot speech vnto *King Edward*.

(95) "Nay stay Brother *Charles* (quoth King "*Edward*) sith I with patience haue heard you speake "what you would, you shall now perforce heare "from me what you would not: First therefore for "my thus entrance into *France*, no man knoweth the "occasion better then your selfe: for, mauger your "owne great power you speake of, you doe remem- "ber I know, how the *French* King tooke from you "the faire Towne *Amiens*, and the strong Pile *Saint* "*Quintins*, with diuers other peeces which you nei- "ther durst, nor were able eyther to rescue or defend, "since which time he hath gotten from you, your best "bosome friends, and secret Counsellors, so as your "selfe stood in doubt (determining to besiege *Nusse*) "whether the losse would be greater in your absence "(the *French* King waiting as a Fox for his pray) or "gaine more in *Germany* by your power and pre- "sence: and to keepe this Wolfe from your Fold, "was the principall cause why you so earnestly prai- "ed me, and continually sollicited me to passe ouer "the Seas, promising mountaines, but performing "not a Mole-hill, bragging a supply both of horse "and foote, but neuer sent me a hoofe, nor a Lackie. "Thinke you (Brother) if we had entred this enter- "prize in our owne quarrell, we would haue expe- "cted your ayde? I assure you nothing lesse; for if "we had intended any such Conquest, we would "with Souldiers, fire, and sword, haue so infected the "ayre with the flames and slaine of *France*, as should "haue annoyed your Countreyes of *Flaunders* and "*Brabant*, and giuen you leasure to sit still and tell of "our euer-atchieued great victories, nothing doubt- "ing but to haue gotten and kept with like man- "hood, and in as great glory, as any of our Ance- "stors before vs had done. But the occasion of "warre being yours, and you wilfully (I will not say "cowardly) neglecting the same, I meane not to pro- "secute, for the *French* King neuer offended me nor "my Subjects, except in fauouring *Warwicke* against "me, nay I may say against you; and now offreth "such honourable ouertures of peace, which I by "Gods grace meane not to forsake, but will obserue "and keepe. God send you joy thereof, quoth "the Duke, and so abruptly departed from the "King.

K. Edwards reply to his brother of *Burgundy*.

Burgundy departeth displeased from *King Edward*.

(96) The peace thus resolued vpon, betwixt the two Kings of *England* and *France*, the place appoynted for conference was neere vnto *Amiens*, and the parties assigned for the *French*, were the Bastard of *Bourbon*, Admirall of *France*, the Lord S. *Pierre*, and the Bishop of *Eureux*. For the *English*, were the Lord *Howard*, *Sir Thomas St. Leger*, & Doctor *Morton* Lord *Chancellor of England*. These meeting, presently fell to a conclusion of peace: the conditions whereof were: That the *French* King should forthwith pay to the King of *England* seauenty two thousand Crownes. That the *Daulphin* should marry *Lady Elizabeth*, King *Edwards* eldest daughter, and that she should haue for her maintenance the Dutchy of *Guienne*, or else fiftie thousand Crownes yearely to be paid in the Tower of *London*, for nine yeres space. This peace was so acceptable to King *Lewis*, as he sent sixteen thousand Crownes to be distributed amongst the *English* Souldiers, with Plate and great Presents to men of any sort: and indeed gaue them such entertainment in *Amiens* as was most bounteous, whereof if any desire further to know, let him read *Comines* vpon the same text.

The conference for peace neere *Amiens*.

Commissioners for peace.

Conditions of the peace.

Lewis his liberalitie for joy of the peace.

Ph. Com. lib. 4. c. 9.

(97) To graft which peace with a louing beginning, the two Kings were desirous to see each others, for which end Commissioners were sent to assigne the place: and lastly agreed, that the Towne *Picquigny*, about three leagues from *Amiens*, seated in a bottome, through which the Riuer *Some* ranne, was the fittest: ouer which a strong bridge was built, and in the midst thereof, a grate made ouer-thwart with barres, no wider asunder then a man might well

The Kings of *England* and *France* desire to see each others.

Picquigny the meeting-place of the *Kings*.

thrust in his Arme, couered with boords ouer-head to auoid the raine, and the bridge so broad that twelue might stand in a rancke on both sides.

An.D.1475. Aug. 19.

(98) The day approached, and the two Kings come to the place, he of *France* came first to the Grate, accompanied with twelue personages, as was the appointment; whereof *Iohn* Duke of *Bourbon*, and the Cardinall his Brother, were the chiefest: King *Edward* entring the Bridge on the other end, with his Brother the Duke of *Clarence*, the Earle of *Northumberland*, the Lord *Hastings* his Chamberlaine, and the Lord Chancellor, himselfe apparrelled all in cloth of Gold, with a rich Iewell of precious stones, in forme of a Flower de Luce: aduanced forward, and within fiue foote of the Grate, put off his Cap, and bowed his knee within halfe a foote to the Ground. King *Lewis* as readily doing his likely reuerence vnto *Edward*. Where, after imbracements through the Grate, the Chancellour of *England*, who was Prelate and Bishop of *Ely*, made an eloquent and learned Oration; which done, he read the Articles of peace, and demanded the Kings whether these were done with their full consents. Which granted by both: either of them laying their one hand vpon the Missall, and the other vpon the *Holy-Crosse*, tooke their solemne Oathes to obserue the same. And then falling into a more familiar and Courtly Complementall conference, King *Lewis* tolde King *Edward*, that he would one day inuite him to *Paris*, there to Court his faire *French* Ladies, with whom if he committed any sinne, he merrily told him, that *Cardinall Bourbon*, should be his Confessor, whose penance should be the easier, for that *Bourbon* vsed to busse faire Ladies himselfe; which no sooner was spoken, or howsoeuer meant, but *Edward* was as forward of thankes and acceptance, and indeed so ready, that King *Lewis* rounding *Gomines* his bosome-seruant in his eare, tolde him flatly he liked not *Edwards* forwardnesse to *Paris*, too many English Princes haue beene there before: and thus the conference ended, and King *Edwards* businesse in *France*, he returned into *England*, and into the City of *London* was receyued little lesse then in triumph-wise.

The salutations of the two kings.

The Kings sweare the league.

King Lewis loth that Edward should visite Paris.

An.D.1475. Sept. 28.

(99) But though *Edwards* fortunes thus outwardly flourished, yet inward feares nipped his still troubled mind, one branch hauing sap, whose growth he much feared would shadow his Crowne, which was *Henry* Earle of *Richmond*, aliue, and at liberty in the Duke of *Britains* Court. To bring therefore his purpose to passe, he sent D. *Stillington*, and others, Ambassadors vnto *Francis* Duke of *Britaine*, with store of Gold and good words, as that he meant to match his eldest daughter Lady *Elizabeth* vnto the young Earle of *Richmond*, whereby all cause of dissentions might at once be cut off: the Duke thinking no danger where the water went smooth, easily consented to ship him thereon; but ere the prey was embarked, he had knowledge that the voyage should cost young *Henry* his life; wherefore in all hast he sent his Treasurer *Peter Landoys* to preuent it, who secretly told *Richmond* what marriage-bed *Edward* intended; whereat the distressed Earle amazed, was put to his shifts, and for want of better, tooke Sanctuary at S^t. *Malos*, where the English his conductors lay for a wind.

Henry Earle of Richmond, sought after by King Edward.

An intent pretended, which after came to passe.

Ralph Holinsh. pag. 701.

Henry, Earle of Richmond, taketh Sanctuary.

(100) The Earle thus escaped, the Ambassadors complained to the Duke, imputing the fault as farre as they durst vnto him, who had not dealt like a good Merchant to take their money, and to retaine the wares; his answere was, the deliuery was good, but themselues negligent Factors, that made not the commodity to their best aduantage. And yet for the loue he bare to their King, he vndertooke that *Richmond* should be sure kept either in Sanctuarie, or else in Prison, whence as he promised hee should not escape: And so with a flea in their eare, they returned, hauing cleared *Edward* of his money, and care for sure keeping of *Henry*, who though he were sore displeased with *Stillingtons* simplicity; yet the promises that the Duke of *Britaine* had made, much mitigated and eased his minde.

The English Ambassador complaineth to the Duke of Britaine.

His Answere.

(101) And now the Realme quiet, no Warre in hand, nor none towards (but such as no man looked should happen;) he framed himselfe so to the peoples affections, as held their hearts not in a constrained feare, but with as louing and ready obedience as any King attaining the Crowne by his Sword euer had done. Nor was euer any Prince more familiar with his Subjects then this King *Edward* was; for now hauing his tribute truely paide from *France*, and all things prospering as was desired, he set heart vpon pleasure, which hetherto had beene afflicted with continuall turmoyle: yea, and often laid from him the state of a Prince, and would accompany and conuerse with his meane subiects: a loadstone that doth naturally attract the *English* hearts; among many others we of *London* remember this to our grace: Vnto *Windsore* he sent for the Lord Maior of *London*, the Aldermen and others, vpon no other occasion, then to hunt in his company, and himselfe to be merry with them: As also at another time he did the like in *Waltham*, where he gaue them most familiar intertainment, and sent to the Lady Mairesse and her sisters two Harts, sixe Buckes, and a Tunne of Wine, which wan more loue then manifold their worthes.

Sir Tho. Moore.

King Edward beloued of his subjects, and loueth his subjects.

John Stow. King Edward sent for the Maior and Aldermen of London to his huntings.

(102) Somewhat he was giuen to Court and conuerse with faire Ladies, which fault was well noted and preuented by King *Lewis*, for his *French* Dames: but in *England* he had libertie with very large scope, for, besides the Lady *Lucy* and others, by whom he had issue, three Concubines he kept, and those of three diuers and seuerall dispositions, as himselfe would often confesse; one the merriest, another the wiliest, and the third the holiest Harlot in his Realme, as one whom no man could get out of the Church, vnlesse it were to his Bed; the merriest was *Shores* Wife, of whom hereafter we shall speake; the other two were greater Personages, but in their humility are content to be nameless, and to forbeare the praise of those properties.

K. Edward somewhat licentiously giuen.

K. Edwards three Concubines.

(103) This fault of the King did not greatly offend the people: for one mans pleasure could not extend to the displeasures of many, it being done without violence, and in his latter dayes lessened and well left. But a farre more greater sinne and reproach he fell into, among his other Princely disports: For being on progresse in *Warwickshire*, and hunting in *Arrow-Parke*, belonging to *Thomas Burdet* Esquire, with the death of much Game he slew a *White Bucke*, greatly esteemed of the said *Burdet*, who vnderstanding thereof, wished his hornes in his Belly, that moued the King to kill the same Bucke; whereof he was accused and condemned of treason, his words being drawne, to wish the hornes in the Kings Belly: for which, beheaded he was at *Tiburne*, and buried in the *Gray-Fryers* Church at *London*.

Thomas Burdet accused of treason.

Enguerr.

Register of Gray-Friers London.

(104) But a more lamentable tragedie happened vnto the Land, by the death of *George Duke of Clarence* the Kings second brother, who being accused of high Treason, was committed to the Tower, where he soone after ended his life. His attainder was, that the said Duke had caused diuers of his seruants to enforme the people, that *Thomas Burdet* his seruant likewise, was wrongfully put to death: and further laboured (through their reports) to make the World beleeue, that King *Edward* wrought by *Nigromancie*, and vsed to poyson such subiects as he hated: And also that the said Duke vpon purpose to exalt himselfe and his heires to the Regall dignitie, most falsly and vntruly published that the King was a Bastard, and therefore not capable of raigne. Moreouer that he induced diuerse of the Kings naturall subjects to be sworne vpon the blessed Sacrament, vnto him and his heires, without any other reseruations of their alleagiance: for which intent (as there was alledged)

The Story of George Duke of Clarence.

The attainder of the Duke of Clarence. Iohn Stow.

alledged) he had gotten an exemplification vnder the great Seale of King *Henry* the ſixt, that if the ſaid King and his ſonne *Prince Edward* dyed without iſſue male, the ſaid Duke and his heires ſhould injoy the Crowne: For theſe, in a Parliament begun at *VVeſtminſter* the fifteenth of Ianuary, he was attainted of high treaſon: but whether guiltie or guiltleſſe, *to men* (ſaith *Grafton*) *that haue made large inquiſition, yea, and of ſuch as were of no ſmall authority in thoſe dayes, the certaintie thereof was hid, and could not truely be diſcloſed, but by conjectures, which as often deceiue the imaginations of fantaſticall folke, as declare truth to them in their concluſions.*

An. D. 1478. *Rich. Graſton.*

(105) I am not ignorant that ſome haue alledged the cauſe of this Noble-mans death to ariſe from a fooliſh prophecy (*whereof* ſaith *Comines*) *the Engliſhmen are neuer vnfurniſhed*, and this as the *Cabaliſts*, who vſed to make an art of their Letters, gaue forth forſooth that a *G.* ſhould raigne after an *E.* which muſt needes be *George Duke of Clarence*, though *Glouceſter*, more crafty, lay in winde for the game. This indeed troubled the King not a little, but the Queene and her bloud much more, and therefore of both King and Queene Duke *George* was miſtruſted, and greatly maligned in all that he did. Who now a Widdower (for *Warwicks* daughter was dead) ſent vnto his ſiſter *Margaret* the *Dutcheſſe of Burgundy*, to worke a marriage for him with her Husbands daughter the Lady *Marie*. Againſt which the Queene moſt earneſtly interpoſed her ſelfe, and ſollicited the Ladie in the behalfe of Lord *Anthonie Earle Riuers* her brother, whereby great diſcontent was miniſtred to the Duke, and new jealouſies daily bred in the Kings breaſt.

Phil. Comin. lib. 4. cap. 10.

A falſe prophecie of G. E.

The Duke of *Clarence* is ſuiter vnto *Marie* the daughter of *Burgundie.*

(106) *Iohn Serres*, the *French* Hiſtorian, interlacing the life of King *Lewis* with the Acts of King *Edward* and his Brethren, ſaith confidently, that the Engliſh King ſo much affected the league and alliance with *France*, as that he cauſed his brother *Clarence* to be put in priſon, becauſe he intended to haue paſt the Seas to ſuccour the Dowager of *Burgundy Ladie Margaret* his Siſter, vpon whoſe Territories King *Lewis* encroached, after the death of Duke *Charles* her husband, ſlaine at the battell of *Mancy*.

Iohn Serres.

Clarence impriſoned by his brother *King Edward.*

(107) But howſoeuer *Clarence* had offended, certaine it is, that he was found guilty by the foreſaid Parliament, and the eleauenth of March following, after he had offered his Maſſe-penny in the Tower of *London*, was drowned in a But of Malmeſey, whoſe body was buried at *Tewkesburie* in *Glouceſterſhire*, by the bodie of his Dutcheſſe *Lady Iſabell* Counteſſe of *VVarwicke*, who being with Childe, died of poiſon a little before. And although the King had conſented to his death, yet no ſooner was it done, but that he wiſhed it againe vndone, and was ſo grieued at the remembrance, as when any made ſuite for the life of a condemned, he would openly ſay: *Oh vnfortunate brother, for whoſe life no man would make ſuite.* This good Duke (for ſo was hee called) left iſſue behinde him, *Edward Earle of VVarwicke* and *Margaret* afterwards Counteſſe of *Salisbury*, both of them Infants, and followers of their fathers fortunes: he a continuall Priſoner, at foure and twenty yeares of age, vnder *Henry* the ſeauenth, was beheaded vpon the Tower-hill; and ſhee at ſixty two, loſt hers within the Tower, and time of King *Henrie* the eight.

George Duke of *Clarence* condemned by Parliament,

And drowned in a But of *Malmeſey.*

King Edwards repentance for his brothers death.

The Duke of *Clarence* his Iſſue.

Edward and *Margaret*, the children of *Clarence* beheaded.

(108) But how dainty ſoeuer King *Edward* was of the breach of amitie betwixt him and the *French* King, in regard whereof he ſuffered *Mary* the young Dutcheſſe of *Burgundy* the daughter of his owne ſiſters Husband to be moleſted by intruſion of the *French*, and all in fauour of the contract commenced between the *Daulphin* & Lady *Elizabeth* his daughter, yet did *Lewis* for his part but dally and driue out time: For Ambaſſadors imployed for the full accompliſhing thereof, they of *France* came either without commiſſion, or thoſe re-called, the new were ſent without inſtructions, while indeede *Lewis* was

King Edward deceiued in *King Lewis.*

working for his ſonne another way: Firſt to match him with *Mary Dutches* of *Burgundy*, but that refuſed, with *Margaret of Flaunders*, daughter to Duke *Maximilian*, ſonne to *Fredericke* the Emperour: and to hold the world from ſuſpition, in the meane-while Lady *Elizabeth the Infanta of England* was in the *French* Court vſually called *Madame the Daulphin*, and all things in *France* ſo ſoundly carried, as *Edward* ſuſpected no leake in the Caske: for now growne fat and vnable for paines, he both gloried in his nine famous victories at home atchieued, and ſeemed ſufficiently ſatisfied, that his yearely tribute from *France* was ſo truely paide.

Lady *Elizabeth* called Madame the *Daulphin.*

(109) At the ſame time *Iames the third* of that name, King of *Scotland*, ſent his Ambaſſadours vnto *Edward* to obtaine the *Lady Cicelie*, the Kings ſecond daughter, to be joyned in marriage with his ſonne *Iames* the young Prince, which was well liſtened vnto by *Edward* and his Counſell, and leaſt the motion ſhould goe backe, a great ſumme of money lent to the *Scottiſh* King, with this condition, that at a certain time appoynted, it ſhould be at K. *Edwards* choiſe, whether his daughter ſhould match with that Prince, or elſe to haue the ſaide ſumme againe re-paide. Againſt which alliance and league (as *Leſlie* reporteth) *Lewis of France* much repined, and to annihilate the ſame, ſent Dr. *Ireland*, a certaine Knight, and another religious man, to moue King *Iames* to make warre againſt *England*.

An. D. 1480. *Io. Leſlie.*

Lady *Cicelie* motioned in marriage vnto *Iames Prince* of *Scotland*

Lewis King of *France*, interpoſeth the contract betwixt Prince *Iames* and Ladie *Margaret.*

(110) Theſe no Peace-makers for *Chriſt*, but firebrands of *Belial*, blew the ſmothered ſparkes of diſſention into a flame of bloudy warre, which fell the more heauy vpon *Scotland*, for that K. *Iames* much wedded vnto his owne will, and altogether ruled by men of meane worth, whom himſelfe had aduanced from nothing, had not only neglected by their inſtigations the loue of his Nobles, but alſo baniſhed the Realme of *Scotland*, *Alexander Duke of Albany* his ſecond brother; and had cauſed the veines of *Iohn Earle of Marre*, his other Brother, to be opened, whereby he bled to death; theſe and other diſcontents alienated his Subjects hearts from him, which laid the land more open vnto the Engliſh Inuaders; and yet to draw them more deadly againſt him, relying vpon his owne valor, and the aſſiſtance of *France*; he ſent word vnto *Edward*, that he ſhould not aid his owne ſiſter of *Burgundy* againſt K. *Lewis*, being the *Scots* Ally; as alſo with threats of warre commanded him to deliuer to his Ambaſſadors, the Duke of *Albanie* (then reſiding in the *Engliſh* Court) and laſtly to make good and re-pay dammages done vpon the *Scottiſh* Borders.

Iames King of *Scotland* much wedded to his owne will.

Alexander Duke of *Albanie* baniſhed *Scotland.*
Iohn Earle of *Marre* bled to death.

(111) King *Edward* not a little inraged at theſe double dealings, euen in the winter ſeaſon muſtered his men, prepared his artillery, and rigged his ſhips; that nothing ſhould be vnready at the next Spring; which no ſooner was come, but that he ordayned for his Lieutenant his brother *Richard Duke of Glouceſter*, who with *Henry Earle of Northumberland*, *Thomas Lord Stanley*, the *Lord Louell*, *Greiſtock*, and others, (the Duke of *Albany* marching vnder *Glouceſters* Banner) with twenty thouſand ſtrong repayred into the *North*: and firſt beſieged the ſtrong Towne *Berwicke*, then entring the chiefe City *Edenburgh*, vrged King *Iames* to performe his couenants concerning the marriage betwixt Prince *Iames* his Sonne, with *Lady Cicelie*, before agreed vpon, threatning deſtruction if the match went not forward. The *Scottiſh* Nobility conſidering the eminent danger, put to death the wicked Counſellers of their King, ordayned the Duke of *Albany* the *Vicegerent of Scotland*; and promiſed to re-pay the money receyued according to Couenants; after which, with the deliuery of the ſtrong Towne *Berwicke*, which had beene out of the *Engliſh* poſſeſſion the ſpace of one & twenty yeares, a generall peace was concluded betwixt the two Realmes. Whereupon not long after, *Gartar* King at armes was ſent into *Scotland*, with an Inſtrument in writing vnto the Prouoſt & Burgeſſes of *Edenburgh*,

K. Iames threatneth warre againſt *England.*

Richard Duke of *Glouceſter* made the Kings Lieutenant againſt *Scotland.*

The Duke of *Glouceſter* entreth *Scotland.*

Berwicke deliuered to the Engliſh.

Holinſh. p. 707.

(who had vndertaken to diſburſe the money) to ſignifie King *Edwards* minde touching the marriage intended, and to demand the ſaid ſumme by a day aſſigned, which accordingly was re-paide.

King Lewis dallieth with *King Edward.*

(112) The marriage with *Scotland* thus broken off; that with *Scotland* for the Lady *Cicely*, by King *Edward* himſelfe; that with *France* for the Princeſſe *Elizabeth*, both he and his Queene greatly deſired, and daily ſought after: But *Lewis* the *French* King, finding the daughter of *Auſtrich* more fit for his ſonne, dallied out *Edward* with ſhewes of firme faith, till he had effected the thing he went about: which muſicke ſounded ſo harſhly in the *Engliſh* Kings eare, when he heard it, as in no wiſe he would ſuffer that ſtring to be touched, but euer beleeued that the French meant him faire play, and although the yeares of the parties themſelues might beget ſome ſuſpition, ſhe being much elder then the *Daulphin*, and the truth thereof confirmed by the Duke of *Auſtriches* Leger-Ambaſſadours reſiding in *England*, yet *Edward* would not ſo much as ſuppoſe a ſuſpect againſt the French King, and therefore ſuffered *Lewis* to incroach vpon thoſe parts of *Picardie* that joyned to *Callis*, and to gaine time till it was paſt re-call: for then the Lord *Howard* returning from France, confidently told him that he was preſent, and ſaw the *Lady Margaret* of *Auſtrich*, daughter to Duke *Maximilian*, ſonne to the Emperor *Frederick*, receiued vnto *France* with great pompe and royaltie: and at *Ambois* contracted and eſpouſed to the *Daulphin*.

Phil. Comines, lib. 6. cap. 2. and 9.

King Edward would not beleeue what was confidently tolde him.

A warre pretended againſt *France.*

(113) *Edward* mightily chafed to be thus worked by *Lewis*, made great preparation for *France*, but whether with anger, griefe, or melancholy, he fell into a dangerous and deadly ſickneſſe; ſome ſay, of a ſuperfluous ſurfeit, whereunto he was much giuen: *Comines* ſaith, of a *Catarrhe*, which weake eſtate turned his minde another way: for calling his Lords into his ſicke preſence, and raiſing his faint body vpon his Bed-Pillowes, theſe words vnto them he laſtly ſpake:

King Edward falleth ſicke.

"(114) My Lords, my deare Kinſmen, & Allies; "in what plight I lye, you ſee, and I feele; by which "the leſſe while I looke to liue with you, the more "deepely am I mooued to care in what caſe I leaue "you; for ſuch as I leaue you, ſuch be my children "like to finde you. Which if they ſhould (that "God forbid) finde you at variance, might hap to "fall themſelues at warre, ere their diſcretion would "ſerue to ſet you at peace. Yee ſee their youth, of "which I reckon the only ſurety to reſt in your con-"cord. For it ſufficeth not that all you loue them, "if each of you hate other. If they were men, your "faithfulneſſe happely would ſuffice: but Childe-"hood muſt be maintayned by mens authoritie, "and ſlippery youth vnder-propped with elder "counſell; which neither they can haue, vnleſſe you "giue it, nor you giue it, if you agree not. For "where each laboureth to breake that which the "other maketh, and through hatred of each others "perſon impugneth each others counſell, there muſt "it needes be long or any good concluſion goe for-"ward: And while eyther party ſtriueth to be "chiefe, flatterie ſhall haue more play then plaine "and faithfull aduiſe, of which muſt needes inſue the "euill bringing vp of the Prince; whoſe minde in "tender youth infected, ſhall readily fall to riot and "miſchiefe; and draw downe with him his noble "Realme vnto ruine: but if grace turne him to "wiſdome: which if God ſend, then they that by e-"uill meanes before pleaſed him beſt, ſhall after fall "furtheſt out of fauour, ſo that euer at length euill "drifts draw to nought, and good plaine waies pro-"ſper. Great variance hath there long time beene "betweene you, not alwaies for great cauſes. Some-"time a thing right-well intended, our miſconſtru-"ctions turneth vnto worſe, or a ſmall diſpleaſure "done vs, either our owne affections or euill tongues "agreeueth. But this wot I well, yee neuer had ſo "great cauſe of hatred, as you haue of loue. That wee "be all men, that we be Chriſtian men, this ſhall I "leaue for Preachers to tell you (and yet I wot nere "whether any Preachers words ought more to "moue you, then his, that is by and by, going to the "place that they all preach of.) But this I ſhall de-"ſire you to remember, that the one part of you is "of my bloud, the other of my Allies; and each of "you with other, either of kinred or affinitie; which "ſpirituall kindred of affinitie, if the Sacraments of "Chriſts Church beare that weight with vs, that "would to God they did, ſhould no leſſe moue vs "to charitie, then the reſpect of fleſhly conſangui-"nitie. Our Lord forbid, that you loue together the "worſe for the ſelfe cauſe, that you ought to loue "the better. And yet that happeneth, and no where "finde we ſo deadly debate, as among them, which "by nature and law ought moſt to agree together. "Such a peſtilent Serpent is ambition, and deſire of "vaine-glory and Soueraigntie, which among States "where it once entreth, creepeth forth ſo farre, till "with diuiſion and variance he turneth all to miſ-"chiefe, firſt longing to be next the beſt, afterward "equall with the beſt, and at laſt chiefe and aboue "the beſt. Of which immoderate appetite of wor-"ſhip, and thereby of debate and diſſention, what "loſſe, what ſorrow, what trouble, hath within theſe "few yeares growne in this Realme, I pray God as "well forget as we remember. Which things, if I "could aſwell haue fore-ſeen, as I haue with my more "paine then pleaſure proued, By Gods bleſſed La-"dy (that was euer his oath) I would neuer haue "won the curteſie of mens knees, with the loſſe of "ſo many heads. But ſith things paſſed cannot be "gaine-called, much ought we the more beware, by "what occaſion we haue taken ſo great hurt afore, "that we eft-ſoones fall not into the like againe. "Now be thoſe griefes paſſed, and all is (God be "thanked) quiet, and likely right-well to proſper in "wealthfull peace vnder your Coſins, my children, "if God ſend them life, and you loue. Of which "two things the leſſe loſſe were they, by whom "though God did his pleaſure yet ſhould the realme "alway find Kings, and peraduenture as good Kings. "But if you among your ſelues in a childes raigne fall "at debate, many a good man ſhall periſh, and hap-"pely hee too, and yee too, ere this Land find peace "againe. Wherefore in theſe laſt words that euer I "looke to ſpeake with you, I exhort, and require you "all, for the loue that you haue euer borne vnto me: "for the loue that I haue euer borne vnto you, for "the loue that our Lord beareth to vs all, from this "time forward all griefes forgotten, each of you loue "others, which I verily truſt you will, if you any "thing regard, eyther GOD, or your King, affini-"tie, or kindred, this Realme, your owne Countrey, "or your owne ſuretie.

Thom. Moore. King Edwards ſpeeches at his death.

King Edwards good counſell.

What the nature of ambition is.

King Edwards vſuall oath.

King Edwards laſt requeſt.

The perils of diſcord.

Tender youth is ſoone infected.

(115) And therewithall the King no longer indu-ring to ſit vp, laid him downe on his right ſide, his face towards them, who with weeping eies and words as fitted the time, recomfited the ſicke dying King, joyning their hands, and outwardly forgiuing that, which inwardly they meant not to forget. The King ouerjoyed to ſee their willing reconcilements ſpake not many words after, but commending his ſoule vnto God, in their preſence departed this life at his Pallace of *Weſtminſter*, vpon the ninth day of April, and yeare of Chriſts appearance 1483. at the age of forty one, when he had worne the royall Diademe, two and twenty yeares, one moneth and fiue dayes: and was buried at *Windſore*, in the new Chappell, whoſe foundation himſelfe had laid.

The raigne and death of *King Edward.*

Great variance for ſmall cauſes.

(116) Of perſonage he was the goodlieſt Gentleman (ſaith *Comines*) *that euer mine eyes beheld*; faire of complexion, and of moſt princely preſence, couragious of heart, politique in counſell; in aduerſitie nothing abaſhed; in proſperity rather joyous then proud: in peace juſt and mercifull; in warre ſharpe and fierce, and in field bold and venturous, yet no further then wiſedome would, and is no leſſe commended

Phil. com. lib. 4. cap. 10.

King Edward deſcribed.

commended where he auoided, then is his manhood when he vanquiſhed: eight or nine battels he woone, wherein to his greater renowne hee fought on foote, and was euer victor ouer his enemies: much giuen he was to the luſts of youth, & in his latter time growne ſomewhat corpulent, which rather adorned his grauer yeares, then any waies diſliked the eyes of his beholders.

Phil. Comines lib. 6. cap. 2.

His Wife.

(117) *Elizabeth* the daughter of *Richard Wooduill* Earle *Riuers* by his wife *Iaquelana* Dutcheſſe of *Bedford*, (who was the daughter of *Peter* Earle of S. *Paul*, and he the ſonne of *Peter de Luxemburgh*) was firſt married vnto Sir *Iohn Grey*, ſlaine at S. *Albans*, where hee was knighted the day before his death by King *Henrie* the ſixt, vnto whom ſhe bare two ſonnes and a daughter, after whoſe death ſhee was priuately re-married vnto King *Edward* the fourth, the firſt day of May, at his Mannor of *Grafton* in *Northamptonſhire* Anno 1464. and in the next yeare following vpon the ſixe and twentieth of May, was crowned Queene at *Weſtminſter* with all due ſolemnities. She was his Wife eighteene yeares, eleauen moneths, and nine daies, no more fortunate in attaining to the height of all worldly dignitie, then vnfortunate in the murther of her ſonnes, and loſſe of her owne liberty: For in the beginning of K. *Edwards* raigne, ſhee was forced to take Sanctuary at *Weſtminſter*, wherein her firſt ſonne Prince *Edward* was borne; and at his death did the like in feare of the Protector; and laſtly, hauing all her lands and poſſeſſion ſeized vpon by King *Henrie* the ſeauenth, liued in meane eſtate in the Monaſtery of *Bermondſey* in *Southwarke*, where not long after ſhee left the troubles of her life, and inioyed a quiet portion or burying-place by her laſt Husband King *Edward* at *Windſore*.

Holinſh.

(118) *Elianor Butler*, as we find it recorded vpon the Parliament Role, was contracted vnto King *Edward*: but how true conſidering the occaſion, and time of the Act, we leaue for others to iudge, onely this is moſt certaine that this Lady *Elianor* was the daughter of *Iohn Talbot* Earle of *Shrewsbury*, and the wife of Sir *Thomas Butler* Knight, ſonne & heire to *Ralph Butler* Baron of *Sudley*, which *Elianor* died the thirtieth of Iune, the yeare of *Chriſt Ieſus 1466*. and the eight of King *Edward* the fourth his raigne.

His Iſſue.

(119) *Edward* the eldeſt ſonne of King *Edward* the fourth by Queene *Elizabeth* his wife, was borne in the Sanctuary at *Weſtminſter* the fourth of Nouember, and yeare of grace 1471. being the tenth of his Fathers raigne, at that time expulſed the Realme by the powerfull Earle *Warwicke*; but fortune changed, and the Father reſtored; the ſonne, the firſt of Iuly and yeare of Chriſt 1473. was created Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall*, and Earle of *Cheſter*; and had not the ambitious hand of his Vncle beene defiled in his innocent bloud, he might haue worne the Diademe many yeares, whereas he bare the Title of King not many dayes.

An.D.1478. Stowe

(120) *Richard* the ſecond ſonne of K. *Edward* the fourth by *Elizabeth* his Queen, was borne at *Shrewſbury*, and in his infancy was created Duke of *Yorke*, he was affianced vnto *Anne* daughter and heire to *Iohn Mowbray* Duke of *Norfolke*, by which hee was intituled Duke of *Norfolke*, *Earle-Marſhall*, *Warren*, and *Nottingham*, but inioying neither Title, wife, or his owne life long, was with his Brother murthered in the Tower of *London*, and in the priſon of that Tower, which vpon that moſt ſinfull deed, is euer ſince called the bloudy Tower, their bodies as yet vnknowne where to haue buriall.

(121) *George* the third ſonne of K. *Edward* the fourth, by Queene *Elizabeth* his wife, was alſo borne in *Shrewsbury*, and being a young Child was created Duke of *Bedford*, but liued not long after, and lyeth buried at *Windſore*.

(122) *Elizabeth* the firſt daughter of K. *Edward* the fourth, by *Elizabeth* his Queene, was borne at *Weſtminſter* the eleauenth of February, and fift of her Fathers raigne, being the yeere of Saluation 1466. She was promiſed in marriage to *Charles Daulphin of France*, woed and Courted by her Vncle *Crouchbacke*, when he had murthered her brothers, and vſurped the Crowne, but better deſtiny attending her, ſhee was reſerued to ioyne the vnion and marriage with the onely heire of *Lancaſter*, which was *Henrie of Richmond*, afterward King of *England*, from whom is branched the royall ſtemme that ſpreadeth his beautie in this *North-weſt world*, euen *Iames* our dread Soueraigne, and great-*Britaines* Monarch.

(123) *Cicelie*, the ſecond daughter of King *Edward* the fourth, by Queene *Elizabeth* his wife, was ſought vnto by *Iames* the third of that name, to be ioyned in marriage with *Iames* his ſonne Prince of *Scotland*, and Duke of *Rothſay*, which match was promiſed vpon conditions and choiſe of K. *Edward*, who laſtly brake off from further proceeding, and the Lady married vnto *Iohn Viſcount Wels*, whom ſhee outliued, and was againe re-married, but by neither Husband had any iſſue, and therefore leſſe noted; her body lyeth buried at *Quarrena* in the *Iſle of Wight*.

(124) *Anne* the third daughter of King *Edward* the fourth, by Queene *Elizabeth* his wife, was married vnto Lord *Thomas Howard*, Duke of *Norfolke*, Earle *Marſhall*, and high Treaſurer of *England*: vnto whom ſhee bare two ſonnes, both dying without iſſue, and her ſelfe without more fruit of wombe, left her life, and lieth buried at *Framingham* in *Norfolke*.

(125) *Bridget* the fourth daughter of King *Edward* the fourth, by his wife Queene *Elizabeth*, was borne at *Eltham* in *Kent*, the tenth of Nouember, & yeare of Grace 1480. being the twentieth of her Fathers Raigne. She tooke the habite of Religion, and became a Nun in the Nunnery of *Dartford*, in the ſame County, founded by King *Edward* the third, where ſhee ſpent her life in contemplations vnto the day of her death.

(126) *Marie* the fift daughter of King *Edward* the fourth, by Queene *Elizabeth* his Wife, was promiſed in marriage vnto the King of *Denmarke*, but died (before it could be ſolemnized) in the Tower of *Greenewich*, the Sunday before *Pentecoſt*, the twentieth two of her Fathers Raigne, and yeare of Grace 1482. and was buried at *Windſore*.

(127) *Margaret* the ſixt daughter of K. *Edward* the fourth, by his wife Queene *Elizabeth*, died an Infant without other mention in our Authors.

(128) *Katherine* the ſeauenth daughter of King *Edward* the fourth, by Queene *Elizabeth* his wife, and the laſt of them both, was married vnto *William Courtney* Earle of *Deuonſhire*, and Lord of *Ochampton*, vnto whom ſhe bare Lord *Henrie* after the death of his father Earle of *Deuonſhire*, who by King *Henry* the eight was created Marqueſſe of *Exceſter* in Anno 1525.

His Concubines.

(129) *Elizabeth Lucie* is certainly known to haue beene King *Edwards* Concubine, though nothing ſo certainely mentioned, whoſe Lady, or of what Parentage ſhe was; that ſhee was conceiued by him with-child is before declared, but who that childe was, is as obſcurely laid downe; therefore in theſe things we muſt be ſilent, and leaue the doubts to be reſolued by others. Three other Concubines this king had, whereof *Shores* Wife was not the leaſt beloued, whoſe life falleth

falleth further to be ſpoken of in the Raigne of the vſurper *Richard*, where her ſtorie ſhall bee ſhewed more at large.

His naturall Iſſue.

(150) *Arthur*, ſurnamed *Plantagenet*, the naturall ſonne of K. *Edward* the fourth, (whoſe mother as is ſuppoſed, was the Lady *Elizabeth Lucie*) was created *Viſcount Liſle* by King *Henrie* the eight at *Bridewell* in *London*, the twentie ſixt of *Aprill*, and yeare of Saluation 1533. which title was conferred vpon him in right of his Wife Lady *Elizabeth*, ſiſter and heire vnto *Iohn Gray* Viſcount *Liſle*, and the late wife and then widdow of *Edmund Dudley*: who bare vnto this Viſcount three daughters, which were *Bridget*, *Frances*, and *Elizabeth*, all of them afterward married. This *Arthur* Lord *Liſle* was made Lieutenant of *Callis* by the ſaid K. *Henrie*, which Towne ſome of his ſeruants intended to haue betrayed to the French, for which their fact himſelfe was ſent to the Tower of *London*: but his truth appearing after much ſearch, the King ſent him a rich ring from his owne finger, with ſuch comfortable words, as at the hearing ther-of a ſudden ioy ouercharged his heart, and was ſo immoderately receiued, that the ſame night it made an end of his life, whoſe body was honorably buried in the ſame Tower.

(151) *Elizabeth* the naturall daughter of King *Edward* the fourth, was married to Sir *Thomas Lumley* Knight, the Sonne of *George* Lord *Lumley*, who dyed before his Father: ſhee bare vnto the ſaid Sir *Thomas*, *Richard*, afterward Lord *Lumley*, from whom the late Lord *Lumley* did deſcend.

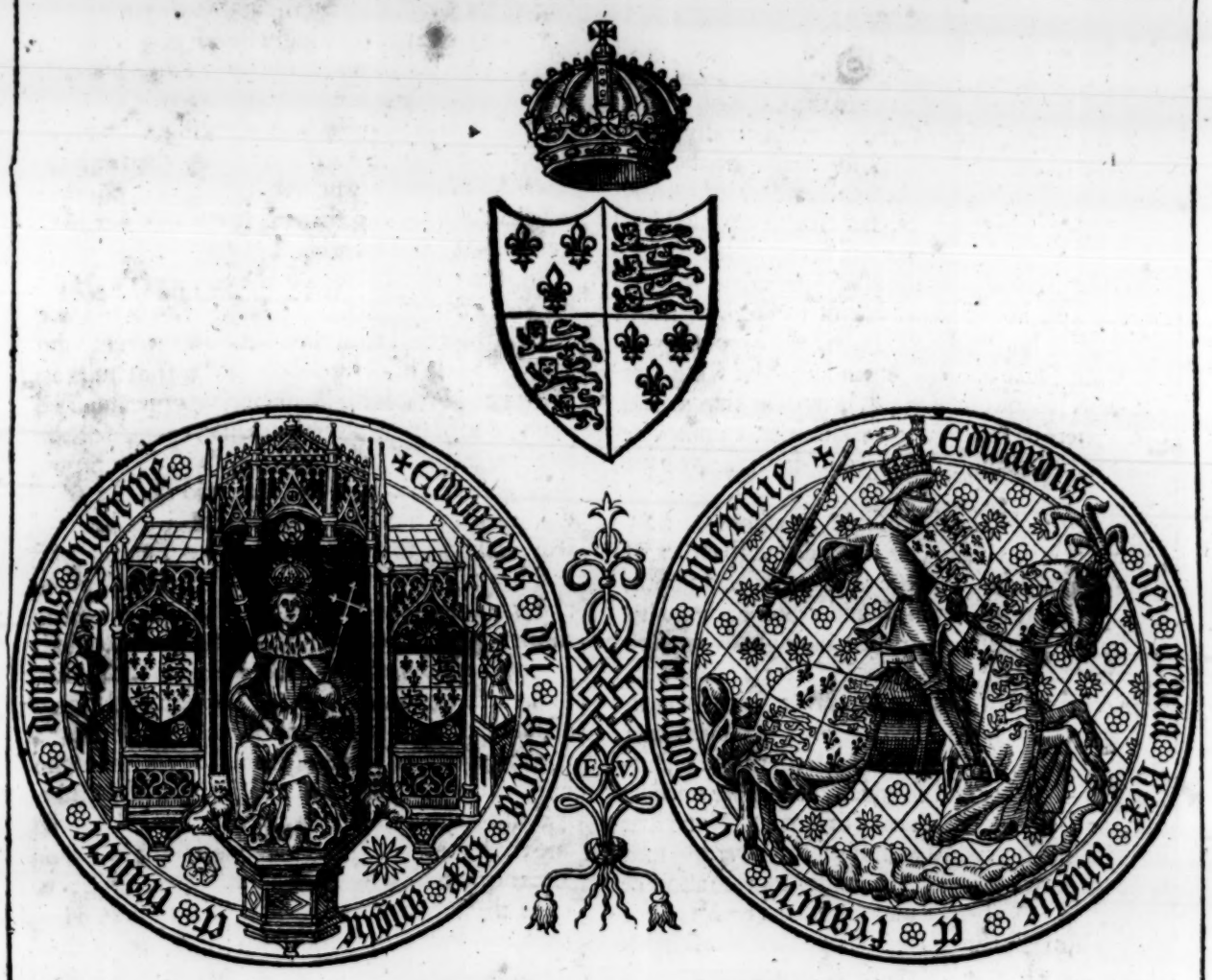
EDWARD

Edward V.

EDWARD THE FIFTH, KING OF ENGLAND AND FRANCE, AND LORD OF IRELAND, THE FIFTIF FIFTH MONARCH OF THIS LAND, HIS RAIGNE, AND DEATH.

Monarch 55

For the moſt part written by Sir *Thomas Moore*.



CHAPTER XVIII.

THE Father thus dying in the ſtrength of his yeares, and the Sonne left to rule before hee was ripe, the Synders of diſſenſions which the ſicke King had lately raked vp, preſently brake forth into a more raging flame; for the King and Queenes bloud that ſhould haue ſupported young *Edwards* eſtate, the one ſide being ſuſpicious, and the other prouoked by the execrable deſire of ſoueraignty, left the tender King (a Prince of ſuch towardneſſe as his age could containe), deſtitute and vn-armed, which if either kinde or kindred had holden place, muſt needs haue beene the ſureſt pillars of his defence. The raigne of this King (if wee may ſo call the ſhort time of his Soueraignty) began the ſame day that his Father died, though hee was neuer Crowned, nor yet commanded the affaires of the Kingdome as an abſolute Monarch, his young brothers fortunes being ballanced with his.

King *Edwards* raigne vnfortunate and ſhort.

April 19. An.D.1483. *Richard* Duke of *Yorke*.

(2) For *Richard* Duke of *Glouceſter*, by nature their Vncle, by office their Protector, to their Father beholden, to themſelues by Oath and Alleagiance bounden, all bands broken that holdeth man and man together, without any reſpect of God or the World, vnnaturally contriued to bereaue them, not onely of their dignity, but alſo their liues. But forſomuch as the Dukes demeanour miniſtreth in effect all the whole matter whereof the raigne of this young and fift *Edward* muſt intreate, it is therefore conuenient, ſomewhat to ſhew you ere we goe further, what man

Richard Duke of *Glouceſter* an vnnaturall Vncle vnto the young King and his brother.

man this was, and from whom hee deſcended that could find in his heart ſo much miſchiefe to conceiue.

Richard Duke of *Yorke* was the father of *Richard* Duke of *Gloceſter*.

(3) Know firſt then that *Richard* Duke of *Yorke*, a Noble-man and a mighty, beganne not by warre, but by law to challenge the Crowne; putting his claime into the Parliament; where his cauſe was (either for right or fauour) ſo farre forth aduanced that King *Henries* bloud (albeit hee had a goodly Prince) was vtterly reiected, the Crowne by the authority of that high Court intailed to the Duke of *Yorke*, and his iſſue male in remainder, immediately after the death of King *Henrie*. But the Duke not induring ſo long to tarrie, intending vnder pretext of diſſention and debate ariſing in the Realme, to preuent his time, and to take vpon him the rule in King *Henries* life, was with many other Nobles ſlaine at *Wakefield*, leauing three ſonnes, *Edward*, *George*, and *Richard*; all of them as they were great ſtates of birth, ſo were they great and ſtately of ſtomacke, greedy and ambitious of authority, and impatient of partners.

(4) For *Edward* reuenging his fathers death depriued King *Henry*, and attained the Crowne; The ſecond, *George* Duke of *Clarence*, was a goodly Noble Prince, and in all things fortunate, if either his owne ambition had not ſet him againſt his brother, or the enuy of his enemies, his brother againſt him. For were it by the Queene and Lords of her bloud, which highly maligned the kings kindred (as women commonly, not of malice but of nature hate them whom their husbands loue) or were it a proud appetite of the Duke himſelfe, intending to be King: at leaſt-wiſe hainous treaſon was laid to his charge, and finally were he faulty, were he faultleſſe, attainted he was by Parliament, and iudged to death, as we haue ſaid.

Women commonly maligne their husbands kindred.

The deſcription of *Richard* Duke of *Glouceſter*.

(5) *Richard* the third ſonne, of whom we now entreat, was in wit and courage equall with either of them, in body and proweſſe farre vnder them both, little of ſtature, ill-limmed, and crook backed, his left ſhoulder much higher then his right, very hard fauoured of viſage, and ſuch as in States is called warly, in other men otherwiſe: he was malicious, wrathfull, and enuious, yea, and from afore his birth euer froward. For it is for truth reported, that the Dutcheſſe his Mother had ſo much adoe in her trauaile, that ſhe could not be deliuered of him vncut, and that he came into the world with his feet forward, as men be borne outward, and (as the fame runneth) alſo not vntoothed; Whether men of hatred report aboue the truth, or elſe that nature changed her courſe in his beginning, which in the courſe of his life many things vnnaturally committed.

Richard Crookebacke a good ſouldier.

(6) No euill Captaine was he in the warre, as to which his diſpoſition was more inclined then for peace; ſundry victories he had, and ſometimes ouerthrowes, but neuer in default as for his owne perſon, either of hardineſſe, or politicke order; free was he of his diſpence, and ſomewhat aboue his power liberall: with large gifts hee gat him vnſtedfaſt friendſhip, for which he was forced to pill and pole in other places, which gat him ſtedfaſt hatred. Hee was cloſe and ſecret, a deepe diſſembler, lowly of countenance, arrogant of heart, outwardly familiar where euen now hee hated, and not letting to kiſſe whom hee thought to kill: deſpitefull and cruell he was, not for euill-will alwayes, but oftner for ambition, and either for the ſurety or increaſe of his eſtate. Friend and foe was much-what indifferent; where his aduantage grew, he ſpared no mans death, whoſe life withſtood his purpoſe. He ſlew with his owne hands, King *Henrie* the ſixth, being Priſoner in the Tower, as men conſtantly ſaid, and that without commandement or knowledge of the King, who vndoubtedly if he had intended his death, would haue appoynted that butcherly office to ſome other then his owne brother.

(7) Some wiſe men alſo iudge, that his driſt couertly conueyed, lacked not in helping forth his brother *Clarence* to his death; which he reſiſted openly, howbeit ſomewhat (as men deemed) more faintly, then he that was hartily minded to his wealth: And they that thus iudge, thinke that long time in K. *Edwards* life, he fore-caſt to be King, in caſe that his brother (whoſe life he looked that euill diet ſhould ſhorten) ſhould happen to deceaſe (as indeed hee did) while his children were young. And they deeme that for this intent he was glad of the Duke of *Clarence* death, whoſe life muſt needes haue hindered him ſo intending, (being his elder brother) whether the ſame Duke had kept him true to his Nephew the young King, or enterprized to be king himſelfe. But of all this poynt there is no certainty, and who ſo diuineth vpon coniectures, may aſwell ſhoote too farre as too ſhort. Howbeit this haue I by credible information learned, that in the ſame night in which king *Edward* dyed, one *Miſtlebroke* (long ere morning) came in great haſte to the houſe of one *Pottier* dwelling in *Red-Croſſe* ſtreet without *Creeple*-gate in *London*: and when he with haſty rapping, quickly was let in, he ſhewed vnto *Pottier* that K. *Edward* was departed. By my troth man quoth *Pottier*, then will my maſter the Duke of *Gloceſter* be king: What cauſe he had ſo to thinke, hard it is to ſay, whether being toward him knew any ſuch thing intended, or otherwiſe had any inkling thereof, for it was not likely that he ſpake it of no ground.

He was the cauſe of *Clarences* his death.

Richard of Glouceſter intended to be king euen whiles K. *Edward* liued.

The ſpeech of *Pottier* at King *Edwards* death.

(8) But now to returne to the courſe of this Hiſtory; were it that the Duke of *Gloceſter* had of old fore-minded this concluſion, and was now thereunto moued, and put in hope by the occaſion of the tender age of the yong Princes his Nephewes (as opportunity & likelyhood of ſpeed putteth a man in courage of that he neuer intended) certaine it is, that hee contriued their deſtruction, with the vſurpation of the regall dignity vpon himſelfe, and foraſmuch as hee well wiſt, and holp to maintaine a long continued grudge and heart-burning betweene the Queenes kindred, and the Kings bloud, either part enuying others authority; hee now thought their diuiſions ſhould be (as it was indeed) a forward beginning to the purſuite of his intent, and a ſure ground for the foundation of all his building, if he might firſt, vnder the pretext of reuenging olde diſpleaſure, abuſe the anger and ignorance of the one party, to the deſtruction of the other, and then winne to his purpoſe as many as he could, and thoſe that could not be wonne, might be loſt before they were aware; for of one thing was he certaine, that if his intent were perceiued, he ſhould ſoon haue made peace betweene both the parties with his owne bloud.

The Vncle contriueth the deſtruction of his Nephewes.

Richards deepe pollicy.

(9) King *Edward* in his life, albeit that this diſſention betweene his friends ſomewhat grieued him, yet in his good health hee ſomewhat leſſe regarded it, becauſe hee thought whatſoeuer buſineſſe ſhould fall betweene them, himſelfe ſhould alwaies bee able to rule both the parties. But in his laſt ſickneſſe, when hee perceiued his naturall ſtrength ſo ſore infeebled, that he diſpaired all recouery; then conſidering the youth of his Children, albeit he nothing leſſe miſtruſted then that that happened, yet well-fore-ſeeing how many harmes might grow by their debate, while the youth of his Children ſhould lacke diſcretion of themſelues, and good Counſell of their friends, of which either partie ſhould counſell for their owne commodity, and the rather by pleaſant aduiſe to winne themſelues fauour, then by profitable aduertiſements to doe his Children good, hee called ſome of them before him that were at variance, and in ſpeciall the Lord Marqueſſe *Dorſet*, the Queenes Sonne by her firſt Husband, and *William* Lord *Haſtings* a Nobleman, then Lord Chamberlain, againſt whom the Queene eſpecially grudged, for the great fauour the King bare him: and alſo for that ſhee thought him ſecretly familiar with the King in wanton company. Her kindred alſo bare him ſore, aſwell for that the King had made him Captaine of *Callis*, which office the Lord *Riuers*, brother to the Queene

King *Edwards* care to ſet peace betwixt the Queenes kindred and his.

The Queenes iealouſie againſt the Lord Chamberlaine.

Queene claimed of the Kings former promiſe, as for diuers other great gifts which hee receiued, that they looked for. Theſe were the grudges which the King on his death-bed ſought to remoue, and they in ſhew ſeemed to cancell, as we haue ſaid, though the ſparks of theſe diſpleaſures burſt afterward into a dangerous flame, which conſumed moſt of them, as afterward ſhall appeare.

King *Edward* repaireth towards *London*.

(10) For aſſoone as the King was departed this life, his Sonne Prince *Edward* drew towards *London* from *Ludlow* in *Wales*, which Countrey being farre off from the law, and recourſe to iuſtice, was become to be farre out of Order, and growne wilde; Robbers, Rouers, walking at liberty vncorrected: for which cauſe this Prince in the life time of his Father was ſent thither, to the end that the authority of his preſence ſhould refraine euill-diſpoſed perſons, from the boldneſſe of their former outrages. To the gouernance and ordering of this young Prince at his ſending thither, was there appointed Sir *Anthony Wooduill* Lord *Riuers*, brother vnto the Queene, a right honourable man, as valiant of hand as politick in Counſell; adioyned were there vnto him others of the ſame party, and in effect euery one as he was neereſt of kin vnto the Queene, ſo was he planted next about the Prince.

The Queenes kindred onely about the Prince.

(11) That drift of the Queene, not vnwiſely deuiſed, whereby her bloud might of youth be rooted in the Princes fauour, the Duke of *Glouceſter* turned vnto their deſtruction, and vpon that ground ſet the foundation of all his vnhappy fabricke. For whomſoeuer hee perceiued either at variance with them, or bearing himſelfe, their fauour, he brake vnto them; ſome by mouth, ſome by writing and ſecret meſſengers, that it was neither reaſon, nor in any wiſe to be ſuffered, that the young King their Maſter and kinſeman, ſhould be in the hands and Cuſtody of his mothers kindred, ſequeſtred in manner from their Company and attendance, of which euery one ought him as faithfull ſeruice as they, and many of them farre more honourable part of kin then his mothers ſide: whoſe bloud (quoth he) ſauing the Kings pleaſure, was farre vnmeet to bee matched with his, which now to be as who ſay remoued from the king, and the leſſe noble to be left about him, is (quoth hee) neither honourable to his Maieſtie nor vnto vs, and alſo to his Grace no ſurety, to haue the mightieſt of his friends from him, and vnto vs no little ieopardy, to ſuffer our well-proued euill-willers to grow in ouer-great authoritie with the Prince in youth, who is light of beliefe and ſoone perſwaded. Ye remember I trow, K. *Edward* himſelfe, albeit he was a man of age and diſcretion, yet was he in many things ruled by the bend, more then ſtood either with his honour, or our profit, or with the commodity of any man elſe, except onely the immoderate aduancement of themſelues. Which whether they ſorer thirſted after their owne weale, or our woe, it were hard I weene to geſſe, and if ſome folkes friendſhip had not held better place with the King, then any reſpect of kindred, they might perhaps eaſily haue intrapped and brought ſome of vs to confuſion ere this; why not as eaſily as they haue done ſome other already, as neere of his royall bloud as we? But our Lord hath wrought his will, and thankes be to his grace, that perill is paſt: howbeit as great is growing, if we ſuffer this young King in our enemies hand; which without his knowledge might abuſe the name of his commandement, to any of our vndoing, which thing God and good prouiſion forbid.

The Duke ſeeketh to diſplace the Prince.

The crafty complaints of *Richard* Duke of *Glouceſter*.

(12) Of which good prouiſion none of vs hath any thing the leſſe neede, for the late made attonement, in which the Kings pleaſure had more place then the parties wils: nor none of vs, I beleeue, is ſo vnwiſe ouer-ſoone to truſt a new friend made of an old foe, or to thinke that an hourely kindnes, ſodainly contracted in one houre, continued yet ſcarce a fortnight, ſhould be deeper ſetled in their ſtomackes, then a long accuſtomed malice many yeares rooted. With theſe word and writings and ſuch other, the Duke of *Glouceſter* ſoone ſet a fire them that were of themſelues apt enough to kindle, eſpecially two, *Edward* Duke of *Buckingham*, and *William* Lord *Haſtings* Chamberlaine, both men of honor, and of great power. The one by long ſucceſſion from his Auncеſtry: the other by his office, and the Kings fauour. Theſe two not bearing each to other ſo much loue, as both of them hatred vnto the Queenes part, in this point accorded together, with the Duke of *Glouceſter*, that they would vtterly remoue from the Kings Company all his mothers friends vnder the name of their enemies.

The effect that his pollicy tooke.

The concluſion of his deſignes.

(13) Vpon this concluſion the Duke of *Glouceſter* vnderſtanding that the Lords, which at that time were about the King, intended to bring him to *London* to his Coronation, accompanied with ſuch power of their friends, that it ſhould be hard for him to bring his purpoſe to paſſe, without the gathering a great aſſembly of people, and in manner of open warre, whereof the end he wiſt well was doubtfull, and in which the King being on their ſide, his part ſhould haue the face and name of a Rebellion; he ſecretly therefore, by diuers meanes, cauſed the Queene to be perſwaded and brought in mind, that it neither were need, and alſo ſhould be ieopardous, the King to come vp ſtrong.

Another crafty pollicy of Duke *Richard*.

(14) For whereas now euery Lord loued other, and no other thing ſtudied vpon but about the Coronation and honour of the King: if the Lords of her kindred ſhould aſſemble in the Kings name much people, they ſhould giue the Lords of the contrary faction cauſe to feare and ſuſpect, leſt they ſhould gather this people, not for the Kings ſafegard, whom no man impugned, but for their deſtruction, hauing more regard to their olde variance, then their new attonement: for which cauſe they ſhould aſſemble on the other party much people againe for their defence, whoſe power ſhe wiſt well ſtretched farre: and thus ſhould all the Realme fall on an vproare: and of all the hurt that thereof ſhould enſue, which was likely not to be a little, and the moſt harme like to fall where ſhe leaſt would, all the world would put her and her kindred in the blame, and ſay that they had vnwiſely and vntruly alſo broken the amity & peace which the King her husband ſo prudently made betwixt his kin and hers on his death-bed, and which the other party faithfully obſerued.

The Queene yeeldeth to the Dukes perſwaſion.

(15) The Queene in this wiſe perſwaded, ſent ſuch word vnto her ſonne; and vnto her brother, being about the King: beſides, the Duke of *Glouceſter* himſelfe, and other Lords, the chiefe of his bend, wrote vnto the King ſo reuerently, and to the Queenes friends there ſo louingly, that they nothing earthly miſtruſting, brought vp the King in great haſt, but not in good ſpeed, with a ſober company. Now was the King in his way to *London*, gone from *Northampton*, when the Dukes of *Glouceſter* and *Buckingham* came thither, where remained behinde, the Lord *Riuers* the Kings vncle, intending on the morrow to follow the King, and be with him at *Stony-Stratford*, twelue miles thence, earely ere he departed. So was there made that night much friendly cheare betwixt theſe two Dukes and the Lord *Riuers* a great while: but incontinent after that, they were openly with great curteſie departed, and the Lord *Riuers* lodged, the Dukes ſecretly with a few of their moſt priuy friends, ſet them downe in Councell, wherein they ſpent a great part of the night: and at their riſing, in the dawning of the day, they ſent out priuily to their ſeruants in their Innes and lodgings about, giuing command to make themſelues ſhortly ready, for their Lords were to horſe-ward: vpon which meſſages, many of their folke were attendant, when many of the L. *Riuers* ſeruants were vnready.

The Lords meet at *Northampton*.

(16) Now had theſe Dukes taken into their cuſtodies the keyes of the Inne, that none ſhould paſſe forth without their licenſe: and beſides this, in the high

The Keyes of the Inne kept by *Richard* Duke of *Glouceſter*.

high-way towards *Stony-Stratford*, where the King lay, they had beſtowed certaine of their men, that ſhould ſend backe againe, and compell to returne any man that were gotten out of *Northampton* towards *Stony-Stratford*, till they had further order: foraſmuch as the Dukes themſelues intended, for the ſhew of their diligence, to bee the firſt that ſhould that day attend vpon the Kings Highneſſe out of that Towne. Thus bare they folke in hand: but when the Lord *Riuers* vnderſtood the gates cloſed, the wayes beſet, neither his ſeruants, or himſelfe ſuffered to goe out, conſidering well ſo great a thing without his knowledge, could not bee done for nought; and comparing this preſent manner with his laſt nights cheare, in ſo few houres to haue ſo great a change, maruailouſly miſliked it. Howbeit, ſith hee could not get away, nor keepe himſelfe cloſe, hee would not, leſt hee ſhould ſeeme to hide himſelfe for ſome ſecret feare of his own fault, wherof hee ſaw no ſuch cauſe in himſelfe: hee determined vpon the ſurety of his owne conſcience, to goe boldly vnto them, and to enquire what this matter might meane; whom as ſoone as they ſaw, they beganne to quarrell with, ſaying, that hee entended to ſet diſtance betweene the King and them, and to bring them to confuſion, but it ſhould not lie in his power. And when he began (as he was a very well ſpoken man) in ſeemely wiſe to excuſe himſelfe, they tarried not the end of his anſwere, but ſhortly tooke him, and put him in ward: and that done, forthwith went to horſe-backe, and tooke the way to *Stony-Stratford*, where they found the King with his Company, ready to leape on horſe-backe, and depart forward to leaue that lodging for them, becauſe it was too ſtrait for both companies.

The Lord *Riuers* much troubled at the ſodaine action.

The Lord *Riuers* impriſoned in *Northampton*.

(17) And as ſoone as they came in his preſence, they alighted downe with all their company about them; to whom the Duke of *Buckingham* ſaid, Goe afore Gentlemen, and Yeomen keepe your roomes. In which goodly array they came to the King, and on their knees in very humble manner ſaluted his Grace, who receiued them in very ioyous and amiable manner, nothing knowing, nor miſtruſting as yet what was done. But euen by and by in his preſence, they picked a quarrell to the Lord *Gray*, the Kings other brother by his mother, ſaying, that he with the Lord Marqueſſe his brother, and the Lord *Riuers* his Vncle, had compaſſed to rule the King & the realme, and to ſet variance among the States, and to ſubdue and deſtroy the noble bloud of the Realme: towards the accompliſhing whereof, they ſaid that the Lord Marqueſſe had entred into the Tower of *London*, and thence taken out the Kings Treaſure, and had ſent men to the ſea: All which things theſe Dukes well knew were done for neceſſary and good purpoſes, by the whole Councell at *London*, ſauing that ſomewhat they muſt ſay.

The Dukes come to the King.

A quarrell picked in the Kings preſence.

Accuſations againſt the Queens kindred.

(18) Vnto which words the King anſwered, what my brother Marqueſſe hath done I cannot ſay: but in good ſooth I dare well anſwere for mine Vncle *Riuers*, and my brother here, that they are innocent of any ſuch matter: yea my Liege, quoth the Duke of *Buckingham*, they haue kept the dealings of theſe matters farre from the knowledge of your good Grace. And forthwith they arreſted the Lord *Richard*, Sir *Thomas Vaughan*, and Sir *Richard Hawt* knights, in the Kings preſence, and brought the King and all his company backe vnto *Northampton*, where they tooke againe further counſell. And there they ſent away from the King whom it pleaſed them, and ſet new ſeruants about him, ſuch as better liked them then him: At which dealing the King wept, and was nothing content; but it booted not: and at dinner the Duke of *Gloceſter* ſent a diſh from his owne Table to the Lord *Riuers*, bidding him be of good cheere, for all ſhould be well. But the Lord *Riuers* thanking the Duke, prayed the Meſſenger to beare it to the Lord *Richard*, with the ſame meſſage for his comfort, as one to whom ſuch aduerſity was ſtrange, but himſelfe had beene all his dayes inured therewith, and therefore could beare it the better: but for all this comfortable courteſie of the Duke of *Gloucester*, he ſent the Lord *Riuers*, and the Lord *Richard*, with Sir *Thomas Vaughan*, into the North Country, into diuers places to priſon, and afterward all to *Pomfret*, where they were in concluſion beheaded.

The King excuſeth his Vncle.

The King is brought backe to *Northampton*.

The Duke of *Glouceſter* ſends a diſh of meat vnto the Lord *Riuers*.

The Lord *Riuers* and others beheaded.

(19) In this wiſe the **Duke of** *Gloceſter* tooke vpon himſelfe the Order and Gouernance of the young King, whom with much honour and humble reuerence hee conuaied towards *London*. But anone the tydings of this matter came haſtily to the Queene, a little before the midnight following, and that in the foreſt wiſe, that the King her Sonne was taken, her Brother, her Sonne, and other friends arreſted, and ſent no man wiſt whither, to be done with God wot what. With which tidings, the Queene in great fright and heauineſſe, bewailed her childes raigne, her friends miſchance, and her owne misfortune, damning the time that euer ſhe diſſwaded the gathering of power about the King, got her ſelfe in all haſt poſſible with her yong ſonne, & her daughters, out of the Palace of *Weſtminſter*, in which ſhe then lay, into the Sanctuary, lodging her ſelfe and company there in the Abbots place.

Queene *Elizabeth* taketh Sanctuary.

(20) Now came there one likewiſe, not long after night from the Lord Chamberlaine, vnto the Archbiſhop of *Yorke* then Chancellor of *England*, to his place not farre from *Weſtminſter*; and for that he ſhewed his ſeruants, that hee had tidings of great importance, that his M. gaue him in charge, not to forbeare his reſt, they letted not to awake him; nor hee to admit the Meſſenger vnto his bed-ſide. Of whom hee heard that theſe Dukes were gone backe with the Kings Grace from *Stony-Stratford* vnto *Northampton*: notwithſtanding Sir (quoth he) my Lord ſendeth your Lordſhip word, that there is no feare: for hee aſſureth you that all ſhall bee well. I aſſure him (quoth the Archbiſhop) bee it as well as it will, it will neuer bee ſo well as we haue ſeene it. And thereupon by and by after the meſſengers departure, hee cauſed in all haſt all his ſeruants to be called vp, and ſo with his owne houſehold about him, euery man weaponed, hee tooke the Great Seale with him, and came yet before day vnto the Queene. About whom hee found much heauineſſe, rumble, haſte and buſineſſe, carriage and conueiance of her ſtuffe into Sanctuary, cheſts, coffers, packes and fardels, truſſed all on mens backes, no man vn-occupied, ſome lading, ſome going, ſome diſcharging, ſome comming for more, ſome breaking downe the wals to bring in the next way, and ſome drew to them to helpe to carry a wrong way. The Queene her ſelfe ſate alone alow on the ruſhes, all deſolate and diſmayed, whom the Archbiſhop comforted in the beſt manner he could, ſhewing her that he truſted the matter was nothing ſo ſore as ſhe tooke it for, and that hee was put in good hope and out of feare, by a meſſage ſent him from the Lord Chamberlaine: Ah woe worth him (quoth the Queene) hee is one of them that laboureth to deſtroy me and my bloud.

The Lord Chamberlaine ſendeth the newes to the L. Chancellor.

The great heauineſſe & confuſion of the Queene and her ſeruants.

The Archbiſhops comforts to the Queene.

(21) Madam (quoth hee) bee of good cheare; for I aſſure you, if they crowne any other King then your ſonne, whom they haue now with them, we ſhal on the morrow crowne his brother, whom you haue here with you: and here is the Great Seale, which in like ſort as that noble Prince your Husband deliuered it vnto mee, ſo here I deliuer it vnto you, to the vſe and behoofe of your Sonne, and therewith hee betooke her the Great Seale, and departed home againe, euen in the dawning of the day: by which time hee might in his Chamber window ſee all the Thames full of boats of the Dukes of *Gloceſters* ſeruants, watching that no man ſhould goe to Sanctuary, nor none ſhould paſſe vnſearched. Then was there great commotion and murmure, aſwell in other places about, as eſpecially in the City, the people diuerſly

The Lord Chancellour giues the great Seale to the Queene.

diuerſly diuining vpon this dealing. And ſome Lords, Knights and Gentlemen, either for fauour of the Queene, or for feare of themſelues, aſſembled in ſundry Companies, and went flocke-meale in harneſſe: and many alſo, for that they accounted this demeanour attempted, not ſo ſpecially againſt the other Lords, as againſt the King himſelfe in the diſturbance of his Coronation.

Great feare conceiued of the ouermuch murmuring made.

(22) But then, by and by the Lords aſſembled together, towards which meeting, the Archbiſhoppe of *Yorke* fearing that it would bee aſcribed (as it was indeed) to his ouermuch lightneſſe, that hee ſo ſodainely had yeelded vp the great Seale to the Queene (to whom the cuſtody thereof nothing appertained) without ſpeciall commandement of the King, ſecretly ſent for the Seale againe, and brought it with him after the accuſtomed manner. And at this meeting the Lord *Haſtings*, whoſe truth toward the King no man doubted, nor needed to doubt, perſwaded the Lords to beleeue, that the Duke of *Glouceſter* was ſure and faſtly faithfull to his Prince, and that the Lord *Riuers*, and Lord *Richard*, with the other Knight, were for matters attempted by them againſt the Dukes of *Gloceſter* and *Buckingham* put vnder arreſt for their ſurety, not for the Kings ieopardy; and that they were alſo in ſafeguard, and there no longer ſhould remaine, then till the matter were, not by the Dukes onely, but alſo by all the other Lords of the Kings Councell indifferently examined, and by other diſcretions ordered, either iudged or appeaſed. But one thing he aduiſed them beware, that they iudged not the matter too farre forth ere they knew the truth, nor turning their priuate grudges into the common hurt, irking and prouoking men vnto anger; and diſturbing the kings Coronation; towards which the Dukes were comming vp, that they might peraduenture bring the matter ſo farre out of ioynt, that it ſhould neuer be brought in frame againe. Which ſtrife if it ſhould happen (as it were likely) to come to a field, though both parties were in all things equall, yet ſhould the authority be on that ſide where the King is himſelfe.

The L. Chancellour ſendeth for the great Seale to the Queene.

Perſwaſions of the L. *Haſtings* that nothing was extreamly meant.

(23) With theſe perſwaſions of the Lord *Haſtings*, whereof part himſelfe beleeued, of part he wiſt the contrary, theſe commotions were ſomewhat appeaſed, but eſpecially by that, that the Dukes of *Gloceſter* and *Buckingham* were ſo neere, and came ſo ſhortly on with the King, in none other manner, with none other voice, or any other ſemblance then to his Coronation; cauſing the fame to be blowne about, that theſe Lords and Knights which were taken, had contriued the deſtruction of the Dukes of *Glouceſter* and *Buckingham*, and of other the Noble bloud of the Realme, to the end that themſelues would alone demeane and gouerne the King at their pleaſure. And for the colourable proofe thereof, ſuch of the Dukes ſeruants as rode with the Carts of their ſtuffe that were taken (amongſt which ſtuffe no maruell though ſome were harneſſe, which at the breaking vp of the houſhold, muſt needs either be brought away, or caſt away) they ſhewed vnto the people all the way as they went; ſaying, loe here be the barrels of harneſſe, that theſe Traitours haue priuily conuaied in their Carriages to deſtroy the Noble Lords withall. This deuiſe, albeit it made the matter to wiſemen more vnlikely, well perceiuing that the intenders of ſuch a purpoſe would rather haue had their harneſſe on their backes, then to bee bound vp in barrels: yet much part of the common people were therewith very well ſatisfied, and ſaid it were almes to hang them.

Lord *Haſtings* ſomewhat diſſembleth.

Falſe imputation caſt vpon the Lords of the Queenes bloud.

How ſoone the Commons are brought into fooles Paradiſe.

(24) When the King approached neere to the City, *Edmund Shaa* Goldſmith, then Maior, with *William White*, and *Iohn Matthew* Sheriffes, and all the other Aldermen in Scarlet, with fiue hundred horſe of the Citizens, in Violet, receiued him reuerently at *Harneſey*, and riding from thence, accompanied him into the City, which he entred the fourth day of May, the firſt and laſt yeare of his raigne. The King was lodged in the Biſhops Pallace, where was kept a great Councell, and there was ſworne to the King the Duke of *Glouceſter*, the Duke of *Buckingham*, and all the Lords. But the Duke of *Gloceſter* bare him in open ſight ſo reuerently to the Prince, with all ſemblance of lowlineſſe, that from the great obloquie in which he was ſo late before, hee was ſodainly ſalne in ſo great truſt, that at the Councell next aſſembled, he was made the onely man, choſen and thought moſt meet to be Protector of the King and his Realme, ſo that (were it deſtiny, or were it folly) the Lambe was betaken to the Wolfe to keepe. At which Councell alſo, the Archbiſhop of *Yorke*, Chancellor of *England*, which had deliuered vp the great Seale to the Queene, was thereof greatly reproued, and the Seale taken from him, & deliuered to Doctor *Ruſſell* Biſhop of *Lincolne*, a wiſe man, and of much experience, and vndoubtedly one of the beſt learned men that *England* had in his time: diuers Lords and Knights were appointed vnto diuers Roomes, the Lord Chamberlaine, and ſome others, keeping ſtill their Offices they had before.

Richard Duke of *Gloceſter* made Protector of the King & Realme.

The great Seale is taken from the Archbiſhop of *Yorke*.

(25) Now although that the Protector ſo ſore thirſted for the finiſhing of thoſe deſignes which he had begun, and thought euery day a yeare till they were atchieued, yet durſt he no further attempt, ſo long as hee had but halfe his prey in his hand: well witting, that if hee depoſed the one Brother, all the Realme would fall to the other, if he either remained in Sanctuary, or ſhould be conueyed to his further liberty: wherefore, incontinent at the next meeting of the Lords in Councell, he propoſed vnto them, that it was a hainous deed of the Queene, and proceeded of great malice towards the Kings Counſellers, that ſhe ſhould keepe in Sanctuary the Kings Brother from him, whoſe ſpeciall pleaſure and comfort were to haue his Brother with him: and that by her done, was to none other intent, but to bring all the Lords in obloquie, and murmure of the people, as though they were not to be truſted with the Kings Brother, who by aſſent of the Nobles of the land, were appointed as the Kings neereſt friends, to the tuition of his owne royall perſon. The proſperity whereof ſtandeth (quoth hee) not all in keeping from enemies or ill viand, but partly alſo in recreation, and moderate pleaſure, which he in his tender youth cannot take in the company of ancient perſons, but in the familiar conuerſation of thoſe that be neither farre vnder, nor farre aboue his age, and neuertheleſſe of eſtate conuenient to accompany his noble Maieſty; wherefore with whom rather, then with his owne brother? And if any man thinke this conſideration (which I thinke no man thinketh that loueth the King) let him conſider that ſometimes without ſmall things, greater cannot ſtand. And verily, it redoundeth greatly to the diſhonour both of the Kings Highneſſe, and of vs all that are about his Grace, to haue it runne in euery mans mouth, not in this Realme onely, but alſo in other lands, (as euill words walke farre) that the Kings brother ſhall be faine to keepe Sanctuary; for euery man I deeme, will ſuppoſe, that there is occaſion giuen, why it ſhould ſo be: and ſuch euill opinions once faſtened in mens hearts, hardly can be ſcrewed out againe, and may grow to more griefe then any man here can diuine. Wherefore I thinke it were not the worſt to ſend vnto the Queene for the redreſſe of this matter, ſome honourable truſty man, ſuch as both tendreth the Kings weale, and the honour of this Councell, and is alſo in fauour and credence with her. For all which conſiderations, none ſeemeth to mee more meete, then is our reuerend Father here preſent, my Lord Cardinall, who may in this matter doe moſt good of any man, if it pleaſe him to take the paines, which I doubt not of his goodneſſe hee will not refuſe, for the Kings ſake and ours, and weale of the young Duke himſelfe, the Kings moſt honourable brother,

The Protectors perſwaſion to take out of Sanctuary the young Duke of *Yorke*.

A fine fetch to fetch out the Duke.

The Protector would haue the Queene ſent vnto.

King *Edward* met by the Citizens, and accompanied by them into *London*.

and after my Soueraigne himselfe, my most deere Nephew, considering that thereby shall be ceased the slanderous rumour and obloquie now going, and the hurts auoided that thereof might ensue, & much rest and quiet grow to all the Realme. And if she be percase so obstinate, and so precisely set vpon her owne will, that neither his wise and faithfull aduertisement cannot moue her, nor any mans reason content her: then shall we by mine aduise, and by the Kings authority, fetch him out of that Prison, and bring him to his noble presence, in whose continuall company he shall be so well cherished, and so honourably intreated, that all the world shall to our honor, and her reproach perceiue, that it was onely malice, frowardnesse, or folly, that caused her to keepe him there: this is my minde in this matter for this time, except any of your Lordships any thing perceiue to the contrary, for neuer shall I by Gods grace, so wed my selfe to my owne will, but that I shall be ready to change it vpon your better aduises.

If the Queene refuse to deliuer the Duke what is to be done.

(26) When the Protector had said, all the Councell affirmed, that the motion was good and reasonable, and to the King and the Duke his Brother honourable, and the thing that should cease great murmure in the Realme, if the mother might be by good meanes induced to deliuer him. Which thing the Archbishop of *Yorke*, whom they all agreed also to be thereto most conuenient, tooke vpon him to moue her, and therein to doe his vttermost endeauour: howbeit, if she could by no meanes be entreated with her good will to deliuer him, then thought he, and such other of the Clergie then present, that it were not in any wise to be attempted, to take him out against her will. For it would be a thing that should turne to the great grudge of all men, and high displeasure of God, if the priuiledge of that holy place should now be broken, which had so many yeares beene kept, which both Kings and Popes so good had granted, so many had confirmed, and which holy ground was more then fiue hundred yeares agoe, by S. *Peter* in his owne person, in spirit accompanied with great multitude of Angels, by night so specially hallowed and dedicated to God, (for the proofe whereof, they haue yet in the Abbey, Saint *Peters* Cope to shew) that from that time hitherward, was there neuer so vndeuout a King, that durst violate that sacred place, or so holy a Bishop, that durst presume to consecrate it; and therefore (quoth the Archbishop of *Yorke*) God forbid that any man should for any thing earthly, enterprize to breake the immunitie and liberty of that sacred Sanctuarie, that hath beene the safegard of many a good mans life: and I trust (quoth he) with Gods grace we shall not need it. But for what need soeuer, I would not we should doe it; I trust that she shall be with reason contented, and all things in good manner obtained; but if it happen that I bring it not so to passe, yet shall I toward it with my best, and you shall all well perceiue, that there shall be of my indeauour no lacke, if the Mothers dread, and womanish feare be not the let.

All the Counsell allow of the Protectors speech.

A great offence to breake the Sanctuary.

S. Peters owne Cope was to be seene in *Westminster*.

(27) Womanish feare, nay womanish frowardnesse (quoth the Duke of *Buckingham*) for I dare take it vpon my soule she well knoweth there is no need of any feare, either for her sonne, or for her selfe. For as for her, here is no man that will be at warre with a woman: Would God some of the men of her kin were women too, and then should all be soone in rest: Howbeit, there is none of her kin the lesse loued, for that they be of her kin, but for their owne euill-deseruing. And nay the lesse, if we loued neither her, nor her kinne, yet were there no cause to thinke that we should hate the Kings noble Brother, to whose Grace we our selues be of kin: whose honour, if she as much desired, as our dishonour, and as much regard tooke to his wealth, as to her owne will, she would be as loth to suffer him from the King, as any of vs be. For, if she haue wit, (as would God she had as good will as she hath shrewd wit) she reckoneth her selfe no wiser, then she thinketh some that be here, of whose faithfull minde she nothing doubteth, but verily beleeueth and knoweth, that they would be as sorry of his harme, as her selfe, and yet would haue him from her, if she bide there: and we all (I thinke) content, that both be with her, if she come thence, and bide in such place, where they may be with their honour. Now then, if she refuse in the deliuerance of him, to follow the counsell of them, whose wisedome she knoweth, whose truth she well trusteth: it is easie to perceiue, that frowardnesse letteth her, and not feare. But goe to, suppose that she feare, (as who may let her to feare her owne shadow?) the more she feareth to deliuer him, the more ought we to feare to leaue him in her hands: For, if she cast such fond doubts, that she feare his hurt; then will shee feare that hee shall be fetcht thence. For she will soone thinke, that if men were set (which God forbid) vpon so great a mischiefe, the Sanctuary would little let them: which good men might (as I thinke) without sin, somewhat lesse regard then they doe. Then, if she doubt, lest hee might be fetched from her, is it not likely that she shall send him somewhere out of the Realme? Verily, I looke for none other. And I doubt not, but she now as sore mindeth it, as we the let thereof. And if she might happen to bring that to passe (as it were no great mastery, we letting her alone) all the world would say, that we were a wise sort of Counsellors about a King, that suffer his Brother to be cast away vnder our noses. And therefore I assure you faithfully for my minde, I will rather, maugre her mind, fetch him away, then leaue him there, till her frowardnesse and fond feare conuay him away. And yet will I breake no Sanctuary therefore: for verily, sith the priuiledges of that place, and other-like haue beene of long continued, I am not he that will goe about to breake them. And in good faith, if they were now to begin, I would not be he that should be about to make them. Yet will I not say nay, but that it is a deed of pitty, that such men, as the sea, or their euill debters haue brought in pouerty, should haue some place of libertie, to keepe their bodies out of the danger of their cruell Creditors. And also, if the Crowne happen (as it hath done) to come in question, while either part taketh other as Traitours, I like well there be some places of refuge for both. But as for theeues, of which these places be full, and which neuer fall from the craft after they once fall therevnto; it is pittie the Sanctuary should serue them, and much more manquellers, whom God bad to take from the Altar and kill them, if their murther were wilfull. And where it is otherwise, there need wee not the Sanctuaries, that God appointed in the old Law: for if either necessity, his own defence, or misfortune draweth him to that deed, a pardon serueth, which either the law granteth of course, or the King of pittie may. Then looke we now how few sanctuary men there be, whom any fauourable necessity compelled to goe thither; and then see on the other side, what a sort there be commonly therein of them, whom wilfull vnthriftinesse hath brought to naught: what rabble of theeues, murtherers, and malicious hainous Traitors, and that in two places especially? the one at the elbow of the Citie, the other in the very bowels. I dare well auow it, weigh the good that they doe, with the hurt that commeth of them, and yee shall finde it much better to lacke both, then to haue both. And this I say, although they were not abused as they now be, and so long haue been, that I feare me euer they will be, while men be afraide to set the hands to amend them, as though God and S. *Peter* were the patrons of vngracious liuing. Now vnthrifts riot, and runne in debt, vpon the boldnesse of these places; yea, and rich men runne thither with poore mens goods, there they build, there they spend, and bid their Creditors goe whistle. Mens wiues runne thither with their husbands plate, and say,

The Duke of *Buckinghams* speech.

Queene *Elizabeth* held to haue a shrewd wit.

Nor feare but frowardnesse letteth the yong Duke in Sanctuary.

A great feare without any great cause.

Buckinghams opinion of the Sanctuaries.

Much abuses suffered in Sanctuaries.

Westminster.
S. Martins.

ſay, they dare not abide with their Husbands for beating. Theeues bring thither their ſtolne goods, and liue thereon riotouſly: there they deuiſe new robberies, nightly they ſteale out, they robbe and riue, kill and come in againe, as though thoſe places gaue them not onely a ſafe-guard for the harme they haue done, but a licenſe alſo to doe more; howbeit much of this miſchiefe, if Wiſemen would ſet their hands to it, might be amended, with great thankes of God, and no breach of the Priuiledge. The reſidue, ſith ſo long agoe, I wot neere what Pope, and what Prince more pitteous then politique hath granted it, and other men ſince, of a certaine religious feare, haue not broken it; Let vs therefore take paine therewith, and let it a Gods name ſtand in force, as farre forth as reaſon will, which is not fully ſo farre forth, as may ſerue to let vs of the fetching forth of this Nobleman, to his honour and wealth, out of that place, in which he neither is, nor can be a Sanctuary man. A Sanctuary ſerueth alwayes to defend the body of that man that ſtandeth in danger abroad, not of great hurt onely, but alſo of lawfull hurt; for againſt vnlawfull harmes, neuer Pope nor King intended to Priuiledge any one place, for that Priuiledge hath euery place: knoweth any man any place, wherein it is lawfull for one man to doe another wrong? that no man vnlawfully take hurt, that libertie, the King, the Law, and very nature forbiddeth in euery place, and maketh to that regard, for euery man, euery place a Sanctuary: but where a man is by lawfull meanes in perill, there needeth he the tuition of ſome ſpeciall priuiledge, which is the onely ground and cauſe of all Sanctuaries: from which neceſſitie this noble Prince is farre, whoſe loue to the King, nature and kindred proueth, whoſe innocency to all the World, his tender youth proueth, and ſo Sanctuary, as for him, neyther none he needeth, nor none can he haue. Men come not to Sanctuary, as they come to Baptiſme, to require it by their God-fathers; he muſt aske it himſelfe, that muſt haue it; and reaſon, ſith no man hath cauſe to haue it, but whoſe conſcience of his owne fault maketh him faine need to require it: what will then hath yonder Babe? which and if he had diſcretion to require it, if neede were, I dare ſay would now be right angry with them that keepe him there: and I would thinke without any ſcruple of conſcience, without any breach of Priuiledge, to be ſomewhat more homely with them, that be there Sanctuary-men indeed: for if one goe to Sanctuary with another mans goods, why ſhould not the King, leauing his body at libertie, ſatisfie the party of his goods, euen within the Sanctuary? for neyther King nor Pope can giue any place ſuch a priuiledge, that it ſhall diſcharge a man of his debts, being able to pay. And with that diuers of the Clergy that were preſent, whether they ſaid it for his pleaſure, or as they thought, agreed plainely, that by the law of GOD, and of the Church, the goods of a Sanctuary-man, ſhould be deliuered in payment of his debts, and ſtolne goods to the owner, and onely liberty reſerued him, to get his liuing with the labour of his hands. Verily (quoth the Duke) I thinke you ſay very truth; and what if a mans wife would take Sanctuary, becauſe ſhe liſt to runne from her Husband? I would weene if ſhe could alledge none other cauſe, he may lawfully without any diſpleaſure to Saint *Peter*, take her out of Saint *Peters* Church by the arme. And if no body may be taken out of Sanctuary, that ſaith he will bide there then if a childe will take Sanctuary, becauſe he feareth to goe to Schoole, his Maſter muſt let him alone. And as ſimple as the ſample is, yet is there leſſe reaſon in our caſe then in that; for therein, though it be a childiſh feare; yet is there at the leaſt wiſe ſome feare, and herein is there none at all. And verily, I haue often heard of Sanctuary-men, but I neuer heard earſt of Sanctuary Children. And therefore, as for the Concluſion of my minde, who ſo may haue deſerued to neede it, if they thinke it for their ſuretie, let them keepe it; but he can be no Sanctuary-man that had neither wiſdome to deſire it, nor malice to deſerue it, whoſe life or libertie, can by no lawfull proceſſe ſtand in jeopardie: and he that taketh one out of the Sanctuary to doe him good, I ſay plainely that he breaketh no Sanctuary.

Buckingham's concluſion.

(28) When the Duke had done, the temporall men wholly, and moſt part of the ſpirituall alſo, thinking no hurt earthly meant towards the young Babe, condiſcended in effect, that if he were not deliuered, he ſhould be fetched; howbeit they all thought it beſt, in the auoyding of all manner of rumour, that the Lord Cardinall ſhould firſt aſſay to get him with her good will. And thereupon, all the Councell came vnto the Starre-Chamber at *Weſtminſter*, and the Lord Cardinall leauing the Protector with the Councell in the Starre-Chamber, departed into the Sanctuary to the Queene with diuers other Lords with him, were it for the reſpect of his honour, or that ſhe ſhould by preſence of ſo many perceiue that this errand was not one mans mind: or were it, for that the Protector intended not in this matter to truſt any one man alone, or elſe, that if ſhe finally were determined to keepe him, ſome of that Company had happily ſecret inſtructions, incontinent, maugre her mind to take him, and to leaue her no reſpite to conuey him, which ſhe was likely to minde, after this matter broken to her, if the time would in any wiſe ſerue her.

The generall conſent of them all.

(29) When the Queene and thoſe Lords were come together in preſence, the Lord Cardinall ſhewed her, that it was thought vnto the Protector, and vnto the whole Councell, that her keeping of the Kings Brother in that place, was the thing which highly ſounded, not onely to the great rumour of the people, and their obloquie, but alſo to the importable griefe and diſpleaſure of the Kings royall Majeſty, to whoſe Grace it were a ſingular comfort, to haue his naturall Brother in Company, as it was both his diſhonour, all theirs, and hers alſo, to ſuffer him in Sanctuary, as though the one Brother ſtood in danger and perill of the other. And he ſhewed her, that the Counſell therefore had ſent him to require her the deliuery of the yong Duke, that he might be brought vnto the Kings preſence at his liberty, out of that place, which they reckoned as a priſon, and there he ſhould be demeaned, according to his eſtate: and ſhe in this doing ſhould both doe great good to the Realme, pleaſure to the Councell, and profit to her ſelfe, ſuccour to her friends that were in diſtreſſe; and beſides that (which he wiſt well ſhe ſpecially tendred) not onely great comfort and honour to the King, but alſo to the young Duke himſelfe, whoſe great wealth it were to be together, aſwell for many greater cauſes, as alſo for both their diſports and recreations; which thing the Lords eſteemed not ſlight; though it ſeemed light; well pondering that their youth without recreation and play, cannot endure, nor any ſtranger, for the coniecture of both their ages and eſtates, ſo meet in that poynt for any of them, as either of them for other.

The Cardinall doth his errand to the Queene.

(30) My Lord (quoth the Queene) I ſay not nay, but that it were very conuenient, that this Gentleman whom yee require, were in company of the King his Brother; and in good faith, I thinke it were as great commoditie to them both, for yet a while to bee in the cuſtodie of their mother, the tender age conſidered of the elder of them both, but ſpecially the younger, which beſides his Infancie, that alſo needeth good looking to, hath a while beene ſo ſore diſeaſed, vexed with ſickneſſe, and is ſo newly rather a little amended, then well-recouered, that I dare put no perſon earthly in truſt with his keeping but my ſelfe onely, conſidering that there is (as Phyſitians

The Queenes anſwere to the Cardinall.

The true vſe of the Sanctuary.

The Duke of Yorke vncapable of Sanctuary.

Neither Pope nor King can allow Sanctuary men to conſume other mens ſubſtance.

A man may take his wife out of Sanctuary without any offence to S. Peter.

Phyſitians ſay) and as we alſo finde, double the perill in the recidiuation, that was in the firſt ſickeneſſe, with which diſeaſe, nature being ſore laboured, forewearied and weakned, waxeth the leſſe able to beare out and ſuſtaine a new ſurfeit. And albeit there might be found other that would happily doe their beſt vnto him, yet is there none that eyther knoweth better how to order him, then I that ſo long haue kept him, or is more like tenderly to cheriſh him then his owne mother that bare him.

(31) No man denieth, good Madam (quoth the Cardinall) but that your Grace were of all others moſt neceſſary about your Children, and ſo would all the Councell not onely be content, but glad that you were, if it might ſtand with your pleaſure, to be in ſuch place as might ſtand with their honor: but if you doe appoynt your ſelfe to tarry here, then they thinke it were more conuenient that the Duke of *Yorke* were with the King, honourably at his liberty, to the comfort of them both, rather then here as a Sanctuary man, to both their diſhonour and obloquie, ſith there is not alwaies ſo great a neceſſitie to haue the childe with his mother, but that occaſion may ſometimes be ſuch, that it ſhould be more expedient to keepe him ellewhere, which well appeareth in this, that at ſuch time as your deareſt ſonne then Prince, and now King, ſhould for his honour, and good order of the Country, keepe his reſidence in *Wales*, farre out of your company, your Grace was well contented therewith your ſelfe.

(32) Not very well contented (quoth the Queen) and yet the caſe is not like, for the one was then in health, and the other is now ſicke: in which caſe I maruaile greatly, that my Lord Protector is ſo deſirous to haue him in his keeping, where if the Childe in his ſickneſſe miſcarry by nature, yet might he runne into ſlander and ſuſpition of fraud. And where they call it a thing ſo ſore againſt my Childes honour, and theirs alſo, that he abideth in this place: it is all their honours there to ſuffer him abide, where no man doubteth he ſhall be beſt kept, and that is here, while I am here, which as yet intend not to come forth, and jeopard my ſelfe after other of my friends, which would God were rather here in ſurety with me, then I there in jeopardy with them.

(33) Why Madame (quoth another Lord) know you any thing why they ſhould be in jeopardy? Nay verily (quoth ſhe) nor why they ſhould be in Priſon, as now they be: But it is I trow no great maruaile though I feare, leſt thoſe that haue not letted to put them in durance without colour, will let as little to procure their deſtruction without cauſe. The Cardinall made a countenance to the other Lord, that he ſhould harpe no more vpon that ſtring, and then ſaid he to the Queene, that he nothing doubted, but that thoſe Lords of her honourable Kinne, which as yet remayned vnder arreſt, ſhould vpon the matter examined do well inough, and as towards her noble perſon, neither was, neither could be any jeopardy.

(34) Whereby ſhould I truſt that (quoth the Queene?) in that I am guiltleſſe? as though they were guilty: in that I am with their enemies better loued then they? when they hate them for my ſake; in that I am ſo neere a kinne to the King? and how farre they be off, if that would helpe, as God grant it hurt not, and therefore as for me, I purpoſe not as yet to depart hence. And as for this Gentleman my ſonne, I minde that he ſhall be where I am, till I ſee further: for I aſſure you, for that I ſee ſome Men ſo greedy, without any ſubſtantiall cauſe to haue him, makes me much more fearefull to deliuer him. Truely Madame (quoth he) the more vnwilling that you be to deliuer him, the more vnwilling other men be to ſuffer you to keepe him, leſt your cauſeleſſe feare might cauſe you farther to conuey him: and many there be that thinke he can haue no priuiledge in this place, which neither can haue will to aske it, nor malice to deſerue it; and therefore, they reckon no priuiledge broken, though they fetch him out, which if you finally refuſe to deliuer him, I verily thinke they will: ſo much dread hath my Lord his Vncle, for the tender loue he beareth him, leſt your Grace ſhould hope to ſend him away.

(35) Ah ſir, (quoth the Queene) hath the Protector ſo tender zeale that he feareth nothing, but leſt he ſhould eſcape him? thinketh he that I would ſend him hence, which is not in plight to ſend out, and in what place could I account him ſure, if he be not ſure in the Sanctuary? which there was neuer Tyrant yet ſo diueliſh, that durſt preſume to breake. And I truſt GOD is as ſtrong now to withſtand his aduerſaries, as euer he was. But my ſonne can deſerue no Sanctuary, and therefore he cannot haue it. Forſooth he hath found out a goodly gloſſe, by which that place that may defend a thiefe, may not ſaue an innocent: but he is in no jeopardy, nor hath no need thereof: would God he had not. Thinketh the Protector, (I pray GOD he may proue a Protector) thinketh he, that I perceiue not whereunto his painted Proceſſe draweth? It is not honorable that the Duke abide here: It were comfortable for them both, that he were with his Brother, becauſe the King lacketh a play-fellow forſooth. I pray God ſend them both better play-fellowes then him, that maketh ſo high a matter, vpon ſo trifling pretext, as though there could none be found to play with the King, but his Brother, (that hath no liſt to play for ſickneſſe) come out of Sanctuary, out of his ſafe-guard to play with him. As though Princes, as young as they be, could not play but with their Peeres, or Children could not play but with their kindred, with whom for the moſt part they agree much worſe then with ſtrangers. But the Child cannot require the Priuiledge: Who told him ſo? he ſhall heare him aske it, if he will. Howbeit, this is a gay matter, ſuppoſe he could not aske it, ſuppoſe he would not aske it, ſuppoſe he would aske to goe out, if I ſay he ſhall not: If I aske the Priuiledge but for my ſelfe, I ſay he that taketh him out againſt my will, breaketh the Sanctuary. Serueth this liberty for my perſon onely, or for my goods alſo: you may not take hence my Horſe from me; and may you take my Childe from me? He alſo is my ward: for as my learned Counſell ſheweth me, ſith he hath nothing by diſcent holden by Knights-ſeruice, the law maketh his mother his Gardian. Then may no man (I ſuppoſe) take my Ward from me out of Sanctuary, without the breach of Sanctuary. And if my Priuiledge could not ſerue him, nor he aske it for himſelfe, yet ſith the Law committeth to me the cuſtody of him, I may require it for him, except the Law giue a childe a Gardian onely for his goods and Lands, diſcharging him of the cure and ſafe-keeping of his body, for which onely both lands and goods ſerue. And if examples be ſufficient, to obtaine Priuiledge for my childe, I need not farre to ſeeke them, for in this place in which now we be (and which is now in queſtion, whether my childe may take benefit of it) mine other ſonne now King, was borne, kept in his Cradle, and preſerued to a more proſperous fortune, which I pray God long to continue. And as you all know, this is not the firſt time that I haue taken Sanctuary. For when my Lord my Husband was baniſhed, and thruſt out of his Kingdome, I fled hither, being great with Childe: and here I bare the Prince: and when my Lord my Husband returned ſafe againe, and had the victory, then went I hence, to welcome him home, & from thence I brought my Babe the Prince vnto his Father, when he firſt tooke him in his Armes. And I pray God that my Sonnes Pallace may be as great a ſafe-gard vnto him now raigning, as this place was ſometime to the Kings enemy. In which place I intend to keepe his brother, ſince mans Law ſerueth the Gardian to keepe the Infant. The Law of Nature wils the Mother to keepe her

her child, Gods law priuiledgeth the Sanctuary, and the Sanctuary my ſonne, ſith I feare to put him in the Protectors hands, who hath his brother already, and were (if both fayled) inheritour to the Crowne: and the cauſe of my feare, hath no man to doe to examine. But yet I feare no further then the Law feareth, which as learned men tell me, forbiddeth euery man the cuſtody of them by whoſe death he may inherite leſſe land then a Kingdome. I can no more: but whoſoeuer he be that breaketh this holy Sanctuary, I pray God ſhortly ſend him need of a Sanctuary when he may not come to it, for taken out of Sanctuary I would not that my mortall enemy were.

(36) The Lord Cardinall perceyuing that the Queene waxed euer the longer the further off, and alſo that ſhe began to kindle and chafe, and ſpeake more biting words againſt the Protector, and ſuch as he neuer beleeued, and was alſo loath to heare, he ſaid to her for a finall concluſion, that he no longer would diſpute the matter, but if ſhe were content to deliuer the Duke to him, and to the other Lords preſent, he durſt lay his body and ſoule both in pledge, not onely for his ſurety, but alſo for his eſtate; And if ſhe would giue a reſolute anſwere to the contrary, he would forthwith depart therewithall, and ſhift who ſo would with this buſineſſe afterward, for he neuer intended more to moue her in that matter, in which ſhe thought that he and all others alſo, ſaue her ſelfe, lacked either wit or truth; wit, if they were ſo dull that they could perceiue nothing what the Protector intended: truth, if they ſhould procure her ſonne to be deliuered into his hands, in whom they ſhould perceiue towards the Childe any euill intended.

(37) The Queene with theſe words ſtood a good while in a deepe ſtudy. And for as much as her ſeemed the Cardinall ready to depart, and the Protector himſelfe ready at hand, ſo as ſhe verily thought ſhe could not keepe him there, but that he ſhould incontinent be taken thence, and to conuey him elſewhere, neither had ſhe time to ſerue her, nor place determined, nor perſons appointed, all things vnready, this meſſage came on her ſo ſuddainly, nothing leſſe looked for, then to haue him fetcht out of Sanctuary, which ſhe thought to be now be-ſet in ſuch places about, that he could not be conueyed out vntaken, and partly (as ſhe thought) it might fortune her feare to be falſe, ſo wel ſhe wiſt it was either needleſſe or bootleſſe: Wherefore, if ſhe muſt needes goe from him, ſhe deemed it beſt to deliuer him; and beſides the Cardinals faith, ſhe nothing doubted, neyther ſome other Lords, whom ſhe ſaw there preſent, which as ſhe feared leſt they might be deceiued, ſo was ſhe well aſſured they would not be corrupted: and thought it would make them the more warily to looke to him, and the more circumſpectly to ſee to his ſurety, if with her owne hands ſhe be-tooke him to them of truſt. And laſtly, taking the young Duke by the hand, ſaid vnto the Lords:

Queene *Elizabeth* yeeldeth to deliuer the yong Duke.

(38) My Lords, and all my Lords; I neither am ſo vnwiſe to miſtruſt your wits, nor ſo ſuſpitious to miſtruſt your truths: of which thing I purpoſe to make you ſuch a proofe, as if either of both lacked in you, might both turne mee to great ſorrow, the realme to much harme, and you all to great reproach. For loe, here is (quoth ſhe) this Gentleman, whom I doubt not, but I could here keepe ſafe if I would, whatſoeuer any man ſay: and I doubt not alſo, but there be ſome abroad ſo deadly enemies vnto my bloud, that if they wiſt where any of it lay in their owne bodies, they would let it out. We haue alſo experience, that the deſire of a Kingdome knoweth no kindred: the Brother hath beene the Brothers bane: and may the Nephewes be ſure of their Vncle? Each of theſe Children is the others defence, whileſt they are aſunder, and each of their liues lieth in the others body: keepe one ſafe, and both be ſure, and nothing for them both more perillous, then to be in one place: For what wiſe Merchant aduentureth all his goods in one Ship? All this notwithſtanding, I deliuer him, and his brother in him, to keepe, into your hands, of whom I ſhall aske both, before God and the world. Faithfull ye be, that wot I well, and I know well you be wiſe, power and ſtrength to keepe him, if yee liſt, neyther lack yee of your ſelfe, nor lack helpe in this caſe. And if you cannot elſewhere, then may you leaue him here: but onely one thing, I beſeech you, for the truſt that his father euer put in you, and for the truſt I now put you in, that as farre as you thinke I feare too much, be you well wary that you feare not too little: and therewithall ſhe ſaid vnto the Childe, Farewell mine owne ſweet ſon, God ſend you good keeping: let me kiſſe you yet once, ere you goe; for God knoweth when we ſhall kiſſe together againe. And therewithal ſhe kiſſed him, and bleſſed him, turned her back and wept, and went her way, leauing the child weeping as faſt. When the Lord Cardinall, and thoſe other Lords with him, had receiued the young Duke, they brought him into the Star-chamber, where the Protector tooke him in his armes, and kiſſed him, with theſe words: *Now welcome my Lord, euen with all my heart:* In which ſaying, it is like he ſpake as he thought. Thereupon forth-with they brought him vnto the King his brother, into the Biſhops Pallace at *Pauls*; and from thence both of them through the Citie of *London*, honourably attended into the Tower, out of which after that day they neuer came againe.

Richard Duke of *Yorke* deliuered to the Cardinall.

A *Iudas* kiſſe.

(39) The Protector hauing both the Children now in his hands, opened himſelfe more boldly, both to certaine other men, and alſo chiefly to the Duke of *Buckingham*. Although I know that many thought that this Duke was priuy to all the Protectors counſell, euen from the beginning, and ſome of the Protectors friends ſaid, that the Duke was the firſt mouer of the Protector to this matter, ſending a priuy meſſenger vnto him ſtreight after King *Edwards* death. But others againe, which knew better the ſubtill wit of the Protector, deny that he euer opened his enterpriſe to the Duke, vntill he had brought to paſſe the things before rehearſed. But when he had impriſoned the Queenes kindred, and gotten both her ſonnes into his owne hands; then he opened the reſt of his purpoſe with leſſe feare to them whom he thought meet for the matter, and eſpecially to the Duke, who being wonne to his deſignes, he held his ſtrength more then halfe increaſed. The matter was broken vnto the Duke by ſubtill perſons, and ſuch as were their crafts-maſters in the handling of ſuch wicked deuiſes: who declared vnto him that the young King was offended with him, for his kinsfolkes ſakes, and if he were euer able he would reuenge them; who would pricke him forward thereunto if they eſcaped (for they would remember their impriſonment) or elſe if they were put to death, without doubt the yong King would be carefull for their deaths, whoſe impriſonments was grieuous vnto him. And that with repenting the Duke ſhould nothing auayle, for there was no way left to redeeme his offence by benefits, but he ſhould ſooner deſtroy himſelfe then ſaue the King, who with his Brother, and his kinsfolkes he ſaw in ſuch places impriſoned, as the Protector might with a beck deſtroy them all: and without all doubt would doe it indeed, if there were any new enterpriſe attempted. And that it was likely as the Protector had prouided priuy gard for himſelfe, ſo had he ſpials for the Duke, and traines to haue caught him, if he ſhould be againſt him, and that peraduenture from them whom he leaſt ſuſpected. For the ſtate of things, and the diſpoſitions of men then were ſuch, that a man could not well tell whom he might truſt, or whom he might feare. Theſe things, and ſuch like, being beaten into the Dukes minde, brought him to that poynt, that where he had repented the way that he had entred, yet would he goe forward in the ſame, and ſince he had once begun, he would ſtoutly goe through. And therefore to this wicked enterpriſe which he beleeued

Buckingham priuy to the Protectors plots.

Suſpition without cauſe.

The ambitious deſire for a Crowne.

beleeued could not be auoyded, he bent himselfe, determining, sith the common mischiefe could not be amended, he would turne it as much as he might to his owne commoditie.

The couenants betwixt the Protector and the Duke of *Buckingham*.

(40) Then was it agreed, that the Protector should haue the Dukes ayde to make him King, and that the Protectors only lawfull sonne should marry the Dukes daughter; and that the Protector should grant him the quiet possession of the Earledome of *Hertford*, which he claimed as his inheritance, and could neuer obtaine it in King *Edwards* time. Besides these requests of the Duke, the Protector of his owne accord, promised him a great quantitie of the Kings treasurie, and of his houshold stuffe. And when they were thus at a point betwixt themselues, they went about to prepare for the Coronation of the yong King as they would haue it seeme. And that they might turne both the eyes and mindes of men from perceiuing of their drifts otherwhere, the Lords were sent for from all parts of the Realme, and came flocking vnto the solemnitie. But the Protector and Duke after they had sent the Lord Cardinall Archbishop of *Yorke*, then L. Chancellor, the Bishop of *Ely*, the Lords *Stanley*, & *Hastings*, then Lord Chamberlaine, with many other Noblemen, to conferre and deuise about the Coronation in one place, as fast they were in another place contriuing the contrary, to make the Protector King: to which counsel, albeit there were adhibited very few, and they very secret; yet began here and there, some muttering among the people, as though all should not long be well, though they neither knew what they feared, nor wherefore: were it that before such great things, mens hearts of a secret instinct of nature mis-giue them, as the Sea without winde swelleth of himselfe sometime before a tempest; or were it that some one man happily somewhat perceiuing, filled many men with suspition, though he shewed few men what hee knew. Howbeit somewhat the dealing it selfe made men to muse on the matter, though the counsell were close: For by little and little, all men with-drew from the Tower, and repaired to *Crosbies* in Bishopsgate streete, where the Protector kept his house in great state. So that the Protector had the resort, and the King left in a manner desolate. And whilest some for their businesse made suite to such as were in office for the King, some were secretly by their friends warned, that it might happely doe them no good, to be too much attendant about the King without the Protectors appointment, who then began to remoue many of the Princes olde seruants, and in their stead to place about him new.

Two counsels to diuers ends.

The mistrust of the times.

All flocke to the Protector.

(41) Thus many things meeting together, partly by purpose, and partly by chance, caused at length not onely the common people, that moue with the winde, but wisemen also, and some Lords likewise, to marke and muse at the matter; insomuch, that the Lord *Stanley*, who was after Earle of *Darby*, said to the Lord *Hastings*, that he much misliked these two seuerall counsels. For while we (quoth he) talke of one matter in the one place, little wot we, whereof they talke in the other place. My Lord (quoth the Lord *Hastings*) of my life neuer doubt you: for while * one man is there, which is neuer thence, neuer can things be moued that should sound amisse against me, but it shall be in mine eares ere it be well out of their mouths: this ment he by *Catesby*, which was of his neere counsell, and whom he very familiarly vsed, and in his most waighty matters put no man in so speciall trust, nor no man so much beholden vnto him as *Catesby* was. A man indeed well learned in the Lawes of this Land, and by speciall fauour of the Lord Chamberlaine, in good authority, and bare much rule in *Leicestershire*, where the Lord *Hastings* power chiefly lay. But surely great pittie it was, that he had not had either more truth, or lesse wit. For his dissimulation onely kept all that mischiefe vp: in whom, if the Lord *Hastings* had not put so speciall trust, the Lord *Stanley* and he had departed, with diuers other Lords, and had broken all the dance, for many ill signes that he saw, which he now construes all to the best: So surely thought he that there could be no harme towards him intended, in that counsell where *Catesby* was. And of truth, the Protector and Duke of *Buckingham*, made very good semblance vnto the Lord *Hastings*, whom vndoubtedly the Protector loued well, and loath was to haue lost him, but for feare least his life should haue quailed their purpose; for which cause hee moued *Catesby* to proue with some words, cast out a farre off, whether he could thinke it possible to win the Lord Chamberlaine to their part. But *Catesby* whether he assayed him, or assayed him not, reported vnto them, as he found him so fast, and heard him speake so terrible words, that hee durst no further breake. True it is, that the Lord Chamberlaine, of very trust shewed vnto *Catesby*, the distrust that others began to haue in the matter: and therefore *Catesby* fearing, as he affirmed, least their motion might with the Lord *Hastings* diminish his credence, whereunto onely all the matter leaned; he counselled and procured the Protector hastily to rid him. And much the rather, for that he trusted by his death, to obtaine much of the rule that the Lord *Hastings* bare in his Country: the only desire whereof, was the allectiue that induced him to be partner, and one speciall contriuer of all this horrible treason.

Catesby set to sound the Lord *Hastings*.

Lord *Hastings* speeches concerning the plot.

Catesby false to his founder.

The counsell sate in the Tower for the ordering of the yong Kings Coronation.

(42) Soone after this, vpon Friday the thirteenth day of *Iune*, many Lords assembled in the Tower, and there sate in counsell, deuising the honorable solemnitie of the Kings Coronation; of the which the time appointed was so neere, that the Pageants and subtilties were in making day and night at *Westminster*, and much victuall killed, that afterward was cast away. These Lords sitting together communing of this matter, the Protector came in amongst them about nine of the clocke, saluting them courteously, and excusing himselfe, that he had beene from them so long, saying merrily, *I haue beene a sleeper this day*. And after a little talke with them, he said to the Bishop of *Ely*; My Lord, you haue very good Strawburies at your Garden in *Holborne*: I pray you let vs haue a messe of them. Gladly my Lord, said the Bishop, would God I had some better thing as ready to pleasure you as that: and therewith in all haste he sent his seruant for a messe of Strawburies. Whereupon the Protector setting the Lords fast in conference, prayed them to spare him for a little while, and departed thence. But soone after, betwixt tenne and eleauen, he returned into the Counsell-Chamber amongst them, with a wonderfull sowre and angry countenance, knitting the browes, frowning and fretting, and gnawing on his lippes, sate him downe in his place, all the Lords much dismayed, sore maruelling of this his suddaine change, and what thing should him ayle: He sitting thus a while, began thus to speake: *What are they worthy to haue, that compasse and imagine the destruction of mee, beeing so neere of bloud vnto the King, and Protector of his royall person and his Realme?* At which question, all the Lords sate sore astonied, musing much by whom this question should be meant, of which euery man knew himselfe cleare.

The Protectors dissimulation.

The Protector now another man.

Lords *Stanleyes* speech to the Lord Chamberlaine.

* *Catesby.*

Catesby the cause of much mischiefe.

(43) Then the Lord Chamberlaine, as he that for the loue betwixt them, thought he might be bouldest with him, answered and said, That they were worthy to be punished as haynous Traitors whatsoeuer they were: and the same all the other Lords affirmed. That is (quoth the Protector) yonder Sorceresse my brothers wife, meaning the Queene, and others with her: at these words many of the Lords that fauoured her, were greatly abashed: but the L. *Hastings* was in his minde better content, that it was moued by her, then by any other whom he loued better: howbeit, his heart somewhat grudged, that he was not afore made of counsell in this matter, as he

Lord *Hastings* speech to the Protectors question.

he was of the taking of her kindred, and of their putting to death, which were by his assent before deuised to be beheaded at *Pomfret* the selfe-same day, in which he was not aware, how it was by other deuised, that himselfe should be beheaded the same day at *London*. Then said the Protector, yee shall all see in what wise that Sorceresse, and that other Witch of her councell, *Shores* wife, with their affinity, haue by their sorcerie and witchcraft wasted my body. And therewith he plucked vp his doublet sleeue to the elbow vpon his left arme, where he shewed a weariſh withered arme, and small, as it was neuer other.

The Queene accused of Sorcery.

The withered arme of the Protector by nature, and not by sorcery.

(44) And thereupon euery mans minde sore misgaue them, well perceiuing that this matter was but a quarrell: For they well knew, that the Queene was too wise to go about any such folly; and if she would, yet would she of all others, not make *Shores* Wife of counsell, whom of all Women she most hated, as that Concubine whom the King her Husband had most loued. And also no man there present, but knew well enough, that his arme was euer such since his birth. Neuertheless the Lord Chamberlaine, (which from the death of King *Edward* kept *Shores* Wife, on whom he somewhat doated in the Kings life, sauing as it is said, that he forbare her for reuerence towards the King, or else of a certaine kinde of fidelity to his friend) answered and said: Certainely my Lord, if they haue so heinously done, they be worthy of hainous punishment. What (quoth the Protector) thou seruest mee I ween with ifs and with ands, I tell thee they haue so done, and that I will make good on thy body Traitor. And therewith as in a great anger, he clapped his fist vpon the board a great rap: at which token giuen, one without the Chamber cryed, treason, wherewith a doore clapped, and in came rushing men in harnesse, as many as the Chamber might hold, and anone the Protector said to the Lord *Hastings*, I arrest thee Traitor: What me my Lord, quoth he? yea thee Traitor, quoth the Protector; and another let flie at the Lord *Stanley*, who shrunke at the stroke vnder the Table, or else his head had beene cleft to the teeth: for as swiftly as he shrunke, yet came the bloud about his eares. Then were they all quickly bestowed in diuers Chambers, excepting onely the Lord Chamberlaine, whom the Protector bad speede and shriue him apace, for by S^t. *Paul* said he, I will not to dinner till I see thy head off. It booted him not to aske why, but heauily tooke a Priest at aduenture, and made a short shrift, for a longer would not be suffered; the Protector made so much haste to dinner, which he might not goe to, till this was done, for sauing of his oath. So was he brought forth vnto the greene, before the Chappell within the Tower, and his head laide downe vpon a long logge of timber, and there strucke off, and afterward his body with the head, was enterred at *Windsor*, beside the body of King *Edward*.

The Lord Chamberlain arrested.

The L. *Stanley* wounded at the Councell-Table.

The L. Chamberlaine beheaded.

(45) A maruailous case it is to heare, eyther of the warnings that he should haue voyded, or the tokens of that he could not auoid: for the selfe-night before his death, the Lord *Stanley* sent a trusty secret Messenger vnto him at Mid-night in all the haste, requiring him to rise, and ride away with him, for he was vtterly disposed no longer to abide, he had so fearefull a dreame: in which he thought, that a Bore with his tuskes, so razed them both by the heads, that the bloud ranne about both their shoulders. And forasmuch as the Protector gaue the Bore for his cognizance, this dreame made so fearefull an impression in his heart, that he was throughly determined no longer to tarry, but had his Horse ready, if the Lord *Hastings* would goe with him, to ride yet so farre the same night, that they would be out of danger before it was day. Ah good Lord (quoth the Lord *Hastings* to the Messenger) leaneth my Lord thy Master so much to such trifles, and hath faith in dreames, which either his owne feare fan-

The L. *Stanleys* dreame.

tasieth, or doe rise in the nights rest, by reason of the dayes thoughts? Tell him it is plaine Witchcraft, to beleeue in such dreames, which if they were tokens of things to come, why thinketh he not, that we might be as likely to make them true by our going, if we were caught and brought backe (as friends faile flyers) for then had the Bore a cause likely to rase vs with his tuskes, as men that fled for some falshood: wherefore, either there is no perill, nor none there is indeed, or if any be, it is rather in going then abiding: And if we must needs fall in perill, one way or other, yet had I rather, that men should see, it were by other mens falshood, then thinke it our fault or faint heart. And therefore go to thy Master man, and commend me to him; and pray him to be merry, and haue no feare; for I assure him, I am as sure of the man that he wotteth of, as I am of mine owne hand. God send Grace Sir, (said the Messenger) and went his way.

The L. *Hastings* answere to the Lord *Stanleyes* message.

(46) Certaine it is also, that in riding towards the Tower the same morning in which hee was beheaded, his Horse twice or thrice stumbled with him, almost to the falling; which thing, albeit each man knoweth daily hapneth, to them to whom no such mischance is toward, yet hath it beene of an olde rite and custome obserued, as a token oftentimes, notably foregoing some great mis-fortune: Now this that followeth was no warning, but an enuious scorne. The same morning before hee was vp, came a Knight vnto him, as it were of curtesie, to accompany him to the Counsell; but of truth sent by the Protector, to haste him thitherwards, with whom he was of secret confederacy in that purpose, a meane man at that time, but now of great authority. This Knight, when it happened the Lord Chamberlain by the way to stay his horse, and commune a while with a Priest whom hee met in Tower-street, brake his tale, and said merrily to him; what my Lord, I pray you come on, whereto talke you so long with a Priest? you haue no need of a Priest yet, and therewith laughed vpon him, as though hee would say, yee shall haue soone. But so little wist the other what hee meant, and so little mistrusted his present perill, as hee neuer was merrier, nor neuer so full of good hope in his life, which selfe thing is often seene a signe of change; but I shall rather let any thing passe mee, then the vaine surety of mans minde so neere his death. Vpon the very Tower-wharfe, so neere the place where his head was strooke off soone after, there met he with one *Hastings*, a Pursuant of his owne name: And of their meeting in that place, hee was put in remembrance of another time, in which it had happened them before, to meet in the like manner together in the same place. At which other time the Lord Chamberlaine had beene accused vnto King *Edward* by the Lord *Riuers* the Queenes Brother, in such wise as hee was for the while, (but it lasted not long) farre fallen into the Kings indignation, and stood in great feare of himselfe. And forasmuch as hee now mette this Pursuant in the same place, that ieopardy so well passed, it gaue him great pleasure to talke with him thereof; with whom hee had before talked thereof in the same place, while hee was therein. And therefore he said, ah *Hastings*, art thou remembred that I met thee once here with a heauie heart? yea my Lord (quoth hee) that remember I well, and thanked be God, they got no good, nor you no great harme. Thou wouldest say so (quoth hee) if thou knew so much as I know, which few know else as yet, and more shall shortly. That meant hee by the Lords of the Queenes kindred, which were taken before, and should that same day bee beheaded at *Pomfret*: which hee well wist, but was nothing aware, that the axe hung ouer his owne head. In faith man (quoth hee) I was neuer so sorry, nor neuer stood in so great dread of my life, as I did when thou and I met here; And loe, how the world is changed, now stand my enemies in the

Predictions toward the Lord *Hastings*.

The Lord *Hastings* speech to a Pursuant.

The vaine and ſuddain ſtate of man.

danger (as thou maiſt hap to heare more hereafter) and I neuer in my life ſo merry, nor neuer in ſo great ſurety. Oh good God, the blindneſſe of our mortall nature! when he moſt feared, he was in good ſuretie, when he reckoned himſelfe ſureſt, he loſt his life, and that within two houres after. Thus ended this honourable man, a good Knight and a gentle, of great authority with his Prince, of liuing ſomewhat diſſolute, plaine and open to his enemies, and ſecret to his friends, eaſie to be beguiled, as he that of good heart and courage fore-ſtudied no perils; a louing man, a paſſing well-beloued: very faithfull, and truſty enough, truſting indeed too much. Now flew the fame of this Lords death ſwiftly through the Citie, and from thence further, like a winde, in euery mans eare.

The deſcription of the Lord *Hastings*.

Citizens ſent for into the Tower to the Protector.

(47) But the Protector immediately after dinner, intending to ſet ſome colour vpon the matter, ſent in all haſt for many ſubſtantiall men, out of the City into the Tower, at whoſe comming thither, himſelfe with the Duke of *Buckingham*, ſtood harneſſed in olde ruſty briganders, ſuch as no more, man ſhould weene, that they would vouchſafe to haue put on their backes, except that ſome ſuddain neceſſity had conſtrayned them thereto. And then the Protector ſhewed them, that the Lord Chamberlaine, and others of his conſpiracy, had contriued to haue ſuddainly deſtroyed him and the Duke there the ſame day in Counſell. And what they intended further, was not yet well knowne. Of which their treaſon he neuer had knowledge, before ten of the clocke, the ſame fore-noone, which ſuddaine feare droue them to put on for their defence, ſuch harneſſe as came next to hand: and ſo had God holpen them, that the miſchiefe returned vpon them that would haue done it: and this he required them to report.

The fained feare of the Lord Protector.

(48) Euery man anſwered him faire, as though no man miſtruſted the matter, which of truth no man beleeued; yet for the further appeaſing of the peoples minde, he ſent immediately after dinner, in all haſte, an Herald of Armes, with a Proclamation to be made through the City, in the Kings name, containing that the Lord *Haſtings*, with diuers others of his traiterous purpoſe, had before conſpired the ſame day, to haue ſlaine the Lord Protector, and Duke of *Buckingham*, ſitting in the Councell, and after to haue taken vpon them, to rule the King and the Realme, at their owne pleaſures; thereby to pill and ſpoyle whom they liſted, vncontrolled. And much matter there was in that Proclamation, deuiſed to the ſlander of the Lord *Chamberlaine*, as that he was an euill Counſeller to the Kings father, entiſing him to many things, highly redounding to his great diſhonour, and to the vniuerſall hurt of his Realme, by his euill company, ſiniſter procuring, and vngratious example, aſwell in many other things, as in the vicious liuing, and inordinate abuſion of his body, both with many others, and eſpecially with *Shores* Wife, who was one alſo of his moſt ſecret Counſell, in this hainous treaſon, with whom he lay nightly, and namely, the night laſt paſt before his death, ſo that it was the leſſe maruell, if vngracious liuing brought him to an vnhappy ending, which he was now put vnto, by the moſt dread commandement of the Kings Highneſſe, and of his honourable and faithfull Counſell, both for his demerits, being ſo openly taken in his falſely conceyued treaſon, as alſo leaſt the delaying of his execution, might haue encouraged other miſchieuous perſons, partners of his conſpiracy, to gather and aſſemble themſelues together in making ſome great commotion for his deliuerance, whoſe hope being now by his well-deſerued death politickely repreſſed, all the Realme ſhould by Gods grace, reſt in good quiet and peace.

A Proclamation made to publiſh the Lord *Haſtings* treaſons.

(49) Now was this Proclamation made within two houres, after that he was beheaded, and was ſo curiouſly indited, and ſo faire written in Parchment, in ſo well a ſet hand, and therewith of it ſelfe ſo long a proceſſe, as euery child might perceiue, that it was prepared before. For all the time between his death, and the proclaiming, could ſcant haue ſufficed vnto the bare writing alone; had it beene but in paper, and ſcribled forth in haſt at aduenture. So that vpon the proclaiming thereof, one that was Schoole-maſter of *Pauls*, of chance ſtanding by, and comparing the ſhortneſſe of the time, with the length of the matter, ſaid vnto them that ſtood about him; *Here is a gay goodly caſt, foule caſt away for haſt:* and a Merchant anſwered him, that it was written by Propheſie. Now then by and by, as it were for anger, not for couetouſneſſe, the Protector ſent the Sheriffes of *London*, into the houſe of *Shores* Wife (for her Husband dwelled not with her) and ſpoyled her of all that ſhee had, aboue the value of three thouſand markes, carrying her through *London* vnto the Tower, and there left her Priſoner, where (for faſhion ſake) he laide to her charge, that ſhe went about to bewitch him, and that ſhee was of Counſell with the Lord Chamberlaine to deſtroy him: In concluſion, when no colour could faſten vpon theſe matters, then laide he hainouſly vnto her charge, the thing that her ſelfe could not deny, that all the World wiſt was true, and that neithleſſe euery man laughed at, to heare it then ſo ſuddainly, ſo highly taken, that ſhee was nought of her body. And for that cauſe (as a good continent Prince, cleare and faultleſſe himſelfe, ſent out of Heauen into this vitious World for the amendment of mens manners) after ſhe had laine priſoner in *Ludgate*, he cauſed the Biſhop of *London* to put her to open penance, going before the Croſſe in proceſſion vpon a Sunday, with a Taper in her hand. In which ſhee went in countenance and pace demure, ſo womanly, and albeit ſhee were out of all array ſaue her Kirtle onely, yet went ſhe ſo faire and louely, namely while the wondering of the people caſt a comly rud in her cheeks (of which before ſhe had moſt miſt) that her great ſhame, wan her much praiſe, among thoſe that were more amorous of her body, then curious of her ſoule. And many good folke alſo that hated her liuing, and glad to ſee ſinne ſo corrected, yet pitied the more her penance, then rejoyced therein, when they conſidered that the Protector procured it more of a corrupt intent, then any vertuous affection.

The Protectors ſubtilty further knowne by his Proclamation.

The Schoolemaſters opinion.

The Sheriffes of *London* carry *Shores* wife to priſon.

Shores wife did penance.

All commend and pitty *Shores* wife.

(50) This Woman was borne in *London*, worſhipfully friended, honeſtly brought vp, and very well married, ſauing ſomewhat too ſoone; her Husband an honeſt Citizen, young, and goodly, and of good ſubſtance. But for as much as they were coupled ere ſhee were well ripe, ſhee not very feruently loued, for whom ſhe neuer longed; which was haply the thing that the more made her incline vnto the Kings appetite, when he required her. Howbeit the reſpect of his royalty, the hope of gay apparell, eaſe, pleaſure, and other wanton wealth, was able ſoone to pierce a ſoft tender heart. But when the King had abuſed her, anone her Husband (as he was an honeſt man, and one that could his good, not preſuming to touch a Kings Concubine) left her vp to him altogether. When the King dyed, the Lord Chamberlaine tooke her, which in the Kings daies, albeit he was ſore enamoured vpon her, yet hee forbare her, either for reuerence, or for a certaine friendly faithfulneſſe: proper ſhe was, and faire; nothing in her body that you could haue changed, vnleſſe you would haue wiſhed her ſomewhat higher. Thus they ſay that knew her in her youth. Albeit ſome that now ſee her (for as yet ſhe liueth) deeme her neuer to haue beene well viſaged, whoſe judgement ſeemeth to mee ſomewhat like, as though we could geſſe the beauty of one long before departed, by her ſcalpe taken out of the Charnell-houſe: for now ſhee is olde, leane, withered, and dried vp, nothing left but riueled skinne, and hard bone; and yet being euen ſuch, who ſo well aduiſe her viſage, might geſſe and deuiſe, which parts how filled, would make it a faire face,

The deſcription of *Iane Shore*.

She died the eighteene yeere of King *Henry* the eight, ſaith *John Harding*.

face. Yet delighted not men, ſo much in her beautie, as in her pleaſant behauiour, for a proper wit ſhe had, and could both reade well and write, merry in compāny, ready and quicke of anſwere, neither mute nor full of babble, ſometime taunting without diſpleaſure, and not without diſport: in whom King *Edward* tooke ſpeciall pleaſure, whoſe fauour to ſay the truth (for ſinne it were to belie the Diuell) ſhe neuer abuſed to any mans hurt, but to many a mans comfort and reliefe; when the King tooke diſpleaſure, ſhe would mittigate and appeaſe his minde; where men were out of fauour, ſhee would bring them in his grace, for many that highly offended ſhe obtayned pardon. Of great forfeitures ſhee gat them remiſſion. And finally, in many weightie ſuites ſhe ſtood many men in great ſtead, either for none, or very ſmall rewards, and thoſe rather gay then rich, either for that ſhe was content with the deed it ſelfe well done, or for that ſhee delighted to be ſued vnto, and to ſhew what ſhe was able to do with the King, or for that wanton women and wealthy, be not alwaies couetous.. I doubt not ſome ſhall thinke this Woman too ſlight a thing to be written of, and ſet among the remembrances of great matters: which they ſhall ſpecially thinke, that happily ſhall eſteeme her onely by that they now ſee her. But to my ſeeming, the chance is ſo much the more worthy to be remembred, in how much ſhee is now in the more beggerly condition, vnfriended, and worne out of acquaintance, after good ſubſtance, after ſo great fauour with a Prince, after ſo great ſuit and ſeeking to, of all thoſe, that in thoſe daies had buſineſſe to ſpeede, as many other men were in their times, which be now famous onely by the infamy of their ill deedes: her doings were not much leſſe, albeit they be much leſſe remembred, becauſe they were not ſo euill: for men vſe, if they receiue an euill turne, to write it in Marble: and who ſo doth vs a good turne, wee write it in the duſt; which is not worſt proued by her: for at this day ſhe beggeth of many, at this day liuing, that at this day had begged if ſhe had not beene.

Shores wife did much good, but no man hurt.

The Subject not vnworthy to be written.

The ſtate of the World.

(51) Now it was ſo deuiſed by the Protector and his Councell, that the ſelfe-ſame day in which the L. Chamberlaine was beheaded in the Tower of *London*, and about the ſelfe-ſame houre, was then (not without his aſſent) beheaded at *Pomfret*, the foreremembred Lords and Knights, that were taken from the King at *Northampton*, and *Stony-Stratford*; which thing was done in the preſence, and by the order of Sir *Richard Ratcliffe* Knight, whoſe ſeruice the Protector ſpecially vſed in that counſell, and in the execution of ſuch lawleſſe enterpriſes, as a man that had beene long ſecret with him, hauing experience of the World, and a ſhrewd wit, ſhort and rude in ſpeech, rough and boiſterous of behauiour, bolde in miſchiefe, as farre from pitty, as from all feare of God. This Knight bringing them out of priſon to the Scaffold, and ſhewing to the people preſent, that they were Traitors, not ſuffering them to ſpeake, or declare their innocency, leſt their words might haue inclined men to pitty them, and to hate the Protector and his part; cauſed them haſtily without Iudgement, proceſſe, or manner of order to be beheaded, and without all guilt, but onely that they were good men, too true to the King, and too nigh to the Queene.

The Lords of the Queenes bloud beheaded at *Pomfret*.

(52) Now when the Lord Chamberlaine, and thoſe other Lords and Knights were thus beheaded and ridde out of the way: then thought the Protector, that while men muſed what the matter meant, while the Lords of the Realme were about him out of their owne ſtrengths, while no man wiſt what to thinke, nor whom to truſt, before they ſhould haue ſpace to diſpute, and digeſt the matter, and make parties, it were beſt haſtily to purſue his purpoſe, and put himſelfe in poſſeſſion of the Crowne, ere men could haue time to deuiſe how to reſiſt. But now was all the ſtudy, by what meanes the matter

The Protector ſought to ſtrike whiles the yron was hot.

being of it ſelfe ſo hainous, might be firſt broken to the people in ſuch wiſe as it might be well taken. To this counſell they tooke diuers, ſuch as they thought meete to be truſted, likely to be induced to that part, and able to ſtand them in ſtead, either by power or policy: Among whom they made of counſell *Edmond Shaa* Knight, then Major of *London*, who vpon truſt of his owne aduancement, wherof he was of a proud heart, highly deſirous, ſhould frame the Citie to their appetite. Of Spirituall men they tooke ſuch as had wit, and were in authoritie among the people, for opinion of their learning, and had no ſcrupulous conſcience. Among theſe had they *Iohn Shaa* Clerke, brother to the Major, and Fryer *Pinker* Prouinciall of the *Auguſtine* Friers; both of them Doctors in Diuinity, both great Preachers, both of more learning then vertue, and of more fame then learning: for they were before greatly eſteemed of the common people; but after that neuer. Of theſe two, the one made a Sermon in prayſe of the Protector before the Coronation; the other after, both ſo full of teadious flattery, as no mans eare could abide them.

The Major of *London* made of the Protectors counſell.

Shaa and *Pinker* two flattering Preachers.

(53) *Pinker* in his Sermon ſo loſt his voyce, that he was forced to leaue off, and came downe in the middeſt. Doctor *Shaa* by his Sermon loſt his honeſty, and ſoone after his life, for very ſhame of the world, into which he durſt neuer after come abroad. But the Fryer forced for no ſhame, and ſo it harmed him the leſſe. Howbeit ſome doubt, and many thinke, that *Pinker* was not of counſell in the matter before the Coronation, but after the common manner, fell to flattery after: namely, ſith his Sermon was not incontinent vpon it, but at Saint *Maries* Hoſpitall in the Eaſter Weeke following. But certaine it is, that Doctor *Shaa* was of counſell in the beginning, ſo farre forth as they determined that he ſhould firſt breake the matter in a Sermon at *Pauls*-Croſſe, in which he ſhould by the authority of his preaching, incline the people to the Protectors ghoſtly purpoſe. But now was all the labour and ſtudy, in the deuiſe of ſome conuenient pretext; for which the people ſhould be content to depoſe the Prince, and accept the Protector for King. In which diuers things they deuiſed: but the chiefe thing and the weightieſt of all, the inuention reſted in this, that they ſhould alledge baſtardy, either in King *Edward* himſelfe, or in his Children, or both. So that hee ſhould ſeeme diſabled to inherite the Crowne, by the Duke of *Yorke*, and the Prince by him. To lay baſtardie in King *Edward*, ſounded openly to the rebuke of the Protectors owne Mother, who was Mother to them both: for in that poynt could be none other colour, but to pretend that his owne Mother was an adultereſſe, which notwithſtanding to further the purpoſe he letted not: but yet he would that poynt ſhould be leſſe, and more fauourably handled, not fully plaine and directly, but that the matter ſhould be touched aſlope, and craftily, as though men ſpared in that poynt to ſpeake all the truth for feare of his diſpleaſure. But the other poynt, concerning the baſtardie that they deuiſed to ſurmiſe in King *Edwards* Children, that would he ſhould be openly declared, and enforced to the vttermoſt. The colour and pretext whereof, was a contract pretended to be made by King *Edward* vnto the Lady *Lucy*, whereof we haue ſpoken in the raigne of the ſaid King: which inuention how ſimple ſoeuer, yet it liked them, to whom it ſufficed to haue ſomewhat to ſay, while they were ſure to be compelled to no larger proofe then themſelues liſt to make.

Pinker preached at Saint *Maries* Hoſpitall, and Doctor *Shaa* at *Pauls*-Croſſe.

The plot and deuice how to entitle the Protector to the Crowne.

The Sonne maketh the Mother an Adultereſſe.

K. *Edward* and his children made baſtards.

(54) Now then it was by the Protector and his Councell concluded, that Doctor *Shaa* ſhould ſignifie in his Sermon aforeſaid, that neither King *Edward* himſelfe, nor the Duke of *Clarence* were lawfully begot, nor were the very Children of the Duke of *Yorke*, but begot vnlawfully by other perſons, by Adulterie of the Dutches their Mother. And alſo that

The text and contents of *Doctor Shaas* Sermon.

that Dame *Elizabeth Lucy* was verily the Wife of King *Edward*, and ſo the Prince and all his other children, begot by the Queene, were all of them baſtards. And according to this deuiſe Doctor *Shaa* vpon Sunday the nineteenth of Iune, at *Pauls*-Croſſe, in a frequent aſſembly, tooke for the theame of his Sermon this ſaying, *Spuria vitulamina non agent radices altas: Baſtard ſlips ſhall neuer take deepe roote.* Whereupon, when he had ſhewed the great grace that God giueth, and ſecretly infundeth in right generation after the lawes of Matrimonie, then declared hee, that commonly thoſe children lacked that grace, and for the puniſhment of their parents, were for the more part vnhappy, which were begot in baſe, but ſpecially in adultery. Of which though ſome by the ignorance of the world, and the truth hid from knowledge inherite for the time other mens lands, yet God alwaies ſo prouideth, that it continueth not in their bloud long, but the truth comming to light, the rightfull inheritors be reſtored, and the baſtards ſlip pulled vp ere it can take any deepe root. And when he had laide for the proofe and confirmation of this ſentence certaine examples taken out of the Old teſtament, and other ancient Hiſtories, then he began to deſcend into the prayſe of the Lord *Richard*, late Duke of *Yorke*, calling him the father to the Lord Protector, and declared the title of his heires vnto the Crowne, to whom it was after the death of King *Henry* the ſixt, entayled by authority of Parliament. Then ſhewed he, that the very right heire of his body lawfully begotten, was onely the Lord Protector. For he declared then that King *Edward* was neuer lawfully married vnto the Queene, but was before God, Husband vnto Dame *Elizabeth Lucy*, and ſo his Children baſtards. And beſides that, neither King *Edward* himſelfe, nor the Duke of *Clarence*, among thoſe that were ſecret in the Houſhold, were reckoned very certainly for the children of the noble Duke, as thoſe that by their features reſembled other knowne men more then him, from whoſe vertuous conditions, he ſaid alſo, that King *Edward* was far off. But the Lord Protector, he ſaid, the very Noble Prince, the ſpeciall patterne of Knightly proweſſe, as well in all Princely behauiour, as in the lineaments and fauour of his Viſage, repreſenting the very face of the Noble Duke his father: This is (quoth he) the fathers own figure, this is his owne countenance, the very print of his viſage, the very vndoubted Image and plaine expreſſe likeneſſe of that noble Duke.

Shaas ſhameleſſe aſſertions.

(55) Now it was before deuiſed, that in the ſpeaking of theſe words, the Protector ſhould haue come in among the people to the Sermon ward, to the end that thoſe words meeting with his preſence, might haue beene taken among the hearers, as though the holy Ghoſt had put them in the Preachers mouth, and ſhould haue moued the people euen then to cry, King *Richard*, King *Richard*, that it might haue been after ſaid, that he was ſpecially choſen by God, and in manner by miracle. But this deuiſe quayled, either by the Protectors negligence, or by the Preachers ouer-much diligence; for while the Protector found by the way tarrying, leſt he ſhould preuent thoſe words, and the Doctor fearing leaſt he ſhould come ere his Sermon could come to theſe words, haſted his matter thereto, who was come to them and paſt them, and had entred into other matter ere the Protector came. Whom when hee beheld comming, he ſuddainely left the matter with which he was in hand, and without any deduction thereunto, out of all order, and out of all frame, began to repeate thoſe words againe: This is the very Noble Prince, the ſpeciall paterne of Knightly proweſſe, which as well in all Princely behauiour, as in the lineaments and fauour of his viſage, repreſenteth the very face of the Noble Duke of *Yorke* his father: this is the Fathers owne figure, this is his owne countenance, the very print of his Viſage, the ſure vndoubted Image, the plaine expreſſe likeneſſe of the Noble Duke, whoſe remembrance can neuer die while hee liueth. While theſe words were in ſpeaking, the Protector, accompanied with the Duke of *Buckingham*, went through the people, into the place where the Doctors commonly ſtand in an vpper Storie, where he ſtood to heare the Sermon. But the people were ſo farre from crying King *Richard*, that they ſtood as if they had beene turned into ſtones, for wonder of this ſhamefull Sermon. After which once ended, the Preacher got him home, and neuer after durſt looke out for ſhame, but kept himſelfe out of ſight like an Owle. And when he once asked one, that had beene his olde friend, what the people talked of him, albeit that his own conſcience well ſhewed him that they talked no good, yet when the other anſwered him, that there was in euery mans mouth ſpoken of him much ſhame, it ſo ſtrucke him to the heart, that within few daies after, he withered and conſumed away.

The Preachers intention preuented.

Gods heauy puniſhment vpon the falſe flattering Preacher.

(56) On the Tueſday following this Sermon, there came into the Guild-Hall in *London* the Duke of *Buckingham*, accompanied with diuers Lords and Knights, more perchance then knew the meſſage which they brought. And there in the Eaſt end of the Hall, where the Major keepeth the huſtings, the Major, and Aldermen being aſſembled about him, and all the Commons of the City gathered before him: after ſilence commanded in the Protectors name vpon great paine, the Duke ſtood vp, and (as he was neither vnlearned, and of nature maruellouſly well ſpoken) he ſaid vnto the people with a cleare and loud voyce in this manner: Friends, for the zeale and hearty fauour that we beare you, wee be come to breake vnto you, a matter of great weight, and no leſſe weighty, then pleaſing to God, and profitable to all the Realme: nor to no part of the Realme more profitable then to you the Citizens of this noble City. For why, the thing that we wot well you haue long time lacked, and ſo longed for, that you would haue giuen great good for, that you would haue gone farre to fetch, that thing wee be come hither to bring you, without your labour, paine, coſt, aduenture, or jeopardie. What thing is that? Certes, the ſurety of your owne bodies, the quiet of your wiues, and your daughters, the ſafeguard of your goods: of all which things in times paſt you ſtood euermore in doubt. For who was there of you all, that could account himſelfe Lord of his owne goods, among ſo many ſnares and traps as were ſet therefore, among ſo much pilling and polling, among ſo many taxes and tallages, of which there was neuer end, and often times no need: or if any were, it rather grew of riot, and vnreaſonable waſte, then any neceſſary or honorable charge: So that there was daily pilling from good men and honeſt, great ſubſtance of goods, to be laſhed out among vnthrifts, ſo farre forth that fifteenes ſufficed not, nor any vſuall manner of knowne taxes: but vnder an eaſie name of beneuolence and good will, the Commiſſioners ſo much of euery man took, as no man could with his good will haue giuen. As though that name of beneuolence, had ſignified that euery man ſhould pay not what himſelfe of his owne good will liſt to grant, but what the King of his good will liſt to take. Who neuer asked little, but euery thing was haunſed aboue the meaſure, amercements turned into fines, fines into ranſomes; ſmall treſpaſſes into miſpriſion; miſpriſion into treaſon. Whereof I thinke no man looketh that we ſhould remember you of examples by name, as though *Burdet* were forgotten, who was for a word in haſte ſpoken, cruelly beheaded, by the miſconſtruing of the Lawes of this Realme for the Princes pleaſure: with no leſſe honour to *Markham* then chiefe Iuſtice, that left his office rather then hee would aſſent to that judgement, then to the diſhoneſty of thoſe, that either for feare or flattery gaue that judgement. What *Cooke* your owne worſhipfull neighbour, Alderman and Major of this noble Citie;

The Duke of *Buckingham* commeth to the Guild-hall.

Buckinghams oration to the commons of *London*.

The fine gloſings of the Duke of *Buckingham*.

King *Edwards* exactions made more then they were.

His tyranny towards his ſubjects exemplified by *Burdet* and others.

"Citie; who is of you either ſo negligent that hee "knoweth not, or ſo forgetfull that he remembreth "not, or ſo hard-hearted that hee pittieth not that "worſhipfull mans loſſe? What ſpeake we of loſſe? "His vtter ſpoile and vndeſerued deſtruction, onely "for that it happened thoſe to fauour him whom "the Prince fauoured not. Wee need not (I ſup- "poſe) to rehearſe of theſe any moe by name, ſith "there be (I doubt not) many heere preſent, that ei- "ther in themſelues, or in their nigh friends, haue "knowne aſwell their goods, as their perſons greatly "indangered, either by fained quarrels, or ſmall mat- "ters agrieued with heinous names. And alſo there "was no crime ſo great, of which there could lacke "a pretext. For ſith the King prenenting the time "of his inheritance, attained the Crowne by battell; "it ſufficed in a rich man for a pretext of treaſon, to "haue been of kindred or aliance, neere familiarity, "or longer acquaintance, with any of thoſe that "were at any time the Kings enemies, which was at "one time or other more then halfe the Realme.

No ſafety of goods or life as he falſly alledged.

"Thus were your goods neuer in ſurety, and yet "they brought your bodies in ieopardie, beſide the "common aduenture of open warre, which albeit, "that it is euer the will and occaſion of much miſ- "chiefe, yet it is neuer ſo miſchieuous, as where any "people fall at diſtance among themſelues, nor in no "earthly Nation ſo deadly and ſo peſtilent, as when "it happeneth among vs: and among vs neuer ſo "long continued diſſention, nor ſo many battels in "that ſeaſon, nor ſo cruell and ſo deadly fought as "was in that Kings dayes that dead is, God forgiue "it his ſoule. In whoſe time, and by whoſe occaſion, "what about the getting of the Garland, keeping it, "looſing it, and winning it againe, it hath coſt more

The rage of ciuill wars coſt *England* more bloud then twice the winning of *France* had done.

"Engliſh bloud, then hath twice the winning of "*France*: In which inward warre among our ſelues, "hath beene ſo great effuſion of the ancient noble "bloud of this Realme, that ſcarcely the halfe re- "maineth, to the great infeebling of this noble "Land, beſide many a good Towne ranſacked, and "ſpoyled by them that haue beene going to the "field, or comming from thence. And peace long "after not much ſurer then warre. So that no time "there was, in which rich men for their money, and "great men for their Lands, or ſome or other for ſom "feare or ſome diſpleaſure, were not out of perill;

Great dangers alledged and ſtenderly proued.

"for whom truſted he, that miſtruſted his owne bro- "ther? whom ſpared he, that killed his own brother? "or who could perfectly loue him, if his owne bro- "ther could not? what manner of folke he moſt fa- "uoured, we ſhall for his honour ſpare to ſpeake of; "howbeit, this wot you well all, that who ſo was "beſt, bare alway leaſt rule; and more ſuite was in "thoſe dayes vnto *Shores* Wife, a vile and abhomi- "nable ſtrumpet, then to all the Lords in *England*; "except vnto thoſe that made her their Protector: "which ſimple woman was well named, and ho- "neſt, till the KING for his wanton luſt, and "ſinnefull affection, bereft her from her Huſ- "band, a right honeſt ſubſtantiall yong man among "you. And in that point, which in good faith I am "ſorry to ſpeake of, ſauing that it is in vaine to keepe "in counſell that thing which euery man knoweth; "the Kings greedy appetite was inſatiable, and eue- "ry where ouer all the Realme intollerable, for no

King *Edwards* wantonneſſe ſet out to the full.

"woman there was any where, young or olde, rich or "poore, whom hee ſet his eye vpon, in whom he li- "ked any thing, either perſon, or fauour, ſpeech, "pace, or countenance; but without all feare of God, "or any reſpect of his owne honour, murmure, or "grudge of the world, he would importunately pur- "ſue his appetite, and haue her, to the great deſtru- "ction of many a good woman, and great dolour to "their Husbands and other their friends, which be- "ing honeſt people of themſelues, ſo much regard "the cleanneſſe of their houſe, the chaſtity of their "Wiues, and their Daughters, that they had rather "looſe all they had beſides, then to haue ſuch a vil- "lany done againſt them. And albeit, that with this "and his other importable dealings, the Realme "was in euery part annoyed: yet ſpecially, you here "the Citizens of this noble Citie, aſwell for that a- "mongſt you is moſt plenty of all ſuch things, as "miniſter matters to ſuch iniuries, as for that you "were neereſt at hand, ſeeing that neere hereabout "was commonly his moſt abiding. And yet you "be the people whom hee had a ſingular cauſe well "and kindely to entreat, as any part of the Realme, "not onely for that the Prince by this noble Citie, "as his ſpeciall Chamber, and the ſpeciall well-re- "nowned Citie of his Realme, much honourable "fame receiueth amongſt all other Nations: but alſo "for that yee, not without your great coſt, and ſun- "dry perils and ieopardies in all his warres, bare e- "uen your ſpeciall fauour to his part; which your "kind mindes borne vnto the houſe of *Yorke*, ſith he "hath nothing-worthily acquitted, there is one of "that houſe, that now by Gods grace, better ſhall: "which thing to ſhew you is the whole ſumme and "effect of this our preſent errand. It ſhall not, I "wot well, need that I rehearſe you againe, that yee "haue already heard of him that can better tell it, "and of whom I am ſure you will better beleeue it, "and reaſon is it ſo to bee. I am not ſo proud to "looke therefore, that you ſhould reckon my words "of as great authority, as the Preachers of the word "of God; namely, a man ſo learned and ſo wiſe, "that no man better wotteth what he ſhould ſay, and "thereto ſo good and vertuous, as he would not ſay "the thing which hee wiſt hee ſhould not ſay in the "Pulpit; namely, into the which no honeſt man "commeth to lye: which honourable Preacher, you "well remember, ſubſtantially declared at *Paules* "Croſſe, on Sunday laſt paſt, the right and title that "the moſt excellent Prince, *Richard* Duke of *Glouce-* "*ſter*, now Protector of this Realme, hath vnto the "Crowne and Kingdome of the ſame. For as the "Worſhipfull Doctor ſubſtantially made knowne "vnto you, the Children of King *Edward* the fourth "were neuer lawfully begotten, foraſmuch as the "King (leauing his very wife Dame *Elizabeth Lucy*) "was neuer lawfully married vnto the Queene their "Mother, whoſe bloud, ſauing that he ſet his volup- "tuous pleaſure before his honour, was full vnmeet "to be matched with his; and the mingling of thoſe "blouds together hath beene the effuſion of great part "of the noble bloud of this Realme. Whereby it "may well ſeeme, the marriage was not well made, "of which there is ſo much miſchiefe growne. For "lacke of which lawful coupling, as alſo other things, "which the ſaid worſhipfull D. rather ſignified, then "fully explained; and which things ſhall not be ſpo- "ken for mee, as the thing wherein euery man for- "beareth to ſay what hee knoweth, in auoyding diſ- "pleaſure of my noble Lord Protector; bearing, as "nature requireth, a filiall reuerence to the Dut- "cheſſe his Mother: For theſe cauſes I ſay, before "remembred, that is, for lacke of other Iſſue law- "fully comming of that late noble Prince *Richard* "Duke of *Yorke*, to whoſe royall bloud the Crowne "of *England* and *France*, is by the high authority of "Parliament entailed; the right and title of the ſame, "is by the iuſt courſe of inheritance, according to "the common law of this Land, deuolued and come "vnto the moſt excellent Prince the Lord Prote- "ctor, as to the very lawfully begotten ſonne, of the "fore-remembred noble Duke of *Yorke*. Which "thing well conſidered, and the great knightly "proweſſe pondered, with manifolde vertues, "which in his noble perſon ſingularly abound, the "Nobles and Commons alſo of this Realme, and ſpe- "cially of the North part, not willing any baſtard- "bloud to haue the rule of the Land, nor the abuſi- "ons before the ſame vſed, any longer to continue, "haue condiſcended, and fully determined, to make "humble petition to the moſt puiſſant Prince the "Lord Protector, that it may like his Grace at our "humble

London the kings eſpeciall Chamber.

The end of the Dukes errand.

The great modeſty that the Duke pretendeth.

An author like the ſubiect.

The marriage to King *Edward* imputed a great miſchiefe.

The Protector muſt be the onely true heire to his Father, and ſo to the Crowne.

"humble requeſt to take vpon him the guiding and "gouernance of this Realme, to the wealth and en- "creaſe of the ſame, according to his very right and "iuſt title. Which thing I know well, hee will bee "loth to take vpon him, as hee whoſe wiſedome well "perceiueth, the labour and ſtudie both of minde "and body, that ſhall come there with, to whomſoe- "uer ſo will occupy the roome, as I dare ſay hee will, "if hee take it. Which roome, I warne you well, "is no Childes office: and that the great wiſeman "well perceiued, when hee ſaid, *Væ regno cuius Rex "puer eſt: Woe is that Realme that hath a childe to "their King.* Wherefore ſo much the more cauſe we "haue to thanke God, that this noble Perſonage, "which ſo righteouſly is intituled thereunto, is of ſo "ſad age, and ſo great wiſedome, ioyned with ſo "great experience: which albeit he will be loth (as I "haue ſaid) to take it vpon him, yet ſhall he to our pe- "tition in that behalfe, the more graciouſly incline, if "you the Worſhipfull Citizens of this the chiefe Ci- "tie of this Realme, ioyne with vs the Nobles in this "our ſaid requeſt. Which for your owne weale wee "doubt not but you will, and naytheleſſe, I heartily "pray you ſo to doe, whereby ye ſhall doe great pro- "fit to all the Realme beſide, in chooſing them ſo good "a King, and vnto your ſelues ſpeciall commodity, "to whom his Maieſtie ſhall euer after beare ſo much "the more tender fauour, in how much he ſhall per- "ceiue you the more prone and beneuolently minded "towards his election. Wherein deare friends, what "minde you haue, wee require you plainely to "ſhew vs.

Scriptures abuſed.

The Dukes pithy perſwaſions vnto the Citizens.

(57) When the Duke had ſaid, and looked that the people whom hee hoped the Maior had framed before, ſhould after this propoſition made, haue cryed, King *Richard*, King *Richard*; all was huſht and mute, and not a word anſwered thereunto: wherewith the Duke was maruailouſly abaſhed, and taking the Maior neerer to him, with other that were about him priuie to that matter, ſaid vnto him ſoftly, What meaneth this, that the people be ſo ſilent? Sir (quoth the Maior) perchance they perceiue you not well; that ſhall we mend (quoth he) if that will helpe. And by and by ſomewhat lowder, he rehearſed them the ſame matter againe, in other order, and other words, ſo well and ornately, ſo euidently and plaine, with voyce, geſture, and countenance ſo comely, that euery man much maruailed that heard him, and thought they neuer had in their hearing, ſo euill a tale ſo well told. But were it for wonder or feare, or that each man lookt that other ſpeake firſt; not a word was there anſwered of all the people that ſtood before, but was as ſtill as the midnight, not ſo much as rowning among themſelues, by which they might ſeeme to commune what was beſt to doe. When the Lord Maior ſaw this, hee, with the other partners of that counſell drew about the Duke, and ſaid, That the people had not beene accuſtomed there to bee ſpoken vnto, but by the Recorder; who is the mouth of the Citie, and happily to him they will anſwere. With that the Recorder called *Fitz-William*, a ſad man and an honeſt, who was ſo newly come into that office, that hee neuer had ſpoken to the people before, and loth was with that matter to beginne; notwithſtanding, thereunto commanded by the Maior, he made rehearſal to the Commons, of that the Duke had twice rehearſed to them himſelfe. But the Recorder ſo tempered his tale, that hee ſhewed euery thing as the Dukes words, and no part of his owne. But all this noting, no change made in the people, which ſtood gazing at the Bench as men altogether amazed. Whereupon the Duke rowned vnto the Maior, and ſaid, This is maruailous obſtinate ſilence, and therewith he turned vnto the people againe with theſe words: Deare friends, we come to moue you to that thing which peraduenture wee not ſo greatly needed, but that the Lords of this Realme, and the Commons of other parts might haue ſufficed, ſauing that we beare you ſuch loue, and ſo much ſet by your friendſhip, that we would not willingly doe without you the thing which is for our honour and your wealth, which as it ſeemeth, either you ſee not, or wey not; wherefore we require you, giue vs anſwer, whether ye be minded as all the Nobles of the Realm be, to haue this noble Prince now Protector, to bee your King or not.

The Tondoners are mute and aſtoniſhed at *Buckyngham's* Oration.

Buckingham goeth ouer his leſſon againe.

The reward of flattery.

The Recorder commanded to ſpeake to the people.

The great ſilence of the people.

The Duke ſpeaketh once more.

(58) At which words the people beganne to whiſper among themſelues ſecretly, that the voyce was neither loud nor diſtinct, but as it were the ſound of a ſwarme of Bees, till at the laſt, in the nether end of the Hall, a buſhment of the Dukes ſeruants, and *Naſh-fields*, and of others belonging to the Protector, with ſome Prentiſes and laddes that thruſt into the Hall among the preſſe, beganne ſodainely at mens backes to cry out as loud as their throats would giue, King *Richard*, King *Richard*, & threw vp their caps in token of ioy. But they that ſtood before, caſt backe their heads, maruelling thereat, yet nothing they ſaid. And when the Duke and Maior ſaw this manner, they wiſely turned it to their purpoſe, and ſaid it was a goodly cry, and a ioyfull, to heare euery man with one voyce, no man ſaying nay: wherefore friends (quoth the Duke) ſince that we well perceiue that it is all your whole mindes to haue this Nobleman for your King, whereof wee ſhall make to his Grace ſo effectuall report, that wee doubt not but it ſhall redound vnto your great wealth, and commoditie: we require that to morrow you goe with vs, and wee with you vnto his noble Grace, to make our humble requeſt vnto him in manner before remembred. And therewith the Lords came downe, and the aſſembly diſſolued for the moſt part ſad, ſome with glad ſemblances, and yet not very merry, yea, and ſome that came with the Duke, not able to diſſemble their ſorrow, were faine at his backe to turne their face to the wall, while the dolour of their heart burſt out of their eyes.

Prentices and Seruingmen the firſt proclaimers of K. *Richard*.

The affection of the election ſeen by the faces of the Aſſembly.

(59) On the next morrow, the Maior with all the Aldermen, and chiefe Commoners of the Citie in their beſt array, aſſembling themſelues together, reſorted vnto *Baynards* Caſtle in *Thames* ſtreet, where the Protector lay. To which place repaired alſo according to their appointment, the Duke of *Buckingham*, with diuers Noblemen with him, beſide many Knights and other Gentlemen. And thereupon the Duke ſent word vnto the Lord Protector, of the being there of a great and honourable company, to moue a great matter vnto his Grace: whereupon the Protector made difficultie to come out vnto them, but if hee firſt knew ſome part of their errand, as though hee doubted, and partly diſtruſted the comming of ſuch a number vnto him ſo ſodainly, without any warning, or knowledge whether they came for good or harme; then the Duke when hee had ſhewed this vnto the Maior and other, that they might thereby ſee, how little the Protector looked for this matter; they then ſent vnto him by the Meſſenger ſuch louing meſſage againe, and therewith ſo humbly beſought him to vouchſafe, that they might reſort to his preſence, to propoſe their intent, which they would not impart to any other perſon; that at the laſt hee came out of his chamber, and yet not downe vnto them, but ſtood aboue in a gallery ouer them, where they might ſee him and ſpeake to him, as though hee would not yet come too neare them, till he vnderſtood what they meant. And thereupon the Duke of *Buckingham* firſt made humble petition vnto him on the behalfe of them all, that his Grace would pardon them, and licenſe them to propoſe vnto his Grace, the intent of their comming without his diſpleaſure, without which pardon obtained, they durſt not be ſo bold to moue him in their ſuite. In which albeit they meant as much honour to his Grace, as wealth to all the Realme beſide; yet were they not ſure how his Grace would take it, whom they would in no wiſe offend. Then the Protector (as hee was very gentle of himſelfe

The Nobles and Citizens aſſemble at *Baynards* Caſtle.

The Protector made it ſtrange to ſpeake with ſuch a multitude.

Palpable diſſembling betwixt the Protector & *Buckingham*.

selfe and also longed sore to know what they meant) gaue him leaue to propose what him liked, verily trusting for the good minde that he bare them all, none of them would intend any thing to him-ward, wherewith he ought to be grieued.

(60) When the Duke had this leaue and pardon to speake, then waxed hee bold to shew him their entent and purpose, with-all the causes mouing them thereunto, as you haue heard before: and finally, to beseech his Grace, that it would like him of his accustomed goodnesse and zeale vnto the Realme, now with his eye of pitty, to behold the long-continued distresse, and decay of the same, and to set his gratious hands to redresse an amendement thereof, by taking vpon him the Crowne and gouernment of the land; according to his right and title lawfully descended vnto him, and to the law of God, profit of the Realme, and vnto his grace so much the more honour, and lesse paine, in that, that neuer Prince raigned ouer any people that were so glad to liue vnder his obeisance, as the people of this land vnder his.

The Protector intreated to accept of the Crowne.

(61) When the Protector had heard the proposition, he looked very strangely thereat, and answered: That albeit it were, hee partly knew the things by them alleadged to be true, yet such intire loue he bare vnto King *Edward* and his children, that so much more he regarded his honor in other Realmes about, then the Crowne of any one, of which he was neuer desirous, that he could not finde in his heart in this point to incline to their desire. For in all other Nations where the truth was not well knowne, it would peraduenture be thought, that it was his owne ambitious minde and deuise to depose the Prince, and to take himselfe the Crowne, with which infamie hee would not haue his honour stained for any Crowne, in which he had euer perceiued much more labour and paine, then pleasure to him that would so vse it, as hee that would not, were not worthy to haue it. Notwithstanding hee not onely pardoned them the motion that they made him, but also thanked them for the loue and harty fauour they bare him, praying them for his sake to giue and beare the same to the Prince, vnder whom he was, and would bee content to liue, and with his labour and counsell, as farre as should like the King to vse him, he would doe his vttermost endeauour to set the Realme in good state, which was already in this little time of his Protectorship (the praise be giuen to God) well begun, in that the malice of such as were before, occasion of the contrary, and of new intended to be, were now partly by good pollicy, partly more by Gods speciall prouidence, then mans prouision, represled.

The Protector saith nay, and would haue it.

(62) Vpon this answere giuen, the Duke by the Protectors license, a little rowned, aswell with other Noblemen about him, as with the Maior and Recorder of *London*. And after that, vpon like pardon desired and obtained, hee shewed aloude vnto the Protector for a finall conclusion, that the Realme was at a point, King *Edwards* line should not any longer raigne ouer them, both for that they had so farre gone, as it was now no surety to retreat, as for that they thought it was for the weale vniuersall to take that way, although they had not yet begunne it. Wherefore, if it would like his Grace to take the Crowne vpon him, they would humbly beseech him thereunto; if he would giue them a resolute answere to the contrary, which they would be loath to heare, then must they needs seeke, and would not faile to finde some other Nobleman that would. These words much moued the Protector, which

Buckingham vrgeth and threatneth the refusall.

elsе as euery man may know, would neuer of likelyhood haue inclined thereunto. But when he saw there was none other way, but that either he must take it, or else he, and his both goe from it, hee said vnto the Lords and Commons.

The Protector fauourably accepteth the Crowne.

(63) Sith wee well perceiue that all the Realme is so set, whereof we be very sorry, that they will not suffer in any wise King *Edwards* line to gouerne them, whom no earthly man can gouerne against their wils, and well wee also perceiue, that no man there is to whom the Crowne can by iust title appertaine, as to our selfe, as very right heire lawfully begotten of the body of our most deare Father *Richard* late Duke of *Yorke*, to which title is now ioyned your election, the Nobles and Commons of this Realme, which wee of all title possible take for the most effectuall: wee be content, and agree fauourably to incline to your petition and request, and according to the same, we here take vpon vs the royall estate, preheminence, and kingdome of the two noble Realmes, *England* and *France*, the one from this day forward, by vs and our heires, to rule, gouerne, and defend; the other by Gods grace, and your good helpe, to get againe, and subdue, and establish for euer in due obedience vnto this Realme of *England*, the aduancement whereof we neuer aske of God longer to liue, then we intend to procure. With this there was a great shout, crying King *Richard*, King *Richard*. And then the Lords went vp to the King (for so was hee from that time called) and the people departed, talking diuersly of the matter, euery man as his fantasie gaue him.

Diuers opinions of the people.

(64) Much was talked and maruelled at the manner of this dealing, that the matter was made so strange vnto both parties, as though they neuer had communed either with others before, when as themselues wist there was no man so dull that heard them, but perceiued well inough, that all the matter was so made betweene them. Howbeit, some excused that againe, and said all must be done in good order: And men must sometimes for manners sake, not be acknowne what they know: for at the consecration of a Bishop, euery man wotteth well, by the paying for his Bulls, that he purposeth to be one, and though he pay for nothing else, and yet must hee twice bee asked, whether hee will be a Bishop or no, and hee must twice say nay, and at the third time take it, as compelled thereunto by his owne will. And in a Stage-play, the people know right well, that he who plaieth the Sowdaine, is percase a sowter, yet if one should know so little good, to shew out of season what acquaintance hee hath with him, and call him by his owne name while he standeth in his Maiesty, one of his tormentors might hap to breake his head worthily for marring of the play.

The Raigne and age of King *Edward*.

(65) The raigne of this young King may well be accounted an *inter-regnum*, without King, aswell for his minoritie, being vnder the rule of a Protector himselfe, as for the short time wherein he continued the name of a King; which onely was two moneths and sixteene daies, and in them also hee sate vncrowned, without Scepter or Ball, all which *Richard* aimed at, and perfidiously got, before they could come to his head; or into his hands. His age at the death of his Father, and entrance into his Throane, was eleauen yeares, fiue moneths, and fiue daies, and within three moneths after, was with his Brother smothered to death in the Tower of *London*, as shall bee shewed in his Raigne, of whom we are now by order of succession to write.

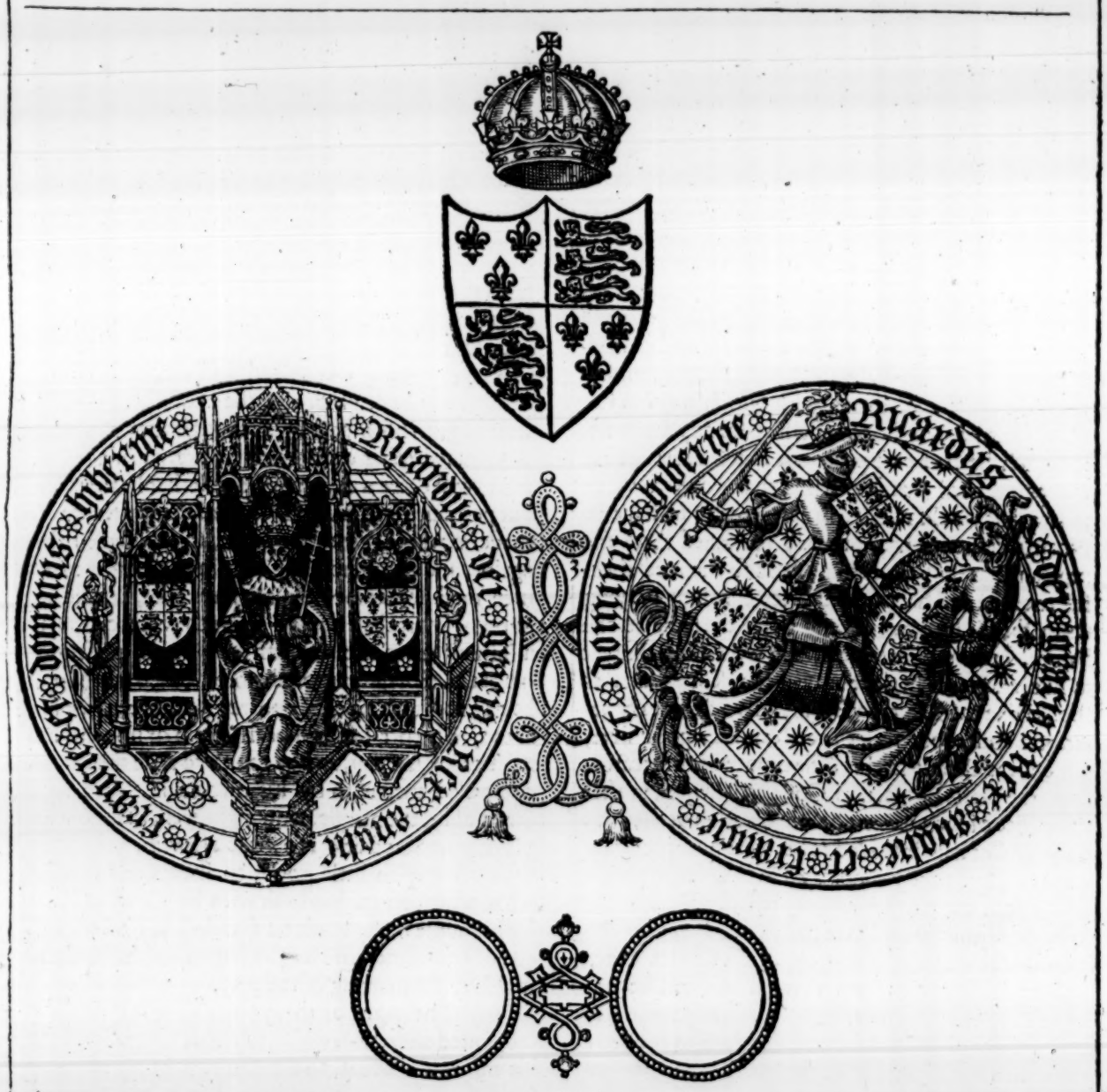
RICHARD

Richard III.

RICHARD THE THIRD, KING OF ENGLAND AND FRANCE, AND LORD OF IRELAND, THE FIFTIE SIXTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISH, HIS RAIGNE, ACTS, ISSVE, AND DEATH.

Monarch 56

For the moſt part written by Sir *Thomas Moore*.



CHAPTER XIX.

All the *Richards* and Dukes of *Glouceſter* came to vntimely deaths.
Richard 1. ſlaine with an arrow.
Richard 2. murthered at *Pomfret*.
Tho. Woodſtocke ſmothered to death.
Humfrey murthered at Saint *Edmundsbury*.
Richard 3. ſlaine at *Boſworth* field.

Richard, the third ſonne of *Richard* Duke of *Yorke*, borne at *Fotheringhay* Caſtle in the County of *Northampton*, was firſt honoured with the title of *Glouceſter*, being the third Duke of that number, and conſequently by vſurpation crowned King of *England*, the third of that name. A name indeed noted to the Kings ſo called, to be euer ominous; and the title of *Glouceſter* to thoſe Dukes euer fatall, all of both, dying violent and vntimely deaths, which ought to haue beene the more fearefull vnto *Richard*, now hauing poſſeſſion and intereſt in them both. But that not regarded, or deſtiny enforcing, his aſpiring minde gaue him no reſt, till his reſtleſſe body found it laſtly in the graue. For his brother deceaſed when his life was moſt deſired, no man in ſhew tooke his death ſo heauily as himſelfe, or tendered the young King with a more honourable reſpect, when as (God knowes) his minde ran vpon deepe reaches, how to compaſſe the Wreath for his owne head; which the better to faſhion, hee withdrew a while into the North, and at *Yorke* in moſt ſad and ſolemne manner obſerued the Funerals of the dead King: but howſoeuer the Maske couered this ſubtle Dukes face from the eye of the multitude; yet *Buckingham* well knew the ambitious deſire of his aſpiring heart, and indeed was the *Dedalus* that made him the wings, wherewith he mounted ſo neere vnto the Sunne, as that the wax melting (like the high-minded young *Icarus*) he caught his laſt fall.

Duke *Richard* ſubtilely complotteth for the Crowne.

The Duke of *Buckingham* the onely raiſer of the Protector.

(2) What

By *Perſall, Buckingham* ſecret ſeruant.

(2) What intendments they had before the Kings death, is vncertaine, though it may be ſuſpected: but ſure it is, he now gone, the Duke of *Buckingham* twice ſollicited *Glouceſter* by his meſſengers in the *North*, met him at *Northampton* himſelfe, accompanied him to *London*, forwarded him in Counſell, and was the firſt actor in this following tragedie. For, firſt making him Protector, procuring his young Nephew forth of Sanctuary, diſabling the young King, baſtardizing them both, perſwading the Citizens, working the Nobility: and all this done, to ſet the Crowne vpon crookt *Richards* head, and ſo moulded their mindes vnto the man, as they all became humble petitioners vnto him for to accept of the ſame, who in the meane-while had well-conned his owne part, by profuſe liberality, by paſſing-great grauity, by ſingular affability, by miniſtring of iuſtice, and by deepe and cloſe deuiſes, whereby he wonne to himſelfe the hearts of all, but the Lawyers eſpecially, to ſerue beſt his turne, which was ſo affected, that in the name of all the States of the Realme, a Petition was drawne and preſented him to accept the wearing of the Crowne: the true Copy whereof as we finde it recorded in the Parliament Roll, we haue inſerted, and is as followeth:

The degrees by which the Protector aſcended into the throne.

The Protector fitted himſelfe to the peoples affections.

A Petition exhibited to the Protector to accept of the Crowne.

In Rotulo Parliamenti tenti apud Weſtm. die Veneris Viceſimo tertio die Ianuarij, An. Reg. Regis Richardi 3. primo inter alia continetur vt ſequitur.

Memorandum quod quadã billa exhibita fuit coram Domino Rege in Parliamento prædicto in hæc verba: Where late heretofore, that is to ſay, before the conſecration, coronation, and inthronization of our Soueraigne Lord the King, *Richard* the third, a roll of Parchment containing in writing certaine Articles of the Tenor vnder-written on the behalfe, and in the name of the three Eſtates of this Realme of *England*, that is to wit, of the Lords Spirituall and Temporall, and of the Commons by name, and diuers Lords Spirituall and Temporall, and other Nobles and notable perſons of the Commons in great multitude was preſented, and actually deliuered vnto our ſaid Soueraigne Lord, the intent and effect expreſſed at large in the ſame Roll: to the which Roll, and to the conſiderations, and inſtant petition comprized in the ſame, our ſaid Soueraigne Lord for the publique weale & tranquility of this Land, benignely aſſented. Now foraſmuch as neither the ſaid three Eſtates, neither the ſaid perſons which in their name preſented, and deliuered as it is aforeſaid, the ſaid Roll vnto our ſaid Soueraigne Lord the King, were aſſembled in forme of Parliament: by reaſon whereof, diuers doubts, queſtions, and ambiguities beene moued, and engendred in the mindes of diuers perſons, as it is ſaid: Therefore to the perpetuall memory of the truth, and declaration of the ſame, be it ordained, prouided, and eſtabliſhed in this preſent Parliament, that the Tenor of the ſaid Roll, with all the contents of the ſame, preſented as is abouеſaid, and deliuered to our foreſaid Soueraigne Lord the King, in the name & in the behalfe of the ſaid three Eſtates out of Parliament, now by the ſame three Eſtates aſſembled in this preſent Parliament, and by authority of the ſame be ratified, enrolled, recorded, approued, and authorized into remouing the occaſions of doubts and ambiguities, and to all other lawfull effects that ſhall now thereof enſue: So that all things ſaid, affirmed, ſpecified, deſired and remembred in the ſaid Roll, and in the Tenor of the ſame vnder-written, in the name of the ſaid three Eſtates, to the effect expreſſed in the ſame Roll be of the like effect, vertue, and force, as if all the ſame things had beene ſo ſaid, affirmed, ſpecified, deſired and remembred in a full Parliament, and by authority of the ſame accepted and approued. The Tenor of the ſaid Roll of Parchment, whereof aboue is made mention, followeth, and is ſuch.

An Act of Parliament paſſed to eſtabliſh K. *Richards* election.

All doubts taken away of King *Richards* election

The petition of the Kings election made lawfull, and authoriſed by Parliament.

To the high and Mighty Prince
Richard Duke of Glouceſter.

Pleaſe it your noble Grace to vnderſtand the conſiderations, election and petition vnder-written of vs, the Lords Spirituall and Temporall, and Commons of this Realme of *England*, and thereunto agreeably to giue your aſſent to the common and publique weale of this Land, to the comfort and gladneſſe of all the people of the ſame. Firſt, wee conſider how that heretofore in time-paſſed, this Land many yeers ſtood in great proſperity, honour, and tranquilitie, which was cauſed, forſomuch as the King then raigning, vſed and followed the aduiſe and counſell of certaine Lords Spirituall and Temporall, and other perſons of approued ſadneſſe, prudence, pollicy and experience, dreading God, and hauing tender zeale and affection to indifferent miniſtration of iuſtice, and to the common and publique weale of the Land: Then our Lord God was dread, loued and honoured, then within the Land was peace and tranquility, and among Neighbours concord and charity, then the malice of outward enemies was mightily reſiſted and repreſſed, and the Land honourably defended, with many great and glorious victories, then the entercourſe of Merchants was largely vſed and exerciſed: by which things aboue-remembred, the Land was greatly enriched, ſo that aſwell the Merchants and Artificers, as other poore people, labouring for their liuings in diuers occupations, had competent gaine, to the ſuſtentation of them and their houſholds, liuing without miſerable and intollerable pouerty: but afterward, when that ſuch as had the rule and gouernance of this Land, delighting in adulation and flattery, and led by ſenſuality and concupiſcence, followed the counſell of perſons inſolent, vicious, and of inordinate auarice, deſpiſing the counſell of good, vertuous, and prudent perſons, ſuch as aboue be remembred; The proſperity of this Land daily decreaſed, ſo that felicity was turned into miſery, and proſperity into aduerſity, and the order of policy and of the law of God and Man confounded, whereby it is likely this Realme to fall into extreame miſery and deſolation (which God defend) without due prouiſion of couenable remedy be had in this behalfe, in all goodly haſt.

The forme of the petition exhibited vnto the Protector.

Faire gloſes vpon foule pretenſes.

O time how doeſt thou turne, and art turned!

(3) Ouer this, among other things more ſpeciall, we conſider, how that the time of the raigne of King *Edward* the fourth late deceaſed, after the vngracious pretenſed marriage (as all *England* hath cauſe ſo to ſay) made betwixt the ſaid King *Edward*, and *Elizabeth* ſometimes wife to Sir *Iohn Gray* Knight, late naming her ſelfe, and many yeares heretofore Queene of *England*, the order of all politicke rule was peruerted, the lawes of God, and of Gods Church, and alſo the lawes of nature, and of *England*, and alſo of the laudable cuſtomes and liberties of the ſame, wherein euery Engliſh man is inheritor, broken, ſubuerted, and contemned, againſt all reaſon and iuſtice, ſo that the Land was ruled by ſelfe-will and pleaſure, feare and dread, all manner of equity and law laide apart and deſpiſed, whereof enſued many inconueniences and miſchiefes, as murthers, extortions, and oppreſſions, namely of poore and impotent people, ſo that no man was ſure of his life, land or liuelyhood, ne of his Wife, Daughter nor ſeruant, euery good maiden and woman ſtanding in dread to be rauiſhed and defloured: and beſides this, what diſcords, inward battels, effuſion of Chriſtian-mens bloud, and namely, by the deſtruction of the Nobles bloud of this Land, was had and committed within the ſame, it is euident and notary through all this Realme, vnto the great ſorrow and heauineſſe of all true Engliſhmen. And here alſo we conſider, how that the ſaid pretended marriage betwixt the aboue-named King *Edward* and *Elizabeth Gray*, was made of great preſumption without the knowing & aſſent of the Lords of this Land, and alſo by ſorcery and witchcraft committed by the ſaid *Elizabeth*, and her Mother *Iaquet* Dutcheſſe of *Bedford*, as the common opinion of the people, and the publike voice and fame is through all this Land: and hereafter if the cauſe ſhall require, ſhall bee proued

Flattery feares not how to report.

How can Princes rule to ſhun reproach when they are dead?

The Queene and her mother falſly ſlandered.

proued ſufficiently in time and place conuenient. And here alſo wee conſider how that the ſaid pretenſed marriage was made priuily and ſecretly, without edition of bancs, in a priuate chamber, a prophane place, and not openly in the face of the Church, after the Law of Gods Church, but contrary thereunto, and the laudable cuſtome of the Church of *England*. And how alſo that at the time of contract of the ſame pretended marriage, and before, and long time after, the ſaid King *Edward* was and ſtood married, and troth-plight to one Dame *Eleanor Butler*, daughter of the old Earle of *Shrewsbury*, with whom the ſame *Edward* had made a pre-contract of Matrimony, long time before he made the ſaid pretenſed marriage with the ſaid *Elizabeth Gray*, in manner and forme aforeſaid: which Premiſſes being true, as in very truth they been true: it appeareth, and followeth euidently, that the ſaid King *Edward* during his life, and the ſaid *Elizabeth* liued together ſinfully and damnably in adultery, againſt the law of God and of his Church: And therefore no maruell that the Soueraigne Lord, and the head of this Land, being of ſuch vngodly diſpoſition, and prouoking the ire and indignation of our Lord God; ſuch hainous miſchiefe and inconueniences as are aboue remembred, were vſed and committed in the Realme among the Subiects. Alſo it appeareth euidently, and followeth, that all the Iſſue and Children of the ſaid King *Edward*, beene baſtards, and vnable to inherite, or to claime any thing by inheritance, by the law and cuſtome of *England*.

King *Edward* accuſed to haue beene contracted to the Lady *Eleanor Butler*.

The tongue of ſlander is a ſharpe arrow.

They haue taught their tongues to ſpeake lies. Ier. 9. 5.

(4) Moreouer, we conſider how that afterwards by the three Eſtates of this Realme aſſembled in Parliament, holden at *Weſtminſter* the 17. yeare of the Raigne of the ſaid King *Edward* the fourth, he then being in poſſeſſion of the Crowne and royall eſtate, by Act made in the ſame Parliament, *George* Duke of *Clarence*, Brother to the ſaid King *Edward* now deceaſed, was conuicted and attainted of high treaſon, as in the ſame Act is contained more at large, by cauſe and reaſon whereof, all the Iſſue of the ſaid *George*, was and is diſabled and barred of all right and claime that in any caſe they might haue or challenge by inheritance to the Crowne and dignity royall of this Realme, by the ancient law and cuſtome of this ſame Realme.

George Duke of *Clarence* and his heires made vncapable of the Crowne.

Ouer this, we conſider that ye be the vndoubted ſonne and heire of *Richard* late Duke of *Yorke*, very inheritor of the ſaid Crowne and dignity-royall, and as in right King of *England* by way of inheritance: and that at this time the premiſſes duely conſidered there is none other perſon liuing, but ye only that by right may claime the ſaid Crowne and dignity-royall by way of inheritance, and how that yee be borne within this Land; by reaſon whereof, as we deeme in our mindes, yee be more naturally inclined to the proſperity and Common-weale of the ſame: and all the three Eſtates of the Land haue and may haue more certaine knowledge of your birth and filiation aforeſaid. We conſider alſo the great wit, prudence, iuſtice, princely courage, and the memorable and laudable acts in diuers battels, which as we by experience know you heretofore haue done, for the ſaluation and defence of this ſame Realme; and alſo the great nobleneſſe and excellency of your birth and bloud, as of him that is deſcended of the three moſt royall houſes in Chriſtendome: that is to ſay, *England*, *France*, and *Spaine*: Wherefore theſe premiſſes by vs diligently conſidered, we deſiring effectually the peace, tranquility & weale publique of this Land, and the reduction of the ſame to the ancient honourable eſtate and proſperity, and hauing in your great prudence, iuſtice, princely courage, and excellent vertue, ſingular confidence, haue choſen in all that in vs is, and by this our writing chooſe you High and Mighty Prince our King and Soueraigne Lord, &c. To whom we know for certaine it appertaineth of inheritance ſo to be choſen. And hereupon wee humbly deſire, pray, and require your moſt noble Grace, that according to this election of vs the three Eſtates of this Land, as by your true inheritance, you will accept and take vpon you the ſaid Crowne and royall dignitie, with all things thereunto annexed and appertaining, as to you of right belonging, aſwell by inheritance as by lawfull election: and in caſe yee ſo doe, wee promiſe to ſerue and aſſiſt your Highneſſe, as true and faithfull ſubiects, and liege-men; and to liue and die with you in this matter, and in euery other iuſt quarrell. For certainely, we be determined rather to aduenture and commit vs to the perill of our liues, and ieopardie of death, then to liue in ſuch thraldome and bondage as wee haue liued long time heretofore, oppreſſed and iniured by extortions, and new impoſitions, againſt the Law of God and man, and the liberty, old policy and Lawes of this Realme, wherein euery Engliſhman is inherited. Our LORD GOD, KING of all KINGS, by whoſe infinite goodnes and eternall prouidence all things beene principally gouerned in this world; lighten your ſoule, and grant you grace to doe as well in this matter as in all other, that may be according to his will and pleaſure, and to the common and publique weale of this Land: ſo that after great clouds, trouble, ſtormes, and tempeſts, the Sun of Iuſtice and of Grace may ſhine vpon vs, to the comfort and gladneſſe of all true-hearted Engliſhmen. Albeit, that the right, title, and eſtate, which our Soueraigne Lord the King, *Richard* the third hath to, and in the Crowne and royall dignity of this Realme of *England*; with all things thereunto within the ſame Realme, and without it vnited, annexed and appertaining, bin iuſt and lawfull, as grounded vpon the lawes of God, and of nature: and alſo vpon the ancient lawes and laudable cuſtomes of this ſaid Realme; and ſo taken and reputed by all ſuch perſons as beene learned in the aboue ſaid lawes and cuſtomes: Yet neuertheleſſe, foraſmuch as it is conſidered, that the moſt part of the people is not ſufficiently learned in the abouеſaid Lawes and cuſtoms, wherby the truth & right in this behalfe, of likelyhood may be hid, and not clearely knowne to all the people, & thereupon put in doubt and queſtion. And ouer this, how that the Court of Parliament is of ſuch authority, and the people of this Land of ſuch a nature and diſpoſition, as experience teacheth, that manifeſtation and declaration of any truth or right made by the three Eſtates of this Realme aſſembled in Parliament, and by the authoritie of the ſame, maketh before all other things moſt feith and certaine, and quieting of mens minds, remoueth the occaſion of all doubts, and ſeditious language. Therefore, at the requeſt, and by the aſſent of the three Eſtates of this Realme; that is to ſay, the Lords Spirituall and Temporall, and Commons of this Land, aſſembled in this preſent Parliament, by authority of the ſame, be it pronounced, decreed, and declared, that our ſaid Soueraigne Lord the King was, and is, the very vndoubted King of this Realme of *England*, with all things thereunto within the ſame Realme, and without it vnited, annexed, and appertaining, aſwell by right of Conſanguinity, and inheritance, as by lawfull election, conſecration, and coronation. And ouer this, that at the requeſt, and by the aſſent and authority aboue ſaid, be it ordained, enacted and eſtabliſhed, that the ſaid Crowne and royall dignity of this Realme, and the inheritance of the ſame, and all other things thereunto within the Realme, or without, is vnited, annexed, and now appertaining, reſt and abide in the perſon of our ſaid Soueraigne Lord the King, during his life, and after his deceaſe, in his heires of his body begotten; and in eſpeciall at the requeſt, and by aſſent and authority aboue ſaid, bee it ordained, enacted, eſtabliſhed, pronounced, decreed, and declared, that the high and excellent Prince *Edward*, ſon of our ſaid Soueraigne Lord the King, bee heire apparant of the ſame our Soueraigne Lord the King, to ſucceed to him in the aboue ſaid Crowne and royall dignity,

All promiſes were not kept, as afterward it proued.

The Lord our God is a conſuming fire. Deut. 4. 24.

A charitable minde in ſhew, but in truth a crafty intent.

The effect of our Engliſh Parliaments.

The Crowne entailed to K. *Richard* and his heires.

Prince *Edward* made Heire-apparant by Parliament.

As bad his claime as his perſon deformed, but both made good by flatterers in Parliament.

Great pitty that ſo faire ſtemmes ſhould bring forth ſo bad a branch.

dignity, with all things as is aforesaid thereunto vnited, annexed, and appertaining, to haue them after the decease of our said Soueraigne Lord the King, to him, and to his heires of his body lawfully begotten.

Quæ quidem Billa Communibus Regni Angl. in dicto Parliamento existent. transportata fuit. Cui quidem billæ ijdem Communes assensum suum præbuerũt sub hijs verbis. A Ceste bille les Communes sont assentus. Quibus quidem billa, & assensu coram Domino Rege in Parliamento predicto lectis, auditis, & plenius intellectis, de assensu Dominorum spiritualiũ, & temporalium in dicto Parliamento similiter existent. ac Communitatis prædictæ, nec non authoritate eiusdem Parliamenti pronunciatum, decretum, & declaratum existit, omnia & singula in billa prædicta contenta fore vera & indubia. Ac idem Dominus Rex de assensu dictorum trium Statuum Regni, & authoritate prædicta, omnia & singula præmissa in billa prædicta, contenta concedit, ac ea pro vero & indubio pronunciat, decernit & declarat.

What cannot the Parliament effect, where all giue way to the sway of time?

(5) These things I haue laid forth more at large out of the Parliament Roll, that ye may vnderstand both what and how great matters the power of a Prince, the outward shew of vertue, the wily fetches of Lawyers, fawning hope, pensiue feare, desire of change, and goodly pretenses, are able to effect, in that most wise assembly of all the States of a Kingdome, euen against all law and right, so that the saying of *Salomon* in this State seemed most true, that *a liuing dogge is better then a dead Lyon*. But this *Richard* is not to be accounted worthy to haue been a Soueraigne, had he not beene a Soueraigne as *Galba* was reputed; who, when he was a Soueraigne, deceiued all mens expectation; but most worthy indeed of Soueraignty, had hee not beene transported with ambition (which blasted all his good parts) by lewd practises, and by mischieuous meanes, made foule way thereunto: for that by the common consent of all that are wise, he was reckoned in the ranke of bad men, but of good Princes; as indeed King *Richard* through his short time of raigne is accounted to haue beene.

Eccles. 9.4.

King *Richard* like vnto *Galba*, a bad Subiect, but a good Prince.

(6) The Crowne and Scepter accepted as is said, King *Richard* vpon the twenty fifth of *Iune*, went in great pompe vnto *Westminster* hall, and there in the Kings-Bench Court tooke his Seat, saying, that hee would take vpon him the Crowne in that place, where the King himselfe ought to sit, whose chiefest duety was to administer Iustice to his people, and with a pleasing Oration so tickled the eares of his Auditors, that hee lulled the rurall to thinke that his like had neuer raigned in *England*; and to begin himselfe with a pretensed clemency, he pronounced pardon of all offences committed against him; for confirmation wherof, he sent for one *Fogge*, whom he deadly hated, who for feare of him had lately taken Sanctuary at *Westminster*, and there in sight of the people, with semblance accordingly, tooke him by the hand saying, that he would be thenceforth his assured in affection; whereat the Commons greatly reioyced, and with applauses extolled, though others wiser among them tooke it to be but fained, to serue his owne turne. And in his way homeward, whomsoeuer he met, he saluted: for a mind that knoweth it selfe to be guilty, is in a manner deiected to a seruile flattery.

King *Richard* accepteth the Crowne, and beginneth his raigne with great applause.

The new Kings clemency and affability.

K. *Richards* dealings double construed.

(7) King *Richard*, whose guilty heart was full of suspition, had sent for fiue thousand Souldiers out of the North to be present in *London* at his Coronation; these, vnder the leading of *Robin* of *Ridsdale*, came vp both euill apparrelled, and worse harnessed, in rusty Armour, neither defencible for proofe, nor scowred for shew: who mustering in *Finesbury* fields, were with disdaine gazed vpon by the beholders. But all things now ready for his Coronation (and much the sooner in that young *Edwards* prouision was conferred vpon his) vpon the fourth of *Iuly*, he with his Wife by water came to the Tower, where hee

The Northerne sent for to the Kings Coronation.

Iohn Hardings Continuer.

created Estates, ordained the Knights of the *Bathe*, set at liberty the Archbishop of *Yorke*, and the Lord *Stanley*, more for feare then for loue; whose sonne the Lord *Strange*, was then said to be gathering of men in *Lancashire*, where those Lords haue great command.

An. D. 1483. States created by King *Richard*.

(8) But *Morton*, Bishop of *Ely*, a firme man vnto King *Edward*, and vnpossible to be drawne vnto the disinheriting of his children, as was well perceiued by the Protector, among others, at the Councell held in the Tower, was left there prisoner, and accused of many great, but vnlikely treasons. This man borne in *Dorsetshire*, and brought vp in the Vniuersity of *Oxford*, was from a Doctor of the *Arches* made a priuy Councellor vnto King *Henry*, and after his death allured by King *Edward* to serue him, was sworne likewise of his Councell, and made one of the Executors of his will: whose insight into the intended designes, the Protector much feared, and therefore hauing him fast, minded so to keepe him, when hee released others laide in the Tower for the like feare. But the reuerence of the man, or vndeseruednesse of his wrongs, moued so the affection of the *Oxford Academians*, that they directed to the King (who professed much loue to that Vniuersity) a petitory Latine Epistle, no lesse eloquent and pithy, then circumspect and wary, wherein they thus pleaded for his liberty.

At *Beere*, or *Bery*.

Ex Regist. Oxon. MS.

A letter written for the Vniuersity of *Oxford* in the behalfe of D. *Morton*.

"(9) Though many important motiues wee "haue most Christian King, earnestly to recommend "to your princely clemency, the Reuerend Father "in Christ, the Lord Bishop of *Elye*, as being not "onely one of the most eminent Sonnes of our V- "niuersity, but also a singular Patrone and indul- "gent Father to vs all; yet could not these induce- "ments (howsoeuer very ponderous with all grate- "full mindes) perswade vs to become intercessors "for his pardon, but euer with due regard both to "your owne honour and safety; the greatnesse of "your princely fauours hauing more obliged vs, "then of any your royall Predecessors: whiles there- "fore wee stood in some doubt, how hee stood affe- "cted towards your Highnesse, wee held it an high "offence, if by tendring his safety, wee should any "way hazard yours: but now, vnderstanding that "his offence proceeded not of pertinacy, but hu- "mane frailety; and that he hath alwaies humbly "sued for pardon thereof, the bowels of our mo- "ther Vniuersity, like *Rachel* weeping ouer her "Children, were moued with compassion ouer the "deplored distresse of this her deerest sonne; where- "in yet (as wee hope) her affection deserues no iust "reprehension. For, if a pious affection be praise- "worthy, euen in an enemy, much more is it in this "our Academy, full of due obseruance towards "your Maiestie, and professing the study of all ver- "tues. These things so being, wee thought fitte, "(without longer delayes) to flie vnto your clemen- "cy, as humble Suppliants, that your Highnesse, al- "ready hauing in part inflicted (though mildly) some "chastisement on his fault, would turne your royall "aspect towards him, and impart to him the boun- "ty of your gracious clemency; wherein, you shall "not onely performe an act most acceptable to him, "to vs, and the whole Church, but very honourable "and aduantagious also (as wee hope) to your own "person. For, vpon notice of the re-admittance of "so great a Prelate into your grace, who is there, that "will not extoll with praises vnto the skies your so "great, and euen diuine clemency? Thus gloried "the Romans, to haue it marshalled amongst their "praises, that * *Submissiue wights they spared, but* "*crusht the proud*; and this also they challenged as "their peculiar honour, that they were readier to "remit, then to reuenge wrongs. Now if you will "aspire to this high honour, (as easily you may, by "being gracious to this man) you shall surmount "the Romanes themselues by so glorious a deed. As "for the great benefite which may hereby accrue to

* *Virgil. Parcere Subiectis, &c. Salust.*

"your Highneſſe, albeit (as we ſuppoſe) we can ſuf-
"ficiently conceiue thereof, eſpecially if wee call to
"minde his ſingular vertues; yet had we rather leaue
"that point wholly to your ſecret conſiderations,
"then purſue it with a diſcourſe tedious to you, and
"enuie-breeding to him: leaſt happily by inſiſting
"in his praiſes, it may be thought, that wee ſeeke ra-
"ther by violence to extort, then by ſubmiſſiueneſſe
"to beg his pardon, and or elſe to relie more on the
"greatneſſe of his *vertues*, then of your *Clemency*, or
"laſtly to appeale rather to your *Iuſtice*, then to your
"*mercy*. Wherefore (moſt puiſſant Prince) thus
"perſwade your ſelfe of vs, that whatſoeuer we haue
"ſpoken in the Biſhops behalfe, we doe it rather out
"of a ſenſe of our dutifulneſſe then any diffidency of
"your Gratiouſneſſe: and therefore omitting all
"things which might be alleaged, either to leſſen his
"offence, or augment his vertues: it is your ſole *mer-*
"*cy* wherein we repoſe all our hopes; vowing, how-
"ſoeuer other meanes of gratitude may be wanting to
"vs, yet we ſhall neuer ſuffer the remembrance of ſo
"great a fauour conferred on vs to be extinguiſhed a-
"mongſt vs.

Dat. Oxon. in Eccleſ. S. Mariæ Virg. 4. Sextilis.

(10) King *Richard*, after this, intending ſome ea-
ſier reſtraint, though not libertie vnto the Biſhop,
was content to releaſe him out of the Tower, and
committed him to the cuſtody of *Henry* Duke of *Buc-
kingham*, who ſent him to his Caſtle of *Brecknocke*
in *Wales*, there ſafely to be kept, vntill himſelfe ſhould
come thither.

Biſhop *Morton* committed to the cuſtody of the Duke of *Buckingham.*

(11) The next day with great pompe, ſtate and
attendance of the Nobility, the King rode through
London, ſo as a more royall had not beene ſeene at a-
ny Kings Coronation, for there attended him, three
Dukes, nine Earles, two Viſcounts, twenty Lords, ſea-
uenty eight Knights, all of them moſt richly furni-
ſhed, whereof the Duke of *Buckingham* ſo farre ex-
ceeded, that the capariſon of his Horſe was ſo char-
ged with embroydered worke of gold, as it was born
vp from the ground by certaine his footemen thereto
appointed. And contrary to my owne affections,
or manner of my former proceedings, I will yet con-
tinue the moſt honourable offices performed at his
royall enthroning with no little Admiration, how
theſe Lords aſſembled to ſet the Crowne vpon the
young Princes head, were ſo ſuddainely carried to
Crowne his Protector, and that vpon ſuch falſe and
ſlanderous pretences, as euery one of them ſaw his
Title to be meerely an vniuſt vſurpation, but in them
may be ſeene, that we are all the Sonnes of *Adam*,
and in times of extremities, foreſlow all publique re-
gard, as ouermuch fearing our priuate and preſent
eſtate.

The great eſtate of King *Richards* Coronation.

Buckingham moſt richly attired at the Kings Coronation.

(12) Vpon the ſixt of Iuly, King *Richard* with
Queene *Anne* his wife ſet forth from *White-Hall* to-
wards *Weſtminſter*, royally attended, and went into
the Kings-Bench in the great Hall, from whence him-
ſelfe and Queene vpon ray Cloth, both of them bare-
footed, went vnto King *Edwards* ſhrine in Saint *Pe-
ters* Church, all the Nobility going with him in
their degree, the trumpets and Heraulds marſhalling
the way, the Croſſe with a ſolemne proceſſion fol-
lowed, the Prieſts in fine ſurpleſſes and gray Amyſſes
vpon them, the Biſhops and Abbots in rich Copes,
all of them mytred, and carrying their Croſſes in
their hands; next came the Earle of *Huntington* bea-
ring a paire of *gilt ſpurres*, ſignifying *Knighthood*; af-
ter whom came the Earle of *Bedford*, who bare Saint
Edwards ſtaffe for a *Relique*, then followed the Earle
of *Northumberland* with a *naked pointles ſword* in his
hand betokening *Mercy*, next whom the Lord *Stan-
ley* bare the *Mace* of the *Conſtableſhip*, vpon whoſe
right hand the Earle of *Kent* bare a *naked pointed
ſword*, and on his left-hand the Lord *Louell* the like
naked pointed ſword, the former ſignifying *Iuſtice to-
wards the temporalty*, & the other *Iuſtice to the Cler-
gy*; the Duke of *Suffolke* then followed with the *Scep-
ter*, which ſignified *Peace*: the Earle of *Lincolne* bare
the *Ball* and *Croſſe*, which ſignified a *Monarchy*: Then
came the Earle of *Surrey*, bearing the fourth ſword,
ſheathed in a rich ſcabberd, & is called the ſword of
Eſtate, next whom followed *Gartar* King at Armes,
vpon whoſe right hand went the Gentleman-Vſher
of the Kings priuy Chamber, and on his left the
Lord Maior of *London*, with a Mace in his hand;
Next vnto whom went the Duke of *Norfolke*, bearing
the Kings Crowne betwixt his hands, and then King
Richard himſelfe came, in a *Surcote* and *Robe* of pur-
ple Veluet; hauing ouer his head a Canopie borne by
the foure Barons of the fiue Ports, the Biſhop of *Bath*
on his right hand, and of *Durham* on his left. The
Duke of *Buckingham* bare the Kings traine, and to
ſignifie the office of *high Steward of England*, hee
bare a *White Staffe* in his hand.

The order of the Kings proceedings to be crowned.

Rich. Grafton.

(13) Then followed the Queenes traine: before
whom was borne the *Scepter*, the *Iuory Rod* with the
Doue and the *Crowne*; her ſelfe apparelled in Robes
like the Kings, vnder a rich Canopie, at euery corner
thereof a *bell of gold*. On her head ſhee ware a cir-
clet ſet full of precious ſtones, the Counteſſe of *Rich-
mond* bearing her traine; the Dutcheſſe of *Norfolke*
& *Suffolke* in their Coronets attendents, with twen-
ty Ladies of Eſtate moſt richly attired. In this order
they paſſed the Pallace into the Abbey, and aſcen-
ding to the high Altar there ſhifted their Robes,
and hauing other Robes open in diuers places from
the middle vpward, were both of them annointed,
and Crowned, he with Saint *Edwards* Crowne, ha-
uing the Scepter deliuered into his left hand, and
the Ball with the Croſſe, a token of Monarchie in his
right; the Queene had a Scepter giuen into her right
hand, and the Iuory Doue in her left; then after the
Sacrament receiued (hauing the hoſt diuided be-
twixt them) they both offered at S. *Edwards* ſhrine,
where the King left his Crowne and put on his owne;
and thus done, in the ſame Order and State as they
came, returned to *Weſtminſter-Hall*, and there held a
moſt Princely feaſt. Whereof let *Hall* and *Graſton*
tell you for me.

The order of the Queenes proceedings to receiue the Crowne.

The King and Queene ſolemnly annoynted, and crowned.

(14) But this his faire Sunne was ſoone ouer-
caſt with many darke Cloudes and miſchiefes, which
fell thicke vpon the necke of each other, for as the
thing euill-gotten, is neuer well kept: through all the
time of his raigne there neuer ceaſed death and
ſlaughter, till his owne deſtruction ended it. Yet as
he finiſhed his daies with the beſt death, and the moſt
righteous, that is to ſay, his owne: ſo began he with
the moſt pitteous & wicked, I meane the lamentable
murther of his innocent Nephewes, the young King
and his tender Brother; whoſe deaths and finall miſ-
fortunes haue neuertheleſſe come ſo farre in queſti-
on, that ſome remaine yet in doubt, whether they
were in his dayes deſtroyed or no. Not for that one-
ly, that *Perkin Warbecke*, by the malice of many, and
the folly of more, ſo long a time abuſing the world,
was aſwell with Princes, as the other poore people,
reputed and taken for the younger of theſe two: but
for that alſo as all things were in late dayes ſo couert-
ly demeaned, one thing pretended and another done,
that there was nothing ſo plaine and openly proued,
but for the common cuſtome and cloſe couert dea-
ling, men had it euer inwardly in ſuſpect, as many
well-counterfeit Iewels make the true miſtruſted.
Howbeit concerning the opinion, with the occaſions
mouing either party, wee ſhall haue place more at
large hereafter to intreat of: in the meane time for
this preſent matter, ſhall be rehearſed the dolorous
end of theſe young Babes, not after euery report I
haue heard, but by ſuch men, and by ſuch meanes, as
to my ſeeming it were hard but it ſhould be true, ſaith
Sir *Thomas Moore*.

Sir Thomas Moore.

The time of king *Richards* raigne full of calamities.

Doubts made of the two Princes deathe.

(15) K. *Richard* preſently after his mockiſh Election
and glorious Coronation, made his progreſſe towards
Glouceſter, to ſhew (as was thought) in that Citie his
new Kingly eſtate, which firſt had vouchſafed him
his old honour in bearing her Title; or elſe, and that
rather, to be ſequeſtred from other buſines, the better
to attend that, vpon which his thoughts moſt buſily
ranne.

King Richards progreſſe towards *Glocester.*

ranne. For albeit the Barke of his begun aduentures, had without perill well paſſed the ſtraightes, and now got ſea-roome to ſpread ſaile at will; yet being vnder gale, and at fortunes diſpoſe, he feared the guſt of euery winde: at leaſt-wiſe ſuſpected that his young Nephewes liuing, would ſtay the courſe of his deepe reaches, as doth the little fiſh *Remora*, who holdeth (as at Anchor) the biggeſt ſhip vnder ſaile. His inward ſtudy therefore ſtill forged, howſoeuer his outward countenance was carryed, to cleare his paſſage by taking thoſe dangerous lets away, well knowing, that his little Nephewes enjoying their liues, men would be medling with their downe-caſt cauſe, and account him an Vſurper without all right to the Realme. To ſtop which ſtreame, no other courſe could he finde, but to cut off the currunt by which it ranne, as though the killing of his Kinſmen could better his bad claime, or vnkindly murther make him a kindly King. But being reſolued, he forthwith ſent one *John Greene*, a ſeruant in eſpeciall truſt, vnto Sir *Robert Brakenburie* Conſtable of the Tower, with a letter of credence, that the ſame Sir *Robert* ſhould in any wiſe put the two children to death.

...ng a little ...ported ...h ...,as it will ... the courſe ...f any ſhip vnder ſaile.

The feares of King Richard.

King Richard complotteth the death of his Nephewes.

King Richard his Letter to Sir Robert Brakenbury.

(16) This *Greene* thus poſted to *London*, deliuered his errand vnto *Brakenbury*, whom hee found kneeling at his Orizons before the Image of our Lady in the Tower, the buſineſſe being of ſuch weight as the King muſt be ſerued before hee had ended with his Saint. The Conſtable reading the Letter, and perceiuing the bloudy intent of the King, anſwered plainly, he would neuer put thoſe innocent babes vnto death, to dye therefore himſelfe. With which anſwere *Iohn Greene* returning, recounted the ſame to King *Richard* being at *Warwicke*, yet in his way to *Glouceſter*, wherewith he was maruellouſly perplexed, and thereat tooke ſuch diſpleaſure, that the ſame night hee ſaid to a ſecret Page of his: *Ah whom ſhall a man truſt? thoſe that I haue brought vp my ſelfe, thoſe that I had weened would moſt ſurely ſerue mee, euen thoſe fayle mee, and at my commandement will doe nothing.* Sir, quoth the Page, there lyeth one on your Pallet without, that I dare well ſay, to doe your Grace pleaſure, the thing were right hard that he would refuſe; meaning this by Sir *Iames Tirrell*, who was a man of a goodly Perſonage, and for Natures gifts worthy to haue ſerued a much better Prince, if he had wel ſerued God, and by grace obtained as much truth and good will, as he had ſtrength and wit.

Sir Robert Brakenburies anſwere vnto Iohn Greene.

King Richards complaints of Ingratitude.

James Tirrell made the inſtrument of murther.

The parts of Sir Iames Tirrell.

(17) The man had an high heart, and ſore longed vpward, not riſing yet ſo faſt as he hoped, being hindred and kept vnder by the meanes of Sir *Richard Ratcliffe*, and Sir *William Catesby*, who longing for no more partners of the Princes fauour, and namely, not for him, whoſe pride they knew would beare no Peere, kept him by ſecret drifts out of all ſecret truſt, which thing this Page had well marked and knowne: wherefore this occaſion offered of very ſpeciall friendſhip, he tooke his time to put him forward, and by ſuch wiſe to doe him good, that all the enemies he had, except the Diuell himſelfe could neuer haue done him ſo much hurt. For vpon this Pages words, King *Richard* aroſe (for this communication had he ſitting at the draught, a conuenient Carpet for ſuch a Counſell) and came out into a Pallet-Chamber, where he found in bed, Sir *Iames* and Sir *Thomas Tirrels*, of perſons much like, and Brethren in bloud, but nothing of kinne in conditions: Then ſaid the King merrily to them, what Sirs, be yee in bed ſo ſoone? and calling vp Sir *Iames*, brake to him ſecretly his minde in this miſchieuous matter, in which he found him nothing ſtrange. Wherefore on the morrow he ſent him to *Brakenbury* with a Letter, by which he was commanded to deliuer Sir *Iames* all the keyes of the Tower for one night, to the end he might accompliſh there the Kings pleaſure in ſuch things as he had giuen him in commandement. After which Letter deliuered, and the keyes receiued, Sir *Iames* appoynted the night next enſuing to deſtroy them, deuiſing before, and preparing the meanes.

King Richard conſulted vpon his Nephewes murthers, ſitting on a homely ſeate.

Sir Iames ready to fulfil the Kings mind in the murther of the Princes.

(18) The Prince in the Tower ſlenderly attended; and altogether neglected by the Nobility, laſtly, had newes that his Vncle had left the name of Protector, and taken vpon him the Title of King, who with full conſent of the Lords was to be crowned within a few daies following, with the ſame Crowne, and in the like eſtate as had beene prouided for his ſolemnitie, whereat the dejected innocent ſighed and ſaid; *Alaſſe, I would my Vncle would let mee enjoy my life yet, though I loſe both my Kingdome and Crowne.* Which words he pronounced with ſuch a feeling feare, as much moued the Relater to pitty, and to perſwade him with the beſt comforts he could: but forthwith the Prince and his Brother were both ſhut vp, and all attendants remoued from them, onely one called *Black-Will*, or *William Slaughter* excepted, who was ſet to ſerue them, and ſee them ſure. After which time the Prince neuer tyed his poynts, nor cared for himſelfe, but with that young Babe his Brother lingered with thought and heauineſſe, till their traiterous deaths deliuered them out of that wretchednеſſe: for the execution whereof, *Tirrell* appoynted *Miles Forreſt*, one of the foure that kept them, a fellow fleſhed in murther before-time: To whom he joyned one *Iohn Dighton* his Horſe-keeper, a bigge, broad, ſquare knaue.

The words of Prince Edward when he heard that his Vncle ſhould be King.

The faithfull ſeruants of the Prince remoued from him.

Sir Th. Moore.

(19) About mid-night (all others being remoued from them,) this *Miles Forreſt*, and *Iohn Dighton*, came into the Chamber, and ſuddenly wrapped vp the ſeely children in the Bed-clothes, where they lay, keeping by force the Feather-bed and pillowes hard vpon their mouthes that they were therein ſmothered to death, and gaue vp to God their innocent ſoules into the joyes of Heauen, leauing their bodies vnto the Tormentors dead in the Bed: which after theſe monſtrous wretches perceyued, firſt by the ſtrugling with the paines of death, and after long lying ſtill to be throughly diſpatched, they laide their bodies naked out vpon the Bed, and then fetched Sir *Iames*, their inſtigator, to ſee them, who cauſed theſe murtherers to bury them at the ſtaires foot, ſomewhat deepe in the ground, vnder a great heape of ſtones. Then rode Sir *Iames* in haſte to the King, vnto whom he ſhewed the manner of their death, and place of buriall, which newes was ſo welcome to his wicked heart, as he greatly reioyced, and with great thankes dubbed (as ſome hold) this his mercileſſe Inſtrument, Knight. But the place of their buriall he liked not, ſaying, that vile corner ſhould not containe the bodies of thoſe Princes, his Nephewes, and commanded them a better place for buriall, becauſe they were the ſons of a King. Whereupon the Prieſt of the Tower tooke vp the bodies; and ſecretly interred them in ſuch place, which by the occaſion of his death could neuer ſince come to light.

Prince Edward and his brother murthered in a feather-bed.

Their bodies were buried vnder a paire of ſtaires.

The body of the two Princes remoued, and buried no man knowes where.

(20) The continuer of *Iohn Harding* tels vs, from the report of others, that King *Richard* cauſed Sir *Robert Brakenburies* Prieſt to cloſe their dead corps in lead, and ſo to put them in a coffin full of holes, and hooked at the ends with two hookes of Iron, and ſo to caſt them into a place called the Blacke-deepes at the *Thames* mouth, whereby they ſhould neuer riſe vp, or be any more ſeene. Whereſoeuer they were buried, thus they died, and by theſe murtherers. For very certaine it is, and well knowne, that at ſuch time as Sir *Iames Tirrell* was in the Tower, for Treaſon committed againſt King *Henry* the ſeauenth, both *Dighton* and he were examined, and confeſſed the murther in manner as is ſaid, but whether their bodies were remoued they could not ſay. And thus as I haue learned of them that knew much, and little cauſe had to lye, were theſe two noble Princes, theſe innocent tender children, borne of moſt royall bloud, brought vp in great wealth, likely to haue liued, to haue raigned, and ruled in the Realme, by traiterous tyranny taken, depriued of their eſtates, ſhortly ſhut

Harding's continuer.

The murtherers confeſſe the deed, and manner of their death.

The report of Sir Tho. Moore.

vp

vp in prison, and impiously murdered, and the body cast out God wot where, by the cruell ambition of their vnnaturall Vncle, and his hellish Tormentors. Which things on euery part well pondered; God neuer gaue this world a more notable example, neither in what vnsurety standeth this worldly weale, or what mischiefe worketh the proud enterprise of an high heart, or finally, what wretched end ensueth such barbarous cruelty.

The vnconstant state of mans life.

Gods justice and reuenge vpon the murtherers.

(20) For first to begin with the Ministers, *Miles Forrest*, at *S. Martins*, peece-meale rotted away; *Sir Iames Tyrrell* died at Tower-hill for Treason; *Dighton* indeed walketh on aliue in good possibility to be hanged ere he die, liuing at *Callis* no lesse distained and hated then pointed at of all. King *Richard* himselfe as yee shall hereafter heare, was slaine in the field, hacked and hewed of his enemies hands, carried on horse-backe dead, his haire in despite torne and tugged like a Curre dogge: and the mischiefe that he tooke was within lesse then three yeares of the mischiefe that he did, and yet all the meane time spent in much paine and trouble outward, and much feare, anguish, and sorrow within. For I haue heard by credible report of such as were secret with his Chamberlaine, that after this abhominable deede done, he neuer had quiet in his minde: hee neuer thought himselfe sure: but where he went abroad, his eyes euer whirled about, his body priuily fenced, his hand euer on his dagger, his countenance and manner like one alwaies readie to strike againe, he tooke ill rest a nights, lay long waking and musing, sore wearied with care and watch, rather slumbred then slept, troubled with fearefull dreames, suddainely sometimes start vp, leapt out of his Bed, and ranne about the Chamber, so was his restlesse heart continually tossed and tumbled with the teadious impression and stormy remembrance of his abhominable deed. Neither had he in his best, any time of quiet, for immediately began the conspiracy (or rather good consideration) betweene the Duke of *Buckingham*, and diuers other Gentlemen against him.

Io. Harding.

Reuenge of murder repaide.

The guilty conscience of King *Richard.*

Outward enemies arise against King *Richard.*

(21) Which Duke as soone as *Glouceſter* vpon the death of King *Edward* came to *Yorke*, sent thither in secret wise a trusty seruant of his, named *Persall*, to assure him, that he would take his part in this his new world, and if need were, would waite vpon him with a thousand good-fellowes: and againe sent offers of the like vnto *Nottingham*, whither the Protector from *Yorke*, with many Gentlemen of the *North* Countrey was come, and on his way to *London*-ward in secret manner met him himselfe, but at *Northampton* openly with three hundred horse: and from thence still continued with him, being a partner of all his deuises, till that after his coronation they departed (as it seemed) very great friends at *Glouceſter:* from whence as soone as the Duke came home, he so lightly turned from him, and so highly conspired against him, that a man would maruell whereof the change grew. And surely the occasion of their variance is of diuers men, diuersely reported; Some haue said, that the Duke a little before the Coronation, among other things, required of the Protector, the Duke of *Hertfords* Lands, to the which he pretended himselfe just inheritor. And forasmuch as the Title which he claimed by inheritance, was somewhat interlaced with the title of the Crowne, by the line of King *Henry* before depriued, the Protector conceiued such indignation, that he rejected the Dukes request, with many spightfull and minatory wordes, which so wounded his heart with hatred and mistrust, that he neuer after could indure to looke aright on King *Richard*, but euer feared his owne life, so farre forth, that when the Protector rode through *London* towards his Coronation, he fained himselfe sicke, because he would not ride with him: And the other taking it in euill part, sent him word to rise, and come ride, or he would make him to be carried. Whereupon hee rode on with an euill will, and that notwithstanding, on the morrow rose from the Feast, faining himselfe sick, whereat King *Richard* said, it was done in hatred and despite of him. And they say, that euer after continually each of them liued in such hatred and distrust of other, as the Duke verily looked to haue beene murthered at *Glouceſter:* from which neuertheless he in faire manner departed. But surely some right secret, at this day, deny this: and many right wise men thinke it vnlikely (the deepe dissembling nature of both those men considered, and what need in that greene world the Protector had of the Duke, and in what perill the Duke stood, if he fell once in suspition of the Tyrant) that either the Protector would giue the Duke occasion of displeasure, or the Duke the Protector occasion of mistrust. And verily men thinke, that if King *Richard* had any such conceiued opinion, he would neuer haue suffered the Duke to haue escaped his hands.

The feares of the Duke of *Buckingham.*

No such suspition betwixt the King and the Duke as was said to be.

(22) The very truth is, *Buckingham* was an high-minded man, and could euill beare the glory of another; so that I haue heard of some that saw it, that the Duke at such time as the Crowne was first set vpon the Protectors head, his eye could not abide the sight thereof, but wried his face another way. But men say, that he was of truth not well at ease, which to King *Richard* was well knowne, and nothing ill taken, nor any demand of the Dukes vncourteously rejected, but he both with great gifts and high behests, in most louing and trusty manner, departed at *Glouceſter*. But soone after his comming home to *Brecknock*, hauing there in custody by the commandement of King *Richard*, Doctor *Morton* Bishop of *Ely*, who (yee before heard) was taken in the counsell at the Tower, waxed with him familiar: whose wisedome abused his pride to his owne deliuerance, and the Dukes destruction.

Sir *Thomas More* opinion of *Buckingham.*

The diuers opinions of the King and Dukes falling out.

(23) This Bishop was a man of great naturall wit; very well learned, and honourable in behauiour, lacking no wise waies to win fauour: he had beene fast vpon the part of King *Henry*, while that part was in wealth; and naytheleſſe left it not, nor forsooke it in woe, but fled the Realme with Queene *Margaret* and Prince *Edward*, while King *Edward* had *Henry* in prison, and neuer came home but to the field. After which lost, and that side vtterly subdued, the other for his fast faith and wisedome not onely was content to receiue him, but also wooed him to come, and had him from thence-forth both in great secret trust, and very speciall fauour, which hee nothing deceiued. For hee being (as you haue heard) after King *Edwards* death, first taken by the Tyrant for his truth to the King, found the meanes to set this Duke in his top, joyned Gentlemen together in ayde of Earle *Henry*, deuising first the marriage betweene him and King *Edwards* Daughter: by which his faith, he declared the good seruice to both his masters at once, with infinite benefit to the Realme, by the conjunction of those two blouds in one; whose seuerall Titles had long time disquieted the Land; he fled the Realme, went to *Rome*, neuer minding more to meddle with the world, till the noble Prince King *Henry* the seauenth got him home againe, made him Archbishop of *Canterbury* and Chancellour of *England*, whereunto the Pope joyned the honour of a Cardinall. Thus liuing many dayes in as much honour as one man might well wish, ended them so godly, that his death with Gods mercy, well changed his life.

The story of Bishop *Morton.*

Morton wooed vnto King *Edwards* side.

The vnion of *Lancaſter* and *Yorke* first set on by Bishop *Morton.*

Morton made Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Lord Chancellor, and Cardinall.

(24) This man therefore, as I was about to tell you, by the long and often alternate proofe, as well of prosperitie as aduerse fortunes, had gotten by great experience (the very mother or mistresse of Wisedome) a deepe insight in politique worldly drifts. Whereby perceiuing now this Duke glad to commune with him, fed him with faire words, and many pleasant praises. And perceiuing by the processe of their communication, the Dukes pride now and then balke out a little bread of enuy, towards the glory of the King, and thereby feeling him easie to fall out,

His wisedome and experience.

The deepe policy of B. *Morton.*

The forward affection of the Duke of *Buckingham* towards the Duke of *Glouceſter.*

The Duke of *Buckingham* fals in dislike of King *Richard.*

The occasions of the Kings and Dukes falling asunder.

Buckingham fained himselfe sick not to attend King *Richard.*

out, if the matter were well handled: hee craftily ſought the wayes to pricke him forward, taking alwayes the occaſion of his comming, and keeping himſelfe ſo cloſe within his bounds, that he rather ſeemed to follow then to leade him. For when the Duke firſt began to praiſe and boaſt of the King, and ſhew how much profit the Realme ſhould take by his raigne; *Morton* anſwered thus: Surely my Lord, folly it were for me to lye, for if I would ſweare the contrary, your Lordſhip would not ween I beleeue, but that if the World would haue gone, as I could haue wiſhed, King *Henries* ſon had had the Crowne, and not King *Edward*. But after that God had ordered him to loſe it, and King *Edward* to raigne, I was neuer ſo mad, that I would with a dead man ſtriue againſt a quicke. So was I to King *Edward* a faithfull Chaplaine, and glad would haue beene that his Childe ſhould haue ſucceeded him. Howbeit, if the ſecret judgement of God haue otherwiſe prouided, I purpoſe not to ſpurne againſt the pricke, nor labour to ſet vp, that God putteth downe. And as for the late Protector and now King, and euen there he left: ſaying, that he had already medled too much with the world, and would from that day meddle with his Booke, and his Beades, and no further.

The communication of the Duke and D. *Morton*.

(24) Then longed the Duke ſore to heare what he would haue ſaid, becauſe he ended with the King, and there ſo ſuddainly ſtopped, and exhorted him ſo familiarly, betweene them twaine, to be bolde to ſay whatſoeuer he thought, whereof he faithfully promiſed there ſhould neuer come hurt, and peraduenture more good then he would weene, and that himſelfe intended to vſe his faithfull, ſecret, aduiſe and counſell, which he ſaid was the onely cauſe for which he procured of the King to haue him in his cuſtody, where he might account himſelfe at home, and elſe had he beene put in the hands of them with whom he ſhould not haue found the like fauour. The Biſhop right humbly thanked him and ſaid: In good faith my Lord, I loue not to talke much of Princes, as a thing not all out of perill, though the word be without fault. Foraſmuch as it ſhall not be taken as the party meant it, but as it pleaſeth the Prince to conſtrue it. And euer I thinke on *Æſops* tale, that when the Lyon had proclaimed vpon paine of death there ſhould no horned Beaſt abide in the Wood, one that had in his fore-head a bunch of fleſh, fled away a great pace. The Foxe who ſaw him runne ſo faſt, asked him whether he made all that haſte? and he anſwered, In faith, I neither wot, nor recke, ſo I were once hence, becauſe of this Proclamation made againſt horned Beaſts. What foole (quoth the *Foxe*) thou maiſt abide well enough, the Lyon meant not thee, for it is no horne that is in thy head. No marry (quoth he) that wot I well enough, but what if he call it a horne, where am I then? The Duke laughed merrily at the tale, and ſaid, my Lord I warrant you, neither the Lyon nor the Boare ſhall picke any matter at any thing here ſpoken, for it ſhall neuer come to their eares. In good faith Sir, ſaid the Biſhop, if it did, the thing that I was about to ſay, (taken as well as afore God I meant it) could deſerue but thankes; and yet taken as I weene it would, might happely turne me to little good, and you to leſſe. Then longed the Duke yet more to wit what it was; whereupon the Biſhop ſaid, in good faith my Lord, as for the late Protector, ſith he is now King in poſſeſſion, I purpoſe not to diſpute his title, but for the weale of this Realme, whereof his Grace hath now the gouernance, and my ſelfe am a poore member, I was about to wiſh, that to thoſe good abilities, whereof he hath already right many, little needing my praiſe; it might yet haue pleaſed God for the better ſtore, to haue giuen him ſome of ſuch other excellent vertues meete for the rule of a Realme as our Lord hath planted in the perſon of your Grace: and there left againe.

Buckingham exciteth the Biſhop to reueale his deepeſt ſecret.

It is dangerous to deale in Princes affaires.

A pretty tale pithily applied.

The deſire of the Duke to know his meaning.

(25) The Duke ſomewhat maruailing at his ſuddaine pauſes: ſaid, My Lord, I note your often breathings and ſuddaine ſtopping in your communication; ſo that to my intelligence, your words neither come to any direct or perfect ſentence in concluſion, whereby either I might haue knowledge what your intent is now towards the King, or what affection you beare towards mee. For the compariſon of good qualities aſcribed to vs both, maketh mee not a little to muſe, thinking that you haue ſome other priuy imagination imprinted in your heart, which you be abaſhed to diſcloſe, and ſpecially to me, which on my honour doe aſſure you to be as ſecret in this caſe as the deafe and dumbe perſon to the ſinger, or the Tree to the Hunter. The Biſhop being ſomewhat bolder, conſidering the Dukes p[romiſe], but moſt of all animated, becauſe hee k[new] the Duke deſirous to be magnified, and alſo he p[er]ceyued the inward hatred which he bare towards King *Richard*, he opened his ſtomacke to the bottome, and ſaid: My ſingular good Lord, ſith the time of my captiuitie, which being in your Graces cuſtodie, I may rather call it a libertie, then a ſtraite impriſonment, in auoyding of idleneſſe, Mother of all vices, in reading Bookes and ancient Pamphlets, I haue found this ſentence written, *that no man is borne free and at liberty of himſelfe onely*: for one part of ducty he oweth to his Parents, another part to his friends and kindred; but the natiue Countrey in the which he firſt taſted this pleaſant and flattering World, demandeth a debt not to be forgotten. Which ſaying, cauſeth mee to conſider in what caſe the Realme, my natiue Countrey, now ſtandeth; and in what eſtate and aſſurance before this time it hath continued; what Gouernour we now haue, and what Ruler we might haue; for I plainely perceiue (the Realme being in this caſe) muſt needes decay, and be brought to confuſion: but one hope I haue, that is, when I conſider your noble Perſonage, your juſtice and indifferencie, your feruent zeale, and ardent loue towards your naturall Countrey; and in like manner, the loue of your Countrey towards you, the great learning, pregnant wit, and eloquence, which ſo much doth abound in your perſon; I muſt needes thinke this Realme fortunate, which hath ſuch a Prince in ſtore, meete and apt to be Gouernour. But on the other ſide, when I call to memory the good qualities of the late Protector, and now called King, ſo violated by tyranny, ſo altered by vſurped authoritie, and ſo clouded by blind ambition, I muſt needes ſay, that he is neither meete to be King of ſo noble a Realme, nor ſo famous a Realme meete to be gouerned by ſuch a Tyrant. Was not his firſt enterprize to obtaine the Crowne, begun by the murther of diuers Perſonages? did hee not ſecondarily proceed againſt his owne naturall mother; declaring her openly to be a woman giuen to carnall affection and diſſolute liuing? declaring furthermore, his two Brethren, and two Nephewes, to be Baſtards, and to be borne in adultery? yet not contented, after hee had obtayned the Garland, he cauſed the two poore innocents his Nephewes, committed to him, to be moſt ſhamefully murthered: the bloud of which little Babes daily cry to God from the earth for vengeance. What ſurety can be in this Land to any perſon, eyther for life or goods, vnder ſuch a cruell Prince, which regardeth not the deſtruction of his owne bloud, and much leſſe the loſſe of others? But now to conclude, what I meane towards your noble perſon, I ſay and affirme, if you loue God, your linage, or your natiue Countrey, you muſt your ſelfe take vpon you the Crowne of this Realme, both for the maintenance of the honour of the ſame, as alſo for the deliuerance of your naturall Country-men from the bondage of ſuch a Tyrant. And if your ſelfe will refuſe to take vpon you the Crowne of this Realme, then I adjure you by the faith you owe vnto God, to deuiſe ſome wayes how this Realme may be brought to ſome conuenient Regiment, vnder ſome good Gouernour. When the Biſhop had ended

The [illegible]

The Biſhop dealeth plainely with the Duke.

The duetie of all men towards their natiue Countryes.

The change of ſtate vnder the tyranny of the Vſurper.

Bloud cryeth for bloudy vengeance.

The Biſhop perſwadeth the Duke to take the Crowne vnto himſelfe.

Edw. Hall.

ended his saying, the Duke sighed, and spake not of a great while, so that night they communed no more.

The next daies conference.

(26) The next day the Duke sent for the Bishop, to whom he said, My Lord of *Ely*, I must needs in heart thinke, and with mouth confesse, that you be a sure friend, a trusty counsellor, and a very louer of your Countrey. And sith that at our last communication, you haue disclosed the secrets of your heart touching the now Vsurper of the Crowne, and also haue a little touched the aduancement of the two noble Families of *Yorke* and *Lancaster*, I shall likewise declare vnto you my priuy intents and secret cogitations. And to begin, when King *Edward* was deceased, I then began to study, and with deliberation to ponder in what manner this Realme should be gouerned: I perswaded with my selfe to take part with the Duke of *Glouceſter*, whom I thought to be as cleane without dissimulation, as tractable without injurie, and so by my meanes he was made Protector both of the King and realme; which authority being once gotten, he neuer ceased priuily to require mee and other Lords, as well spirituall as temporall, that he might take vpon him the Crowne, till the Prince came to the age of foure and twenty yeares, and were able to gouerne the Realme as a sufficient King: which thing, when he saw me somewhat sticke at, he then brought in instruments, authenticke Doctors, Proctors, and Notaries of the Law, with depositions of diuers witnesses, testifying King *Edwards* Children to be Bastards: which depositions then I thought to be as true, as now I know them to be fained. When the said depositions were before vs read, and diligently heard, he stood vp bare-headed, saying: *Well my Lords, euen as I and you would that my Nephewes should haue no wrong: so I pray you doe mee nothing but right, for these witnesses and sayings of famous Doctors be true: For I am onely the vndubitate heire to Richard Plantagenet Duke of Yorke, adjudged to be the very heire to the Crowne of this Realme by authority of Parliament.* Which things so by learned men for veritie to vs declared, caused me and others to take him for our lawfull and vndoubted Prince, and Soueraigne Lord. So againe, by my ayde, he of a Protector was made a King: but when he was once crowned King, and in full possession of the Realme, he cast away his olde conditions. For, when I my selfe sued to him for my part of the Earle of *Hertfords* Lands, which his Brother *Edward* wrongfully detained from mee, and also required to haue the office of the high Constableship of *England*, as diuers of my noble Ancestors before this time haue had, & in long discent continued; In this my first suite, he did not onely first delay mee, and afterwards deny me, but gaue me such vnkinde words, as though I had neuer furthered him: all which I suffered patiently. But when I was informed of the death of the two young Innocents, O Lord, my heart inwardly grudged, insomuch as I abhorred the sight of him; I tooke my leaue of the Court, and returned to *Brecknocke* to you, but in my journey as I came, I had diuers imaginations how to depriue this vnnaturall Vncle. First, I fantasied, that if I list to take vpon me the Crowne, now was the way made plaine, and occasion giuen. For I well saw he was disdained of the Lords Temporall, and accursed of the Lords Spirituall. After diuers cogitations of this matter, as I rode betweene *Worceſter* and *Bridgenorth*, I encountred with the Lady *Margaret* Countesse of *Richmond*, now wife to the Lord *Stanley*, who is the very daughter, and sole heire to *Iohn* Duke of *Sommerset*, my Grand-fathers elder Brother, so that she and her sonne *Henry* Earle of *Richmond* be both betweene me and the gate, to enter into the Majesty-royall, and getting of the Crowne; and when we had a little communed concerning her Son, and were departed, I then began to dispute with my selfe, whether I were best to take it vpon me, by the election of the Nobility and Communalty, or to take it by power. Thus standing in a wauering ambiguity, I considered first, the office, duety, and paine of a King, which surely I thinke that no mortall man can justly and truely obserue, except he be elected of God, as King *Dauid* was.

The Duke discloseth himselfe vnto the Bishop.

The Protector desired the Crowne till the Prince came to the age of 24. yeares.

The Prorectors words to the Councell.

Change of State, change of manners.

Why *Buckingham* fell from the Vsurper.

Margaret Countesse of *Richmond*.

The doubts of the Duke of *Buckingham*.

The great and waighty charge of a King.

(27) But further I remembred, that if I once tooke vpon mee the Gouernance of the Realme, the Daughters of King *Edward*, and their Allies, being both for his sake much beloued, and also for the great injurie done to them much pitied, would neuer cease to barke at the one side of me. Semblably my Cosin the *Earle of Richmond*, his aydes and kinsfolkes will surely attempt either to bite, or to pierce mee on the other side, so that my life and rule should euer hang vnquiet in doubt of death or deposition: And if the said two Linages of *Yorke* and *Lancaster* should joyne in one against me, then were I surely matched. Wherefore I haue clearely determined vtterly to relinquish all imaginations concerning the obtaining of the Crowne. For, as I tolde you, the Countesse of *Richmond* in my returne from the new-named King, meeting mee in the high way, prayed mee first for kindreds sake, secondly for the loue I bare to my Grand-father Duke *Humfrey*, who was sworne-brother to her father, to moue the King to be good to her sonne *Henry Earle of Richmond*, and to license him with his fauour to returne againe into *England*, and if it were his pleasure so to doe, she promised that the Earle her Sonne should marry one of the Kings Daughters at the appoyntment of the King, without any thing demanded for the said espousals, but onely the Kings fauour, which request I soone ouer-passed, and departed. But after in my lodging I called to memory more of that matter, and now am bent, that the Earle of *Richmond*, heire of the House of *Lancaster*, shall take to Wife Lady *Elizabeth*, eldest Daughter to King *Edward*, by the which marriage both the Houses of *Yorke* and *Lancaster* may be vnited in one.

Buckingham resolution concerning the Crowne.

The communication of the Countesse of *Richmond* with the Duke of *Buckingham*.

Henry Earle of *Richmond* and Lady *Elizabeth* must make the vnion.

(28) When the Duke had said, *Bishop Morton* who euer fauoured the House of *Lancaster*, was wondrous joyfull, for all his imagination tended to this effect; and lest the Dukes courage should asswage, or his minde alter, he said to the Duke: My Lord of *Buckingham*, sith by Gods prouision, and your incomparable wisdome, this noble conjunction is first moued, it is necessary to consider what persons we shall first make priuy of this politique conclusion. By my troth (quoth the Duke) we will begin with my Ladie of *Richmond* the Earles Mother, which knoweth where he is in *Britaine*: sith you will begin that way (said the Bishop) I haue an old friend with the Countesse, called *Reinald Bray*, for whom I shall send, if it be your pleasure: so the Bishop wrote for him to come to *Brecknocke*, who straite came backe with the messenger, where the Duke and Bishop declared what they had deuised for the preferment of the Earle of *Richmond*, sonne to his Lady and Mistresse: willing her first to compasse how to obtaine the good will of *Queene Elizabeth*, and also of her eldest daughter: and after secretly to send to her Son in *Britaine*, to declare what high honour was prepared for him, if he would sweare to marry the Lady *Elizabeth* assoone as he was King of the Realme. With which conclusion, *Reinold Bray*, with a glad heart, returned to the Counteſſe his Lady. *Bray* thus departed, the Bishop told the Duke, that if he were in his *Isle* of *Ely*, he could make many friends to further their enterprise. The Duke knew this to be true, but yet loth to lose the societie of such a Counsellor, gaue him faire words, saying, he should shortly depart well accompanied for feare of enemies, but the Bishop ere the Dukes company were assembled, secretly disguised, in a night departed and came to *Ely*, where he found money and friends, and then sailed into *Flaunders*, where he did the *Earle of Richmond* good seruice.

With whom and how to begin the intended designes.

Reinold Bray, the Instrument.

Bishop Morton escapeth from *Brecknock* disguised.

(29) When *Reinold Bray* had declared his message to the Counteſſe, no maruaile if she were glad; wherefore

Lewis a Phyſitian another inſtrument.

wherefore ſhee deuiſed a meanes how to breake this matter to *Queene Elizabeth*, being then in Sanctuary at *Weſtminſter*, and hauing in her family a certaine Welſhman called *Lewis*, learned in Phyſicke, now hauing opportunity to breake her minde vnto him, declared that the time was come, that her Sonne ſhould be joyned in marriage with *Lady Elizabeth*, daughter and heire to King *Edward*: and that King *Richard* ſhould out of all honour and eſtate be dejected, and required him to goe to *Queene Elizabeth* not as a meſſenger, but as one that came friendly to viſite her, and as time and place ſhould ſerue to make her priuy of this deuiſe. This Phyſitian with good diligence repayred to the Queene, and when he ſaw time conuenient, ſaid vnto her: Madame, although my imagination be very ſimple, yet for the entire affection I beare to you and to your children, I am ſo bold to vtter vnto you a ſecret conceit, which I haue compaſſed in my braine. When I remember the great loſſe which you haue ſuſtained by the death of your louing Husband, and the great ſorrow that you haue ſuffered by the cruell murder of your innocent children, I can no leſſe doe, then daily ſtudy how to bring your heart to comfort, and alſo to reuenge the quarrell of you and your children, on that cruell Tyrant King *Richard*. And firſt conſider what battell, and what miſchiefe haue riſen by the diſſention betweene the two Houſes of *Yorke* and *Lancaſter*, which two families if they may be joyned in one, I doubt not but that your line ſhall be againe reſtored to your great joy and comfort: You know, Madame, that of the houſe of *Lancaſter*, the Earle of *Richmond* is next of bloud, & to the houſe of *Yorke* your daughters now are heires. If you could deuiſe the meanes how to couple your eldeſt daughter with the Earle of *Richmond* in matrimony, no doubt, but that the Vſurper ſhould ſhortly be depoſed, and your heire againe to her right reſtored.

Lewis breaketh the intent vnto Queene *Elizabeth*.

The meanes to raiſe the *Queenes* daughter to her right.

(30) When the Queene had heard this friendly Motion, ſhe inſtantly beſought him, that as he had beene the firſt inuentor of ſo good an enterpriſe, that now he would not deſiſt to follow the ſame, requiring him further, that he would reſort to the Counteſſe of *Richmond*, mother to the Earle *Henry*, and to declare to her on the Queenes behalfe, that all the friends of King *Edward* her Husband, ſhould aſſiſt and take part with the Earle of *Richmond* her ſonne, ſo that he would take an oath, that after the Kingdome obtayned, to eſpouſe the *Lady Elizabeth* her daughter, &c. *M. Lewis* ſo ſped his buſineſſe, that he made a finall end of this buſineſſe, betweene the two mothers: ſo the *Lady Margaret* Counteſſe of *Richmond*, brought to a good hope of the preferment of her Sonne, made *Reinold Bray* chiefe ſoliciter of this conſpiracy, giuing him in charge ſecretly to inueagle ſuch perſons of Nobility to joyne with her, and take her part, as he knew to be faithfull.

Queene *Elizabeth* readily receiueth the motion.

The Queene ſendeth to the Counteſſe.

The two mothers agreede vpon the vnion.

(31) This *Reinold Bray* within few daies brought to his luer Sir *Giles Daubeny*, *Sir Iohn Cheinie*, Knights, *Richard Guilford*, and *Thomas Ramney* Eſquiers, and others. In the meane while, the Counteſſe of *Richmond* ſent one *Chriſtopher Vrſewicke*, a Prieſt into *Britaine*, to the Earle of *Richmond* her Sonne, to declare to him all the agreements betweene her and the Queene agreede: and withall to ſhew him that the Duke of *Buckingham* was one of the firſt Inuenters of this enterpriſe: ſhe likewiſe ſent *Hugh Conway* an Eſquire into *Britaine*, with a great ſumme of mony, giuing him in charge to declare to the Earle, the great loue that the moſt part of the Nobility of the Realme bare towards him, willing him not to neglect ſo good an occaſion offered, but with all ſpeed to ſettle his minde how to returne into *England*, and therewithall aduiſing him to take Land in *Wales*. When the Earle had receiued this joyfull meſſage, he brake to the Duke of *Britaine* all his ſecrets, aduertiſing him that he was entred into a ſure and ſtedfaſt hope to obtaine the Crown of *England*, deſiring him of help towards the atchieuing of his enterpriſe, which the Duke promiſed, and afterwards performed: whereupon the Earle ſent back againe *Hugh Conway*, & *Th. Ramney* to declare his comming ſhortly into *England*.

Many drawne into faction againſt K. *Richard*.

Vrſewicke ſent into Britaine.

Hugh Conway ſent into *Britaine*.

(32) In the meane ſeaſon the chiefe of the conſpiracy in *England*, began many enterpriſes, which being neuer ſo priuily handled, yet knowledge thereof came to King *Richard*, and becauſe he knew the Duke of *Buckingham* to be the chiefe head, and aide of this combination, he thought it moſt neceſſary to plucke him from that part, and thereupon addreſſed his louing Letters vnto the Duke, requeſting him moſt earneſtly to come to the Court, whoſe graue aduiſe for counſell hee then ſtood much in need of; with many words of kinde complements to be vttered from the mouth of the meſſenger: but the Duke miſtruſting thoſe ſweet promiſes proceeded out of a bitter intent, and knowing King *Richard* to ſpeake moſt fayreſt when he meant fouleſt play, deſired the King of pardon, excuſing himſelfe that he was ſickly, and not well able to trauell: which excuſe the King would not admit, but ſent other Letters with checking words, commanding him without delay to repaire to his preſence: vnto which the Duke made a determinate anſwere that he would not come to his mortall enemy: and immediately prepared warre againſt him. Whereupon, *Thomas* Marqueſſe *Dorſet* came out of *Sanctuary*, and gathered a great band of men in the County of *Yorke*, Sir *Edward Courtney* and *Peter* his Brother, Biſhop of *Exceſter*, raiſed another Army in *Deuonſhire* and *Cornwall*, and in *Kent*, Sir *Richard Guilford*, and other Gentlemen raiſed a Company, and all this was done euen in one moment.

The Duke of *Buckingham* is ſent for by the King.

The Duke of *Buckingham* refuſeth to come to the Court.

Commotions begun.

(33) King *Richard* rouzed from his pleaſures in progreſſe, ſent forth commiſſion to muſter his men, and with a great preparation from *London* marched towards *Salisbury*, thinking it not beſt to diſparkle his power into ſmall parts in purſuing his enemies euery way at once, and therefore omitting all others, with a great puiſſance went to ſet vpon the Duke of *Buckingham*, the head of the ſpring. The Duke hearing of the Kings approach, made out to meete him before he came too farre, accompanied with a great power of wilde *Welſhmen*, whom he had enforced to follow him, more by his Lordly commandement, then by liberall wages, which thing indeed was the cauſe that they fell off, and forſooke him. His march was through the Forreſt of *Deane*, intending for *Gloceſter*, where he meant to paſſe *Seuerne*, and ſo haue joyned his Army with the *Courtneys*, and other Weſterne men, which had he done, no doubt King *Richard* had been in great jeopardie. But before he could attaine the *Seuerne* ſide, by force of continuall raine the Riuer roſe ſo high, that it ouerflowed all the Country adjoyning, and was not again bounded within his owne bankes for the ſpace of ten daies, ſo that the Duke could not get ouer, nor his Complices any wiſe come vnto him, during which time the *Welſhmen* lingring idle, without wages, or victuall, ſuddainely brake vp Campe, and departed; whereupon the Duke was wonderouſly perplexed, not knowing how to recouer this vnfortunate chance, and deſtitute of power to ſhew himſelfe in field, ſought to ſecure himſelfe in ſecret, till deſtiny aſſigned him a better day.

King *Richards* expedition towards *Salisbury*.

The Duke prepareth againſt the King.

Great matters letted that the complices could not joyne.

(34) A ſeruant he had in eſpeciall fauour and truſt, brought vp tenderly by him, and riſen to great wealth and eſteeme, his name was *Humfrey Baniſter*, and place of reſidence neere vnto *Shrewsburie*, whither the diſtreſſed Duke in diſguiſe repayred, intending there to remaine ſecret, vntill he might eyther raiſe a new power, or elſe by ſome meanes conuay himſelfe vnto *Britaine* to *Henry* Earle of *Richmond*: but as ſoone as the others which had attempted the ſame enterpriſe againſt the King, had knowledge that *Buckingham* was forſaken of his Company, and could not be found, as men ſtrucke in ſodaine feare ſhifted euery one for himſelfe, many of them taking Sanctuarie, but the moſt of the chiefeſt tooke into

The Duke of *Buckingham* keepeth in ſecret.

Earle *Richmond* breaketh with the Duke of *Britaine*.

The Conſpirators diſperſed.

Many fled into *Britaine* to Earle *Henry*.

Britaine, among whom were *Peter Courtney*, Biſhop of *Exceſter*, with his brother *Edward* Earle of *Deuonſhire*, *Thomas* Marqueſſe *Dorſet*, the Queenes Sonne, and his young ſonne *Thomas* being a Child, *Edward Wooduile* Knight, brother to the Queene, *Iohn* Lord *Wells*, Sir *Robert Willoughby*, Sir *Iohn Bourchier*, Sir *Giles Daubeney*, Sir *Thomas Arundell*, Sir *Iohn Cheinie* with his two Brethren, Sir *William Barkley*, Sir *Richard Edgecombe*, & Sir *William Brandon*, *Edward Poinings* an excellent Captaine, and others.

A proclamation for the apprehenſion of the Duke of *Buckingham*.

(35) *Richard* thus farre proceeded, and no enemy ſeene, his hopes were encreaſed, and feares daily leſſe; yet being a Prince politique and vigilant, he commanded the Ports to be ſecurely kept, and knowing that *Buckingham* was not fled with the reſt, made Proclamation for the apprehending of that Duke, promiſing a thouſand pound to the man that could bring him forth, with pardon of his faults, to enjoy the Kings fauour, and if he were a Bond-man, preſently to be made free. *Baniſter* minding the preſent, and forgetting what was paſt, ſpread his lap firſt to receiue this golden ſhower, and in hope of this gaine, made no conſcience to betray his owne Lord, who had now laide his life vpon truſt in his hands: hee therefore repayring to the Shiriffe of *Shewsbury*, reuealed the Duke, who diſguiſed like a poore Countriman, and digging in a groue neere vnto *Baniſters* Houſe, was apprehended, and with a great Guard of men was brought vnto *Salisbury*, where King *Richard* then lay, and where without arraignement or judgement, vpon the ſecond of Nouember he loſt his head: whoſe death was the leſſe lamented, for that himſelfe had beene the chiefe Inſtrument to ſet the Crowne wrongfully vpon *Richards* head: and yet the treachery of *Baniſter* was moſt ſeuerely puniſhed, as many haue obſerued, not onely in the loſſe of his reward promiſed, which he neuer had, and infamy receiued, neuer after ſhaken off; but alſo in himſelfe and children, as are thus reported; his eldeſt ſonne and heire fell mad, and dyed ſo diſtracted in a Boares Stye: his ſecond ſonne became deformed in his limmes, and fell lame; his third ſonne was drowned in a ſmall puddle of water; his eldeſt daughter was ſodainely ſtrucke with a foule leproſie, and himſelfe being of extreame age, was arraigned and found guilty of murder, and by his Clergy ſaued his life.

Baniſter betrayed his Lord the Duke of *Buckingham*.

Buckingham beheaded.

Baniſter looſeth his reward, but findeth puniſhments.

A Commotion in *Kent*.

(36) An other Commotion at the ſame time was in *Kent*, where *George Browne* and *Iohn Gilford* Knights, *Fogge*, *Scot*, *Clifford*, and *Bonting*, with fiue thouſand men attempted great matters at *Gravesend*, but hearing of the Duke of *Buckinghams* ſurpriſe, diſperſed themſelues for that time. But when King *Richard* perceiued how he was euery where beſet, he ſent one *Thomas Hutton* vnto *Francis* Duke of *Britaine*, with proffers of gold to circumuent and impriſon Earle *Henry*, who as he feared was too well friended in thoſe forraine parts, which thing indeed this *Hutton* well perceiued, and ſo to the King reported, that the Duke was nothing forward to bite at this baite, whereupon, thoſe that lately fled *England*, were indited of treaſon, and other of *Henries* factions beheaded, whereof Sir *George Browne*, and Sir *Roger Clifford* Knights, with foure others were beheaded at *London*, and at *Exceter* for the like cauſe dyed Sir *Thomas Sentleger*, who had married Lady *Anne* Dutcheſſe of *Exceſter*, King *Richards* own ſiſter, with others; ſo jealous was the King of his vſurped Crowne; and that nothing ſhould be laide to vnprouident fore-ſight, the coaſts he ſtored with Armies of men, furniſhed the Ports with ſtore of Prouiſion, and made all things ready to withſtand Earle *Henries* arriuall. Who now hauing gotten ayde of fiue thouſand *Britaines*, with forty veſſels wel furniſhed, ſet ſaile from thence the twelfth of *October*, but was taken with ſo terrible a tempeſt, that his Fleet was diſparkled, ſome into *Normandy*, and ſome compelled to returne into *Britaine*, onely the Earles Ship with one other kept the Seas, being ſore toſſed all night; and in the morning arriued in the mouth of *Poole* in the County of *Dorſet*, where he might behold the Shore full of men ſhining in armour, to his great amazement, whereupon he ſent out his Ship-boat to know whether they were friends or enemies; their anſwere was, that they were thither appointed by the Duke of *Buckingham*, to attend the comming of the Earle of *Richmond*, to conduct him in ſafety to the Duke, who lay encamped not far off, that ſo joyning their forces, they might proſecute *Richard* the Vſurper, who being in a manner deſtitute of men, was ſore diſtracted, and deſperate in his owne deſignes. Theſe ſmooth vntruthes notwithſtanding Earle *Henry* auoyded, and with a forward gale returned to *Normandy*, whence he ſent Meſſengers vnto young *Charles* King of *France*, whoſe father King *Lewis* was lately departed this life, to haue his ſafe conduct to returne into *Britaine*, which eaſily was granted with fauourable complements returned to the Earle. Lord *Henry* thus croſſed by Sea, had preſent news of *Buckinghams* ſurpriſe and death, with the flight of the Nobles eſcaped from *Richard*: who meeting with *Richmond* in *Britaine*, fell forthwith into Counſell: where firſt it was determined that Earle *Henry* ſhould take his oath to eſpouſe the Lady *Elizabeth* eldeſt daughter vnto King *Edward*, and the immediate heire to the Crowne, which he ſolemnely did in the Church at *Rhedon*: and they for their parts ſware vnto him fealty, doing him homage with no leſſe reſpect then vnto their ſole and crowned King.

A ſubtle traine laid for the *Earle*.

Earle *Henry* returneth into *Britaine*.

The Lords meet in *Britaine*.

The Lords ſwear fealty vnto *Henry*

(37) Of theſe proceedings King *Richard* ſoone heard, which indeed greatly appaled his thoughts, and all penſiue and ſad he returned out of the Weſt towards *London*, where to cut off the hopes of *Richmonds* further claime, he cauſed a Parliament to be aſſembled at *Weſtminſter*, and therein attainted the ſaid Earle *Henry* himſelfe, and all ſuch as had fled the Land in his behalfe, enacting them enemies to their naturall Country, their goods to be confiſcated, and all their Lands and Poſſeſſions to be ſeized vpon to the Kings vſe, which was ſo forwarded by his lewd Counſellors, and ſo executed by his fawning followers, that ſome better affected, ſet forth the preſent and oppreſſed eſtate in theſe ſcoffing rimes, to their further diſgrace, diuulging their names in manner as followeth;

Henry and others attainted by Parliament.

The cat, the rat, and Louell the dogge,
Rule all England vnder a hogge.

Alluding to the names of *Ratcliffe* the Kings miſchieuous Minion, and of *Catesby* his ſecret traducer, and to the Kings cognizance, which was the Boare: for which *William Collingborne* Eſquier, who had beene Sheriffe of *Wiltſhire* and *Dorſetſhire*, was condemned, and vpon the Tower-hill executed with all extremity.

William Collingborne executed for the Rime.

King *Richard* ſendeth to the Duke of *Britaine*.

(38) King *Richards* ſtate ſtanding in dangers abroad, and not altogether free from conſpiracies at home, he thought it beſt policy to enter amitie with *Scotland*, which he did for the terme of three yeares, and the more firme to aſſure himſelfe of that King, he intreated a marriage betwixt the Duke of *Rothſay* the Kings eldeſt ſonne, and the Lady *de la Pole*, daughter to *Iohn* Duke of *Suffolke*, and to the Dutcheſſe *Elizabeth* King *Richards* owne ſiſter, whom he ſo much fauoured, as that after the death of his owne ſonne, he proclaimed *Iohn* Earle of *Lincolne*, her ſonne and his Nephew, heire apparant to the Crowne of *England*, diſinheriting King *Edwards* daughters, whoſe Brothers he had before murdered.

King *Richard* maketh peace with *Scotland*.

John de la Pole Earle of *Lincolne* proclaimed heire apparant.

The Kings Brother in law beheaded.

(39) His feares nothing leſſened, but rather daily increaſed, he attempted once more to ſtop the Currant which led to the ſpring, to which end he ſent his Ambaſſadours loaden with Gold, and many gay promiſes vnto *Francis Duke of Britaine*, offering to giue him all *Richmonds* lands, and yearely reuenues if he would either ſend the ſaid Earle into *England*, or commit him there vnto priſon. Theſe comming to the

Earle *Henry* ſhipped for *England*.

Offers made to the Duke of *Britaine*.

Peter Landoſe.

the Dukes Court, could haue no communication with him, he lying extreamely ſick, and his wits too weak to entertaine diſcourſe. Whereupon *Peter Landoſe* his Treaſurer, a man pregnant in wit, and of great authority, tooke the motion in hand, vnto whom the Engliſh Ambaſſadors promiſed all the Earles Reuenewes if he could bring King *Richards* requeſt to paſſe. He greedy of gaine, and being in place to doe what he would, promiſed to effect it, conditionally that King *Richard* would make good his offer. Thus whileſt meſſengers poſted betwixt *Peter* and *Richard*, *Iohn* Biſhop of *Elie* being then in *Flaunders*, was certified by *Chriſtopher Vrſwicke* of all the circumſtances of this purpoſe, whereupon the Biſhop with all poſſible haſte, ſent the ſame intelligence the ſame day, and by the ſame man, vnto *Earle Henry* in *Britaine*, willing him to ſhift himſelfe and followers, into *France:* who forthwith ſent *Vrſwicke* vnto King *Charles*, to haue his licenſe that he might with his good liking come into his dominions, which being obtayned he cauſed the other Lords, vnder pretence to viſite the ſick Duke, to eſcape into *Anjou*, and two daies after changing his Apparrell with his ſeruant, waited vpon him as vpon his Maſter, and poſted thence into *France:* whoſe eſcape when the Treaſurer heard of, he ſent after to apprehend him, and that in ſuch haſte as at his entrance into the *French* dominions they were hard at his heeles.

Landoſe promiſed to deliuer the Earle.

Biſhop Morton giueth *Henry* notice of his danger.

King Charles granteth his ſafe conduct to *Henry.*

Earle Henry hardly eſcaped.

(40) This ſuddaine flight of the Earle and of the other Engliſh Lords, the *Duke of Britaine* (being ſomwhat recouered of his dangerous ſicknes) tooke very greeuouſly, imputing it a great diſhonour vnto himſelfe, to ſuffer the leaſt ſuſpect of breach betwixt him and the Earle, and therefore ſore offended at *Landoſe* whom he ſuſpected to be deepe in the deed, he ſent for *Edward Wooduile* and *Edward Pownings*, two Engliſh Eſquires, vnto whom he deliuered a ſumme of money which he had promiſed to Earle *Henry*, with a conuoy vnto all the reſt of the *Engliſh*, to depart *Vannes*, bearing all their charges till they came to their Earle in *France*. Neither was King *Charles* backward to forward *Earle Richmond* againſt the Tyrant and Vſurper of the *Engliſh* Crowne. And the more to joy *Henry*, *Iohn Earle of Oxford*, impriſoned by King *Edward* the fourth in the Caſtle of *Hammes*; with Captaine *Blunt* his keeper, and Sir *Iohn Forteſcue* Porter of *Callis*, came vnto *Earle Henry* to take their fortunes in following of his. This Earle of *Oxford*, as we haue ſeene, was a continuall ayder of King *Henry* the ſixt, againſt his oppoſite King *Edward*, and had done many ſeruices in the *Lancaſtrians* cauſe, till deſtiny had caſt downe the hopes of their ſide. Him therefore *Earle Henry* made his chiefe Counſellor for warre, as for experience, policy, valour, and faith in that buſineſſe, no man was more meete. Whoſe proweſſe further appeared when *Earle Henry* wan the wreath at *Boſworth*-field, where, in the Front of that Battell, he lead the band of Archers, and euer after liued in great fauour with this King *Henry* the ſeauenth, and in great honour dyed the fourth yeare of King *Henry* the eight. In the like truſt for Counſell and fauour with theſe Kings, was *Richard Fox* Doctor of Diuinitie, who being then a ſtudent in *Paris*, was found by *Earle Richmond* to be the chiefeſt man for imployment in his French buſineſſe, which he ſo prudently and faithfully effected, as the Earle being King, acknowledging him one of his principall aduancers, made him of his Priuie-Councell, Lord Priuie-Seale, and rayſed him to very great places in Church and Common-wealth, and laſtly to teſtifie in what deare eſteeme he held him, made him God-father to his ſonne Prince *Henrie*, who was after King of *England*, with whom in great reuerence he liued a long time, euen till his eye-ſight fayled through age, and did many workes of piety, whereof *Corpus Chriſti* Colledge in *Oxford*, is and ſhall be for euer a noble witneſſe; and his honorable care of reuerend antiquity, in preſeruing the bones of many *Saxon* Kings, and by him beſtowed in faire Monuments in the Cathedrall Church of *Wincheſter*, ſhall neuer want due celebration amongſt all that honour antiquity and glorious ſtudies. But from theſe worthy Subjects, we returne againe to their Soueraigne King *Henry*.

The Duke of *Britaine* diſpleaſed at *Landoje.*

The honourable dealings of the Duke of *Britaine.*

Iohn Earle of *Oxford* commeth to *Earle Henry.*

(41) Whoſe beginnings thus forwarded by the Duke of *Britaine* and the French King, drew many Engliſh into *France*, and filled the heart of the Vſurper with an extreame feare; therefore to accompliſh by pollicy, what was doubtfull by Armes, he ſought to baite his hooke yet another way. The title he knew ſtood with the daughters of King *Edward* (his ſonnes being murdered) and among them to Ladie *Elizabeth* the eldeſt, whoſe marriage he wel ſaw muſt bring *Henry* the Crowne. But that once diuerted, his ſtreame of it ſelfe could beare no great float, nor bring any inundation into the Land, and therefore Queene *Elizabeth* in Sanctuary muſt be Courted, that her daughters might come to Court, and there be regarded according to their degrees. This ſo cunningly was carryed, by men that could carry themſelues to fit womens affections, that the King was purg'd of the murther of her ſonnes; ſhe made to beleeue that her ſelfe was reſpected a Dowager Queene, and ſiſter in law to the preſent King; and that himſelfe had a Prince and many Princely Peeres moſt fit matches for thoſe Princes her Daughters; that her ſonne *Thomas Marqueſſe Dorſet*, whileſt he followed the runaway *Henry*, left his honorable preferments intended to him-ward; and laſtly, requiring a reconciliation with the Queene, forgaue all injuries vttered againſt him out of her womaniſh paſſions, with a moſt willing heart: and indeede theſe meſſengers were ſuch Crafts-maſters, as they brought Queene *Elizabeth* into a fooles-Paradiſe, and made her beleeue that their words were his heart. Whereupon forgetting all things paſſed before, as the murther of her ſonnes, the diſhonour of her husband, the baſtardy of their Children, and her owne ſcandall for Sorcery: nor remembring the faithfull promiſe ſhe made to Lady *Margaret Earle Henries* mother, ſhe deliuered her fiue Daughters, as Lambes committed to the rauening Wolfe, in which act of hers is ſeene the weakeneſſe of that Sexe, and the ambition whereunto by nature they are inclined; for preſently vpon the deliuery of her Daughters, ſhe ſent priuily for the Lord *Marqueſſe Dorſet* her ſonne, then reſiding in *Paris*, willing him to deſiſt from the Earles Faction, and come vnto King *Richard*, who promiſed him preferment, and that her ſelfe and Daughters were in high fauour, all injuries on both parts forgiuen and forgotten.

King Richard intendeth to match with his Neece.

A ſubtill deuice.

Many faire promiſes intending foule ends.

Queene Elizabeth brought into fooles Paradiſe.

King Edwards fiue daughters deliuered to the Tyrant their Vncle.

Queene Elizabeth ſendeth for the Marqueſſe her ſonne.

(42) This entrance made vnto the Tragedy intended, to furniſh the Stage and finiſh the Scene of her owne life, the next Actor muſt be Queene *Anne*, who onely now ſtood in the Tyrants way, her death he meant ſhould giue life to his intruded Regencie, and adde a further Claime and ſtrength to the poſſeſſion which he already had, by matching with his Neece, the next heire vnto the Crowne, the Lady *Elizabeth*; the let onely reſting that himſelfe had a Wife, her death therefore muſt immediately be ſought, yet ſo as the honourable repute of his name ſhould no wayes be impeached, euer carrying himſelfe in outward ſemblance for a good religious honeſt man, and much deſirous that his people ſhould account hm ſo. Firſt therefore he began to lament the barrenneſſe of his wiues wombe, and the great dangers that the Realme was like to ſuſtaine, if himſelfe ſhould dye Iſſueleſſe, complayning often thereof vnto his Nobility, but moſt eſpecially vnto * Archbiſhop *Rotheram* lately releaſed out of priſon, whereby the Prelate conjectured Queene *Anne* had not long to liue. Then refrained he her bed, vnder pretext of Penancy, taking her defect as a ſcourge for his owne ſinnes, which day and night he fought to expiate by prayers: His next pollicy was, how her death might be wrought with the leaſt ſuſpect of wrong, and how taken when ſhe was gone: Therefore

Queene Anne hindreth the purpoſe of the *King.*

King Richards fained ſorrow.

* Of *Yorke.*

King Richard refraineth his *Queenes* bed.

Iohn Earle of *Oxford* in great fauour with *Henry.*

Biſhop Fox in great fauour with King *Henry.*

The preferments of Biſhop *Fox.*

Corpus Chriſti Colledge in *Oxford* rounded by Biſhop *Fox.*

A report giuen forth that *Queene Anne* was dead.

as an assay to the Peoples taste, he caused it to be giuen forth that Queene *Anne* was dead, which was so commonly divulged, that the rumour thereof came to her owne eare, and she hauing had sufficient experience of her Husbands proceedings, feared this to be one of his plots, mistrusting (and not without cause) that her life was in danger, whereupon all dismaid, with a lamentable countenance, she came to the King, and with weeping teares demanded, what offence shee had done, that the sentence of death was giuen against her already? *Richard* made it strange to see her so perplext, and with louing words, and smiling semblance, bad her liue to scandalize report, and to thinke that many yeares were yet added to her life, but whether in conceit for sorrow, or of poyson, I cannot say, she died shortly after, and was solemnely buried in the Abbey of *Westminster*.

Queene Anne feareth her owne death.

Her death and buriall-place.

(43) The King thus deliuered from the bands of matrimony, and now a widdower, at liberty to choose where he would, cast glances of loue towards the Lady *Elizabeth* his owne brothers daughter, and began to court her for his second Queene, but the thing was so offensiue to the law of nature, and so directly against the Law of God, as all men abhorred the motion, and most of all the Maiden her selfe, which *Richard* perceiuing, he forbare ouer earnest pursuite, to gaine his time and to fit occasions; but most especially, hauing no leasure to wooe, his Subjects on all sides daily reuolting, and his Nobles more and more had in suspect; among whom one was Lord *Thomas Stanley* Earle of *Darby*, who had married Lady *Margaret* Counteſſe of *Richmond*, Earle *Henries* owne Mother: him therefore he most mistrusted, and before he would admit his departure from Court, commanded him to leaue his sonne and heire *George Stanley*, the Lord *Strange*, for his hostage, which he did, though it little auailed to binde *Darbies* affection vnto his side.

King Richard courteth Lady *Elizabeth*.

Louit. 18. 14.

Thomas Earle of *Darby* much suspected of the *King*.

George, Lord *Strange*, deliuered in pledge to *King Richard*.

(44) In this while King *Richard* hearing that *Oxford* had escaped out of the Castle of *Hammes*, and that he, with the Captaine thereof *Iames Blunt*, were fled into *France*, and joyned with *Richmond*; thought it high time to quench the sparkes in those parts, before they should rise to a higher flame; and therefore he appoynted (which was presently accomplished) the Garrison at *Callis* to strait the said Castle with a hard siege, being well assured that many wel-willers to the Earles proceedings lay there harboured, who vpon the least aduantage would be ready to play. But *Henry* not vnmindfull of his distressed friends, nor *Oxford* forgetting his kinde Hostesse Captaine *Blunts* wife, made vnto the Peece, and on the sudden put *Thomas Brandon*, with thirty approued Souldiers into the Castle, who from the walls played vpon the besiegers, whiles *Oxford* annoyed them vpon their backes, so that presently they offered, and came to a composition, which was, that they within should safely depart, but the Castle to remaine in subjection to the King.

Hammes besieged by the Garrison of *Callis*.

The Earle of *Oxford* freeth his old friends from *Hammes*.

(45) *Hammes* thus restored, in danger to be lost, and nothing had thence besides a woman and a few suspected persons, *King Richard* thought himselfe now sure of all, and fearing no inuasion at home, imagined that much harme could not be done abroad: for *Henry* in *France* (as he thought) found very few friends, and was fully perswaded that the *French* Kings assistance stood more of words then in deedes. And indeed some occasion of such suspition was ministred; for *King Charles* but young, and the Princes at variance, Earle *Henry* was enforced to make suite vnto them man by man. Besides, *Thomas* Marqueſſe *Dorset*, sent-for by his Mother the Queene, suddenly in the night made an escape from *Paris*, with purpose for *England*, which stroke great feare among Earle *Henries* part, chiefly for that all their Counsels were knowne vnto the Marqueſſe, which if he should reueale, their designes were made desperate. To preuent which, he was posted after, and brought backe againe, though much against his will. These things considered, *King Richard*, to lessen his great charges, discharged his Nauy at seas, commanding the *Welsh* to watch the shoare, Beacons to be built, and armour to be ready at euery call; then giuing his affections leaue to entertaine more security, saw not the sword that hung ouer his head.

King Richard dischargeth his Nauy.

King Richards conceit.

Henry soliciteth the *French*, man by man.

Marqueſſe *Dorset* seeketh to escape from *Henry*.

(46) But Earle *Henry* deliuered from the feare of the Marqueſſe, thought it not best to prolong time, lest others vpon like purposes should bewray his intents; and thereupon obtayning a small ayde of the *French*, with a certaine summe of money, for which the Lord Marqueſſe (whom he much mistrusted) and Sir *Iohn Bourchier* were left in pledge, he set forward to *Roan*, and prepared his shipping in the mouth of *Seyn*: whither tidings was brought him of Queene *Annes* death, and that King *Richard* purposed to marry Lady *Elizabeth*: a feare indeed farre exceeding the former, shee being the Princesse by whom he must claime, whereupon much distemperature arose, euery mans braine working vpon the newes. But after much consultation, it was held the best to make ouer into *England*, to interpose the proceedings ere the match was fully made, whereupon Earle *Richmond* with two thousand men onely, and a small number of ships, set sayle from *Harfleut* the fifteenth of *August*, and the seauenth day following arriued at *Milford*-Hauen in *Wales*, where taking Land he came vnto *Dale*, and thence the next day marched to *Hereford* west, ten miles into the Maine, from thence he marched to *Cardigan*, where he had newes that the Countrey was fore-laid against him, but finding that vntrue, he made still forward, beating downe such Houlds as held against him: then sending secretly to Lady *Margaret* his Mother, to the Lord *Stanley*, *Talbot*, and others, signified vnto them, he meant to passe *Seuerne* at *Shrewesbury*, and thence to march directly towards *London*. In his way to *Shrewesbury*, there met him Sir *Rice ap Thomas*, a man of great command in *Wales*, with a number of men to side in his quarrell, which *Henry* afterwards requited in making this his first aider the Gouernour of *Wales*.

Earle *Henry* setteth forward his journey.

A sudden feare.

Henry of *Richmond* arriueth at *Milford*-Hauen.

Henry sent word of arriuage to his Mother, and others.

Sir *Rice ap Thomas* joyneth with *Henry*.

(47) The Earle more boldly from *Shrewesbury*, held on his march to the Towne of *Newport*, whither Sir *Gilbert Talbot*, with two thousand strong, from the young Earle of *Shrewesbury*, gaue him his ayde. Then passed he forward to *Stafford*, and had conference there with Sir *William Stanley*; and proceeding forward, was honourably receyued into the Citie *Lichfield*, where *Thomas* Earle of *Darby*, with fiue thousand armed men, had beene some few dayes before, but hearing of Earle *Henries* approach, remoued to *Anderson*, to auoid suspition of the jealous King that kept his sonne Hostage for his further truth.

Sir *Gilbert Talbot* joyneth with *Earle Henry*.

Henry commeth to *Lichfield*.

(48) King *Richard* at this time held his Court at *Nottingham*, where being informed that Earle *Henry* with a small Company was landed in *Wales*, made small account of what he could doe, altogether relying vpon the Lord *Walter Herbert*, and Sir *Rice ap Thomas*, two principall men, in whom he conceyued no little trust: yet lest this new-risen spring might gather-in more heads, he sent to *Iohn* Duke of *Norfolke*, *Henry* Earle of *Northumberland*, and *Thomas* Earle of *Surrey*, willing them with a selected power to represse the insolency of this head-strong Earle: Moreouer, he sent for Sir *Robert Brakenburie* Lieutenant of the Tower, Sir *Thomas Bourchier*, and Sir *Walter Hungerford*, Knights, all of them in great jealousie and mistrust; commanding them with their forces to come and attend vpon his person, which accordingly they set forward to doe, meane while sending his Spials to know the way *Henry* went, had intelligence that hee was past *Shrewesbury* without any impeachment; whereat storming in choller, and cursing their vntruthes whom he had put in trust, craued vengeance from Heauen, and instantly

King *Richard* at *Nottingham*.

Iohn Duke of *Norfolke*, *Henry* Earle of *Northumberland*, *Tho.* Earle of *Surrey* sent-for to the King. *Brakenbury*. *Bourchier*. *Hungerford*.

King *Richard* put in choller.

King Richard sets forward to meet his enemy.

instantly intended to reuenge it himselfe; then hauing notice the Earle was at *Lichfield*, and his party increased by daily repaire, incontinently hee marshalled his followers; and like a valiant Captaine and politicke leader set forward his Battailes fiue and fiue in a ranke. In the middest of his troopes he bestowed the Carriages belonging to his Army: and himselfe mounted vpon a white Courser, inuironed with his Guard, followed by his footmen, and the wings of Horsemen ranged on euery side, with a frowning sterne countenance, but yet in great Pompe, entred the towne of *Leicester* after the Sun was set, being full of indignation and swelling in anger, which somewhat he asswaged with threats of reuenge.

King Richard commeth to *Leicester*.

(49) Earle *Richmond* from *Lichfield* departed for *Tamworth*, and in the way met Sir *Thomas Bourchier*, and Sir *Walter Hungerford* going towards the King, who vpon this vnlooked-for occasion, and knowing themselues in what suspition they stood, secretly left the company of their Captaine *Brakenbury* the night following, & wandring in waies vnknowne, with much adoe got safely vnto the Earles Companies.

Sir *Thomas* and Sir *Walter Hungerford*, turne to Earle *Henry*.

(50) In the like danger through darkenesse of night, *Henry* himselfe chanced to come; for albeit he was a man both valiant and forward, and by his own wisedome could manage his waightiest affaires; Yet now hauing notice that King *Richard* with a strong army was neere, and that his Father in law, the Lord *Stanley* stood as a Neuter, he was strucke deepe in his dumps, and with twenty light Horse-men lingering behinde, so seriously musing what was to be done, as lastly, he lost the sight of his Hoast, and by the darkenesse of night missed his way; neither durst hee for the Kings Scout-watch demand direction to *Tamworth*, but lay in a small Village about three miles distant, to his no little griefe, and his whole Armies great amazement, the one prognosticating it to be a presage of an ill beginning, and the other doubting some detriment of their Lord, but in the dawning of the next morning (conducted by good fortune) hee came to his Hoast, excusing that his absence was to haue conference with his secret friends; and then priuily departing to the Lord *Stanley*, had conference with him, and was put in good comfort.

Henry Earle of *Richmond* loseth his way.

Henries excuse.

King Richard terrified with dreadfull dreames.

(51) But contrariwise, King *Richard* was wrapped and perplexed with feare, not onely with the departure of Sir *Iohn Sauage*, Sir *Brian Sanford*, and Sir *Simond Digby*, in whom he had reposed great trust, but also in the dreadfull dreames which nightly he suffered, wherein to his seeming, terrible Diuels so pulled and haled him, as by no meanes he could take any rest, which fearefull imaginations strucke so deepe an impression vnto his heart, that the signes thereof appeared in his countenance, howsoeuer he sought to put them off in shew.

(52) But being determined to put himselfe to the triall of battell, or else, (and that rather) enforced by diuine Iustice to pull the reuenging hand of heauen against him, in the morning he marched toward the enemy, and vpon a faire plaine called *Redmore*, neere vnto *Bosworth*, about seauen miles west from *Leicester*, he pitched downe his Tents, and thence sent a Pursuant to the Lord *Stanly*, commanding him to aduance forward with his company, and to come to his presence, which if hee refused to doe, hee sware by Christs passion, his sonnes head should off before that hee dyned. The Lord *Stanley* answered the Pursuant, that if the King did so; hee had more sonnes aliue; but to come to the King hee was not at that time determined. This answere declared, King *Richard* commanded the Lord *Strange* incontinent to be beheaded, at the very season, when the two Armies came in sight each of others, but his Counsellors tolde him, that the time was now to fight, and not to execute, which might better bee done when the field was fought: whereupon the Lord *Strange* was deliuered prisoner to the keepers of the Kings Tents, and the Kings holy vow thus broke, the Lord *Strange* escaped with life, by this bad tyrants too good a death.

Richard set downe his battell vpon *Redmore*.

Lord *Stanleys* answere vnto the Kings message.

The Lord *Strange* commanded to be beheaded.

(53) But now the time and houre of Battell being come, hee drew out his Army vpon the plaine, whose order for fight he thus placed: The foreward he ordered of a maruellous length, to strike the more terror in the beholders hearts, in whose forefront he placed his Archers, as a Bulwarke to defend the rest, the leading whereof was committed to *Iohn* Duke of *Norfolke*, with whom was *Thomas* Earle of *Surrey*, his sonne, his owne Battallion was furnished with his best approued men of warre, hauing Horsemen for wings on both sides of his battell: and being thus ordered for their further incouragement King *Richard* mounted in place to be heard, thus said to his Souldiers.

The order of K. *Richards* battell.

King Richards Oration vnto his Souldiers.

"(54) My faithfull followers, friends, and se-
"lected Chiefetaines, I confesse, by your puissant
"valours I first aspired to the top of this royal estate,
"in obtaining & wearing this Diademe of Imperiall
"Maiesty, and maugre the seditious attempts of all
"cankered aduersaries, by your prudent and politike
"counsels I haue so gouerned the Realme, People and
"Subiects, as I haue omitted nothing, I hope, apper-
"taining to the office of a iust Prince, nor you preter-
"mitted any thing belonging to the parts and duties
"of most prudent Counsellors. And albeit, that in
"the getting of the Garland I was prouoked by sini-
"ster Counsell, and seduced by a diabolicall temptati-
"on to commit a most wicked and detestable act, yet
"with salt teares and strait pennance I haue, I trust,
"expiated that hainous offence: which abhominable
"crime, I desire you as clearely to forget, as I daily
"remember to deplore and lament. If you will now
"vouchsafe to call to minde in what case we all stand,
"and in what doubtfull perill wee are intrapped, I
"doubt not but that you will with mee confesse,
"that if euer amity preuailed betwixt the raised,
"and the raisers, betwixt the Prince and his Sub-
"iects, this day requires as much in vs both. For,
"if wise-men say true, that there is not so much
"power in getting, as there is pollicy in keeping;
"the one, meere fortunes chance, the other, wise-
"domes deepe insight, then I with you, and you
"with mee, this day must needes take labour and
"paines, to keepe that preheminence and possessi-
"on by force, which by your prudent labour I
"haue obtained. The diuell, you know, a conti-
"nuall enemy to humane society, a disturber of Con-
"cord, and a sower of sedition, hath entred into
"the heart of an vnknowne *Welshman*, (whose
"Father I neuer knew, nor him euer personally saw)
"exciting him to aspire and couet our Realme and
"Crowne, to the disheriting of vs and of our po-
"sterity: You see further how a company of Trai-
"tors, Theeues, Out-lawes, and runnagates of
"our owne Nation, besides a number of beggerly
"Britaines, and faint-hearted Frenchmen, are ayders
"and partakers of this his wicked enterprize, ready
"at hand to oppresse and spoyle vs, our lands, our
"Wiues, and Children; which eminent mischiefes,
"if we then will withstand, and resist, wee must liue
"and dye together as brethren, fight together as Ly-
"ons, and feare not to dye together like men; thus
"resolued, beleeue mee, the fearefull Hart neuer fled
"faster before the greedy Grayhound, the silly Larke
"before the Spar-hawke, or the simple Sheepe before
"the Wolfe, then these proud bragging enemies
"will run out of the Field at the sight of your manly
"visages. For haue we not already manifest tokens
"of victory and triumphs? Is not the Captaine of
"the Rebellion, *Richmond*, a Welsh milke-sop, of no
"courage and lesse experience in Marshall feates of
"war, brought vp by my brothers meanes, and mine,
"like a Bird in a Cage, in the Court of the Duke
"of *Britaine*, neuer saw Army, neuer wore Armour,
"without practise, and therefore without knowledge
"how

King Richard confesseth his fault.

"how to gouerne a field? What are his followers, but "a sort of fainting runnagates, whose fearefull eyes, "as they could not behold our rayes in peace, can "worse abide to see our royall banner displaied against "them in fight? for their owne consciences shall be- "wray their guilt; their oathes, their periury; their "promise, infidelity; and the sight of vs their annoin- "ted Soueraigne shall either cause them shamefully to "flie, or submissiuely to yeeld themselues to our mer- "cy. As touching his French and Britaine aiders, "their valours haue beene well knowne to our Noble "Progenitors, often vanquished, but neuer vanqui- "shers, onely braggers without any great deedes, "drunkards without discretion, Ribaulds without "reason, Cowards without resistance, and (in a "word) effeminate, lasciuious, and neuer seene in "the Front of a Battell, seeking ten times more "meanes to flie and escape, then once to assault the "face of their enemies. Therefore like valiant Cap- "taines aduance forth your Standards, and make "knowne your manhoode by dint of Sword, and be "yee sure, that if euery one of you giue but one sure "stroke, the day will be ours; for how can a hand full "withstand a whole Realme? Aduance therefore "forward, my Captaines; in whom I well know is "wanting neither courage, pollicy, wisedome, nor "puissance. I therefore desire you, for your loue "to me-ward, the zeale of your natiue Countrey, "and the safety of your Prince and selues, to shew "this day your true Englisth valour, and for my selfe, "I assure you, I will this day either triumph in a glo- "rious victory, or die in this quarrell with immor- "tall *Fame*; in whose Palace all our names shall bee "enrolled, if we preferre the renowne of our Coun- "trey before our owne liues. Now S. *George for vs*, "and *vs for victory*; hast therefore forward, and re- "member this, that I am he who with high aduance- "ment will preferre the valiant and hardy, and with "seuere torture will punish the dastard and cowardly "Runaway. The Oration ended, as it gaue courage to some, so gaue it distast vnto others, whose hearts carried gall, though their mouthes dropped honey; some intended to turne to Earle *Henry*; some determined to take part with the strongest; & some meant to stand still and doe nothing; so vnsure was he of his Subiects loyalty, that had beene so traiterous to his owne Nephewes.

The diuers opinions of *King Richards* boast.

(55) Earle *Richmond* then seeing King *Richard* thus embattelled, sent to the Lord *Stanley*, who stood houering aloofe off, to come helpe him to order his fight, whose answere was, that *Henry* should doe it himselfe, and that he would come to him when he saw time conuenient, which strucke the Earle into a great dumpe; but now hauing no time for delay, ne- cessity compelled him to order his men. The Fore- ward he made single, according to his small number of souldiers, and in the Front placed his Archers, o- uer whom *Iohn* Earle of *Oxford* was Captaine, the right wing was led by Sir *Gilbert Talbot*; and the left assigned to Sir *Iohn Sauage*: Earle *Henry* himselfe with his Vncle *Iasper* Earle of *Pembrooke* gouerned the Main-Battell, better repleniſhed with horse then foote, whose whole number consisted hardly of fiue thousand, the Kings doubling the number, and more. The Battels thus ordered, Earle *Henry* armed at all peeces sauing his Helmet, rode from ranke to ranke, and from wing to wing, incouraging his men, and the more to encrease their hot spirits, mounted vpon a little banke, the better to be seene and heard, these words he vttered in all their hearing.

Lord *Stanley* sent for to Earle *Henry*.

The Earle marshalleth his battallions.

The Earle of *Oxford* Captaine of the Archers.

Henry Earle of *Richmonds* Oration.

" (56) If euer God gaue victory to a iust quar- "rell, if euer he aided warre for the tuition of a King- "dome or Countrey, or euer succoured them that "fought for the relieſe of poore innocents, oppres- "sed by tyranny, then no doubt my friends and fel- "low Souldiers, but that this day he will giue vs a "triumphant victory. For if we consider for what, "and against whom we fight, we may not doubt but "that God himselfe will fight for vs. The thing "which we are here ready to try by sword, is the li- "berty of the Land from vnder the vsurpation and "yoake of a Tyrant, and hee, against whom we "draw sword, is the Monster (for I may not call him "man) which feareth neither *God*, *Lawes*, *Iustice*, "nor *Humanity*, an homicide, a murderer of his "owne kindred, a destroyer of the Nobilitie, a Mawle "to his Subiects, and a firebrand to the whole King- "dome, whom iust vengeance craueth to haue quen- "ched: and consider I pray you, who be of his band, "euen such as by murder and vntruth to their kinne "and Countrey, haue got wrongfull possession of "our rightfull inheritance, letting your wiues weepe, "and Orphanes wander, to seeke their liuelyhoode "where they can get it, whose teares I doubt not "cry in the eares of the Lord, who will punish these "Malefactors either with pricke of conscience cow- "ardly to flye, or deliuer themselues into our hands "without Battell: Consider further, I pray you, "that in yonder great Battell are men brought more "for feare then for loue, by force compelled and not "willingly assembled; persons that desire more the "destruction, then the life of their Captaine, and fi- "nally a multitude, whereof the most part bee our "friends, and the least part his that leades them; and "surely it stands in suspence, whether the malice of "the Souldiers towards their Generall, or his feare "conceiued against them, be the greater; for this is a "rule infallible, that as ill-men daily couet to destroy "the good, so God appointeth the good men to con- "found the ill, and if it be true that Clerkes preach "that the one is to be hated, and the other beloued, "who then can spare yonder tyrant *Richard* Duke of "*Glouceſter* vntruely calling himselfe King, that hath "broken both the Lawes of God and Man, in the "bloud of his brother, the murther of his Nephews, "the death of his Wife, the slander of his owne Mo- "ther, and the bastardizing of his brethren? If you "haue not heard, yet I haue read that *Tarquin* the "proud, for the rape of *Lucretia*, lost the Kingdome "of *Rome*: yet was not his fact so detestable as *Ne- "roes*, who slew his owne Mother, to behold the "place of his conception: but yonder vsurper is "both these persons in one; a *Nero* in murther of his "young Nephewes, and in defaming the wombe of "his owne conception: and a *Tarquine*, intending to "defile, and carnally to know his owne Neece, vnder "pretext of holy Matrimony, which Lady you are "witnesse I haue sworne shall be my wife. This is the "quarrell for which we are here this day assembled, "and for whose equity wee craue God to be iudge: "a good beginning of his Protection we haue alrea- "dy seene, in escaping the treasons laid for vs in *Bri- "taine*, the dangers of Seas, and our safe arriuage vnto "this place, not hunted by any, but rather our selues "hunting after that furious Bore; who this day, and "in this place, is so intangled in his owne toyle, as his "crooked tuskes shall not be able to gnaw the cords "of his snare asunder, nor himselfe haue power to "free himselfe from his pursuers, whose Iauelines (I "doubt not) shall be dyed in the bloud of this filthy "Swine, & shall well-rid the world of an vgly hog'd- "backed Monster: which thing to accomplish let vs "remember, that victory is not gotten by multitude, "but by manhoode, but the smaller number wee bee, "the greater is our glory if wee vanquish, if vanqui- "shed, fretting time shall neuer consume our memo- "ry, that died to free our selues, and Nation from "the oppression of an vsurping Tyrant; and thus I "assure you, that for so iust a cause you shall finde "me this day rather a dead Carrion vpon the colde "ground, then a Carpet-prisoner kept aliue for re- "proch. Aduance therefore forward like true-hearted Englishmen, display your Banner in defence of your "Countrey, get the day and be Conquerours, loose "the Battell and be villaines; God and *Saint George* "giue vs a happy successe. Which no sooner was said but that the Souldiers buckled their Helmes, the Archers stript vp their sleeues, bent their bowes and frushed

The readineſſe of Earle *Henries* Souldiers.

The purpose of Earle *Henry*.

The fight begun.

The strength and courage of King *Richard*.

The two Chieftaines cope together.

Sir *William Stanley* commeth in with new supplies.

The Kings side giue ouer fight.

The valiant courage of King *Richard*.

King *Richard* slaine.

Men slaine in the battell.

Catesby beheaded.

The number slain at *Bosworth* field.

frushed their feathers, attentiuely listening when the Trumpet should giue the sound of Battell.

(57) Betwixt both the Armies there lay a great marish, which Earle *Henry* left vpon his right hand; with purpose to haue that for a defence, as also the Sunne at his backe, and face of the enemy, which King *Richard* perceiuing, with sound of Trumpet, and shout of his Army, passed the Marish, when the Bow-men on both sides let freely fly their arrowes: the rest comming to encounter with strokes: but the Earle of *Oxford* fearing to be encompassed by the enemy, commanded euery of his rankes to keepe within ten foote of his Standard, which being accomplished, and their fight a while stayed, their opposites mistrusting some fraud or deceit, ceased likewise from theirs, many of them willing inough so to doe; notwithstanding, immediately a cruell battell was againe begunne, and manfully continued vpon either part. Till lastly, King *Richard* hauing intelligence that the Earle of *Richmond* was but slenderly accompanied with men of Armes, and them also busied in their owne guardes, meant by his incounter to finish the day, as the onely man vpon whom stood all the hope of his enemies successe; and therfore hauing the markes of Earle *Henry*, made from the range of his owne battell, and vpon the spurre with the Speare in his Rest, ranne violently towards him in a furious spleene; in which rage, at the first brunt, he bare-downe and ouerthrew the Earles Standard, and slew *Sir William Brandon* the bearer thereof; next, matching with *Sir Iohn Cheiney* a man of great might, manfully threw him to the ground, thereby making an open passage by dint of sword vnto the Earle himselfe: *Richmond* beholding the high valour of *Richard*, most Lyon-like coped with this cruell Bore, and held him (maugre his tuskes) at his sword point, betwixt whom the fight was so desperate, that *Henries* company were strucke in great despaire; at which very instant Sr. *William Stanley* came in with three thousand tall fresh Souldiers, who entred the battell with such courage and valour, as they bare downe all before them where they went, whereat the Kings side began to faint, & to giue ouer fight, but the more resolute a while maintaining their ground, and now mistrusting treason among themselues, turned their backes and ran away, whereby King *Richard* presently perceiued the downefall of his ill-raised glory, and the full period of his short raigne: and all hope of resistance now past, a swift horse was brought to escape the field, with comforts that another day might set the victory on his side: but with a mind vnmatchable in hatred against *Henry*, or rather to haue his death registred in fames honourable role, whose life had beene blotted with the pen of divulged infamy, he hastily closed his Helmet, saying, that, that day should make an end of all battels, or else in this now in trying, he would finish his life, which last was presently performed; for thrusting into the middest of his enemies, and there valiantly fighting among the thickest, he obtained more honour in this his two houres fight, then he had gained by all the actions of his whole life.

(58) There dyed that day with him *Iohn* Duke of *Norfolke*, *Walter* Lord *Ferrers* of *Chartley*, Sir *Richard Ratcliffe* Knight, *Sir Robert Brakenbury* Lieutenant of the Tower, and not many Gentlemen more: *Sir William Catesby* one of King *Richards* chiefe Counsellors, with two others, were taken, and two dayes after beheaded at *Leicester*, among them that escaped were *Francis* Viscount *Louell*, *Humfrey* and *Thomas Stafford* Brethren, which three tooke Sanctuary at Saint *Iohns* in *Glouceſter*. *Thomas Howard* Earle of *Surrey*, though he submitted himselfe vnto *Henry*, yet was hee committed to the Tower, and therein a long time remained. Vpon Earle *Henries* part onely ten men were slaine, as *Sir Gilbert Talbot* wrote the newes from the field, wherof for note *Sir William Brandon* was the best; in all to the number of foure thousand men. This battell was fought the two and twentieth of *Auguſt*, and yeare of Christ Iesus 1485. in the field *Redmore*, neere vnto *Bosworth*, in the County of *Leiceſter*; after which, Earle *Henry* gaue thankes vnto God, and commending his Souldiers, with sufferance for them to take the spoyles of the field, dubbed many of them Knights; which his doings was so acceptable to the whole Army, as with great applause they all cryed *King Henry*, *King Henry*; whose forwardnesse to him-ward, when the Lord *Stanley* perceiued, hee tooke King *Richards* Crowne, found among the spoyle of the field, and set it vpon the Earle of *Richmonds* head, thereby confirming the election of the people, at which instant began the raigne of this new King. King *Henry* (for from henceforth so was he called) for their valiant seruice done in this battell, knighted in the field Sr. *Gilbert Talbot*, Sr. *Iohn Mortimer*, Sir *William Willoughby*, Sir *Rice ap Thomas*, Sir *Robert Pointes*, Sir *Humfrey Stanley*, Sir *Iohn Turbarvile*, Sir *Hugh Perſhall*, Sir *R. Hegecome*, Sir *Iohn Bikenylle*, and Sir *Edmund Baron* of *Carewe*.

(59) The slaine body of the vsurping Tyrant, all tugged, and torne, naked, and not so much as a clout left to couer his shame, was trussed behind *Blanch Seint-Leger* (or *White-Bore*, a Pursuant at Armes,) like a Hogge or Calfe, his head and armes hanging on the one side of the horse, and his legges on the other, and all be-sprinckled with mire and bloud, was so brought into *Leiceſter*, and there for a miserable spectacle the space of two dayes lay naked and vnburied, his remembrance being as odious to all, as his person deformed, and lothsome to be looked vpon: for whose further despite, the white Bore his cognizance was torne downe from euery Signe, that his monument might perish, as did the monies of *Caligula*, which were all melted by the decree of the Senate: Lastly, his body without all funerall solemnity was buried in the *Gray-Fryers* Church of that City. But King *Henry* his Successor, of a princely disposition, caused afterward his Tombe to be made with a picture of Ablablaster, representing his person, & to be set vp in the same Church; which at the suppression of that Monastery was pulled downe, and vtterly defaced; since when his graue ouer-growne with Nettles and weeds, is very obscure, and not to be found. Onely the stone chest wherein his corps lay, is now made a drinking trough for Horses at a common Inne, and retaineth the onely memory of this Monarchs greatnesse. But his body (as tradition hath deliuered) was borne out of the City, and contemptuously bestowed vnder the end of *Bow-Bridge*, which giueth passage ouer a branch of *Stowre* vpon the West side of the Towne. Vpon this Bridge (the like report runneth) stood a stone of some height, against which King *Richard*, as he passed toward *Bosworth*, by chance strucke his spur, and against the same stone as he was brought backe, hanging by the horse side, his head was dashed and broken, as a wise-woman (forsooth) had foretold, who, before *Richards* going to battell, being asked of his successe, said, that where his spurre strucke, his head should be broken; but of these things, as is the report, so let be the credite. Dead he is, and with his death ended the factions a long time continued betwixt the Families of *Lancaſter* and *Yorke*; in whose bandings, to bring, set, and keepe, the Crowne on their heads, eight or nine bloudy set battels had beene fought, and no lesse then foureſcore persons of the bloud-royall slaine, as *Philip Comines* the French Writer saith; many of them being well knowne to himselfe: after which stormes, and this Tyrants death, a blessed vnion ensued, by ioyning those houses in *Henry* of *Lancaſter*, and *Elizabeth* of *Yorke*.

(60) Hee was of Stature but little, and of shape deformed, the left shoulder bunching out like a Mole-hill on his backe, his haire thinne, and face short, a cruell countenance, in whose aspect might bee perceiued both malice and deceit. When hee stood musing (as he would doe oft) his vse was, to bite

Harding saith 27.

Henry proclaimed King in the field.

Iohn Stow.

Dead *Richards* body starke naked, was trussed vp to *Leiceſter*.

Holinshead.

King *Richard* laid naked to be seene of all.

His badge defaced and torne downe.

King Richards monument.

King Richards coffin made a drinking-trough.

A flying prophecy of K. *Richard*.

With *Richards* death dieth the quarrell of *Yorke* and *Lancaſter*.

Phili. Com. l. 1. c. 7.

The description of King *Richard*.

Iohn Hardings continuer.

bite and chaw the nether lip, his hand euer on his dagger, which euer he would chop vp and downe in the ſheath, but neuer draw it fully out. Pregnant in wit hee was, wily to faine, apt to diſſemble, and haughty of ſtomacke, an expert Souldier, and a better King then a man. He founded a Colledge at *Middleham* beyond *Yorke*, and a Collegiat Chauntery in *London*, neere vnto the Tower, called *Our Lady of Barking*; he endowed the *Queenes Colledge* in *Cambridge* with fiue hundred Marks of yearely reuenew; and diſforreſted the great Field of *Wichwood*, which King *Edward* his brother had incloſed for his game: he raigned two yeares, two moneths, and one day, and was buried, as we haue ſaid.

Iohn Stow.

Iohn Rous.

His Wife.

(61) *Anne* the ſecond daughter and Coheire to *Richard Neuill*, the ſtout Earle of *Warwick* and *Saliſbury*, was firſt married to *Edward* Prince of *Wales*, the Sonne to King *Henry* the ſixth, and after his death was re-married to this *Richard* Duke of *Glouceſter*, *Anno 1472*. afterwards by vſurpation King of *England*, with whom in great State and ſolemnity ſhe was Crowned *Queene* the ſixth of *Iuly*, and yeare of Saluation, 1483. She was his Wife to the laſt yeare of his Raigne, and then leauing her Husband to chooſe another *Queene*, was layd at reſt in the Abbey of *Weminſter*, in this thing happy, that ſhe ſaw not the death of the Tyrant.

His Iſſue.

(62) *Edward* the ſonne of King *Richard*, and of *Queene Anne* his Wife, and the onely childe of them both, was borne in the Caſtle of *Middleham*, neere *Richmond*, in the Countie of *Yorke*, *Anno 1473*. and being vnder foure yeares of age was created Earle of *Salisbury* by his Vncle King *Edward* the fourth, the ſeauenteenth of his Raigne; but his Father King *Richard* in the firſt of his vſurpation created him Prince of *Wales*, the foure and twentieth of *Auguſt*, & yeere of *Chriſt*, *1483*. he then being about ten yeares of age, vnto whom alſo the Crowne was intailed by Parliament; but this Prince dying before his Father, and much vpon the time of his Mothers deceaſe, ſaw not the reuenge that followed the Tyrants Raigne, whoſe bad life no doubt hath made doubtfull the place of this Princes buriall, and other Princely offices done him in his life, and at his death.

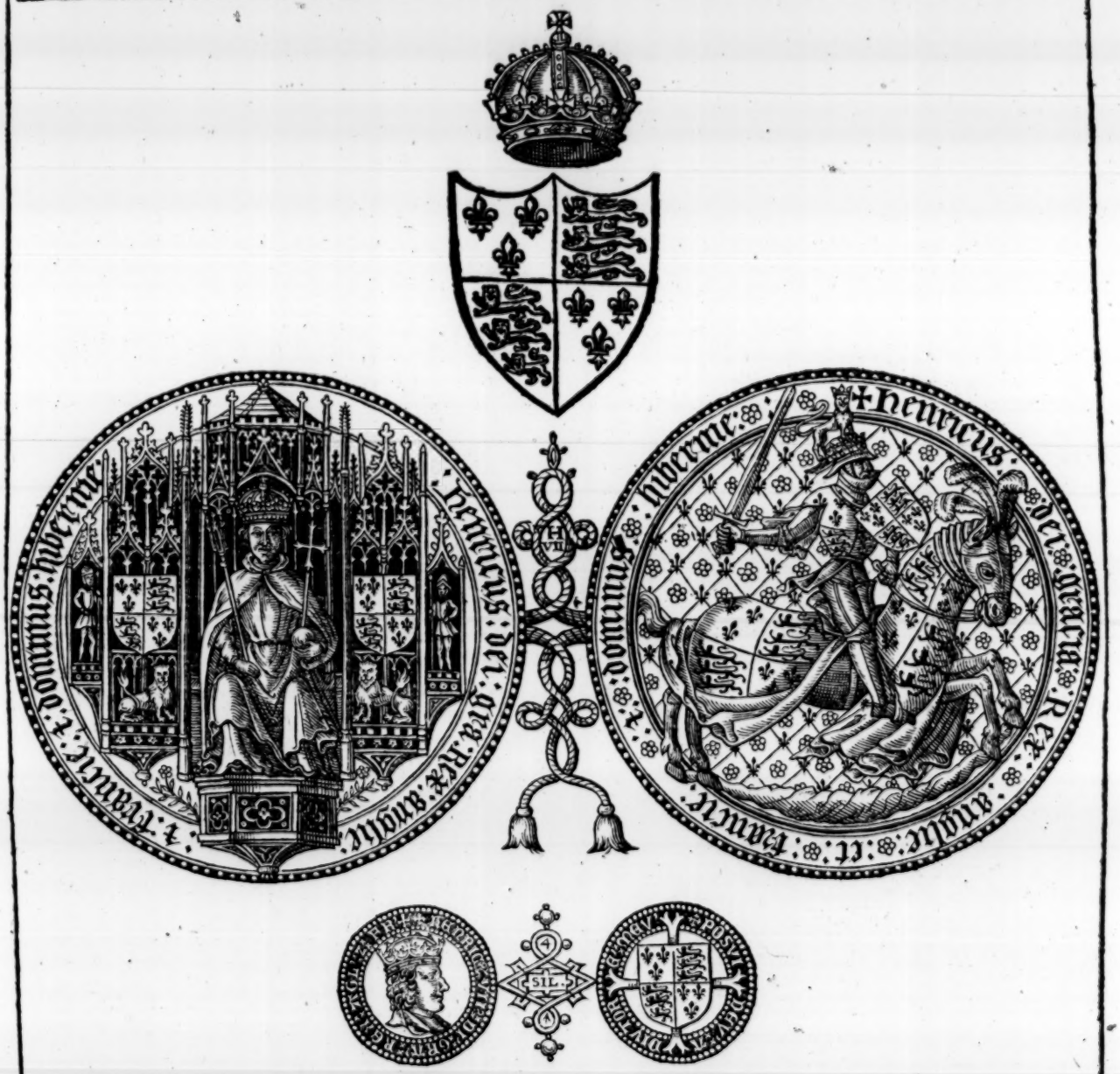
Iob. Roſſ. Warwic.

Cambd. Brit.

HENRIE

HENRIE THE SEAVENTH, KING OF ENGLAND AND FRANCE, AND LORD OF IRELAND, THE FIFTIE SEAVENTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISH, HIS RAIGNE, ACTS, AND ISSVE.

Henrie VII. Monarch 57



CHAPTER XX.

An.D.1485. 22.Auguſt. The date of his raignes commencement.

HENRIE of that name the ſeauenth, hauing by ſuch mixt meanes of *valor* and *practiſe* as are already deſcribed, obtained the poſſeſſion of *Englands* Crown, we muſt now preſent vnto you his actions in the perſon and ſtate of a King, maintained by him with like mixture of *courage* and *skill* as it was atchieued, to the verification of that rule; *That things are kept by the ſame Arts whereby they were gained*. In deſcribing whereof, wee meane nothing leſſe, then for humoring the vaine admirers of phraſe and conceit, to mount vp into Panegyricall flouriſhes, in honour of the man, though his excellent vertues would worthily beare, if not duely alſo exact them: yet may wee not omit to obſerue, that as in his attaining to the Crowne, there was (through diuine prouidence) a concurring diſpoſition of all important Circumſtances, without which his attempt might haue proued diſaſterous; ſo hee, hauing now poſſeſſed the Soueraigne power, and maſtered the State in the maine poynts, eaſily made circumſtances waite vpon his wiſdome, and to take their forme from his directions: Of the firſt kinde, wherein his felicity deſerues to be celebrated, were theſe. That he by the *Male*-line a meere ſtranger to both the royall houſes, as deſcended from the *Welſh* and *French*, and by the *female* ſpringing out of ſuch a Family of *Lancaſter* (the *Beaufords*) as by the ſame law which enabled it to inherite in ordinary eſtates, was made incapable of ſucceſſion in the Regalitie, ſhould ſo ſafely be conuayed away into forraine parts, there to continue an head of expectation and reuolt, during

Generall obſeruations concerning this Princes whole courſe.

Concurrence of furtherances to *King Henries* deſignes.

ring the inteſtine troubles and dangers, to him ineuitable here at home. Secondly, that the Realme of *England* ſhould bee ſo auerted from *Richard*, (though a very honourable, wiſe, iuſt and neceſſary Prince, after hee was ſomewhat ſetled) as for his ſake, to neglect (in a ſort) ſo many naturall heires of the houſe of *Yorke*, ſome of them in right preceding *Richard*; ſuch were the children of *Edward* the fourth, and *George* Duke of *Clarence*, *Richards* elder Brethren, and all of them iuſt barres to the Earle of *Richmond*, who ſcarce had any thing of a legall title, or of a warrantable intention; but his purpoſe to remoue an *Vſurper*, and marry the *Lady Elizabeth*, the rightfull inheritrice. Thirdly, *a long and fatall* * *ſlackneſſe* of *Richard* in his warlike preparations, through the meere contempt of his enemy the Earle, which was the cauſe, that both hee landed ſecurely, and *Richard* was driuen to fight in a manner with tumultuary, rather then trained forces. And finally, that a principall, potent, noble, and yet a deepely ſuſpected Conſpirator, (as being Father in law to the Earle) ſhould haue charge, vnder *Richard*, ouer a chiefe portion of his Army, at the very inſtant of ioyning battell.

* *Fabian* ſaith, *Richard* fearing little, prouided little defence.

(2) Theſe conſiderations (among many other) had in them ſuch an aptitude to his deſigne, as no humane wit could faſhion, and without the which a man of equall ſtarres and parts to *Henry*, or *Henry* himſelfe, might in vaine haue beene wiſe, in vaine induſtrious and vailiant. Circumſtances of the other ſort ſhall plentifully occurre in the whole carriage of his enſuing actions. In both which, are verified two contrary rules; for the ſtate of the firſt obſeruations teacheth vs with *Plautus*, that *Centum doctorum hominum conſilia hæc vna vincit Dea*; *This one Goddeſſe can effect more, then the wits of an hundred learned men*; ſpeaking, as an Heathen man, of that famous Idoll *Fortune*; and in the ſecond, that which *Iuuenall* excellently noteth;

Plautus.

Iuuenall.

Nullum numen abeſt, ſi ſit prudentia, ſedte
Nos facimus Fortuna Deam, cæloque locamus.

No Goddeſſe wants, where Prudence guids, though Chance,
A Goddeſſe deemd, fond Men to Heauen aduance.

The deſcription of King *Henries* minde and qualities.

* *Sir Fr. Bacon, frag. M.S.*

(3) Now for the *Character* of this famous wiſe Prince (which with reaſon ought to be ſet in front to his actions, as certaine lights of the mind, by which to diſcerne the fountaine of counſels and cauſes) a * learned, eloquent Knight, and principall Lawyer of our time, giues vs many things, of which theſe ſelected, are very regardable. "*This King* (ſaith he) *attained vnto the Crowne, not only from a priuate fortune, which might endue him with a moderation, but alſo from the fortune of an exiled man, which had quickned in him all the ſeeds of obſeruation and induſtry. His wiſedome* (ſpeaking thereof as it was in his raigne) *ſeemed rather a dexterity to deliuer himſelfe from dangers, when they preſſed him, then any deepe fore-ſight to preuent them a farre off. Iealous he was ouer the Greatneſſe of his Nobility, as remembring how himſelfe was ſet vp. Great and deuout reuerence he bare vnto Religion, as he that imployed Eccleſiaſticall men in moſt of his affaires. In his gouernment hee was led by none, ſcarcely by his Lawes, and yet he was a great obſeruer of formality in all his proceedings, which notwithſtanding was no impediment to the working of his will. In his wars* (meaning domeſticke) *he was rather confident then enterprizing, by which alſo he was commonly not the poorer. Generally, he ſeemed inclinable to liue in peace, & in the quenching of the Commotions of his ſubiects hee was euer ready to atchieue thoſe wars in perſon, ſomtimes reſeruing himſelfe, but neuer retiring himſelfe. Of nature he coueted to accumulate treaſure: in expending whereof hee neuer ſpared charge that his affaires required, and in his foundations was magnificent enough. Hee choſe commonly to imploy cunning perſons, as he that knew himſelfe ſufficiently to make vſe of their vttermoſt reaches, without danger of being abuſed with them himſelfe.*

(4) * Another hauing a purpoſe to write in *Engliſh* the Hiſtory of this *Henry* (an Argument which for the worthy doing thereof, requires as wiſe a man as *Henry* himſelfe) hath among many extraordinary praiſes (moſt-what framed out of his ſtrong affection) truely noted concerning his atchieuement of the "Crowne: *That the Almighty hand of God brought him ouer the top of the higheſt and moſt dangerous obſtacles, to ſway this Scepter, when neither Title, Power, nor (great) Probability could giue him ſo much as one ſound puſh to ſet him forward.* And of "the man himſelf; *That he entertained that, as ſodain, as Soueraigne change of fortune, with ſuch moderation, and vn-tranſported diſcretion, as it well-appeared he had throughly conquered himſelfe, before hee ſubdued the Vſurper his enemy.* What could be added greater to ſo true a praiſe? nothing certainly: for that he (as elſe-where that Writer ſaith) *was the Salomon, who brought peace to this Kingdome, long before oppreſſed by warre and tyranny:* it was onely an excellent effect of that excellent moderation. Other Authors of our times concurre in the ſame iudgement of him, whom they praiſe * *for ſingular wiſedome, excellent temperance, and moderate frugality*; *for* * *policy, iuſtice, and grauity*: which princely vertues cauſed him to be highly reuerenced of forraine Princes. Theſe honorable Eulogies, after ſo many yeares from his death, iuſtly countenance their relations, who * writing, in or about his owne dayes auerre no leſſe; among whom, *Bernard Andreas* of *Tholouz* is moſt flowing and abundant. This *Andreas* (as himſelfe writes) was afterward entruſted with the inſtruction of Prince *Arthur* (eldeſt ſonne to King *Henry*) in good letters, though he was blinde; and hauing aſwell the title of *Poet Laureat*, as of the Kings *Hiſtoriographer*, (how hardly ſoeuer thoſe two faculties meet with honour in the ſame perſon) meant to haue hiſtorified and poetized the Acts of this King, but (for want of competent and attended inſtructions in many places of chiefe importance) left his labour full of wilde breaches, and vnfiniſhed; yet in ſuch poynts as hee hath profeſſed to know, not vnworthy to be vouched: for there is in him a great deale of cleare elocution, and defæcated conceit aboue the ordinary of that age. He, among other verſes in honor of this our *Henry* (whom he enſtyleth *the moſt ſapient King*) hath theſe, not hyperbolicall, but proper, wherein he ſalutes him.

* *Ioh. Da. of Hereſ. M.S.*

* *Act. and Mon. p. 909.*
* *Io. Stow in Hen. 7.*

* *Ber. Andr. M.S. Fabian. Polyd. Virg. &c.*

Princeps ingenio nitente præſtans,
Famâ, religione, comitate,
Senſu, ſanguine, gratiâ, decore.

A peereleſſe Prince, for wiſedome rare,
Fame, piety, courteſie, debonaire,
Knowledge, birth, grace, and feature faire.

Whereby alſo, after theſe pourtracts of his inward faculties, and gifts, may be gueſſed that a body they had for their mortall manſion, no way vnſutable; and it ſeemes by that *Maieſty* (ſo they call the Images of our Kings, which are carried for repreſentation in their funerall Chariots) which at this day is * extant, that he was of ſtature tall and ſlender, ſomewhat round viſaged, and though in * his childhood ſickly, yet of aſpect in all his outward lineaments, ſo noble and gracious, as well preſaged, and afterward fitted the moſt fortunate height to which hee was now aſcended. But notwithſtanding theſe great praiſes, there want not ſome who thinke him to haue been an heauy Father to the Common-wealth, which by ſundry courſes hee greatly laboured to bring vnder, as a ſeeming ground-worke of his owne, and his poſterities ſecurity. And in his laſt dayes, *Auarice* (the naturall malady of age) tooke him ſtrongly, the enuy whereof he partly diuerted from himſelfe by

* *Monum. at Weſt.*
* *Bernard. Andr.*

by the ſplendor of ſome few publike buildings, which as they gaue the people cauſe to talke of their brauery, ſo they alſo inſenſibly wrought in their light minds a mittigation of their burthen.

Henrie's firſt actions after his victorie.

(5) Let vs now behold his vertues as they are ſhiningly deduced into action. After the Battell, he hauing truely firſt aſcribed the whole good of his ſucceſſe to God, commanded, that to the body of * his enemy K. *Richard, an honourable interrement* ſhould be giuen in the Friers at *Leiceſter*, where notwithſtanding * *he was with little reuerence buried.* From thence the King made ſpeed to *London*, as to the chiefe ſeate and Epitome of the Engliſh Monarchy, without-which no Prince found himſelfe heere ſecure enough: hee entred the Citie vpon a * Saturday, as vpon a Saturday he obtained his triumphall and Crowning victory. The Mayor of *London* and his fellowſhip, * receiued him in Violet at *Harnſey Parke*, but his entrance (which was at * *Shordich*) was honoured with a very great troupe of the Peeres, and Nobles in his traine, at which our Poeticall Hiſtorian *Andreas* was preſent, and ſaluted the victorious Prince with certain Latine *Sapphicks*, which he ſung vnto him, as himſelfe writeth. But *Henry* ſtaied not in Ceremonious greetings and popular acclamations, which (it ſeemes) he did purpoſely eſchue, for that (*Andreas* ſaith) he entred * couertly, meaning belike, in an Horſe-litter or cloſe Chariot. His lodging was in the Biſhop of *Londons* Pallace, where (after publike offertories and ſolemne thankes giuen to God in the Cathedrall Church of Saint *Paul*) the buſineſſe of his Coronation was ſeriouſly conſulted of; which was afterward (vpon his remoue to the Tower, where he * created his Vncle *Iaſper* Earle of *Pembroke*, Duke of *Bedford*, and other Eſtates) with due pompe and rituall magnificence * accompliſhed at *Weſtminſter*.

* Bern. Andr. M.S.

* Fabian.

* Bern. Andr. M.S. and vpon the 18. of Auguſt, ſaith Fabian.

* Fabian.

* Stow.

His entrance into London.

* Latenter.

* See Camb. Mills, &c.

* 30. October, Maſter Stow.

His Coronation.

(6) But the naturall ſolder and indiſſoluble cement, which muſt make this Kingdome ſtand, was his marriage with the Lady *Elizabeth*, eldeſt daughter of the late *Edward* the fourth. This, as a point of moſt importance, was with great maturity and iudgement againe thought vpon, when *Henry* was now already crowned. The remoter danger, ſuppoſed to reſide in the perſon of *Edward* Earle of *Warwicke* (onely ſonne and heire, euen in his infelicities, to that vnfortunate Prince *George* Duke of *Clarence*) was preuented; for he had beene, by King *Henries* direction, brought vp priſoner from the Manour of * *Sherif-hutton* in *Yorkſhire*, (where aſwell he, as the Lady *Elizabeth* were kept by King *Richard* vnder guard) and immediatly ſhut vp within the Tower of *London*.

His Marriage with the Lady *Elizabeth* debated.

* Holinſh. *Edward* Earle of *Warwicke* impriſoned.

(7) *Frances* * Duke of *Britaine* had offered *Henry*, before his departure, to match him with the Lady *Anne* his eldeſt daughter and ſole heire, but hee was otherwiſe affected, as placing his loue where it might afford him greateſt and preſenteſt ſtrengths. *Andreas* addeth, that King *Edward* himſelfe deſtinated his eldeſt daughter vnto *Henry* then Earle of *Richmond*, and ſought in his life-time to haue effected it; but his meaning being (belike) ſuſpected, as but a drift to get *Henry* into his hands, the motion tooke no hold, as reſerued till God had cleared the way of all ſuch impediments, as might hinder the conſolidation of both the Royall families, *Yorke*, & *Lancaſter*, (after their ſo mortall and confuſiue maſſacres) in the perſon of one Soueraigne.

* Bern. Andr. M.S.

Lady Elizabeth deſcribed.

(8) The Lady herſelfe, beſides youth and beauty (precious Ornaments of that Sexe) had in her from her * infancy *a wonderfull feare, & care to pleaſe God, and a like duteous and humble carriage toward her Parents: her Brothers and ſiſters ſhe did exceedingly loue, and as well toward the poore, as all the Seruants of Chriſt, ſhe bare a ſingular affection.* * Her Vncle (the late Vſurper) in contempt of God and man (whoſe Lawes hee was ſo long accuſtomed to violate, till the iuſt reward thereof did at the length ouertake him) inceſtuouſly meant to haue defiled her, vnder the abuſed name of Matrimony. When therefore the newes of his death came to her eare, the ioy of her heart brake forth into theſe words: * *So, yet at the laſt thou haſt, ô God, regarded the humble, and not deſpiſed their prayers. I well remember, neither ſhall I at any time be weary to remember that my moſt noble father, of famous memory, meant to haue beſtowed me in marriage vpon this moſt comely Prince. O that I were now worthy of him; but my Father being dead, I want ſuch good friends as ſhould motion ſo great a matter: and perhaps he will take a wife from forraigne parts, whoſe beauty, age, fortune, and dignity ſhall be more then mine. What ſhall I ſay? I am all alone, and dare not open my mind to * any. What if I acquainted my mother therewith? Baſhfulneſſe forbids: What if ſome of the Lords? Audacity wanteth. O then that I might but confer with him! perhaps in diſcourſe I might let ſlip ſuch a word as might diſcouer my intention. What will be I know not: this I know, that Almighty God cannot tell how to abſent himſelfe from them who truſt in him. Therefore I make an end of thinking; and repoſe my whole hope vpon thee, ô my God, doe with me according to thy mercy.* She ſecretly thus reuoluing all matters, and reſoluing of them in her minde, was heard from aboue; for King *Henry* hauing vnderſtood the honour, chaſtity, and ſingular vertues of the maiden Princeſſe, the rather inclined to make her the Soueraigne of his affections: aſſigning therefore * a day, wherein (for the vtter aboliſhment of all Hoſtilities betweene the two Royall Houſes of *Yorke* & *Lancaſter*) to eſtabliſh an vnion of Families, by coniunction of their two perſons in marriage.

* Bern. Andr. M.S. Her Chriſtian & chaſte meditation about marriage.

* How then did *Andreas* know it? either he doth poetize here, or elſe had it from her after relation.

* *Iohn Da. of Hereford M.S. Holinſhead.*

(9) The meane while he wiſely goes on to ſecure the maine, which conſiſting in ſetling the generall ſtate, and ſecuriug his owne perſon, hee, for the one, * holds a Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, and for the other, inſtitutes a certaine number of choiſe * Archers, with allotment of fees and maintenance, which vnder a peculiar *Captaine*, and the name of *Yeoman of the Guard*, he aſſigned to that ſeruice, for him and his ſucceſſors, Kings and Queenes of *England*. In the Parliament was attainted *Richard* late Duke of *Gloceſter*, ſtiling himſelfe by vſurpation, King *Richard the third*; & with him, by name, many other of the Nobility and Gentry. And yet withall, to lay a foundation for his greene Gouernment in loue and clemency, hee, during the Parliament proclaimed free pardon and entire reſtitution of their fortunes, to all ſuch as ſubmitted themſelues to his mercy, and made oath of Fidelity. A ſeaſonable and neceſſary Act; Whereby hee greatly weakened malicious humors, and wanne to himſelfe no ſmall acceſſion of friendſhip and ſeruices; for many forſooke Sanctuaries, and tooke vp their refuges in his goodneſſe and moſt gracious fauour. And to remoue all ſcandall and danger from his friends, he reuerſed and reuoked all former Acts, hurtfull either to himſelfe, or to them for his cauſe, the whole houſe of Parliament, * concurring finally in eſtabliſhing by a ſolemne Act, the Crowne vpon him, and his heires for euer.

* 7. Nouemb.

* Holinſh. The Kings Guard firſt inſtituted.

King Richard and others attainted.

* Holinſhead. The Crowne entailed vpon King *Henry* and his heires.

(10) After diſſolution of which Parliament, the King redeemes ſuch pledges, as he had left in *France* for money borrowed, and aſſumes into his Councell thoſe two renowned agents in aduancing his fortunes, *Iohn Morton* & *Richard Foxe*, as the moſt neceſſary parts and ſupports of his State; the former of which, not long after (*Thomas Bourchier* dying) was elected and enthronized *Archbiſhop of Canterbury*; the latter, was forthwith aduanced to be Lord Keeper of his Priuy-Seale, and ſucceſſiuely preferred to the Biſhopricks of *Exceſter*, *Bathe* and *Wells*, *Durham* and *Wincheſter*.

(11) The moſt wiſhed and moſt welcome * day of marriage betweene King *Henry* and the Princeſſe *Elizabeth* being now come, was celebrated by them with all religious and glorious magnificence, and by the people, with * fires of ioy, dancings, ſongs and bankets through *London*, all ſorts & ſexes beſeeching

The King marrieth the Lady Elizabeth.

* 18. *Ianuary.* 1486.

* Bern. Andr. M.S.

Almighty God to send the King & Queene most prosperous successe, and an infinite encrease of the common ioy, by bestowing vpon them a young Prince, and other Issue, at his good pleasure: Which prayers (saith *Andreas*) our Lord Iesus Christ vouchsafed to heare; the Queene within a while after, prouing with Childe, of whom shee was happily deliuered in the moneth of September following at *Winchester, which to the most fortunate King was a new happinesse, to the Queene a great reioycement, to the Church a soueraign delight; to the Court an exceeding pleasure; and in briefe to the whole Kingdome an incredible contentment.* Nor that without reason, as it afterward appeared; for (if God had been pleased to haue granted longer life) *not England onely, but the whole world should in such a pledge haue had cause of eternall reioycement.* But God, who gouernes all things, and in whose hand are as well the Scepters of Princes, as dates of their liues, disposed otherwise.

Prince *Arthur* borne.

Ber. Andr. M.S.

(12) Meane-while there were not a few who did enuie to King *Henry* this vnexpected height of felicitie; but they who first discouered themselues, were certaine remaines of the late ouerthrow at *Bosworth*, whose diffidence, or euill-will, was greater then to relie vpon King *Henries* clemency, or to behold the dazeling brightnesse of his new atchieued glory; and for that cause refused to forsake the Sanctuary, which they had taken at *Colchester*. These were, the Lord *Louell*, *Sir Humfrey Stafford*, and *Thomas Stafford* his brother. Who, while the King, secure of dangers behinde him, was in his Progresse at *Yorke*, meaning by affability, bounty, and other his wisest courses, to gaine the good wills of the *Northern* people, (with whom the memory of King *Richard* was very deare) and so to weaken the strengths and hopes of all future conspiracies, forsooke their refuge, and secretly in seuerall places gathered forces, therewith to surprize and dethrone the King. The Lord *Louell* raised his forces with such speed, that the King, who at *Lincolne* first heard of his escape, and lightly regarded the same, was no sooner setled in *Yorke*, but certaine intelligence came that hee approached fast with an Army; and withall, that the *Staffords* had assembled forces in *Worcestershire*, meaning to assault the City of * *Worcester*. The extremity of the King (who neuer dreamt of such a darling) was not small, for neither had he any sufficient numbers about him of his sure friends, nor could iustly repose confidence in the *Northern* men, whose loue to King *Richard* their late slaine Lord, made them still suspected. But danger quickeneth noble courages, and therefore vpon due recollection of himselfe, hee armes about three thousand men, (if tanned leather, whereof the most of their breast-pieces, for want of other stuffe, were framed, may be called armour) and sends them vnder the leading of *Iasper* Duke of *Bedford*, with commission to pardon, or to fight. The Duke offering pardon, the Lord *Louell* fled by night to * Sir *Thomas Broughton* into *Lancashire*, where he lurked certaine moneths; the headlesse multitude yeeld without stroake, and the felicity of King *Henry* preuailes in euery place; for the *Staffords* hearing what had happened to their Confederates, disperse their Cloude of rebels, and speedily take refuge at *Colnham*, a Village about two miles from *Abingdon* in *Oxfordshire*. But the priuiledges of that place * being iuridically scand in the *Kings Bench*, they were found vnable to afford protection to open traitors, whereupon they were forceably taken thence, and conuaied to the Tower of *London*, from whence Sir *Humfrey Stafford* was drawne and executed at *Tiburne*, but his brother *Thomas* by the Kings mercy had his pardon. These short dangers and troubles, by reason of their suddainty did worthily make the King wakefull euen ouer smaller accidents; this blaze being kindled from so neglected sparkles. But there followed deuises, which in their owne nature were so strangely impudent, and in their vent so strongly bolstered, that if *Louels* enterprise made him suspitious, these other might iustly fill him with innumerable iealousies.

The attempts of the Kings maligners.

Polyd. Virg.

The Lord *Louell* and the *Staffords* rebell.

Hardings continuer saith they had taken *Gloucester*.

Pol. Virg. in Hen 7. Holinsh.

* Yeare-booke of *Henry* 7. Anno 2. Traitors taken from Sanctuary, and punished.

He is called Lord *Stafford* by *Hardings* continuer.

(13) The records are immortall, which testifie, that the erection of Idols and Counterfeits, to dethrone them who are in possession, is a very olde Stratagem. What troubles a *Pseudo-Nero* wrought, by support of the *Parthians* (who wonderfully fauoured *Nero* liuing,) the *Romane* Writers teach vs. Neither hath the Diuell (Father of Impostures) any so solemne practise, as Personation and Resemblances of true, whether men or things. Insomuch that some Diuines haue thought, that as he can, and often doth transshape himselfe into the forme of a Celestiall Angell, so that he also deceiued our first mother vnder that resplendent but assumed-habite. And what mischiefs he wrought, in this very kind of thrusting out into the world false pretenders, the speech of wise* *Gamaliel* testifieth, who rehearseth the names of *Theudas* and *Iudas Galilæus*; but the world hath since had more woefull experience hereof, in that execrable Impostor *Mahomet*, pretending to bee the *Messiah*. In *England* it selfe (before the time of this *Henry*) what strange practises and conspiracies were set on foote vnder the title of a *Pseudo-Richard* in the raigne of *Henry* the fourth, the former Histories haue sufficiently opened, so that this Prince encountred nothing new in the Generall, howsoeuer pestilent and extraordinary in the particular. Indeed his raigne (more perhaps then any other of his predecessors) afforded plentifull matter for such deuises to worke vpon, there being many then, who hauing been * *conceiued* (as it were) *in the bowels of Sedition, and neurished with the bitter and pernicious milke of dissention*, were not onely apt to embrace, but also, where they were not offered, euen there to beget occasions of confounding all. *Men,* * *who could neither endure warre, nor peace long, nor any lawes in either, as desirous to enioy the licentious violences of ciuill warre; a* * *misery, which all words (how wide soeuer) want compasse to expresse* The strange attempts of which kinde of men (or rather Monsters) we shall see exemplified in the subsequent tragedies. *Richard Simon*, an ambitious and imposterous wretch, and withall a Priest, neither vnlearned, (the sacred shadow of which name the rather countenanced his practises) in hope to make himselfe the principall Bishop of *England*, plotted the aduancement of *Lambert Symnell* (being his pupill in the Vniuersity of *Oxford*) to the Crowne of *England*; instigated thereto by the diuell, and suborned by such as fauoured the *White-rose faction*, vpon this occasion. There went a rumour, that *Edward* Earle of *Warwicke*, sonne and heire to *George* the late vnfortunate Duke of *Clarence*, second brother of King *Edward*, * *was either already murthered, or should shortly be.* This Architect of guile, *Simon*, hauing this *Symnel* in tuition, (the * sonne of a Baker, or Shoomaker, but a well-faced and Princely-shaped youth, of no * very euill nature, but as it was corrupted by his Tutor,) meanes, out of this rumors aery substance, to produce an apparition and prodegy, which in Title, behauiour, and artificiall answeres (infused by his Tutors practises) should resemble * one of King *Edwards* Children. Here we must confesse, that our Authors leade vs into a perplexity: Some * affirming, that this counterfeit was exhibited to the world vnder the name of *Edward* Earle of *Warwicke*, sonne of the Duke of *Clarence*, by the daughter of the most turbulent and fatall Earle of *Warwicke*, slaine at *Barnet-field*. But hereunto reason seemes repugnant. For what ground of claime could that Gentleman haue, not onely for that his Father was attainted, but much more for that the Queene of *England* then in being, was the indubitate eldest daughter and heire of king *Edward* the fourth, and sister and next heire to *Edward* the fifth? Neither wants there ancienter authority then any of the others, affirming, that this Idoll did vsurpe the name of one of King *Edwards* sonnes; many arguments concurring to buttresse this affirmation. For, if at the

Corn. Tacit. Histor. Suet. in Ner c. 57. Counterfeit Princes erected to defeat the true.

* Acts 5.

Mantell executed in Queene *Elizabeths* dayes for assuming the person of K. *Edw. 6.*

* *Joh. Da. M.S.*

* *Polyd. Virgil. in Hen. 7.*

* *Joh. Da. M.S.*

Pol. Virg. in Hen. 7.

The first Idoll erected against King *Henry.*

A false *Edward* in the forge.

* *Pol. Virg. fo. 16.*

* *Bern. Andr. M.S.*

* *Pol. Virg. Hen. 7.*

* *Pol. Virg. ibid.*

* *Holinsh. John Stow.*

Lambert Symnels History rectified and vindicated.

Bern. Andr. M.S.

the ſame time (as *Polydor* writeth) it was bruted, that *the ſonnes of King Edward the fourth had not* *beene *murthered vnder their vſurping Vncle* Richard, *but were eſcaped, and liued in obſcurity beyond the Sea*; how can that be true, which *Stow* and the reſt (who follow *Polydore* therein) affirme, that *Lambert* was crowned King of *England* at *Dublin* in *Ireland*, as heire to *George Duke of Clarence?* For with what injurie to the royall brethren (fained to be aliue) was that? Verily there ſeemes no coherence in the circumſtances, nor apparence of truth in the ſubſtance. And how much ſtronger to the purpoſe of the Conſpirators was the fiction of an *Edward*, the Kings ſonne, and himſelfe once proclaimed King, then of an *Edward*, who was but an Earle, and a Duke of *Clarences* heire? But you will aske, what was the poore Earles part in this tragedie? what other, then that by rumoring his murther, they might bring the perſon of King *Henry* into common deteſtation for his cruelty? For clearing whereof the King publikely afterward ſhewed the Earle to the view of all. And albeit the vulgar fame is, that *Lambert* was called *Edward*, yet * one who then liued, ſaith directly, that this Cypher was dubbed and mounted from his owne meane ranke to the title of a King, vnder the name of the ſecond Brother, who for certaine was called *Richard*: but what Record there is to the contrary, is to vs as yet vnknowne; for our vulgar Bookes extant can hardly paſſe with a Iury of ordinary Criticks, and Cenſors for vnchallengeable euidence.

(14) This aery *Typhon* (which graſped at the embracement of the two Kingdomes of *England* and *Ireland*) thus throughly ſchooled and inſtructed, is ſecretly conuaied by his Sinonian Tutor to *Dublin*, the chiefe City of the Iriſh, where he was confident of partakers, as amongſt the hereditary Clients, and adherents of the houſe of *Yorke*; which affection was firſt breathed into them by the cunning popularities of the Lord *Richard* Duke of *Yorke*, the firſt of that line, who publiquely claimed the Engliſh Crowne. His hopes deceiued him not, for the Lord * Chancellor of *Ireland*, *Thomas Fitz-Gerald* (of the noble Familie of the *Geraldines*) preſently profeſſed himſelfe for the plot, and by his authority and perſwaſions drew the generality of the Iriſh after him into it. Meſſengers are hereupon diſpatched, vpon all hands both into *England*, to ſuch as they had hope of, and into low *Germany* to the Ladie *Margaret*, ſiſter of King *Edward* the fourth, Dutcheſſe Dowager of *Burgundy*, a moſt mortall enemy of the Lancaſtrian Family. In both places the lighted matches of ſedition found powdry ſpirits, and wonderfull correſpondence. There is flocking from all parts to ſupport the quarrell, and the Iriſh (to haue the glory of giuing *England* a King) proclaime and reuerence this painted puffe, and flying bubble, with royall Style and honours.

(15) *Henrie* ſeeing the fire ſo ſtrangely kindled round about the wals of his beſt hopes and ſtrengths, fals ſeriouſly to counſell at the Monaſtery of *Carthuſian* Monkes neere *Richmond*, where after exact deliberation it was decreed, 1. *That generall pardon* (to ſtay the mindes of as many as it was poſſible) *ſhould without any exception be proclaimed to ſuch as from thenceforth ſhould continue dutifull.* Which was principally done to temper, and aſſure ſome priuate perſons, as Sir *Thomas Broughton* and others, whoſe forces, wils, and wealth were held moſt in ſuſpition. 2. *That Elizabeth*, late wife to *Edward* the fourth, and Mother in law to *Henry* now King of *England*, *ſhould forfeit all her lands and goods, for that* (contrary to her faith giuen to them, who were in the plot for bringing in *King Henry*) *ſhee had yeelded vp her daughters to the hands of the Tyrant Richard.* 3. *That Edward Earle of Warwicke then priſoner in the Tower, ſhould be openly ſhewed aliue in London.* All which was accordingly executed, but without any great fruit, for ſtill the plot went on.

(16) The condemnation of *Elizabeth Queene* Dowager, rather moued enuy towards *Henry*, then relieued his cauſe; for, to many the juſtice of that ſentence was doubtfull, the circumſtance of a *Mother* in law inferred a breach of pietie, and the judgement it ſelfe did alſo want example. The juſtice was doubtfull both in regard of the cauſe, and of the proceeding: Of the cauſe, for how could ſhe haue defended her Daughters by the priuiledge of Sanctuary from ſuch a Wolfe and Tyger, as would haue infringed it for her Sonnes; had they not beene quietly deliuered to his bloudy hands? The ſame Tyrant doth now demand her Daughters, as to honour, not to ſlaughter; but if it had beene to ſlaughter, what helpe? She, terrified with the motion, after much deliberation yeelds them to him, when ſhee neither could nor durſt detaine them. But you ſay ſhe violated her faith, and hazarded thereby the liues and hopes of all that were in the plot for her cauſe. A great crime certainely. But *Richard* was in title, and power a King, and hung ouer her head with ineuitable terrours; when *Henry* of *Richmond* was but an Earle, and he farre off, and in baniſhment, and without any apparence of preuailing, and her ſelfe a friendleſſe widdow. The manner or proceeding was no leſſe ſtrange; for by what law or triall was ſhe condemned in a Præmunire? She neuertheleſſe is put out of all, and confined to the Monaſtery of *Bermondſey* in *Southwarke*, where finally ſhe ended her dayes, borne to be an example of both fortunes, hauing from a forlorne Widdowes eſtate beene raiſed to the Bed of a Batchelour Monarcke; and in his life time beene reduced to the ſeeming of a priuate fortune, when her Lord was driuen to flie the Land; and afterward ſaw thoſe turnes and varieties as few Queenes euer felt, or ſaw ſo many, or more contrary; whither wee regard the height of worldly felicity, when ſhe did behold her Sonne a King, or the depth of miſery, when the Tyrant inuaded his Crowne and life, or now her Daughter being Queene, and her ſelfe a miſerable priſoner. The conſideration whereof, as it may worthily mortifie ambitious affections; ſo the ſtrangeneſſe of the ſentence verifies that collection among others, which * that learned Gentleman makes of this Kings raigne, in theſe words: *Hee had* (ſaith hee) *a verie ſtrange kinde of interchanging verie large and vnexpected pardons with ſeuere executions. Neuertheleſſe, (his wiſdome conſidered) it could not be imputed to any inequality, but to a diſcretion, or at leaſt to a principle, that hee had apprehended, that it was not good, obſtinately to purſue one courſe, but to try both wayes.* Howſoeuer that was; certainely, ſhee being ſo juſt an object of his commiſeration, who had married that Daughter, by which he enjoyed a Kingdome, and gotten that very power, wherewith hee ruined her; it cannot be reaſonably thought, but that there were other moſt important motiues, perſwading ſuch a ſharpe courſe, or otherwiſe, that it muſt be reckoned among the chiefe of his errours. But as in the times of her flouriſhing eſtate, ſhe founded and endowed a faire Colledge for Students in *Cambridge*, which of her is called the *Queenes*; ſo we will leaue to thoſe her Beneficiaries the farther ſearch of this Argument, and deploration of her fortune, which ſeemes ſuch to vs, as if King *Henry* affected to leaue ſomewhat in this example, wherewith to oppoſe and amaze the World. Vnleſſe perhaps it were, that hauing proclaimed a generall pardon for all offences, without exception, to ſuch as in future ſhould remaine loyall, and fore-ſeeing that ſome, who might be willing to lay hold of that benefit, might alſo be cunningly practiſed-with to fall away, vpon diſtruſt of his word, when once he had ſerued his preſent vſes, he therefore meant (by ſo cleare a demonſtration, as the vtter vndoing, and perpetuall impriſonment of his wiues owne mother;) to giue them aſſurance, that he, who vpon her perſon had beene ſo ſeuere a puniſher of faith-breach, would neuer

* *Iohn Stow* was often heard to maintaine this opinion in ſeeming earneſt.

* *Buc. And. M.S.*

Lambert conuaied into *Ireland* and receiued.

* *Polyd. Virgil. Stow* cals him Earle of *Kildare*, and Lord Deputy of *Ireland*.

Lambert proclaimed King of *England*.

Concluſions in the Councell of *England* vpon the tame of this conſpiracy.

Queene *Elizabeth* depriued of her eſtate, and condemned to a Monaſtery.

* *Sir Fr. Bacon. frag. M.S.*

A probable cauſe why King *Henry* dealt ſo rigorouſly with his mother in law.

neuer violate it in his owne, and thereby ſecure them in that poynt, and ſecure himſelfe of them.

Iohn de la Pole Earle of Lincolne, and others, flie to the Dutcheſſe of Burgundy.

(17) Yet neyther could this deuiſe take ſo good effect, but that *Iohn* Earle of *Lincolne* (ſonne of *Iohn de la Pole* Duke of *Suffolke*, and *Elizabeth* King *Edward* the fourths ſiſter) ſecretly fled into *Flanders* to the Dutcheſſe of *Burgundy*, whither *Francis* Lord *Louel* was likewiſe not long before eſcaped. Sir *Thomas Broughton* (another principall confederate) temporized in *England*, there to remaine a ſtay to the buſineſſe, as well for mutuall intelligence, as receipt of an Army when it ſhould arriue. This Earle of *Lincolne*, beſides that he could not with any patience behold a Lancaſtrian weilding the Engliſh *Scepter*; was alſo *of a* * *ſharpe wit, and high reach*, and therefore not without an ambitious ſenſibility, that in countenancing King *Henry*, hee wronged that expectancie, and relation to the Crowne, which hee had in right of his Mother, ſiſter to King *Edward* the fourth, and to King *Richard* the third, who had *deſigned him for heire apparant, and contracted his ſiſter the * Lady *Anne de la Pole*, to *Iames* Prince of *Scotland*: was alſo the rather animated by * letters receiued from his Aunt the Dutcheſſe of *Burgundy*, earneſtly calling vpon him for his preſence. This Dutcheſſe was the ſecond wife of *Charles* Duke of *Burgundie*, * ſlaine by the *Switz* at the battell of *Nancè*; by whom though hee had no iſſue, yet by reaſon of her great dower, and wiſe behauiour among the Dutch, ſhe was ſtrong in money and friends; all which ſhe was willing to conuert to the vtter ſubuerſion, howſoeuer, of the *Lancaſtrian* line. Though therfore, ſhe well knew that this *Lambert* was but an Idoll, * hammered out of the hote braine of that *Boutefew Richard Simon*, yet ſhe embraceth the occaſion, countenanceth the Impoſture, and leaues nothing vnſaid or vndone, which might giue life and ſucceſſe to the enterpriſe. The Earle, the L. *Louell*, and others, ſhe furniſhed abundantly, and joyneth vnto them a renowmed Coronell *Martin Swart*, a Gentleman of * honorable birth, exemplary valour, and ſingular experience, and certaine ſelected Companies, to the number of about two thouſand Almaines, which ſoone after arriue at *Dublin*. *Lambert*, who before was but proclaimed, is now in Chriſts Church there ſolemnely by them crowned King of *England*, * feaſting and triumphing, rearing mighty ſhouts and cryes, carrying him thence to the Kings Caſtell vpon tall mens ſhoulders, that he might be ſeene and noted; as he was ſurely (ſaith *Stow*) an honourable boy to looke vpon; though nothing leſſe was meant, then that he ſhould enjoy that honour if they preuailed; as meaning then to erect *Edward* Earle of *Warwicke*. Poſterity might worthily doubt of the truth of theſe ſo deſperate impudencies, and ridiculous Pageants, practiſed in the higheſt affaires of mankinde, but that the thing is ſo vniuerſally teſtified, and alſo that the higheſt affaires of the world (when once they are paſſed) are little better then ſuch like Pageants.

(18) King *Henry* (on the other ſide) though he had by moſt diligent eſpials endeuoured to know the truth of *Lamberts* quality, to diuert the ſtreame of affections, which he ſaw inclined that way, for that the practiſe was carried with ſuch wonderfull art, as that very many (otherwiſe diſcreet and ſober men) were induced to beleeue that he was indeede King *Edwards* ſonne; and although the generall pardon proclaimed by King *Henry*, did vndoubtedly ſtay very many from open reuolt, but much more the carefull watch which was kept at the Ports, to hinder the eſcape of Malecontents or factious Fugitiues: yet he manifeſtly ſaw, that it would in the end come to a Field: for which cauſe he takes order for the leuie of an Armie, reſoluing to giue his enemies Battell with the firſt opportunity, it being the ancient and manfull faſhion of the Engliſh (who are naturally moſt impatient of lingring miſchiefes) to put their publique quarrels to the triall of the ſword. *Lambert* attended with *Iohn* Earle of *Lincolne*, *Francis* Lord * Vicount *Louell*, *Thomas Fitz-Gerald*, or rather *Maurice Fitz-Thomas* (belike his ſonne) and Coronell *Swart*, with an Army of deſperate and pickt Souldiers, as well *Engliſh*, *Dutch*, as *Iriſh* (all fired with infinite hopes and promiſes to be enjoyed vpon the ouerthrow of King *Henry*) come on ſhoare in *Lancaſhire* at a place called the pile of *Fowdray*, where they joyne with their aſſured Confederate Sir *Thomas Broughton*, and his ſequell; and after ſome ſhort refreſhment in thoſe parts, march with erected courages againſt King *Henry*, taking their way through *Yorkeſhire* (the hoped Nurſery of their ſureſt friendſhips) and glorioully publiſhing their new King euery where, though without any increaſe of force by concourſe, (for King *Henries* wiſdome had marred their errand,) their journey was directed toward *Newarke* vpon *Trent*.

** Cambd. in Oxf.*

Lambert lands in *Lancaſhire*.

(19) The King then at *Couentree*, being by ſuch ſcouts as he had appointed for that ſeruice, preſently aduertiſed of *Lamberts* arriuall, and hauing his forces ready vnder the conduct of *Iaſper* Duke of *Bedford*, and the *Earle of Oxford*, becauſe delay, in this caſe, was on all hands reputed miſchieuous, ſets forward to *Nottingham*, and by a Wood ſide called *Bowrs*, encampeth his people; in whom there appeared a gallant forwardnes to reuenge themſelues, by the ſword, of that indignitie, which was offered to the Engliſh name by ſtrangers and Rebels, who durſt hope to giue them a Ruler. Thither repaired *George Talbot* Earle of *Shrewsbury*, *George* Lord *Strange* his ſonne, Sir *Iohn Cheinie*, and other noble and valiant Gentlemen with their numbers, which added no ſmall ſinewes to King *Henries* muſters. *Polydor* * hath diligently ſet downe the names of ſuch principall men in thoſe parts as repayred thither, partly voluntary, partly ſent-for to the common defence of the King and Kingdome; but without due additions of each mans degree and place of precedency; yet their names doe well deſerue to be remembred, both for the honour of their Families, and examples of loyalty. Hee recounteth ſixtie fiue Captaines which aſſembled from places thereabout, vnder whom there cannot probably be thought fewer Souldiers then eight or tenne thouſand, the Engliſh vſually, till of late, hauing commonly an hundreth and fiftie in a Company. Their ſurnames (beſides *Edward* Lord * *Haſtings*) are in him as followeth; *Longford*, *Montgomerie*, *Vernon of the Peke*, *Shurley*, *Folgehan*, *Griſley*, *Sutton*, *Stanley*, *and Stanley*, *Houghton*, *Meryng*, *Stanhop*, *Clifton*, *Stapleton*, *Willoughby*, *Perpoinct*, *Babington*, *Bedyll*, * *Brudenel*, *Markham*, *Merbury*, *Borough*, *Tyrwit*, *Huſey*, *Sheſeild*, *Newport*, *Ormeſton*, *Tempeſt*, *Knyuett*, *Willoughby*, *Dygby*, and *Dygby*, *Harrington*, *Sacheuerel*, *Vyllers*, *Fylding*, *Poultney*, *Vaux*, *Gryne*, *Gryfin*, *Lucy*, *Belknap*, *Throgmorton*, *Gray of Ruthin*, *Wolſton*, *Fynder*, *Philips*, *Cheney*, *Cotton*, *S. Iohn*, *Mordant*, *Terell*, *Rainſford*, *Paynton*, *Daniel*, *Marney*, *Armidel*. From the vttermoſt bounds of the North, there repayred alſo other chiefe perſons and leaders (ſaith he) as * *Ogle*, * *Neuyle*, * *Latimer*, *Bulmer*, *Langford*, *Norres*, *Neuyle* of *Thortinbrig*, and *Williams*. The Earle of *Lincolne* neuertheleſſe comes forward with his Counter-King, nothing perhaps adding greater courage to that ſide, then the example of *Henry* himſelfe, who with leſſe numbers (but much more ſecret Art) preuayled in a pight field at *Boſworth*: his meaning was to get into *Newarke*. The King wakefull vpon all aduantages, and perfectly inſtructed of his enemies courſes (whom deſperation did thruſt forward to a daring hope) diſlodgeth with his Army, and paſſeth through *Newarke*, leauing it behinde him about three miles, to intercept the *Lambertines*; and there ſits downe againe. The Earle of *Lincolne* encampes with great brauery and ſhew of courage in the face of the Kings forces.

Nottingham the rendeuow of K. *Henries* army.

** Hiſt. Ang. lib. 26.*

Great repaire of the nobles and people to his aid.

Polyd. Virgil.

** Polydor* cals him *Regulus*, meaning a Baron.

Brundellus, as *Polydor* erroneouſly cals him.

* Theſe three ſeeme Barons, as them whom he meanes by *principes viri*.

(20) The next day both the Armies are brought forth to fight, neere to a little village called *Stoke*. The *Earle of Lincolne* marſhalled his people by the aduiſe of

* *Polyd. Virgil.* ſaith he was *ſummo genere natus*.

* *Lambert* crowned King of *England* at *Dublin*.

Iohn Stow.

Bern. Andr.

King Henry prouides for battell.

* *Polyd. Virgil.*

* *Cambd. in Notting.*

* *Io. Teſte.*

* *Bern. Andr.*

* *Phil. de Com.*

* *Iohn Da. M. S.*

of *Coronell Swart*, and others, to the beſt aduantage; vpon the * Brow or hanging of an Hill, expecting the charge. The *Almaines* were all of them hardie and approued men, and throughly well-appoynted, and ſo in likelihood were ſuch *Engliſh* as ſtood for that ſide; but the *Iriſh*, beſides multitudes and fierceneſſe, had ſmall prouiſion, ſaue (after the rude manner of their Nation) darts, skeins, or the like. The maine of the Battell reſted wholly vpon the *Engliſh* and *Almaines*. King *Henry* on the other ſide, (as he that thirſted for an end of this bloudy dayes worke,) ſpeedily diſpoſed his whole numbers into three Battalions: the Voward whereof was beſt repleniſhed with ſtore of choiſe and picked men, well armed and appoynted, and fortified with wings. The armie being thus ordered, *Andreas* ſaith that King *Henrie* vſeth this ſpeech.

* Bern. Andr.

King Henries Oration before the battell at Stoke.

"(21) Moſt faithfull Lords, and you moſt valiant "Companions in Armes, who haue (together with "vs) endured ſo great perils by Land and Sea; loe, "wee are againe, againſt our wils, drawne to trie our "fortunes in another Field. For the Earle of *Lin-*"*colne* (a perjured man) without any occaſion mini-"ſtred by vs, defends an vnjuſt quarrell againſt vs: "neither doth he it diſſemblingly, but moſt openly "impudent, without any feare of God; not ſo much "onely to endammage vs, as to fulfill the humour of "a giddie, and intemperate-tongued woman, who is "not ignorant that her bloud was extinguiſhed by "her Brother *Richard*; but becauſe that line did al-"waies maintaine a moſt deadly fewd againſt ours, "ſhee (without any great regard to her Neece, my "deareſt Conſort) aſſayes to deſtroy as well vs as our "poſteritie. Yee ſee therefore how often wee are "prouoked by them; but they ſhall not carrie it a-"way vnreuenged. God therefore and his holy An-"gels we firſt call to witneſſe, that we are prouident "both night and day for your ſafetie, and for the "Common quiet; though thus the ancient enemy "repugneth. But God, a juſt, ſtrong, and patient "Iudge, will alſo bring a remedy to this euill. In the "meane time we exhort and admoniſh you, that the "conſideration of our juſt inheritance be at this pre-"ſent more forceable with you, then their wicked-"neſſe; neither doubt, but that the ſame God, who in "the former warre made vs victorious, will enable "vs to triumph now alſo ouer theſe enemies. Let vs "therefore ſet vpon them courageouſly; for God is "vpon our ſide to aſſiſt vs.

Bernard. Andr.

The battell of Stoke, or Stokefield.

(22) The *Earle of Oxford*, (on the behalfe of the whole Army) was prepared to make anſwere, but the King haſtening to the proofe, brake off all Ceremonies; and the ſigne of Battell giuen, they thunder forward with ſhouts of people, and ſound of martiall muſicke, and like a blacke tempeſt, powre themſelues vpon the Front of the Enemies Battels; who ruſhed forward with equall violence and furie, as men that at once encountred againſt feare and fortune. The fight continued doubtfull aboue * three houres. A long ſpace for men of courage to be employed in killing one the other, and fit to glut the hunger of furie. The Earles *Engliſh* wanted nothing but a good cauſe, and the *Almains* gaue not place to the Kings people in any poynt worthy of gallant Souldiers, but ſold their liues dearely, and their *Coronell Swart* had ſcarce any before him in perſonall performance. Neither were the *Iriſh* behinde for their parts, if their skinnes had beene ſword-proofe, for the contempt of death was alike in them as the reſt. Briefly, the wonder of that dayes worke was, that Chriſtian men, in no ſounder a quarrell, could dare to die ſo boldly, ſuch chiefly, as the Earle of *Lincolne* and ſome others, who knew the ſecret of that deſperate enterprize. *But God, the Lord of reuenges; puniſhing their vnjuſt malice, with a ſuddaine whirlewinde, riſing in the heate of the Battell, (euen as when Conſtantine fought againſt the enemies of the Church) our ſouldiers, who ſeemed vanquiſhed, became victorious.* For the Kings vant-gard *re-enforced it ſelfe, and gaue ſo furious a re-charge, (in likelihood vpon this encouragement ſent as it were from Heauen) that it vtterly brake the Enemies ſquadrons, and giuing in among them with full randon, ſlew * firſt ſuch Captaines as reſiſted, and put the reſidue which yeelded not, either to the ſword or flight. Herewith the whole Armie * ſhouted, the Trumpets ſound victory, and the generall crie runnes King *Henrie*, King *Henrie*. When the batte l and chaſe were ended, ſo that there was time and leaſure to view the field, it then appeared what mindes the ſlaine bodies carried; for all the chiefe Captaines, the Earle of *Lincolne* himſelfe (though the King would gladly haue had him ſaued, to come thereby to a greater light of his dangers) the Lord *Louell*, *Sir Thomas Broughton*, *Coronell Swart*, and * *Maurice Fitz-Thomas*, Generall of the Iriſh, were (like * *Catiline* and his Complices) found to couer thoſe places dead, which they defended liuing, among foure thouſand other Souldiers which were ſlaine vpon that ſide. The King at this Battell loſt * almoſt halfe the People in his Vantgard, and Surgeons had ſtore of worke among the Suruiuers, ſo that the Garland gained at this journey was not vndipt in bloud; Howbeit there is no mention that any man of honor or ſpeciall note, fell vpon the Kings ſide.

The King preuailes.

* Polyd. Virgil.

* Bern. Andr.

The Earle of Lincolne, and all the chiefe leaders of that ſide, ſlaine in the field.

* Polyd. Virg.

* Edm. Campian Hiſt. of Ireland.

* Cr. Sainſt. in Con. Catil.

* Polyd. Virg. But Bernard Andr. ſaith that very few were ſlaine.

(23) Among the Priſoners was the *Counterfeit* himſelfe, and the lewd contriuer of this wicked ſtratagem, *Richard Simon*, who with litle change may moſt truely be called another *Sinon*. The King, (who reſerued himſelfe in this battell, as in others, but * neuer retired) made both their perſons examples of his clemency. For *Lambart* being queſtioned, how *ſuch a * breeching-boy as he was, durſt attempt ſo great a wickedneſſe, denied not, that he was compelled thereunto, by certaine bad perſons, who were of that conſpiracy*; and as for his parents quality, *he confeſt them to be ſuch as indeed they were; altogether of baſe and deſpicable calling.* * *Sim* ſubtill, or Sir *Richard Simon* the Prieſt, whether for diſcouery of ſome great ſecrets, or the extraordinary reuerence borne to his function (*extraordinary* ſay wee, for otherwiſe * Prieſts had beene openly put to death) was not executed, but * condemned to a dungeon, and perpetuall ſhackles. *Lambert* (whom the glittering periwig of regall ſtyle did but lately ſo adorne) was condemned to * the Kings kitchen, there to manage ſpits at the fire; who if *his wit and ſpirit had anſwered his late Titles, would haue choſen much rather to haue been turned from the Ladder by an hangman.* But * hauing in this abject condition giuen ſufficient proofe that he was but a Puppet, or a property in the late tragicall motion, **he was at length (promoted we cannot ſay) made one of the Kings Falconers*, in which eſtate it ſeemes hee liued and died inglorious. This Battell was fought vpon a * *Satterday*, a day of the weeke which is * obſerued to haue beene fauourable and luckie to this *Henry*. His firſt care after the victory ſetled, was that which moſt became a religious Prince, the humble and joyous acknowledgement of thankes to God, in the very place. From thence he paſſeth to * *Lincolne*, where he ſpent three dayes in publike ſupplications, proceſſions, and thankſgiuings, and ſent his Standard to our *Ladies Church* at *Walſingham* in *Norfolk*, there to remaine as a Monument of his victorie and gratitude. Such as were taken in the Battell or Chaſe, are then executed. From *Lincolne* hee progreſſeth into *Yorkeſhire*, where he tooke a ſeuere courſe, as well by execution, as ranſome, for purging thoſe parts from ſuch as were culpable, or probably dangerous. At *Newcaſtle* about the * middle of Auguſt, he diſpatcheth his experienced and truſty Agent *Richard Fox* Biſhop of *Exceſter*, & *Sir Richard Edgcombe* Knight into *Scotland*, there to ſettle a peace with King *Iames* the third, to empeach the retreat and protection which his enemies and Rebels found therein. Himſelfe hauing ſpent a great part of Summer in this progreſſe, or rather itinerary Iuſticing, returnes by *Leiceſter* toward *London*. Thoſe prudent Ambaſſadors

Bern. Andr.

* Iohn Stow.

* Fragm. M.S.

* Vapulo. Bern. Andr. M.S.

* Io. Da. M.S.

* Thomas Walſin. in Hen. 4. & alib.

* Polyd. Virgil. & Holinſh. who alſo followes Polydor.

* Polyd. Virg.

* Io. Da. of Hen. M.S.

* Polyd. Virg. Lamberts fortunes.

* Io. Da. M.S.

* 16. Iun. A. D. 1487. A. Reg. 2.

* Bern. And. M.S.

* Polyd. Virg.

* An. Reg. 3. Ambaſſadors into Scotland.

ſadors

* *Lesle in Iacob. 3.*

sadors in the meane time negociating with the Scottish King, wrought * him to be more inclinable to a perpetuall peace; then it stood with his safetie to let his Subjects vnderstand, who fauoured him not. Seauen yeares truce is consented vnto, with a secret promise of King *Iames* to renew that terme, as it began to expire; with which assurance the Ambassadours returning, gladded their wise Soueraignes heart; who thereby found that the Bishop of *Excester*, was no lesse industrious in preseruing his Regall state, then he had beene prudent in furthering *Him* vnto it. The fire-brands and readiest fuell of Rebellion thus seemed to be quenched, and the King beholds himselfe in the Grace and fauour of his people, nor lesse of forraine Princes; *Margaret Dutchesse* of *Burgundy* (his implacable* *Iuno*) excepted; whom the newes of her Nephewes the Earle of *Lincolnes* death, and the bloudy blowing vp of all her late hopefull and costly contriuements, did gall and wound extreamely; but added fresh appetites of reuenge to her former immortall malice, which * neuer gaue ouer working, till she had vented another no lesse prodigy then *Lambert* was. But the King being honoured and sought vnto, as well by a *Nuncio* * from the *Romane* See, who obtayned leaue to publish a *Croisado* here against the Turkes, as also from the *French*; after his many labours, as well Martiall as Ciuill, sustained on behalfe of himselfe and the Common-weale, makes a triumphall * entry into *London*, which was adorned in the best maner. And in the same moneth vpon * *Saint Katherines* day, his wife *Elizabeth* was Crowned *Queene of England*, as if that then first he had held himselfe assured of Royall estate: for he saw not what dangerous lifts would yet be giuen by that vnquiet Ladies practises, to heaue him out of authority.

Bishop *Foxe*, first a great furtherer, and now a chiefe preseruer of King *Henries* Regality.

* *Bern. Andr.* MS. The Dutchesse of *Burgundies* immortall malice.

* *Polydor Virg.*

* *Bern. Andr.*

* 3. *November. Anno D.* 1487.

* *Add. to Fab. Elizabeth* Crowned Queene of *England.*

(24) The next maine action which sifted the judgement, and tride the sinnewes of King *Henry*, was a forraigne case, of more difficulty and Art, then of intestine danger, as in which the high and paramount respects of Common-weale were intangled, or encountred with offices most neerely concerning the honour of a Princes minde, which neuer is more blemished then with the note of ingratitude. A dispute and combate betweene wisdome and bloud, publique and priuate, (if any quality, or action of a King may be said to be priuate) which seemed worthy of so excellent, cleare, and considerate a discourse, as that of *Henries*. You heard what notable fauours and humanities, when he liued a banisht Earle in the Continent, he had receiued, first of the Duke of *Britain*, then of *Charles* K. of *France*; so that hee stood equally (as it were) obliged to them both, and could acknowledge no lesse. *Charles* (more ambitiously then justly) desired exceedingly to annexe *Britaine* to the Crowne of *France*, taking occasion of the time, and other circumstances, which all seemed to conspire with his affections. The Duke olde, and the father of one onely daughter suruiuing till marriage; *Maximilian* King of *Romans*, and riuall of King *Charles* in the same desires, (as well for the *Dutchy*, as the Daughter,) feeble in meanes; and King *Henry* as well obnoxious to the *French* for benefits, as busied in his particular at home: and the Duke of *Britaine*, by succouring *Lewis* Duke of *Orleance*, and other *French* Lords, whom King *Charles* reputed his aduersaries, ministred to the *French* an occasion (or colour at least) of warring vpon *Britaine*, and so by the apt concurrence of circumstances, to annexe it by conquest, if by treaty hee could not. *Henry* of *England* now knowne to be victoriously setled, seemes worth the Courting. Ambassadors come from the *French*, *who lay open the wrong offered by the* Britaines, *in succouring the enemies of* France, *put* Henry *in minde of passed benefits; and pray his assistance, or at the least a neutrality*; but altogether concealing the mystery of this warre, which was to annexe *Britaine* to the Crowne of *France*. Howsoeuer, *Henry*, though he well enough knew, that a King must euer bee the best part of his *Councell*, (for what are others opinions, if himselfe want the happinesse, or iudgement, to choose the best?) propounds the points to his priuy Councell, wherupon he Christianly *offers himselfe a Mediatour betweene* the French *and* Britaine; an office, in which it was apparant hee might best satisfie all obligations and duties both to God and them. *The* French *pretend liking, but in the meane time follow their designe hard. Henry* sends his Chaplen M^r. *Christopher Vrswicke* a man * whom he very often imployed. The *French* maske on. Things come to some extremities. It becomes manifest that King *Charles* abused the King of *Englands* credulity; for the City of *Nants* in *Britaine* was brought by siege to point of yeelding, while messengers, and packets, outwardly oyled with the name of peace, slide to and fro, and the *French* doubt nothing so much, as lest the *English* should stirre, before their victory had made *Britaine* irrecouerable. The Lord *Wooduile* (as without the Kings will, or priuity) slips ouer into *Britaine* with three or foure hundred choise men, to assist the Duke, and came time enough to be slaine with almost all his Souldiers, at the battell of *Saint Albine*, where the *French* wanne the day; notwithstanding that the *Britaines*, the rather to appall their enemies, had apparelled * seauenteene hundred of their own Souldiers in white Coates with red Crosses, after the *English* manner, & made therby a shew of two Regiments of *English*. The *Britaines* had a great losse in that battell, wherein they were made fewer by sixe thousand. The Duke of *Orleance* and Prince of *Orange*, who then were *British* in faction, were taken prisoners in the same fight. The *French* lost about twelue hundreth, and their *Generall* an *Italian*. So that the state of *Britaine* seemed ripe for a fall.

* *John Nordens Middlesex lit. H.*

The Lord *Wooduile* slaine in *Britaine.*

* *Paul. Aemyl. in Carol. 8.*

The Battell of S. *Albine*, wherein the *French* preuaile.

A difficult case, whether King *Henry* should aide the *Britaines* or no.

(25) But King *Henry*, hauing long since suspected, and fore-seene, what the vttermost marke of the *French* might be, and seeming to haue enough suffered the interest, which they might expect in him as a man, to be abused by their practises, to the preiudice of his other friend, the Duke of *Britaine*, (who forgat not to sollicite and vrge that point) had made the quality of this affaire knowne to the body of State in open Parliament, for that purpose assembled; as meaning by authority thereof to purge himselfe from all imputation, if, as a King, he did that which the reason of Gouernment required, which would not assent *that* Britaine *should be made* French, *lest by that accession their Neighbourhood might grow intollerable*, Britaine *hauing so many Sea-townes and Out-lets to mischiefe the* English *traffick*e. Himselfe was otherwise also sufficiently resolued, *that the generall good ought to predominate the particular, & that his priuate obligations ought not to entangle, or preiudice the publike seruice*. The Parliament therfore, considering that which stood for the Common-weale, decrees aide of men and money, on behalfe of the Duke of *Britaine*; it being (besides all other respects) a perillous example, to suffer the great to deuoure the lesser Neighbour-States, vpon pretences of iustice, or reuenge. Forces are leuied; but (for respect of King *Charles*, and in hope that the shew of preparations would stoope him to equall conditions,) not yet so roundly, as the *Britaines* necessities expected. Meanewhile that no formality or Princely Ceremony should be vn-accomplished, King *Henrie* by his Ambassadors *certifies King* Charles *of his Parliaments decree; prayes him to desist from farther Hostility; otherwise that he must assist the Duke, but yet (for the* French *Kings sake) with this reseruation, of pursuing his subiects no where but in* Britaine. *Charles* made small account of these ouertures, because hee truely perswaded himselfe that the *English* aides would not arriue in season; which fell out accordingly; for before that time, the *French* had gotten that victory, (whereof euen now wee spake) at the Battell of *Saint Albine*. Vpon newes whereof, the English Regiments were immediatly sent ouer vnder *Robert* Lord *Broke*,

King Henry opens the cause in Parliament.

Charles King of *France* practiseth to ioyne *Britaine* to his Empire.

The Parliament grants ayde of money to support the warre of *Britaine.*

Ambassadors out of *France* to King *Henry.*

Polyd. Virgil.

Eight thousand *English* sent tardy into *Britaine*. *Ioh.Stow Annal.* *Polyd.Virg.li.26.

Broke Generall, Sir *Iohn Cheiney*, Sir *Iohn Middleton*, Sir *Ralfe Hilton*, Sir *Richard Corbet*, Sir *Thomas Leighton*, Sir *Richard Lacon*, and Sir *Edmund Cornewall*, Knights, and Coronels. The whole Army contained eight thousand men. These march toward the enemy; who, acquainted with the temper of the *English*, *whiles they are fresh, as* * *being then almost inuincible*, containe themselues within their Campe; but yet * *Polyd.Virg.* moleste the *English* with continuall skirmishes on horse-backe in seuerall places at once; smally to the profit of the *French*, who * * *Hollinsh. Ioh.Dauis M.S.* were alwaies put to the worse, the Archers receiued them with such perpetuall stormes. In the meane space, *Francis* Duke of *Britaine* dyes, leauing in effect, one onely daughter, the Lady *Anne*, (for the other, * * *Polyd.Virg.* being the younger) deceased not long after. This altered the whole state of the case. The *British* Nobility (vnder their young Mistresse) immediately fall at variance among themselues, and the *English* thereby were on euery hand in danger: so that God (as it appeared by the sequell) had destined *Britaine* to be annexed to the Crowne of *France*; for the *English* (after fiue moneths stay) were in wisdome compelled to returne; the rather, for that Winter now was come vpon them, and *Britaine*, destitute of competent defence, (her Rulers disagreeing among themselues) was finally by the marriage of King *Charles* with the Lady *Anne*, made a parcell of the *French Monarchy*, as hereafter will appeare.

The Duke of *Britaine* dies, and the *English* returne.

The beginning of new stirres in *Yorkeshire*.

(26) King *Henry* the while was againe in danger to haue had present vse of Souldiers at home. We shewed, what care was heretofore taken by him to weede the North, and free it from lurking enemies. That notwithstanding, when the Earle of *Northumberland*, (Lieutenant of the North) signified at an Assembly (according as the truth was) *that the King (though the Northerne people had besought it) would not remit one penny of such Subsidy, as was granted in Parliament for supportation of the warres in* Britaine, * *leste the Acts of State should be reuersed at the rude peoples pleasure; but that on the contrary, Commission and warrant was sent downe for him to see the same leuyed by distresse, or otherwise:* the desperate multitude, falsely supposing that the Earle was the occasion of such an answere, did suddenly set vpon him at the incitement of one *Iohn à Chamber*, and furiously murdered him, with certaine of his seruants in a place called *Cocklegge* by *Thrusk*, eighteene miles from *Yorke*. They to carry their wicked attempt through, make head vnder Sir *Iohn Egremond*, a discontented Knight of those parts, openly declaring where they came, that their meaning was to fight with the King in defence of their liberties, as if the causeless killing of a most noble Lord had beene one of them. *Thomas Howard* Earle of *Surrey* sent from Court with some forces to represse their increase, skirmisheth with a route of these Rebels, beats them away, and takes *Iohn à Chamber* prisoner. The whole swarme flockes to *Yorke*, where they roosted about three or foure dayes, when hearing of the Kings approach (who was euer one of the first in the necke of such occasions) they scattered themselues, but the ring-leaders were hanged and quartered, and *Iohn à Chamber*, with some others, were executed at *Yorke* after an extraordinary manner. Sir *Iohn Egremond* escaping, fled to the common Center of all King *Henries* dangers and enmities, *Margaret* Dutchesse of *Burgundy*, so that though the colour of rising was about money, yet *Egremond* at least had reference, it seemes, to the generall perturbation of the Kingdome, vpon the old ground of quarrell *(hatred of the Lancastrian Familie)* and this to be but a sparke or flash of that great and troubleous fire, which afterward brake forth and blazed so prodigiously. The Earle of *Surrey* is left by the King (hauing * *Bern.Andr.M.S.* seuerely punished the murtherers) Lieutenant of the *North*, and Sir *Robert Tonstall* Knight, as chiefe Commissioner for leuying the taxe or subsidie.

Ioh.Stow ex Ioh. Skelton.

Polyd.Virg.l.26. Ioh.Stow Annal.

The Earle of *Northumberland* slaine by the people in a tumult.

The King in person in *Yorkeshire*.

Ioh.Stow Annal.

Sir *Ioh. Egremond* Captaine of the Rebels escapes to the Dutchesse of *Burgundy*.

(27) The vnworthy death of the Earle of *Northumberland*, was seconded by a more vnworthy, of *Iames* the third King of *Scotland*, so as King *Henry* lost at home a most honourable stay of his *Northerne* affaires, and a sure Ally abroad. This vnfortunate Prince, hauing * by some irregularity of life, and partialities, and errours of gouernement (amplified perhaps by the constructions and reports of his malignant Subjects) incurred extreame hatred with many of the Nobility and people, laboured with * King *Henry*, as also with the Pope, and King of *France*, to make an accord betweene him and his Mutinadoes, for that they had compelled Prince *Iames*, his Sonne, to be the titular and vnnaturall Head of those armes, which traiterously (as pretending to haue a right on behalfe of the Common-weale to depose an euill King) they assumed against him. The Kings accordingly interposed their mediations by earnest Ambassadors, but could obtaine no other then this outragious answere: *That there was no talking of peace, vnlesse hee would resigne his Crowne.* King *Henry* and King *Charles* vehemently protested against these their whole proceedings, declaring by their Ambassadour, *that they thought the same to be as a common injury done vnto themselues; and the example to be very wicked and pernicious, and not sufferable by Princes, that Subjects should be permitted to put hands vnto their Soueraigne.* Hereupon it came to a Battell at *Banocksborne* by *Striuelin*, whereat King *Iames* (rashly fighting before his whole numbers were come) was notwithstanding the contrarie commaundement of the Prince his Sonne) slaine in the Mill of that Field, whither he fled after the Battell ended. By reason of this infortunate precipitation of the *Scottish* King, *Hadrian de Castello* an *Italian* Legate, whom Pope *Innocentius* the eight had sent to take vp the cruell quarrell, came too late, (for he arriued not in *England* till the Battell at *Banocksborne* was passed,) but not too late to receiue honour at the hands of King *Henry*, who respecting his wisdome and excellent learning, (vpon the speciall commendations first * of *Iohn Morton* Archbishop of *Canterburie*, but afterward vpon his owne experience of the Man in sundry employments to the *Roman* Sea,) bestowed vpon him the Bishopricke of *Hereford*, and (after resignation thereof) the Bishopricke of *Bath* and *Welles*; who was also at the length created Cardinall by Pope *Alexander* the sixth. * *But who is hee among many thousands* (saith *Polydor*) *that vseth not to admire these outward honours which may alike be giuen to the vnworthy as well as to the well-deseruing, and may alike be taken away from eyther? But the prayse of this* Hadrian *is of another farre more noble kinde and eternall: for hee was the man who first reuiued the glory of the ancient Latine eloquence, and of all other sorts of abstruse and exquisite learnings, as in which himselfe exceiled.* Thus doth *Polydor* (himselfe an *Italian,*) celebrate the learning of his Country-man, of whose other qualities, yet others write more harshly; as that out of meere ambition to be Pope, (without any other grudge) he conspired with *Alphonso Petruccio*, and other sacred Cardinals, to murther Pope *Leo* the tenth: induced thereto by suggestion of a Witch, who fore-told him that one *Hadrian*, an old man, of meane parentage, of great learning and wisdome, should succeed in the Papacy. The man thought it must needs be himselfe, as being, though of very base Parentage, yet of some noble qualities: but another * *Hadrian*, the sonne of a Dutch Brewer, and instructer of *Charles* the fifth the Emperour, prooued to be the man; and this our *Hadrian* lost by depriuation all his promotions whatsoeuer, for his nefarious attempt. Into such extreame folly is learning and wisdome metamorphosed, where it is tainted with Ambition, or wants a Religious discretion to manage it aright.

* *Leslie in Iacob. 3.*

* *Polyd. Virg.*

King Henry in vaine seekes to reconcile the *Scots* to their King.

Io.Lesle. Bishop of *Rosse*.

Iames the third, King of *Scotland*, slaine in battell by his Subjects.

* *Io.Stow Annal.*

K. *Henries* bountie to a stranger for Learnings cause.

* *Polyd.Virg l.26.*

The first reuiuer in this age of pure Latine and choise learning.

Godwins Catal. of BB. in Bath, &c. pag. 309. *Paul. Iouius.*

* *Hadrian 6.*

(28) And albeit the King himselfe could very gladly haue spent his time in the studies of peace, as those

Warre with *France*, and the causes.

those which were far more apt for the seruice of God, and for attaining of knowledge, then in martiall tumults; yet the qualitie of his super-eminent place enuied vnto him that felicitie; for hee was necessarily drawne into a war with *France* vpon lesse occasions. *Anne* the young *Dutchesse of Britaine*, (by their aduise, who affected to preserue the liberty of that *Dukedome*, which by vnion with *France*, would be absorpt and extinguished) had so farre entangled and engaged her selfe with the Procurators of *Maximilian* King of *Romans*, that she was not onely publiquely contracted, but contented (for vttermost performance of those rites whereof marriage by proxie was honorably capable) to take vpon her the Bride, and being solemnly bedded; to permit *Maximilians Deputie*, in the presence of sundry Noble witnesses, as well men as women, to put in his legge, stript naked to the knee, betweene the spousall sheetes, that ceremony seeming to amount to a Consummation. *Charles* King of *France*, notwithstanding these solemnities, and his owne particular engagement with the Lady *Margaret* daughter of *Maximilian*, (whom for the purpose of marriage he had already entertained into *France*,) did so ambitiously and vehemently couet to gaine *Britaine*, that vpon confidence of his force, he resolued to breake through all respects, and not onely to offend all his forraine friends, but to make them his just enemies, rather then to faile in effectuation. Instruments are therefore very secretly set on worke, and battery is placed with bags of gold at all the opportunities which might let in his purpose. Ambassadors also (the* Lord *Francis of Luxemburg*, *Charles Marinian*, and *Robert Gagwine*,* *Generall* of the Order of the holy *Trinitie*, are dispatched to *Henrie*, praying that with his good-will he might dispose of the body of the Lady *Anne* in marriage, according to the right which he had thereunto, as the chiefe Lord of whom she held the Dukedome. *Henry denied the request*, but yeelded notwithstanding to send Ambassadors into *France* there *to Capitulate about a peace*. The *French* carryed this affaire with notable Art, for to diuert the world for looking into the depth of their drift, King *Charles* still detained the young Lady *Margaret*, *Maximilians* daughter; so as at most it could be but suspected, that *Charles* meant to match her with some of his bloud, and all the entercourse of *Orators* and Ambassadors vsed in the meane time, tended but to hold the *English* busied vpon other objects, till they had wrought their feate in the Court of *Britaine*. For *Maximilian*, (to let the world see what injuries shall be offered euen to Kings, that are not strong) him they altogether neglected; King *Henry* they played with, and *Ferdinando* King of *Castile* (who was ready to joyne with *Maximilian* and *Henrie** against the *French*) they resolue to appease, with rendring vp vnto him the Counties of *Ruscinoon*, and *Perpinian*; as accordingly they* did, without re-emburſement of one penny of those 300000. Crownes, for which *Iohn* King of *Arragon* (father to *Ferdinando*) had morgaged them. The young Ladies doubts, rising either out of Religion, or poynt of honour, his cunning Agents, and Emissaries wipe away with these solutions: *That Maximilians daughter was not of yeares to consent, and therefore the contract between King Charles and her, did not binde either in law, or conscience: That her owne contract with Maximilian was void, for that it was done without the consent of her Soueraigne Lord, King Charles, whose ward or Client she was.* The Ladie vanquished in her judgement with these reasons, attracted with the present greatnes of King *Charles*, and loath by refusall to make her Countrey the seate of a long and miserable warre, *secretly yeelded to accept of another husband. Thomas Goldstone* Abbot of *S. Augustines* in *Canterbury*, and *Thomas* Earle of *Ormond* in *Ireland*, King *Henries* Ambassadors into *France*, hauing beene dandled by the French during these illusiue practises, returned without other fruite of their labours.

The yong Dutchesse married by proxie.

* *Stowes Annal.*

* *Bern. And. M.S.*

The *French* carried the practise of marriage with the Inheritrix of *Britaine* most artificially.

* *Polyd. Virg.*

* *Ioh. Til. Chron.*
* *Lu. Marin. lib. 20. de reb. Hispan.*

(29) What could now the most patient doe lesse then take sword in hand vpon so palpable and vnworthy illusion? But *Maximilians* wrongs were too impudent and intollerable; for *Charles* sent home the Lady *Margaret*, and married the Inheritrix of *Britaine*, annexing it to his owne Realme: whereas King *Henrie* found himselfe rather mockt, then otherwise empayred. *Iames Contibald* hereupon comes Ambassadour from *Maximilian*, and obtayned his request; which was, *that they with ioynt forces should by a certaine day prefixed, inuade the French*, in full reuenge of these their bold prouocations; *Maximilian* for his part, promising to support that warre with at least ten thousand men for two yeares. King *Henrie* hauing formerly in abundant manner prouided himselfe of treasure, was ready before the day with a royall armie: but *Maximilian* (whose will to worke the vttermost mischiefe to *France* was not doubted,) being sent vnto by King *Henry*, signifying his forwardnesse, was found vtterly vnfurnished. Causes of *Maximilians* weaknesse in state, were the Rebellions and dislikes of his Flemish Subjects, cherished by the *French*, the jealousie of Princes neighbourhood, making them vnjustly glad either of others molestations. For subduing whereof, though King *Henrie* had heretofore giuen him good and successefull assistance, vnder the conduct of *Giles* Lord *Dawbeney*, Gouernour of *Callis*, the Lord *Morley*, and others, whereby he the rather ouercame; yet was he the feebler, as then, by reason of so fresh exhaustures. King *Henrie* with good cause was not a little troubled at these newes, secretly signified by his trustie Almner Mr. *Christopher Vrswick*, and Sir *Richard Risley* Knight, his Ambassadors to *Maximilian*; For he was very loath to vndergoe so great an Action vpon his particular strengths, though he doubted not to finde a potent party among the *Britaines*, (whose affections were as yet but loosely setled toward King *Charles*,) and yet farre more loath to deceiue the expectation of his owne people, who had so largely contributed; Chiefely the Citie of *London*, out of which, euen in those dayes, he receiued for his furniture in that voyage almost * ten thousand pounds from the Commoners, and (as it seemes by our Author) two hundreth pounds besides from euery Alderman, where the same King could not, but with some difficulty, leuy in the third yeare of his Raigne a loane of foure thousand pounds, whereof three of the best Companies are noted (as for hauing done and deserued extraordinarily) to haue lent aboue nine hundred. And verily this wise King (knowing how great a strength that rich Citie was vnto him) humored that people with all sorts of popularities, for himselfe did not onely come among them, and cause himselfe to be entred a Brother, in * one of their Companies, but ware the habite at a publike Feast, and sate as Maister, as is very credibly reported out of the Records of their Hall. His wisdome therefore saw, that in giuing ouer the inuasion of *France*; hee should loathfully abandon a goodly occasion of making himselfe vniuersally acceptable to his people. His resolutions therefore are by him at least-wise pretended to continue, and for that cause he sufficiently encreaseth his numbers, that hee might seeme able to goe through with that enterprize alone; and though the time of yeare were too farre spent (for he landed not at *Callis*, till the sixth day of October) yet marcheth he with his whole forces toward *Boloigne*, being wel assured that with this trowell he should at once plaister two wals, that is, humor his *English* subjects, and for a peace draw to himselfe store of Crownes from the *French*.

Britaine annexed to *France*.

Maximilian vnprouided to joine with *Henry*.

* *Addit:* to *Fab. Chron.*

The Londoners large contributions to the King.

King Henries popularities in *London*.

* The Merchant Taylors.

An. D. 1492. *An. Reg. 8.*

(30) He had with him, besides the flower of his Nobility, and Captaines, answerable numbers of People fit for the seruice. The most named persons were these, *Iasper* Duke of *Bedford*, Lieutenant Generall of the army, *Thomas Marquesse Dorset*, the Earles of *Arundell*, *Oxford*, *Suffolke*, *Shrewsbury*, *Derby*, *Kent*, *Deuonshire*, and *Ormond*, sundry Barons, as

The chiefe Lords names who serued in this voyage.

Dawbeney

Dawbeney, *Abergenny*, *Delaware*, *South*, *Haſtings*, *Cobham*, *&c.* But it is needleſſe to weary our ſelues with long relations of a ſhort voyage; for King *Henry*, *before hee ſet forth out of England*, was ſecretly dealt-with by the Lord *Cordes* Gouernor of *Henault*, according to inſtructions on the French Kings behalfe, to accept of conditions, which till *Boloigne* was beſieged (as now by him it was) was not known. The ignorance of this myſtery made many forward Gentlemen to morgage their lands, and runne into much debt for their fuller and brauer furniture, in hope to get great matters in this warre, whereof to their griefe they found themſelues deceiued. In the meane time the Lord * *Cordes*, hauing met at *Callis* with *Richard Fox* Lord Biſhop of *Exceſter*, and **Giles* Lord *Dawbeney*, the Kings Commiſſioners; after juſt and long debatement, concluded vpon Articles of peace betweene the two Kings.

Boloigne beſieged by King Henry.

* *Polydor* cals him *Deſquerdo*.
* *Bern. Andr. M. S.*

(31) *Boloigne* was brought to ſome diſtreſſe, when by interuention of this agreement it remained ſafe and quiet: King *Charles* was chiefly moued to buy his peace at a deare rate, both for that the ſtate of *Britaine* was as yet vnſetled, and for that hee meant forthwith to march into *Italy* for the * conqueſt of the Kingdome of *Naples*; and King *Henry* on the other ſide was not vnwilling, becauſe *Maximilian* had fayled, and *Britaine* ſeemed clearely paſt poſſibilitie of euiction. To which may be added, a naturall, noble, and religious inclination in King *Henry*, to liue in amity with his neighbours; *the inckling of new* * *dangers*, then in brewing againſt him by the turbulent, and vnappeaſeable Dutcheſſe of *Burgundy*, and * cheriſhed by King *Charles*; and laſtly, the enrichment of himſelfe by re-emburſing the charges both of this, and the *Britiſh* warre, out of the *French* elſewhere, whereby he ſhould farre the better be able to withſtand all forraine practiſes, or domeſticke outrages. As for the preſeruing of himſelfe, and his honour with his Subjects, he wanted not both true and honourable gloſſes: Such as were the care to auoyde vnneceſſary effuſion of Chriſtian bloud: the vſes of his preſence at home, beſides many other: but his wiſdome in the carriage of this right weighty action was chiefly eminent in this: *That he would not enter into Treatie, till he was in the Field; and that with ſuch a puiſſance, as was likely enough to force his owne conditions; nor ſuffer the leaſt ſigne of his ſecret willingneſſe to peace, or inward doubt of troubles at home, to creepe out at any Crany or Chinke of his diſcourſe or carriage*, whereby hee as farre outwent the *French* fairely, as they formerly ſeemed to haue ouer-wrought him ſubtlely. Had they truely beene informed in thoſe poynts, it is probable they might haue gone a cheaper way to worke: for, beſides what other Articles ſoeuer, it was concluded, That *Henry* ſhould * not *quit his claime to France*; but that for a Peace, which by the contract *was onely to continue during the two Kings liues*, *Charles* of *France* ſhould pay in preſent to *Henry* for his charges in that warre, * ſeauen hundred fortie and fiue thouſand * Duckets, and twentie fiue thouſand Crownes yearely toward the expenſes which hee had heretofore been at in aiding the *Britains*. Which (by the Engliſh called Tibute) was duely paide during all this Kings raigne, and alſo to *Henry* his Son, till the whole debt was run out, thereby to preſerue amity with *England*. There were moreouer (by *Henries* conſent, who was thus content to gratifie his Peeres at anothers coſt) not onely preſent rewards, but alſo certaine annuall penſions allotted to the chiefe Lords of his Priuie-Councell. A courſe of bounty which might otherwiſe haue proued prejudicious to the ſeruice of the King of *England*, by engaging his Counſellors affections to the *French*: The ſiege of *Boloigne* laſted till the eight day of Nouember, and *Henry* (whom his Queens moſt *tender, frequent, and louing lines, did the rather inuite to ſpeedieſt returne,) hauing ſetled all his tranſmarine affaires, *arriued at *Douer*, from whence he journied to *Weſtminſter*, there to celebrate the Feaſt of Chriſtmas. This voyage into *France*, affording no greater exploites then wee haue heard, was celebrated by blind * *Bernard* with hyperbolicall and well-borne Verſes, not ordinary, in which directing his ſpeech in honour of *Henry*, to the *Howres* he concludes.

Reaſons mouing the Kings to a peace.

* *Phil. de Com.*

* *Arnol. Ferron. Hiſt. ad A. D. 1492.*
Polyd. Virgil. in Hen. 7.
* *Stow Annal.*

Effugite igniuomos celeres conjungere Solis,
Quadrupedes: Hora protinus ecce parant;
Non opus eſt vobis; quia, ſi priuatus Apollo,
Pauerit Admeti rurſus & ipſe boues,
Principis hic noſtri vultus Iouialis, abundè
Lumina, crede mihi, Phœbe recede, dabit.

King Henry returned.

* *Andr. Thol. M. S.*

(32) The famous counterfeiſance of *Perkin Warbecke*, with which the braine of the Ladie *Margaret* Dutcheſſe Dowager of *Burgundy* had long trauelled, doth now begin to diſcloſe it ſelfe, and make new buſineſſes for King *Henry*. The inglorious glorie of the firſt inuention in his raigne of this kinde of vexation, *Lambert Simnels* perſon had giuen to his Maſter the wily *Simon*, ſo that our Dutcheſſe was but an imitatrix, and yet perhaps ſhe gaue not place in any poynt to the firſt example, or Archtype, neuertheleſſe the fortune of the firſt deuiſe, being no more ſucceſſefull then it was, might reaſonably haue deterred her from the edition of a ſecond: but whether it were an immortall enuie toward the Lancaſtrian race, or a burning zeale of aduancing one that might at leaſtwiſe beare the name of a *Plantagenet*, though by any ſiniſter practiſes; as if it had beene lawfull to attaine her ends (admit them iuſt) by any iniurious courſes, ſhee reſolues to erect another Idoll, as perceiuing by the firſt, how notable an engine impoſture was, to trouble *Henry*; being well aſſured, that *England* was ful of corrupt humors, and ill-affections to worke vpon, not ſo much through the deſert of her preſent King, as for that the dregges which naturally reſide in the bottom of mens hearts, where moſt bloudy and barbarous factions haue for a long time weltered, and wurried one the other with various euent, were not cleanſed and auoyded. The Diuell therefore ready to furniſh all attempts which may raiſe trouble, and miſchiefe, eaſily fitted her. There was come therefore to her hands a youth adorned with ſuch a ſhape, as might eaſily perſwade the beholders was worthy of a noble fortune: he had thereunto a naturall fine wit, and (by reaſon of his abode in *England* in K. *Edwards* daies) could ſpeake our language, as alſo ſome other, which hee had by a kind of wandring trauell obtained. This youth was borne (they ſay) in the City of *Torney*, and called **Peter Warbecke*, the *ſon of a conuerted Iew, whoſe God-father at Baptiſme King *Edward* himſelfe was. The Engliſh in * contempt (and for a note perhaps of his forraine birth) did afterward call him by a diminutiue of his name, *Peterkin* or *Perkin*. Him the Dutcheſſe (as a fit peece of timber, out of which to carue a new Idoll) moulds by degrees, and makes him take ſhape according to that *Idæa* which ſhe had prefigured in her working imagination, before the which the late honours of her houſe, conſpicuous in three Princes (which altogether made not twentie and fiue yeares of raigne) did ſo perpetually houer, as her ſoule could neuer take contentment, but in the hope that the Houſe of *Yorke* ſhould againe be the dwelling place of Majeſty.

The Dutcheſſe of *Burgundy* addreſſeth a *Pſeudo-Richard* againſt *Henry*.

* *Polyd. Virgil.*
* *Ber. Andr. M. S.*

* *Polyd. Virgil.*

Edward IIII.
Edward V.
Richard III.

(33) Her offence againſt *Henry* wanted not many ſeeming reaſons, but none ſo great as that hee had ſlaine her own brother King *Richard*, who albeit hee was the reputed murtherer of her Nephewes, yet were they a degree more remoued from her, and ſo leſſe deere in likelihood then a brother; and howſoeuer ſhee might ſecretly deteſt, or believe the commitment of that parricide, yet could ſhe neuer brooke (ſeeing they were gone) that the reward of her Brothers death, and that euen to him who ſlew him, ſhould be the Crowne of *England*, whereby not onely

Cauſes mouing the Dutcheſſe to beare *King Henry* ſo mortall hatred.

The high points of wiſdome practiſed by King *Henry* in atchieuing his ends.

Bern. Andr. M. S.

Holinſhed.
* One hundreth eighty ſix thouſand, two hundreth and fifty pounds Engliſh. *I. Da. of Her. M. S.*
* *Polyd. Virgil.*

Forraine penſions of what vſe or hazard.

Bernard. Andr. Henry returnes.

* 17. *Decemb.*
* *Io. Stow Annal.*

onely her brother, but the whole male-line of her Family was for euer to be excluded; much leſſe could ſhe (a Plantagenet) abide that *Henry*, who brought to the Crowne the ſur-name of a newly raiſed Family. Theſe and other conſiderations in the breaſt of a Lady, bred vp in a dominating Family, her ſelfe a Dowager, in ſuch a fortune, as in which ſhe was Paramount for the time, and abſolute without controlment, being careleſſe withall of ſauing for poſteritie, becauſe ſhe was without a Childe, and in that regard the more abundantly ſtored with treaſure; all which made her ſpirits ouer-boyle with impatience and virulency; ſo farre forth, that hauing infuſed all her principles into *Peter* her creature, vnder the Title of *Richard Plantagenet*, ſecond Sonne of King *Edward* the fourth; ſhe moſt couertly ſends him into *Portugall*, from thence to take his *Icarean flight*, as * elſewhere is related. Neuertheleſſe, there will not (perhaps) want ſome, who in defence of the Dutcheſſe, had rather referre it to *Magnanimity*, and *Nobleneſſe* of *Spirit*, in ſeeking the honour of her houſe; which, if it might paſſe for ſuch among the Heathen, yet can it not among Chriſtians; much the leſſe, for that her duetie to *England*, and the royall flouriſhing eſtate of her owne Neece, the right heire, exacted at her hands a greater tenderneſſe.

* *Infra* §. *prox. & ſequent.*

Q. *Elizabeth*

(34) That *Peter Warbecke* ſhould be inflamed by her fauours, and encouragements, to dare in earneſt the perſonation of a Kings ſonne, ſeemes not a thing to be admired; for there is in humane nature (which tyes not her ſelfe to Pedigrees, nor Parentages) a kinde of light matter, which will eaſily kindle, being toucht with the blazing hopes of ambitious propoſitions. He therefore vpon the firſt diſcloſe of * himſelfe, did put on ſo excellent a ſeeming as might juſtly moue *King Henry* to be jealous, whereunto the pernitious practiſe might come at laſt; for there wanted nothing in the whole forme of the young vp-ſtart, but onely the conſcience of a truth, and truth it ſelfe: which makes mee call to minde * what one hath written of a goodly white Saphyr in *Venice*, made by art ſo neerely to reſemble a true Diamond, that with much difficulty, and but by one onely lapidary, it was diſcouered; which if it had beene graced with ſome great Princes wearing, what could want to haue made it paſſable for a very Diamond of greateſt value? *Perkin* came ſuch from out of the Burgundian forge; and (if his parentage be reſpected) aſſumed the image and reſemblance of a King, being otherwiſe not ſo much as a meane Gentleman. Neither can it be maruelled at, if ſuch a Phantaſme as this, did abuſe, and trouble the common people of that time; for euen to ſuch as doe write thereof, it begets a kind of doubt (which without ſome little collection of their ſpirits doth not eaſily vaniſh,) it ſeeming almoſt incredible, that ſuch a bloudy play ſhould meerely be diſguiſed and fained; the diſcouery therefore was worthy ſuch a wit as King *Henries*, and the puſh it gaue to his ſoueraignty did throughly try his ſitting, being of force enough to haue caſt an ordinary rider out of ſaddle.

Perkin Warbecke fits the Dutcheſſes turne, by exact repreſentation of a *Richard Plantagenet*. *Vidé infra* §. *prox.*

* *Pancrollus.*

(35) Therefore, it was the Dutcheſſes misfortune, that her inuentions (if they were hers) had to encounter ſo politique and conſtant a man as King *Henry*; whoſe prudence ſearcht into the abſtruſeſt ſecrets, and whoſe diligence ouer-came all difficulties. Yet the Lady *Margarets* courſe to vent her Creature at the firſt was exquiſite; for ſhee (as in a Magicke practiſe) hauing kept him ſecret till ſhee ſaw her time, cauſeth him to be cloſely conuayed into * *Portugall*; from whence (attended with fit aſſociates and Priuadoes) he ſailes into *Ireland* (the Foſter-place and nurſery of immortall good will to the houſe of *Yorke*) where (notwithſtanding their late calamities,) he ſo ſtrongly enchanted that rude people with the charmes of falſe hopes, and miſts of ſeemings, as he was ſure of partakers in great plentie. *Charles* the eight, King of *France*, hearing (and perhaps beleeuing) that the Duke of *Yorke* was aliue, and glad to haue ſo probable an occaſion of doing miſchiefe to *Henry* of *England*, in regard of theſe flagrant enmities which as then remayned vnquencht betweene them, inuites Duke *Richard* moſt officiouſly to *Paris*, and beſides all other honours, aſſigned him (at his comming) a guard for his perſon, whereof the Lord *Congreſhall* was Captaine. Afterward there repayred to this new Duke, Sir *George Neuill* Knight, (a * baſtard of the noble houſe of the *Neuils*,) Sir *Iohn Taylor*, *Rowland Robinſon*, and about an hundreth Engliſh, to whom (as a principall) wee may adde * *Stephen Frion*, French Secretary to King *Henrie* himſelfe; all which, together with the whole Stratageme, was ſmoakt out of *France* with the firſt graine of Incenſe ſacrificed vpon the Altars of Peace at *Boloigne*, after the ſame was once made and ratified (as you haue heard) betweene the French and vs. The Dutcheſſe then ſeeing her artificiall creature thus turned againe vpon her hands, *pretends an extreame ignorance that euer ſhe had ſeene him before that preſent, and an exceſſiue joy for his miraculous eſcape, and preſeruation*, which ſeemed ſuch to her (as ſhe pretended) as if he had beene reuiued from death to life, and that the fable might want no quickning, which her perſonal countenancing, or her Court could afford, ſhee openly ſalutes him by the delicate Title of the * *White Roſe of England*, and queſtions him of the manner of his eſcape, with ſuch like, to beget a firme beliefe in the hearers, that ſhee neuer had ſeene him before that time, and that he was indeed her Nephew *Richard* Duke of *Yorke*. The Nobility of *Flanders* accordingly, doe vnto him all honour, and ſhee enuirons his perſon with a guard of thirty men in murrey and blew. Neyther was hee in any poynt wanting to his part; but fitted ſuch likely anſweres to all queſtions, and ſuch princely behauiours to all occaſions, as made fame bold to publiſh him with the fulleſt blaſt of her Trumpet, for no other then a true *Richard Plantagenet*; and as it is ſo obſerued of ſome, that by long vſing to report an vntruth, at laſt forgetting themſelues to be the Authors thereof, beleeue it in earneſt; ſo theſe honors making our *Peter* to bury in vtter obliuion his births obſcurity, hee ſeemed to be perſwaded, that he was indeed the ſelfe partie, whom hee did ſo exactly perſonate. Noueſty, and impudency were ſcarce euer knowne to haue found more applauſe, or beliefe, euen among many very wiſe, and (otherwiſe) worthy men; who moued in conſcience, and not onely vpon diſcontent, inclined to partake with this new *Plantagenet*, as the only right heire of the Engliſh Diadem, as if, whether he had beene the true one, it was paſt diſpute. This intoxication, and abuſion of the world, was wonderfully encreaſed by the ſecret reuolt of Sir *Robert Clifford* Knight, whom (as one that had ſeene, and knowne the true *Richard*) the cunning conſpirators in *England* had ſent ouer, to informe himſelfe, and them, *whether he was indeed as he ſeemed*. Sir *Robert* (whoſe preſence and errand were to the Dutcheſſe moſt welcome,) being brought to his ſight, did forthwith giue credite, and conſtantly ſignifie, that *this was indeed Richard Plantagenet, the true Duke of Yorke*, and that he well knew *him for ſuch*. Money and encouragements, were hereupon ſent out of *England*, from ſuch as fauoured him, among whom was * Sir *William Stanley* Lord Chamberlain to King *Henry* (by whoſe punctuall reuolt from K. *Richard*, he had principally atchieued the Crowne of *England*) * *Iohn Ratcliffe*, *L. Fitzwalter*, * Sir *Simon Montfort*, Sir *Thomas Thwates* Knights, and others; but the maine countenance of the cauſe in forraine parts was Sir *Robert Clifford* (a Knight of an honourable fame and Family) which moued the ſecret friends of the new Duke to ſet the rumour ſo cunningly on foot among the Engliſh, *that* * *ſooner might a cloud, which cauſeth thunder, be caught or knowne, then the Author thereof*; and multitudes being weakened therewith, ſtore of humor

A ſummary relation of *Perkins* firſt fortune after he was publiſhed.

* *Stow Annal.*

* *Bern. Andr. M.S.*

Perkin in *Flanders* with the Dutcheſſe.

* *Stow Annal.*

Sir *Rob. Clifford* ſignifies to his friends in *England* that *Perkin* was the true Duke.

* *Bern. Andr. M.S.*

* *Stow Annal.*

* *Polyd. Virgil.*

* *Hollinſh. Joh. Da. M.S.*

* *Joh. Da. of Heref. M.S.*

humor, dangerously prepared to mutation, did euery where discouer it selfe.

(36) For preuention therefore of all those effects which might issue out of these causes, (being in their proper nature most generatiue of sedition, and of all sorts of ciuill furies) King *Henry* diligently causeth the coasts of *England* to be well and strongly watcht, aswell to empeach the landing of enemies, as the escape of fugitiues: but aboue all, hee writes letters to his best friends in forraigne parts, & also employes nimble wits with seuerall instructions; some to assaile the constancy of Sir *Robert Clifford*, (the maine stay and credite of *Perkins* cause) with promise of immunity and fauour if hee would returne into *England* in quiet; others, to finde out the truth of *Perkins* qualitie, being furnished with treasure to draw and requite intelligences; and all of them (as occasion should serue) to pretend themselues vehement fauorers of the new Duke. These necessarie hypocrites and double-faced *Ambidexters*, called *Spies*, (whose seruices, howsoeuer conducible to such as sets them on worke, yet their perfidious quality commonly partakes with that of *Iudas Iscariot*, and often meetes with like reward,) doe plye their charge so roundly that * Sir *Robert Clifford* is secretly drawne off, the new Duke is discouered aswell by them, as by * sundry letters from friends abroad, to bee but *Perkin Warbecke*, and many other mysteries are reuealed. This gaue to the wise King great satisfaction, who to weaken the enemies practise the more, not onely diuulgeth the fraud, but sends ouer-sea Sir *William Poynings* Knight, and Sir *William Warham* his Ambassadors to the Arch-Duke *Philip* Duke of *Burgundy* (then gouerned by others by reason of his tender age) who promised not to assist the said *Perkin*, but if the Dutchesse *Dowager* would doe any such thing, to the preiudice of King *Henry*, it was not in him to hinder her, for that she might dispose of her owne. A maine argument vsed by these Ambassadors before the Arch-Dukes Counsell to conuince, that *Richard* the very Duke of *Yorke* was murthered as well as King *Edward* his Brother German, as *Polydor* (who seemes to haue had good meanes to vnderstand these times) rehearseth it, was, *That their Vncle* Richard *should in vaine haue made away the elder Brother, if the younger had beene suffered to suruiue, for that the right of the elder, was immediately vpon his death in the younger, and that consequently during his life, King* Richard *could haue no more assurance, then if the elder were still aliue: which Argument notwithstanding doth at most proue nothing but this: That their Vncle the Vsurper might intend, that both his Nephewes should be murthered, and that hee knew nothing perhaps to the contrary.* Whereas facts are to be proued by confessions of parties, by witnesses, or vehement presumptions, (though vehement presumptions are said to constitute but an halfe proofe) all which are *otherwhere so supplyed, as leaues small cause to doubt of both their deaths. But *Warham* (a learned Priest and Doctor in the Lawes) the mouth of that Ambassage sent to the Arch-Duke, in the end of his oration vsed this bitter scoffe and Sarcasme against the Lady *Margaret*: *That she in her olde age brought forth two Monsters within the space of a few yeeres, and both of them not in the eight, or ninth moneth after their conception, as naturall mothers, but in the one *hundred and eightieth moneth; and whereas other women brought forth Infants vtterly vnable to helpe themselues, these births of hers were tall striplings, and as soone as they were borne, offered battell vnto mighty Kings.* And albeit the Arch-Dukes answere seemed reasonable, yet was not King *Henry* so satisfied, but that within a while after, for * that the Arch-Duke had secretly furnisht *Perkin* with leaders, he tooke occasion to banish all *Flemings*, and Flemish wares out of his Dominions, and inhibited his Subiects to trade in any Countries within the obedience of *Maximilian* King of *Romans*, or of the Arch-Duke *Philip* his Sonne, who by way of *talio* and requitall did the like against the English.

King *Henries* countermines and courses against this *Pseudo-Richard.*

*S. Robert Clifford wonne away from the Dutchesse.

* *Proclam.* of *Perkin*, as a King *Rich. M. S. penes Sir Rob. Cotton.*

* *Polyd. Virgil. in Hen. 7.*

The maine argument prouing that King *Edwards* sons were both of them murthered.

* *Sir Tho. Moore.*

(37) Let vs come now from the addresses of things, to their doing. The high prudence and industry of *Henry* hauing thus discouered the foundations of *Perkins* hopes in *England*, and the humors which were most vnsound, made it his first worke to raze those ground-workes, and purge the vaines of his Realme from that corruption by needfull Phlebotomy. The * Lord *Fitzwalter*, a principall conspirator, being condemned, and sent to *Callis*, liued there in hope of pardon; but for practising with his Keepers to escape, he finally payed his head for satisfaction. Sir *Simon Montfort*, *Robert Ratcliffe*, and *William Dawbeney* (Gentlemen of Noble houses) as Captaines and Authors of the Conspiracy, were beheaded, but all the rest, aswel Clerks as Lay-men, had their pardons. Not long after these executions and pardons, the King vpon sure intelligence that Sir *Robert Clifford* (in whose bosome the secret of all *Perkins* plot lay) was arriued, entred the Tower of *London*, and there continued; that so, if *Clifford* should accuse any of the great, (and whom hee then would accuse, it is probable King *Henry* knew) they might without suspition, or tumult, be attached; the Court, and publique prison for crimes of highest nature, being then within the cincture of one and the same wall. Sir *Robert Clifford* at his comming into the Kings presence, (though he was secretly before assured of his life) most humbly praying and obtaining pardon, appeached (among many others) Sir *William Stanley* Lord Chamberlaine. The King would not at first giue credite (or at least-wise pretended not to giue credite) to the accusation of a Peere so great, and so neere vnto him: but vpon farther search, finding the same confirmed with circumstances, and particularly, for that he said to *Clifford*, * *He would neuer beare Armes against the yong man, if hee knew him for certaine to be the Sonne of King Edward*, he resolueth to vse seuerity against the delinquent.

* *Stowes Annal. Polydor* cals him but a Knight.

K. *Henry* expects Sir *Rob. Clifford* in the Tower of *London.*

Sir *William Stanley* Lord Chamberlaine accused.

* *Polyd. Virg.*

(38) But *Bernard Andreas* directly saith, That (besides bare words and purposes) Sir *William had supported Perkins cause with treasure*, wherein he is recorded so to haue abounded, as that in his Castle of * *Holt* he had in coine and plate to the value of forty thousand Markes, besides Lands of inheritance in sundry places about, to the yearely value of three thousand pounds (a pretty stocke in treasure at those times, to vphold the first brunt of a Warre, and a large extent of Land to furnish the wing of a powerfull Battell, with able Souldiers out of *Tenancies*) with all which the same Author in plaine wordes, saith, *That he promised to defend the said Pretender, and bring him into the Kingdome.* And if we haue any in-sight into King *Henries* disposition, it seemes to vs, that before he entred into the Tower, he not only knew the Lord Chamberlaine vn-sound, but also that for his quiet apprehension hee chiefly repaired thither. *Stanley* being hereupon attached, and referred to farther examination, is said, * *To haue denied nothing of all that wherewith he was charged*, which hee perhaps the more confidently did, in hope that King *Henry* would pardon him, in respect of passed seruices, they (in their effects considered) being the greatest whereof mortality is capable, *preseruation of life, and gayning of a Kingdome:* But the poore Gentleman found himselfe farre deceiued in his politicke Lord and Master, who (to teach mankinde thereby, *how dangerous it is to make a King*) was not vnwilling to cut him off, as perswading himselfe, that those seruices proceeded of ambition, not of affection, or if of affection, the cause now ceasing, the contrary effects might proue as pernicious, as the other had beene aduantageous and auaileable. The King was vnwilling to displease his Father-in-Law, *Thomas* Earle of *Derby* (Brother-German to Sir *William Stanley*) and did therefore for a while suspend his iudgement; but rigour finally preuailed, hee was at *Westminster* openly arraigned, conuicted, and afterward

* *Io. Stow. Annal.*

* *Illum tutari & in regnum adducere promiserat.*

* *Polyd. Virgil.*

The Dutchesse of *Burgundies* two monstrous births.

* *Lambert* and *Perkin* were about fifteene yeeres old (saith *Polydor*) at the time of their appearance.

* *Ber. Andr. M. S.*

Stanley Lord Chamberlaine beheaded.

ward at the block on Tower-hill beheaded. In whose office *Giles* Lord *Dawbeny* a most faithfull and moderate man succeeded. This sharpe iustice exercised vpon so eminent a person, was of great vse in the stay of peoples minds through the Realme of *England*. But in *Ireland* they were not so setled, or reduced, but that for the better and fuller purging thereof, *Henry Deny* (a Monke of *Langton* Abbey) was sent Lord Chancellour thither, with orders and directions, and Sir *Edward Poynings* Knight, with Souldiers; whose greatest diligence and cares were not wanting, to punish such as heretofore had aided *Perkin*, or might hereafter. The Earle of *Kildare* Lord Deputie, falling into suspition with *Poynings*, was by him apprehended, and sent prisoner into *England*; where the King did not onely graciously heare and admit his defences, but also returned him with honour, and continuation of authority. In the meane time (the errour, or weakenesse of the *Burgundian* Dutchesse and her *Perkin*, suffering their enemy in this sort, to puruey for his owne sucurity, and their depulsion) and King *Henry* for farther assurance of himselfe makes a progresse into *Lancashire*, there to recreate with his Father in law the Earle, and the Countesse his Mother, where among all other his secret purposes, he throughly satisfied the Earle, both for the iustice and necessity of Sir *William Stanleyes* death.

(39) These certainely, were perillous times to liue in, and vndoubtedly full of infinite iealousies, and hypocrisies, nor vnlike to those lately passed, * *Wherein there was nothing so plaine, and openly proued, but that yet for the common custome of close and couert dealing, men had it euer inwardly in suspect, as many wel-counterfeited iewels make the true suspected:* These generall distrusts being among the strange gradations, by which the incomprehensible prouidence doth vse to chastise insolent Nations, and to make regular Princes meere and absolute. But the Dutchesse and her *Perkin* knowing all things as they passed in *England*, resolue notwithstanding to proceede; and therefore taking aduantage of the Kings absence in the North, hee with a force of a broken and discontented persons, sets saile for *England*, and approcheth the coasts of *Kent* about *Sandwich* and *Deale*, there to beginne his enterprize for obtaining the Crowne of *England*, vnder the borrowed name and title of *Richard* Duke of *Yorke*, if he found the Commons forward. But they, though doubtfull at first what to doe, yet at the last considering that his Souldiers were for the most part of desperate fortunes, and felonious quality, (though hardy otherwise, and approued men of warre,) remembring withall the mischiefes of part-takings, would not adhere, but trayning them within danger vpon promise of succour, and assaile, driue them to their shippes, take fiue of their Captaines, *Montford*, *Corbet*, *Whitebolt*, *Quintin*, and *Genin*, and * one hundreth, sixty foure others, which were all of them afterward executed. *Perkin* himselfe who would not trust his person on shore, being worthily troubled at the in-auspicious fortune of his followers, presently hoised sailes, and returned to his Lady Patroneſſe and Creatrix, into *Flanders*.

(40) These newes being brought to the King, where he was then in the North, he is * said to haue giuen God thankes, and declared his ioy in these words: *I am not ignorant (most mercifull Iesu) how great victories thou hast giuen mee, vpon the Saturday, at the prayers of thy most gracious Mother, all which I ascribe not to my deserts, but to the bounty of thy celestiall grace. Thou seest, ô most benigne Iesu, how many snares, how many deceits, how many weapons, that terrible* Iuno *hath prepared, notwithstanding that after my marriage, she faining her selfe ioyfull, hath faithfully promised to beare toward vs all fauour and good-will, but shee, more changeable then the winde, peruerting all things, aswell diuine as humane, feares not God, but in her fury seekes the vtter ruine of her owne bloud. Thou, ô God, who knowest all, deliuer vs also (if wee seeme worthy) from these euils, but if our sinnes haue deserued to suffer, doe thou, ô Lord, thy good pleasure. Neuertheless, we owe to thy Grace immortall thankes, which though with our tongue we cannot vtter worthily enough, yet must they be rendred. We are alwaies of good courage, and so minded for certaine, that no prosperity, no aduersity, no chance, no distance of places, or times, shall once make vs of thee vnmindfull.* The most modest King hauing ended his speech, doth forth-with (saith our Author) seriously deliberate with his Councell what was to be done hereafter. It may probably seeme, that he had with-drawne into the North, to inuite *Perkin* (by occasion of his absence) the rather to take Land, that so he might draw all his dangers into one place, and decide them in a Battell, if his Subiects should reuolt to *Perkin* in any numbers, or if they did not, then might he fall into his hands, by landing vnwarily vpon trust of the peoples fauour, and so by a more compendious and easie way settle his Estate; of which he failed but little, by the said counter-policy of the Kentishmen. In regard whereof, in the first Act of Councell, praise and thankes were decreed to them, with which first Sir *Richard Gilford* Knight was presently sent away, and order taken for the erection and watching of Beacons vpon the Coasts.

(41) The Dutchesse on the other side, seeing the South of *England* proue so drie, and barren to her drifts, conueighes againe her Idoll into *Ireland*, where shee well knew there could not want partakers; and *Perkin* himselfe daring to entertaine the hope of a Crowne, (for by so long personation of a Kings Sonne, and heire, ambition had throughly kindled his youthfull bloud) was now no little cause of bringing things to an issue by his owne forwardnesse. * *Maximilian* King of *Romans*, whither as one willing to keepe the English busied (* *Henry* hauing forbidden his Subiects all traffique with the Flemmings, and all other of his Sonne the Arch-Dukes Subiects,) or as crediting the fiction, and therefore led thereunto in honour and conscience; * *Charles* also King of *France*, but specially the Dutchesse of *Burgundy*, (by whom this bubble was first blowne vp, and put abroad) did concurre to the molestation of King *Henry*; *Maximilian*, and the *French* King, more secretly, but the Dutchesse with all her Oares and Sailes plied it in open view. Boren vp by these supporters, he the rather easily drew the Irish to assent to his pretext; but his counsell weighing with themselues that the Irish-mens friendship, how firme so euer, was insufficient in respect of their nakednesse and pouerty to worke their wishes, hee according to such aduises as were taken before his departure from his Creatrix, crosseth into *Scotland*, *for feare of punishment*, saith * *Andreas*; if perhaps by the Kings true Subiects within *Ireland* he should chaunce to be apprehended; but the euent shewes, that it was not onely for his more security, but principally *to strengthen his enterprize with the Scottish aide*, whereof in those dayes he had small reason to be doubtfull; and his case was such, that no third course was left vnto him, but either to fight and conquer, or liue branded with immortall infamy both of Cowardize and impostur. *Henry* hearing these things, was not slacke to prouide for his iust defence, greatly carefull vpon what coast this wandering cloud would at length dissolue it selfe, in what effects soeuer; and therefore obserued all his wayes with as much curiosity as was possible.

(42) *Iames* the fourth, a yong Prince of great hope, was at that time King of *Scots*, to whom this bold counterfeit (being specially recommended for the true *Richard* Duke of *Yorke*, by the * King of *France*, and vndoubtedly much more by the Dutchesse of *Burgundy*,) repaires; and had most courteous entertainement, and audience, the effect whereof *Andreas* thus coucheth: *That the King was finally deceiued by errour, as most of other, though most prudent Princes, had beene before.* But the rare impudency of the

Polyd. Virgil. Stows Annals.

* *Bernard. Andr.* saith about 400.

* *Bern. Andr. M.S.*

The Kings prayer & speech to God.

Perkin vpon the Kentish Seas.

* *Sir Tho. Moore in Rich. 3.*

Stow. Annal.

Perkin sailes into *Ireland.*

* *Ber. Andr. M.S.*

* *Stows Annals.* His great forraigne friends.

* *Io. Lesle. Epis. Ross.*

Perkin sailes into *Scotland.*

* *Bern. Andr.*

* *Bern. Andr.*

Perkins successe in *Scotland.*

the Lad, and that connexion which his darings had with ſo many great Princes, deſerue not to be ſo ſlenderly ouerpaſſed. He therefore being in honourable manner accompanied, and brought to the preſence of K. *Iames*, had words to this effect. *That* Edward *the fourth, late King of* England, *leauing two ſonnes* Edward *and* Richard *Duke of* Yorke, *both very young*, Edward *the eldeſt ſucceeded their Father in the Crowne, by the name of King* Edward *the fift: that their Vncle* Richard *Duke of* Glouceſter *to obtaine the Kingdome, purpoſed to murther both, but the inſtrument employed by him to execute the execrable Tragedy, hauing cruelly ſlaine King* Edward *the eldeſt of the two, was moued to ſaue King* Richard *his Brother, whom neuertheles the world ſuppoſed to haue been alike barbarouſly made away; though falſely ſuppoſed; for that himſelfe there preſent, was that very* Richard *Duke of* Yorke, *brother of that vnfortunate Prince, King* Edward *the fift, now the moſt rightfull, and lineall ſuruiuing heire-Male to that victorious and moſt noble* Edward *of that name the fourth, late King of* England. * *That hee in his tender age thus eſcaping by Gods mercy out of the County of* London, *was ſecretly conuayed ouer the Sea,* * *whither when he was brought, the party who had the conueiance of him in charge, ſuddenly forſooke him, and thereby forced him to wander into* * *diuers Countries, where hee remained certaine yeeres as vnknowne,* * *till at length he came to the true vnderſtanding of himſelfe.* * *In which ſeaſon it hapned one Henry, ſonne to* Edmund Tydder *Earle of* Richmond, *to come from* France, *and enter into the Realme, and by ſubtill and fowle meanes, to obtaine the Crowne of the ſame, which to him the ſaid* Richard *rightfully appertained. That Henry as his extreame and mortall enemy, ſo ſoone as he had knowledge of his being aliue, imagined, and wrought all the ſubtill waies and meanes hee could, to deuiſe his finall deſtruction. That the ſaid mortall enemy hath not onlie falſely ſurmiſed him to be a fained perſon, giuing him nick-names, ſo abuſing the world, but that alſo, to deferre, and put him from entrie into England, hee hath offered large ſummes of money to corrupt the Princes, with whom he had beene retained, and made importune labour to certaine ſeruants about his (the ſaid Richards) perſon, to murder or poiſon him, and others, to forſake and leaue his righteous quarrell, and to depart from his ſeruice, as Sir* Robert Clifford, *and others. That euery man of reaſon may well vnderſtand, that the ſaid* Henry *needed not to haue moued the fore-ſaid Coſts, and importune labour, if he had beene ſuch a fained perſon. That the truth of his cauſe ſo manifeſt* * *moued the moſt Chriſtian King* Charles, *and the Lady, Dutcheſſe Dowager of* Burgundy, *his moſt deare Aunt, not onely to acknowledge the ſaid truth, but louingly alſo to aſſiſt him. That now becauſe the Kings of* Scotland *(Predeceſſors of the ſaid King* Iames) *had oftentimes ſupported them, who were reft and ſpoyled of the ſaid Kingdome of* England, *(as in freſheſt memory King* Henry *the ſixt,) and for that he (the ſaid King* Iames) *had giuen cleare ſignes, that hee was in no noble quality, vnlike to his royall Anceſtors, he, ſo diſtreſſed a Prince, was therefore moued to come, and put himſelfe into his hands, deſiring his aſſiſtance to recouer the Realme of* England, *promiſing faithfully, to beare himſelfe towards the ſaid Scottiſh King, no otherwiſe, then as if he had been his own naturall brother, and would (vpon recouery of his inheritance) gratefully do to him all the pleaſure which lay in his vtmoſt power.*

(43) *Perkins* ſpeech ended, and his amiable perſon being fitted with ſo many countenancing circumſtances of ſtate, and ſeemings, (by the recommendations of great Princes, ayde from the *Iriſh*, aſſured hope of ayde in *England*, and his owne well-appointed company,) made ſo ſtrong an impreſſion in the young Kings conceit, that, albeit there wanted not ſome, who with * many arguments aduiſed the King *to repute all but for a meere dreame, and illuſion*, his perſon was honourably receiued, as it became the perſon of *Richard* Duke of *Yorke*, and in his quarrell entertained; which the more to grace in the Worlds eye, hee gaue his conſent, that the ſaid Duke of *Yorke* ſhould take to wife the Lady *Katherine Gordon*, daughter to the Earle of *Huntley*, being neere Coſen to the King himſelfe, a young Maide of excellent beauty and vertue. By which marriage, as the gentle King abundantly declared, that he tooke him for the very Duke of *Yorke*, ſo *Perkin*, *(diſtruſtfull of the Scots,* * *and deſirous to gaine the loue and fauour of the Nobles of the Realme)* cunningly ſerued his owne ends for the preſent, paſſing current for a Prince of high bloud, and royall hope. Vpon this ground a warre was preſently vndertaken againſt *Henry*, and entred into; the King of Scots in perſon, and *Perkin* followed with great numbers, ſpecially of Borderers, fell vpon ſundry parts of *Northumberland*, which they moſt grieuouſly afflicted, burnt and ſpoyled, publiſhing neuertheleſſe by Proclamation made in the name of *Richard* Duke of *Yorke*, much fauour and immunity to all ſuch as would adhere to his iuſt quarrell, and a * thouſand pounds in money, and one hundreth Markes by yeare of Land of inheritance to the meaneſt perſon, that could either take or diſtreſſe his great enemy who (he ſaid) was flying the land. But King *Henry* by his diligence, and wiſdome had ſo ſetled the mindes of his people in thoſe parts, that there is no mention made of any one perſon which offered his ſeruice. This vnexpected auerſion ſo blankt and dampt the Scottiſh enterprize on *Perkins* behalfe, that the King offended therewith, retired with his Army (laden with booty) into his Realme, and from thenceforth eſteemed of his new Coſen the leſſe. But King *Henry* not minding to forgiue ſo vniuſt and cauſeleſſe out-rages, calls a Parliament, opens his griefes, and prayes ayde for an inuaſiue warre gainſt *Scotland*, which was generally aſſented vnto, there being ſcarce any more gratefull propoſitions to the *Engliſh* in thoſe ſwording times, then warre with *French* or *Scots*: an humour, vpon which this King did practiſe to enrich himſelfe. For the publike monies by theſe occaſions came into his Exchequer, with a ſmall part whereof he flouriſhed out a ſhow of hoſtile prouiſions, and the Remainder thervpon (if peace enſued, which he alwayes knew how to bring about with honour) was clearely his owne without account. The ſumme aſſented to be gathered was * ſixeſcore thouſand pounds, and for collection thereof were granted two diſmes, and an halfe, and two fifteenes. But the leuie of this money ſo granted in this Parliament, kindled a dangerous blaze in *England*; in ſo much, that the Lord *Dawbeny* being ſent *Generall* of the Forces againſt the *Scots*, and vpon his way thither, was recalled by occaſion of inteſtine troubles.

(44) Which troubles had their Originall from the leuie of ſuch payments among the Corniſh, as were aſſeſſed for the Scottiſh warres. When therefore the Collectors came among them, the People (being a ſtout, bigge, and hardy race of men,) tumultuouſly aſſembled; whom one *Thomas* * *Flammocke* a Lawyer, and *Michael Ioſeph*, a Blacke-ſmith or Horſe-Farrier of *Bodnim*, like firebrands of rebellion, inflamed, and were followed as Captaines, not without ſecret and ſilent relation (as it may bee ſuſpected) to *Perkins* pretences, and that hope of redreſſe (if he were King), which, by his Proclamations he had colourably giuen to the people, at the time of the Scottiſh Inuaſion; where, among many other things, (tending to humour ſuch as were maleuolent, by making the perſon and gouernment of King *Henry* odious,) this we finde.

(45) *Our great enemy* (ſaith the Proclamation) *to fortifie his falſe quarrell, hath cauſed diuers Nobles of this our Realme, whom he held ſuſpect, & ſtood in dread of, to be cruelly murdered: as our coſen Sir William Stanley Lord Chamberlaine, Sir Simond Montford, Sir Robert Ratcliffe, William Daubeney, Humfrey Stafford,*

Perkin credited and aided marries into the bloud royall of *Scotland*.

The *Scots* inuade *Northumberland* in *Perkins* quarrell and returne.

King *Henry* prepares for reuenge.

Perkins Proclamation.

* *M.S. Perkini proclam. penes D.R.C. Baronet.*
* *Polyd. Virg. l. 26.*
* *M.S. Perkini Proclamati.*
* *Polyd Virgil. l. 26.*
* *M.S. Per. Procl.*
* *Epiſt. Roſſ.*
* *Pol. Virgil. l. 26.*
* *Procl Per. M.S.*
* *Add. to Fabian.*
* *Polyd. Virgil. Io. Stowes Annal. Holinſh.*

The Earle of *Warwicks* imprisonment obiected.

Stafford, and many other, beſides ſuch as haue deerely bought their liues, ſome of which Nobles are now in the Sanctuary. Alſo he hath long kept, and yet keepeth in priſon our right intirely wel-beloued Coſen, Edward, ſonne and heire to our Vncle Duke of Clarence, and other, with-holding from them their rightfull inheritance, to the intent they ſhould neuer be of might and power, to aide and aſſiſt vs at our need, after the dutie of their leageances. He hath alſo married, by compulſion, certaine of our Siſters, and alſo the Siſter of our foreſaid Coſen, the Earle of Warwick, and diuers other Ladies of the blood-Royall, vnto certaine his kinſemen and friends, of ſimple and low degree; & putting apart all well-diſpoſed Nobles, he hath none in fauour, and truſt about his perſon, but Biſhop Fox, Smith, Bray, Louel, Oliuer King, Sir Charles Sommerſet, Dauy Owen, Ryſſy, Sir Iohn Torburuile, Tyler, Chamley, Iames Hobert, Iohn Cut, Garth, Henry Wyot, and ſuch other Caitiues, and villaines of birth: which by ſubtill inuen-
"tions, and pilling of the people, haue beene the princi-
"pall finders, occaſioners, & counſellors of the miſ-rule
"and miſchiefe now raigning in England, &c. We re-
membring theſe premiſes, with the great, and execrable offences daily committed and done by our foreſaid great enemy, and his Adherents, in breaking the liberties, and franchiſes of our mother, the holy Church; to the high diſpleaſure of Almighty God: beſides the
Popular inſinuations by Perkin.
"manifold treaſons, abominable murders, manſlaugh-
"ters, robberies, extortions, the daily pilling of the peo-
"ple, by diſmes, taskes, tallages, beneuolences, and other vnlawfull impoſitions, and grieuous exactions, with many other hainous effects, to the likely deſtruction and deſolation of the whole Realme, &c. ſhal by Gods grace, and the helpe, and aſſiſtance of the great Lords of our bloud, with the Counſell of other ſad perſons, &c. ſee that the commodities of our Realme be emploied to the moſt aduantage of the ſame, the entercourſe of Merchandize betwixt Realme and Realme, to be miniſtred
"and handled, as ſhall more be to the Common-weale,
"and proſperity of our ſubiects: and all ſuch diſmes,
"taskes, tallages, beneuolences, vnlawfull impoſitions,
"and grieuous exactions as be aboue rehearſed, to bee
"fore-done, and laid apart, and neuer from henceforth to be called vpon, but in ſuch cauſes as our Noble Progenitors, Kings of England, haue of old time beene accuſtomed to haue the aide, ſuccour, and helpe of their ſubiects, and true liegemen.

(46) The tide of people being thus vp: *Flammock* and the *Blacke-Smith* (hauing firme promiſe of the Lord *Audleys* perſonal helpe) lead them forth toward *Kent*, where they doubted not greatly to encreaſe their numbers; and had in likelyhood ſo done, but that the ſingular diligence and wiſdome of the King, fruſtrated their hopes by ſundry Princely Acts. Yet they flow on; and to ſhew what they durſt doe, they ſlew in their way at *Tauntford*, the Prouoſt of *Perin*, one of the Commiſſioners for the Subſidy; and marching forward, without offering other violence, *Iames Tuichet* Lord *Audley* ioynes himſelfe at the City of *Wells* vnto them, according to ſecret agreement, and becomes their Generall. From *Wells* they proceed to *Saliſbury*, thence to *Wincheſter*, and ſo toward *Kent*, where the Countrey was ſetled and prouided. But the King farther doubting that the Scots would take freſh occaſion, by theſe ſeditious vproares, to inuade the borders of his Realme, diſpatched *Thomas Howard* Earle of *Surrey* (* a Peere of excellent vertue) to defend thoſe parts, with the helpe of the Biſhopricke of *Durham*, and the Marches, till theſe home-commotions were appeaſed; that then the Lord *Dawbeny* might with a iuſt and full Army proſecute the warre againſt the Scots. But *Iames* their King, perceiuing the end of the Engliſh inteſtine warres, would be the beginning of his troubles, thought it beſt by way of anticipation to weaken his enemy before hand as much as he could, and thereupon fiercely inuaded *Northumberland* againe, and * beſieged *Norham* Caſtell belonging to *Richard Fox*, whom the King for his noble ſeruices and deſerts, had now ad-

* *Polyd. Virgil. Principem præſtantiſſima virtute prædi:um.*

The Scots inuade and retire.

* *Epiſt. Roſſe. Polyd. Virgil.*

uanced from *Exceſter*, & *Bathe* and *Wells*, vnto the Biſhopricke of *Durham*. But the Scottiſh king, hopeleſſe to winne the Caſtell, though hauing done much hurt both to it and to the Countrey, withdrew his people before the Earle of *Surrey* could approach with his Army, wherein was the Earle of *Weſtmorland*, the Lords, *Dacres*, *Strange*, *Neuill*, *Latimer*, *Lumley*, *Scrope*, *Clifford*, *Conyers*, *Darcy*, the Baron of *Hilton*, and many Knights, as *Percie*, *Bulmer*, *Gaſgoigne*, *Penington*, *Bigot*, *Bowes*, *Elarker*, *Parr*, *Wharton*, *Strangwith*, *Conſtable*, *Ratcliffe*, *Sauile*, *Gower*, *Muſgraue*, *Mallerie*, *Loder*, *Eueringham*, *Stapleton*, *Wortley*, *Pikering*, *Hiron*, *Gray*, *Ridley*, *Griffith*, *Fenwicke*, *Ward*, *Strycland*, *Billingham*, *Curwen*, *Warcop*, *Tempeſt*, *Metcalfe*, and others; who miſſing the enemy, marched after into *Scotland*, and tooke ſuch reuenge as the ſhortneſſe of their ſodaine prouiſions would enable.

(47) The Rebels on the other ſide, (whom King *Henry thought not good to encounter in their firſt heates*; but ſuffered them to tyre their furie, and ſurbate themſelues with a long march, the Countries as they paſt being fore-layd from ioyning with them) comming neere to *Kent*, found few, or no partakers there; but the Countrey ſtrongly defended againſt them by the Earle thereof, the Lords *Aburgeny* and *Cobham*, with other principall men and their followers; which made diuers of the Rebels ſecretly ſhrinke and abandon the enterpriſe. But the Lord *Audley*, *Flammocke*, *Michael Ioſeph*, and the reſt, kept on their way, and encamped vpon *Blacke-heath*, between *Greenewich* and *Eltham*, from the top whereof they might behold the City of *London*, and the whole brauery of that Horizon. Here they reſolue to abide the King, or to aſſaile *London*. The King on the other ſide, by the diligence of the Lord Mayor, and other the Magiſtrates, ſecured the City, which was full of feare and buſineſſe; himſelfe enuironed with his Nobles, and the choyſe of the South, hearing where the Rebell was encamped, reſolued by dint of Sword to deliuer his people from tyring expectations, and for that purpoſe marcheth out of *London*, and encamps in S. *Georges* field, where hee * lay that night. The next day, when hee vnderſtood that the Enemy had drawne forth his people, and ſet them in battell-ray, he ſends out *Henry Bourchier* Earle of *Eſſex*, *Edmond de la Pole* Earle of *Suffolke*, *Sir Rice ap Thomas*, and others, with certaine Cornets of Horſe, and Companies of Archers, to beſet the hill, and the deſcents thereof, while *Giles* Lord *Dawbeny* with the ſtrength of his Army, chargeth the Enemy in *Front*, whom with ſome ſlaughter they draue from the Bridge at *Deepford* ſtrand; and then mounting the hill, hee & the Earles charge the maine ſquadrons on all ſides, and without much labour breake and defeate them. The number of the Rebels ſlaine is vncertainely reported, the ods being betweene * two thouſand and * three hundreth. The Kings army returned fewer by three hundreth. Fifteene hundreth rebels were taken Priſoners, & the takers had their Priſoners goods granted them. *Iames* Lord *Audley*, *Flammocke*, and the *Smith* were taken, and executed. To all the reſt mercy was ſeaſonably extended. The Lord *Audley* led from Newgate to Tower-hill in a Coate of his owne Armories painted on a paper, reuerſt and torne, there payd his head, for being a Head to that heady Route: *Flammocke* and the *Smith* were quartered. Memorably * ſtrange was the comfort, with which this Blackſmith is ſaid to haue cheered vp himſelfe at his being drawne to execution, ſaying, *That yet he hoped thereby, that his Name & Memory ſhould be euerlaſting*. Who could beleeue that the deſire of a long-laſting name, howſoeuer, ſhould take the affections of ſo meane a perſon? Such therefore was the end of this inſurrection; but the times being queaſie, the King wiſely forbare to take any ſeuere reuenge vpon more then onely vpon the chiefe Leaders, for hee was truely informed that this calamity had not broken the wills of the Corniſhmen, who remained ready

* *Io. Stowes Annal.* The King moued againſt the Rebels.

An. D. 1497. Iun. *An. Reg. 12.*

Black-heath field. *

* *Polyd. Virg. Hall.*
* *Io. Stow. Annal.*

* *Polyd. Virgil.*

The Blackſmiths comfort at his death.

ready for any desperate sudden occasion, and therefore he abstained from needlesse exasperations, insomuch as that the quarters of *Flammocke*, and the Smith being once appointed to haue beene set vp in *Cornwall* for terror, were onely fixed about *London*, the King thinking good to temper his iustice euen in such a circumstance.

(48) His next care was so to order the warre against *Scotland*, that the Peace, whose foundations he had laid a farre off, might be made to his more honor: and because the iniuries sustained by the youthfull errour of King *Iames*, were too publike to be altogether forgotten; hee sent the Earle of *Surrey*, the Lord *Neuill*, and others, to inuade the Scottish borders with an Army, who pursued the reuenge with great vehemency. Meane-while there arriueth in *Scotland Peter Hyalus* an Ambassadour from *Ferdinando* and *Elizabeth*, King and Queene of *Spaine*, as from friends equally well-affected to both parties, to mediate a peace betweene the two Kings of *England* and *Scotland*, which perhaps in their owne persons would not easily haue beene brought about, the poynt of honour might thereunto haue giuen such empeachment. But this was the way to a peace which King *Henry* fore-saw, there being not onely a strict bond of loue betweene him and *Ferdinando*, but an ouerture, if not a * secret conclusion, to match his eldest Sonne Prince *Arthur* with the young Lady *Katherine* daughter of *Spaine*, who for her excellent vertues was well worthy to be the happy wife of any Prince then breathing. *Hyalus* so handled the poynt of his employment, that an honourable truce followed. This Ambassadour was a practicke man, of much experience, and knew the better how to deale on the behalfe of King *Henry* against *Perkin Warbecke* (* *an imaginary and Stage-play Prince*) for that his Soueraigne Queene had also beene exceedingly molested by a Counterfeit. For *Henry* the fourth, King of *Castile*, and brother to *Elizabeth*, being vnable to beget Children, *Ioan* (Daughter of *Edward* King of *Portugall*) his wife found meanes notwithstanding to beare one, by occasion whereof, after King *Henries* death, for that it was borne in marriage, a dangerous warre was vndertaken by * *Alfonso* King of *Portugall*, on behalfe of *Isabel* the supposed inheritrix; but Truth, partly by force, and partly by mediation, was in the end victorious; and *Elizabeth*, or *Isabella* sister of *Henry* succeeded to her brother, and brought the inheritance of the Kingdomes of *Castile* and *Leon*, with her to *Ferdinando* King of *Arragon*. The chiefe point of this truce with *Scotland* was, That *Perkin Warbecke* should leaue that Kingdome, seeing King *Iames*, standing vpon his honour, would not deliuer him vp to King *Henry*. *Perkin* hauing now no remedy, did accordingly, taking with him his Wife, the Lady *Katherine Gordon*; and with such few as remained to him, past into *Ireland*, where hee had not continued long, but the Cornish-men offer to rise at his arriuall, and to aduenture their fortunes and liues in his quarrell: Which motion *Perkin* gladly entertained, as perceiuing yet some little hope left to maintaine himselfe, by the troubles and hazards of others: but the pollicy and fortune of King *Henry* were growne so venerable with the Princes his Neighbours, that Ambassadors came from *Fraunce*, and from the Arch-Duke of *Burgundy*; the one to ratifie amity, the other to request the restitution thereof; both which K. *Henry* (who reposed his whole trust next vnder God, vpon the amity of his neighbours) granted, and the English Merchants (who had beene somewhat long forbidden by their Soueraigne to trade in the Arch-Dukes Dominions) * returning to *Antwerpe* were receiued into the same with Procession: so that *Perkin* could scarce cast his eye vpon any place, not onely where to raise aydes, but not where to rest his head, vnlesse perhappes in the Court of the Dutchesse of *Burgundy*; neither in all his fortunes did any thing seeme miserable or vnworthy, but the great infelicity of his Wife, whose beauty, birth, and honourable qualities ought not to haue beene so betrayed by her friends temerity. *Perkin* hereupon landing at *Whitsand Bay* in *Cornwall* in September, found meanes afterward at *Bodmin* to raise some thousands of people, whom with most lauish promises, inuectiue proclamations, and strong impudency, hee held together vnder the Title of *Richard* the fourth King of *England*, whose fate was none of the happiest, while the maiesty of her name might so bee played with by impostors. *Perkin* thus accompanied, marcheth toward the City of *Excester*, purposing if hee could winne it by force, to enrich his Souldiers with the spoyles thereof, and to inuite all other loose or lost people to his seruice by the hope of like booties, and by taking into his possession such places of strength as lay in his way to secure his retreat, if (according to the ordinary fortune of warre) any thing should happen to him vnluckily.

(50) But the King (hearing that the Varlet was landed, and againe made head against him in Armes vpon trust of the Cornish-mens assistance) is said to "haue smiled, vsing these words; * *Loe, we are again "prouoked by this Prince of Rakehells, but left my peo-"ple should through ignorance be drawne into destru-"ction, let vs seeke to take this* Perkin *by the easiest "wayes we can.* Reason he had to smile, for now hee seemed to see the bottome of his perill, and as it were to hold his enemy empounded within the English Ocean, it being a perpetuall and noble wish of his, *that he might looke his dangers in the face, and deale with them hand to hand*, as the neerest cut ouer to a full conclusion. He therefore prouides accordingly, assembling his forces, and his wits (no lesse to bee dreaded then his forces) sending forth his espyals into all parts to obserue the tracke, and hopes of this empty cloud, which is now seene before *Excester*, a principall strength and ornament of the Westerne parts of the Kingdome. *Parlea*, and the allurements of words vnder the guilt title of King *Edwards* Sonne, prouing vnpaileable with those resolute and faithfull Citizens; *Perkin* forthwith betakes himselfe to violence, sets fire on the gates, mounts his scaling Ladders against the walls, and with his vtmost fury labours to force a suddaine entrance, for that as hee suspected, succours could not long bee wanting. The Citizens on the other side, and such of the Country as came in, prepare, and make a very valiant defence against the Rebell, & in stead of quenching the fires kindled by the enemy at the gates, to open a passage (for they had not Canon, or any other Ordinance) the Citizens threw on great store of fagots and fuell, and so with flame did shut vp the way, when the gates themselues were now consumed; and in the meane-while they cast vp trenches, and man their walls, from whence, with the slaughter of about two hundred Rebels at this assault, they valiantly draue them. Such messengers as by cords slipt downe the walls, to signifie their perill, sped toward the King; but the loyall diligence of * *Edward Courtney* Earle of *Deuonshire*, the Lord *William* his Sonne, with many principall Gentlemen of those parts, as *Trenchard*, *Carew*, *Fulford*, *Halewell*, *Croker*, *Edgecombe*, *Semar*, followed with great store of Souldiers, saued him the labour of a personall rescue by timely approach.

(51) *Perkin* hearing thereof, riseth from before *Excester*, and marcheth to *Taunton* (a goodly towne not farre off) there to take the musters of his Army, and to prouide for encounter, where he found very many blanks in the list of his numbers, for that they had secretly shrunke away, as misdoubting the sequell, the Earle of *Deuonshire* being so neere at hand with the power of the Country, and the King vpon his way against them, with the maiesty and terrour of a royall name and Army, none of the Nobility (which was chiefly hoped) comming to their aide.

Holinshed. Stowe Annal.

* *Addit to Fab.* A Spanish Ambassador procures a truce betweene *England* and *Scotland.*

* *Cambd. in Deuonshire, Imiganrius & Scenicus princeps.* The Queene of *Spaine* troubled by a counterfeit.

* *Fran. Tarapha. in Hen. 7. Luc. Marineus Sicul.*

Perkin Warbeke practised out of *Scotland.*

The Cornish call in *Perkin Warbeck.*

King *Henry* setleth peace with neighbour Princes.

* *Edw. Hall.*

Perkin stirres the Cornish-men.

* *Bern. Andr. M.S.*

The City of *Excester* assaulted by *Perkin.*

The Excestrians policy in defeating fire by fire.

* *Polyd. Virgil.*

Perkin at *Taunton.*

Perkin neuertheleſſe makes ſhew of ſtanding, with ſuch as were left vnto him. The Earle of *Deuonſhire* marching towards *Taunton*, in the way there came vnto him *Edward* Duke of *Buckingham*, a * young Lord, full of great honour and courage, followed by a goodly troupe of Knights, and others excellently well appointed, both for their own perſons, and their peoples. Theſe we finde named as principall; *Bridges*, *Bainham*, *Barkley*, *Tame*, *Wiſe*, *Poyntz*, *Vernon*, *Mortimer*, *Tremail*, *Sutton*, *Paulet*, *Bricknell*, *Sapcott*, *Lutterell*, *Wadham*, *Specke*, *Beauchamp*, *Cheney*, *Tokett*, *Long*, *Latimer*, *Turberuile*, *Stourton*, *Newbrough*, *Martin*, *Lynde*, *Rogers*, *Hungerford*, *Semar*, *Darrell*, *Barow*, *Norres*, *Langford*, *Corbet*, *Blunt*, *Lacon*, *Cornwall*; and many other prime and valiant men of Armes. The King laſt of all (to permit as little to fortune as was poſſible) ſent *Robert* Lord *Brooke*, *Giles* Lord *Dawbeney*, and that renowned and truſty Welſhman Sir *Rice ap Thomas*, with the marrow and ſtrength of his Army before, himſelfe following in perſon with ſuch as hee thought good. Neither was his care cauſeleſſe, for the Corniſhmen were come to that height of deſperate obſtinancy and malice, * *as not one of them but reſolued to conquer, or to leaue his carkaſe in the place.* But God loued him and them better, then to ſuffer it to come ſo farre; for *Perkin*, whether fearing treaſon in his owne Army, or otherwiſe toucht with the conſcience of his quality, and damnable eſtate of the quarrell, wherin it was horrible to die, hauing in his troupe but threeſcore horſe, ſecretly fled from the ſeduced Commons. Which when the King heard, hee preſently ſets out fiue hundreth horſe to purſue and apprehend him, before he ſhould get to the Sea, and ſo eſcape. *Perkin* and his remaines thus ſtreightned, tooke Sanctuary at *Beaulieu*, a religious houſe within *New Forreſt*, (not farre from *Hampton*) where the Kings Cornets of horſe found them already regiſtred; but according to inſtructions they beſet the place, and maintaine a ſtrong watch about it day and night. The other Rebels the while without ſtroke ſtricken, humbled themſelues to their Soueraignes mercy, and found it in vndeſerued meaſure. Other ſtrong troupes of Horſe are at the ſame inſtant diſpatched to Saint *Michaels Mount* in *Cornwall*, where the beautifull Lady *Katherine Gorden* had beene left by her lewde Husband. Her without reſiſtance they brought ſafely to the King, whoſe beauty the whole Court praiſed, and pittied; but the King moſt gratiouſly comforting her, ſent her away well attended to the Queene his Wife, and for her birthis-ſake allowed her * maintenance, which in honourable manner ſupported her during the Kings life and many yeares after. Her faireneſſe was ſuch, and her preſence ſo amiable, that ſhee deſerued to bee commonly called *The White Roſe*; whoſe fortunes (being ſo farre vnworthy either of her birth, her ſingular modeſty, or Wiuely faith, notwithſtanding the ſo abiect condition of her Husband) as they moued iuſt commiſeration toward her, ſo they doubled the luſtre of her praiſes.

(52) In the mean-while the King makes a reioycefull entrance into *Exceſter*, to teſtifie his princely loue to the Citizens, whom hee highly commended and graced, both for their courage and loyalty; commanding ſome of the Corniſh Rebels to be executed there, which did the better ſet off the others contrary condition. There alſo hee gaue directions, to offer life, and obliuion of all crimes to *Perkin*, if he would voluntarily quit the Sancturay, and ſubmit himſelfe. *Perkin* being now *without hope, without abode, without eſtate*, moſt gladly came forth, and did put himſelfe into the Kings hands. Reaſons leading that wiſe Prince to extend this fauour, were drawne out of the depth of true iudgement, cleared from vulgar perturbations: firſt, it was not altogether impoſſible, but that *Perkin* might eſcape him, (though by offering ſelfe-violence) and ſo the world ſhould leeſe the light of ſatisfaction in ſo profound and perhaps a matchleſſe impoſture; then againe, his youth might merite ſome compaſſion; but the infinite deſire which *Henry* had, from the mouth of the party himſelfe, to learne all the ſecrets of the plot, and who they were that lay vndiſcouered, and yet had finger in the myſticall practiſe, moued him to affect the poſſeſſion of his perſon aliue; which now hee had. Thus was this ſo dreaded a blaze of Rebellion ſuddainely and finally quenched; but not without the teares of many in *Deuon* and *Somerſetſhire*, whoſe eſtates the Kings Officers ſcruzed and drained, in reuenge of their partaking, and ſupporting the Corniſh Rebels, either in the field, or flight. *Henry* hauing *Perkin* in his power, gaue way to all ſuch ſcornes and ſcoffes, which his Courtiers or others were pleaſed to paſſe vpon him, the more to make his perſon contemptible, who well-watched, followed the King to *London*, whither as he progreſſed, multitudes flockt about to behold the Caitife, * *Who being a ſtranger, nor any way (whatſoeuer hee boaſted to the contrary) deſcended of Nobles, had dared to trouble ſo great a Kingdome, and by his crafty conuaiances had induced ſo many Princes and Nations (not without miſchiefe and ruine vnto diuers) to believe of him, that which he neuer was.* And that he might in no part be vnknowne, he is leaſurely conuaied on horſebacke from the furtheſt part of * *London*, through *Cheapſide* and *Cornehill* to the Tower, and backe from thence through *Canwicke-ſtreet* to *Weſtminſter*, as the ſubiect of wonderment, and of all reproach and infamies. The King hauing in this ſort taken reuenge of his ſo ſtrange an enemy, and by curious and often examination comming to the full knowledge of that his ſoule deſired, did ſet ſuch to attend, as neuer went an inch from *Perkins* ſight, (though he ſeemed to goe at liberty) leſt through the ſlippery Arts of his tempting ſpeech and behauiour, he might vaniſh into forraigne parts, and raiſe freſh ſtormes in *England*, and bring new comfort to the Lady *Margaret* Dutcheſſe of *Burgundy*, the ſinnefull countenance of all this curſed Stratageme, whoſe heart was now almoſt riuen in ſunder with the newes of her *Perkins* moſt hideous ſhame and miſery; the whole bluſhing tenour whereof might eaſily come to her hands at once; for *Henry* cauſed ſo much of the principall matter, as *Perkin* had confeſſed, to bee * committed to the Printing Preſſe; (an Art then firſt appearing among vs,) and publiſhed. None can iuſtly wonder, that wee haue dwelt ſo long in this wonderfull Story, but rather perhaps wiſh that more particularities (though with more prolixity) had bin vſed. And though ſome other Actions as * *Sebaſtian Cabots* diſcouery, and ouertures of marriages with *Spaine* and *Scotland*, came betweene this apprehenſion, and the execution of *Perkin*, yet haue we thought it beſt, (the ſooner, and at once to rid our hands of a * *knaue*, as King *Henry* iuſtly called him) to couch all that which concernes him here together, not fearing to incurre among the learned, the taxation of committing therein contradiction, and confuſion of times.

(53) *Perkin* being thus guarded, doth notwithſtanding attempt to eſcape. And if it were lawfull to inſert particular coniectures, drawne out of the conſiderations of circumſtances, we ſhould perhaps not ſpare to ſay, *that his attempt for eſcape*, was not without the Kings priuity; vſing ſuch inſtruments to perſwade, or furniſh his flight, as might withall betray him, that ſo by degrees (occaſion taken to cut him off) the Realme might be ridde from ſuch perpetuall matter of trouble. For the depraued wit and will of man might finde or faine reaſons to abuſe the world ſtill, if *Perkin* were at liberty; *as that the confeſſions were extorted by feare, or forged by Henry to ſerue his turne*, and the like. Therefore *Perkins* intention and eſcape (for hee was eſcaped) being diſcouered to the King, all the wayes were beſet, and he ſo cloſe purſued, that in the end betaking himſelfe to a religious houſe of Carthuſian Monkes, hee declared *who*

Pol.yd. Virgil. — * young Lord, full of great honour and courage, followed by a goodly troupe of Knights, and others excellently well appointed, both for their own perſons, and their peoples.

The King and his people march toward him.

Polyd. Virgil. — * *as not one of them but reſolued to conquer, or to leaue his carkaſe in the place.*

Perkin flies from his hoaſt.

Perkins Wife taken, and honourably vſed by the King.

Epiſ. Roſſ. — * maintenance,

The King at *Exceſter*.

Polyd. Virgil. ſine, ſpe, ſine ſede, ſine fortunis.

Perkin yeelds himſelfe to the King.

The king returns to *London* with *Perkin*. *Pol. Virg.*

Io. Stow. Annal. 28. Nouember.

Bern. Andr. M.S.

* English voyage by *Rich. Hackl.*

Ber. Andr. M.S.

who he was, and beſought their Prior in the humbleſt manner he could, *for Gods ſake to beg his life*, which at the Priors ſuite was granted; but the Kings wrath being kindled, or the paſſage of his ſuppreſſed wrath opened thereby, he baniſht all former reſpects, commanding him to be fettered, and ſet (for an whole day) in a paire of Stockes, mounted on a Scaffold before the Gate of *Weſtminſter Hall*; and the next day to be alike expoſed in * *Golden Cheape*, to the baſeſt of all contempt and ſcorne, ſo fettered, ſtockt, & Scaffolded as before, *to the great wonderment* (ſaith * *Stow*) *of many*, as either inſinuating that all were not perſwaded of the impoſture, or that it ſeemed ſtrange that one lately of ſo great Proweſſe, ſhould vndergoe ſo deſpicable a puniſhment. But for a ſeale and totall ſumme of all ignominy and ſhame (ſuch as no face did euer beare greater) he read his owne confeſſion, written with his owne hand, * as followeth.

Perkin ſet openly in the ſtocks, &c.

* Eng. Heroick. Epiſt.

* Io. Stow. Annals.

* Holinſh.

(54) It is firſt to be knowne, that I was borne in the Towne of *Tourney* in *Flanders*, and my Fathers name is *Iohn Osbecke*, which ſaid *Iohn Osbecke* was controller of the ſaid Towne of *Tourney*, & my Mothers name is *Katherine de Faro*. And one of my Grandſires vpon my Fathers ſide was named *Diricke Osbecke*, which dyed. After whoſe death my Grandmother was married vnto *Peter Flamin*, that was receiuer of the fore-named Town of *Tourney*, & Deane of the Botemen, that row vpon the water or Riuer called *Le Scheld*. And my Grandſire vpon my Mothers ſide was *Peter de Faro*, which had in his keeping the keyes of the gate of *Saint Iohns*, within the ſame Towne of *Tourney*. Alſo I had an Vncle called Maſter *Iohn Stalin*, dwelling in the Pariſh of *Saint Pias*, within the ſame Towne, which had married my Fathers ſiſter, whoſe name was *Ione* or *Iane*, with-whom I dwelt a certaine ſeaſon.

Perkin maketh an anatomy of his deſcent or lineage.

(55) And after I was led by my Mother to *Antwerpe* for to learne Flemiſh, in a houſe of a Coſin of mine, an officer of the ſaid Towne, called *Iohn Stienbecke*, with-whom I was the ſpace of halfe a yeare; and after that I returned againe to *Tourney*, by reaſon of warres that were in *Flanders*: and within a yeare following, I was ſent with a Merchant of the ſaid Towne of *Tourney* named *Berlo*, to the Mart of *Antwerpe*, where I fell ſicke, which ſickneſſe continued vpon me fiue moneths. And the ſaid *Berlo* ſet mee to boord in a Skinners houſe, that dwelled beſide the houſe of the Engliſh Nation. And by him I was from thence carried to *Barow* Mart, and I lodged at the ſigne of the olde Man, where I abode for the ſpace of two moneths.

Perkins education or bringing vp.

(56) After this, the ſaid *Berlo* ſet me with a Merchant of *Middleborow* to ſeruice, for to learne the language, whoſe name was *Iohn Strew*, with-whom I dwelt from *Chriſtmas* to *Eaſter*, and then I went into *Portugall* in company of Sir *Edward Bramptons* Wife, in a ſhip was called the Queenes ſhippe. And when I was come thither, then was I put in ſeruice to a Knight that dwelled in *Liſborne*, which was called *Peter Vacz de Cogna*, with-whom I dwelled an whole yeare, which ſaid Knight had but one eye. And becauſe I deſired to ſee other Countries, I tooke licenſe of him, and then put my ſelfe in ſeruice with a *Britaine*, called *Pregent Meno*, which brought mee with him into *Ireland*. Now, when we were there arriued in the Towne of *Corke*, they of the Towne (becauſe I was arraied with ſome cloathes of ſilke of my ſaid Maſters) came vnto me, and threatned vpon me, that I ſhould be the Duke of *Clarences* ſon, that was before-time at *Dublin*.

Perkin a notable Land-loper.

The Iriſh would haue Perkin take vpon him to be the Duke of *Clarences* ſonne.

(57) But forſomuch as I denyed it, there was brought vnto mee the holy Euangeliſts, and the Croſſe, by the Mayor of the Towne, which was called *Iohn Lewelin*, and there in the preſence of him and others, I tooke mine oath (as the truth was) that I was not the fore-ſaid Dukes ſonne, nor none of his bloud. And after this came vnto mee an Engliſhman, whoſe name was *Stephen Poitron*, and one *Iohn Water*, and laid to me in ſwearing great oathes, that they knew well that I was King *Richards* Baſtard-Sonne; to whom I anſwered with like oathes, that I was not. Then they aduiſed mee not to be afeard, but that I ſhould take it vpon me boldly; and if I would ſo doe, they would ayde and aſſiſt me with all their power againſt the King of *England*; and not onely they, but they were well aſſured, that the Earle of *Deſmond* and *Kildare* would doe the ſame.

They beare Perkin downe with oathes, that hee is King *Richards* baſtard.

(58) For they forced not what part they tooke, ſo that they might bee reuenged on the King of *England*: and ſo againſt my will made me to learne Engliſh, and taught me what I ſhould doe and ſay: And after this they called me Duke of *Yorke*, ſecond Sonne to King *Edward* the fourth, becauſe King *Richards* Baſtard-ſonne was in the hands of the King of *England*. And vpon this the ſaid *Water*, *Stephen Poitron*, *Iohn Tiler*, *Hubert Burgh*, with many others, as the foreſaid Earles, entred into this falſe quarrell, and within ſhort time others. The French King ſent an Ambaſſadour into *Ireland*, whoſe name was *Loit Lucas*, and Maſter *Stephen Friham*, to aduertiſe mee to come into *France*: and thence I went into *France*, and from thence into *Flanders*, and from *Flanders* into *Ireland*, and from *Ireland* into *Scotland*, and ſo into *England*.

They call him Duke of *Yorke*.

(59) From hauing thus beene made a publique ſpectacle, till all eyes were wearied with the view, and imaginations tyred with thinking; hee is conuaied to the Tower of *London*: where it had beene happy, if hee had onely wrought his owne deſtruction; but the bloudy fate (ſo to ſpeake of his diſaſterous birth) would not ſuffer him to periſh ſingle. In the ſame Tower was priſoner *Edward* the young Earle of *Warwicke*, hauing ſo beene from the firſt yeare of *Henry* to this preſent, for no fault of his, but for that, as a neere Titler to the Crowne, hee carried in his liuing perſon inſeparable matter of danger and ſedition. Of his ſimplicity, by reaſon of his education in priſon from his infancy, there is a report, that as one who liued out of the view of the world, hee knew not an * Henne from a Gooſe, or one Fowle or Creature from another. To haſten the ruine of ſo innocent a daunger, behold there breakes forth a counterfeit Earle of *Warwicke*, as if all that which the world ſaw horrible in *Perkins* darings, had been but a document to inſtruct others in the like, and that nothing were to be taxed therein, *but want onely of ſucceſſe*, which whoſoeuer could propound to himſelfe all things elſe, were full of encouragement and reaſon. This counterfeit was a * Cordwainers ſonne of *London*, aged about twenty yeares, and called * *Ralfe Wilford*, who for falſely aſſuming the name and title of the ſaid Earle, being thereunto taught & ſuborned (a practiſe which well declared that the malicious Dutcheſſe of *Burgundy* did ſtill liue) was hanged at S. *Thomas Waterings* by *Southwarke* vpon Shrouetueſday.

An. D. 1498. *An. Reg. 14.*

Perkin in the Tower, and the Tragicall effects.

* *Polyd. Virg.*

* *Addit.* to *Fab.*

* *Hollinſhead.*

A counterfeit Earle of *Warwicke* executed.

(60) This new deuiſe to vncrowne King *Henry*, ſo wakened his owne feares, and the eyes of the *Caſtilians*, (who had ſecretly agreed to marry their Princeſſe *Katherine* to our Prince *Arthur*) that there ſeemed no ſure ground of ſucceſſion, *if that the Earle of Warwicke were not made away*. A fearefull caſe, where the falſe reaſon of State ſhall faine to it ſelfe an impoſſibility of well doing, without ſhedding innocent bloud, and ſhall therefore reſolue to found vpon ſo crying a ſinne, the hope of perpetuity in ſucceſſion; ſith nothing is truer, *then that ſinne was euer an vnſure baſis to ſettle laſting workes vpon*. But ô the narrow capacities of the moſt ſeeing men! the confidence whereof did vndoubtedly leade this King (herein not iuſtifiable, howſoeuer excuſable in reſpect of humane frailty, which might propound to it ſelfe many feares, and reſpects both publique and priuate) to conniue at the plotted death, or rather formall murther of this harmeleſſe Gentleman, whoſe wrong may yet moue the hardieſt to compaſſion, as it afterward ſtirred

The true Earle of *Warwicke* deſigned to die.

God in iuſtice to reuenge, proſpering no part of that great worke which was thereupon thus corruptly ſought to be perpetuated. That noble Lady *Katherine* her ſelfe was hereof ſo ſenſible, that when the diuorce was afterward proſecuted againſt her by King *Henrie* the eight, her ſecond Husband, ſhe is reported to haue ſaid, That it was the hand of God, for that to cleare the way to her marriage, that innocent Earle of *Warwicke* was put to vnworthy death. Neither let licentious practiſes vouch the ſingular Act of *Salomon* in taking away the life of his elder Brother *Adonias* to colour this homicide: for hee that will argue from particular facts in Scripture, ſhall not onely leaue no *Adonias* liuing, but perhaps no *Salomon*. To worke this young *Warwickes* ruine, the miſchieuous and diſmall wretch *Perkin* becomes an occaſion, if not an inſtrument, for he by his ſupple inſinuations, and flowing promiſes, had corrupted his keepers, the ſeruants of Sir *Iohn Digbie* Knight, Lieutenant of the Tower; who (*as* * *was affirmed*) meant to haue murdered their Maſter, and then to haue ſet *Perkin*, and the Earle at large, to which practiſe of eſcape, the poore Earle is ſaid to haue conſented. *Perkin* for this conſpiracy had his tryall at *Weſtminſter*, and he, together with one *Iohn à Waters*, who had been ſometime Maior of *Corke* in *Ireland*, were condemned, and being drawne to *Tyborne*, had the ſentence of death executed vpon them. *Perkin* at the Gallowes did *reade his former confeſſion, taking on his death that the ſame was true*, and vnder-went his puniſhment with patience. *Walter Blewet*, and *Thomas Aſtwood* (being two of the Conſpirators, for the other two, *Strangewaies* and *Long-Roger*, being the Lieutenants men alſo, were not executed, nor for ſo much as we haue read, arraigned) not long after receiued the reward of their offence at the ſame place.

* *Stows Annals.*

Perkin condemned & executed.

An. D. 1499. *An. Reg.* 15.

(61) Iuſtice thus tooke hold at laſt of *Perkin Warbecke*, on whom, the Prouerbe which ſaith, that *Pride is the Vſher of ſhame*, was worthily verified. Neither could the world accuſe King *Henry* for his death, vnleſſe it were, for that he had not hanged him ſooner, but ſuffered him to liue till he had drawne after him a greater ruine in *Warwickes* perſon, then in all the former Tragedies. For this Earle being a chiefe Prince of the bloud, and next heire-Male of his Houſe to the Crowne of *England*, (a crime of which his birth onely made him guilty and not any fact of his) being thus charged to haue giuen aſſent to *Perkins* plot of eſcape, he was publikely arraigned before the Earle of *Oxford* (then High Steward of *England*) by the name of *Edward Plantagenet* Earle of *Warwicke*, and indited for *minding to haue eſcaped (as* * *they ſaid) out of the Tower*, and conſequently (according to the dreadfull licenſe of inferences among our *Engliſh* pleaders in caſes of death) to depriue King *Henry* of his royall Crowne and dignity, and to vſurpe the Title and ſoueraigne office, proſecuting their bloudy Poetry with the like ſanguinary ſyllogiſmes, though vtterly without meaſure, or faſhion. The Earle doubly betrayed, firſt by the ſetters of the ſnare, and then by their ſilly or deceitfull perſwaſions who were put about him, confeſſeth the enditement, and ſubmitteth himſelfe to the Kings mercy; that is, offered vp his head to be a ſlippery foundation of King *Henries* farther purpoſes; for ſentence of death was thereupon pronounced as againſt a Traitour. This one practiſe ſeemes ſufficient, if not to caſt vpon *Henry* the Title *of a ſhrewd and perillous man*, yet to raiſe a doubt, *whether* (* as one writes) *he was more ſincere and entire then* Ferdinando *King of* Spaine, *vpon whom* (ſaith that Authour) *hee did handſomely beſtowe the enuie of the death of* Edward Plantagenet *Earle of* Warwicke. The life therefore of this Prince (according to rigour of law) being thus in his power, the King gently pardoned all the paines, but the loſſe of his head, which was cut off vpon a ſcaffold at *Tower-hill*, and then (another gracious fauour) his body was not buried in the Chappell of the Tower, or in any other common place, but at * *Biſham* by his Anceſtors. Icalous (ſaith * one) the King was ouer the greatneſſe of his Nobility, as remembring how himſelfe was ſet vp; and much more did this humour encreaſe in him after hee had conflicted with ſuch Idols and Counterfeits as *Lambert Simnel* and *Perkin Warbecke*. The ſtrangeneſſe of which dangers made him thinke nothing ſafe. This Earle was the laſt heire-male of the bloud, and ſurname of *Plantagenet*; whoſe race, as it was a long time glorious for giuing Kings to *England*, (euen from King *Henry* the ſecond) ſo in the end (chiefly for the houſe of *Yorke*) it became hatefull (as it ſeemes) to God and man, for the moſt horrible and inextinguible deadly fewdes, murthers, periuries, and other horrors committed within it ſelfe, which (as then not fully expiated) lay heauily vpon the head of this Earle, and finally threw open all thoſe fences, which the poſſeſſion of Maieſty and numeroſity of iſſue had for ſundry ages caſt about it, letting in thereby the ſurname of *Tydder*, being but two deſcents *Engliſh*, and which now after three deſcents and fiue Princes is alſo vaniſhed. Now, among thoſe few great workes of peace which enſued their firebrands of warre, we muſt remember the marriage of Prince *Arthur*, with the Princeſſe of *Spaine* Lady *Katherine*: The *interim* from *Warwicks* death till then, brought forth a very great plague, whereof in *London* there are ſaid to haue dyed about thirty thouſand. The King and Queene remoue to *Callis* in *May* and returned in *Iune*. The maine * buſines was to reuiew and ratifie the ſtate of amity, and negociations, between the *Engliſh* and the Duke of *Burgundies* Subiects. *Shine* alſo was burnt, and being new builded, called *Richmond*, for which, and the like, it will be fitteſt to haue recourſe to vulgar Annals.

* *Iohn Stow Annal.*

* Sir *Fr. B. M. S.*

Edward Earle of *Warwicke* laſt Male *Plantagenet* beheaded.

* *Polyd. Virg.*

(62) The Coaſt of State now ſeeming cleare from all thickning weather, *Ferdinando* and *Iſabella* King & Queen of *Spain*, according to the points of agreement betweene them and King *Henry*, concerning their fourth daughter the Lady *Katherine* (borne at *Alcala de Finari*, or *Complutum*) ſent her royally appointed in a goodly Fleet to *England*, there to fulfill in perſon, what hitherto had beene onely treated of, who after many difficulties tooke land at * *Plimmouth* in *October*. *Ferdinando* her father was the ſonne of *Iohn* King of *Arragon* and *Sicilia*, and although hee was vnlearned, as being brought vp among armes and ſouldiers, *yet by vſing the familiarity of wiſe men hee alſo became very wiſe*, and proued that great Prince which firſt in theſe latter times recalled the old glory of *Spaine*, & reared it to ſuch an enuious magnitude, as that the iealouſie thereof hath bred no ſmall quarrels in Chriſtendome. For by his marriage with *Iſabella*, (ſole ſiſter and heire to *Henry* the fourth King of *Caſtile* and *Leon*,) he raigned in right of his wife; and ioyntly with her, ouer thoſe two Kingdomes and their appurtenances, who *together* (ſaith * *Marineus* of *Sicilia*) *did admirable things, and works moſt holy*. They * recouered the huge City and Kingdome of *Granada*, and part of *Andaluzia* from the *Moores*, after they had beene in violent poſſeſſion thereof ſeauen hundreth and foureſcore yeares, and hauing purged thoſe places from the filth of *Mahomets* ſuperſtitions, built Churches to the honour of *Ieſus Chriſt*, by occaſion whereof *Ferdinando* was ſurnamed *the Catholike King*. The walles of the City of *Granada* at the time of the ſurrender, which (after about tenne yeares warres) was by *Voabdelis* King therof, made to *Ferdinando* and *Iſabella*, had * twelue miles in compaſſe, and in the ſame twelue Gates, and a thouſand Towers, encloſing ſeauen Hills couered with building, innumerable people, and ineſtimable riches, and the Spaniſh forces at this conqueſt were about 12000. Horſe, and one hundred thouſand foot. The ſaid King and Queene, beſides many other their mighty actions, did alſo firſt diſcouer *America*, by *Chriſtopher Columbus*, and therby brought a whole

A. D. 1501. *An. Reg.* 17.

The Lady *Katherine* of *Spaine* landed in *England*.

* *Pol. Vir. in Hen. 7.*

* *Addit:* to *Fab.*

* *Res admirabiles & opera Sanctiſſima.*

* *Franc. Taraphaeda Reg. Hiſp.*

The briefe of *Ferdinandos* and *Iſabellas* greateſt actions.

* *Luc. Marin. Sic. Lib. 20.*

The Earle of *Warwicke* ruined by *Perkins* conſpiracy.

* *Joh. Stow Annal.*

The Earle confeſſeth the enditement.

* Sir F. B. M. S.

whole new World to the notice of Christendome. *Isabella* her selfe, descended of the bloud-royall of *England*, being daughter of *Iohn* the second King of *Castile* and *Leon*, sonne of *Henrie* the third King of *Castile* and *Leon*, and of *Katherine* his wife, (daughter of * *Iohn* Duke of *Lancaster*, third sonne of our *Edward the third* of triumphall and neuer-dying memory) was a Lady, whose * like the Christian world had seldome any of that wisdome, grauity, chastity, and of so laborious a deuotion, that * *she did not onely day by day performe the Canonicall and hourely taske of prayers vsed by Priests, but many other*, & brought vp her children accordingly.

Isabella Queene of *Spaine* descended from our *Edward* the 3. King of *England*.

* *Anton. Nebriss. Decad.* 1. *lib.* 1.

* *Polyd. Virgil. in Hen.* 7.

* *Luc. Marin. Sic.*

(63) The Lady *Katherine* being about eighteene yeares old, and borne of so great, so noble, so victorious and vertuous parents, is with iust majesty and solemnity openly * married in *Pauls*-Church to *Arthur* Prince of *Wales*, aged about fifteene yeares, and eldest sonne to *Henry* the seauenth, King of *England*, and of *Elizabeth* his wife. The Archbishop of *Canterbury*, assisted with nineteene Bishops and Abbots, mytred, joyned their hands, and performed all the other Church rites vpon that great day. The vulgar Annals can tell you the splendor and glorie thereof, in Apparrell, jewels, Pageants, Banquets, Guests, and other princely complements, the onely weighty businesse of many weaker braines. A graue Lady (as some haue written) was laid in bed between the Bride and Bride-groome, to hinder actuall consummation; in regard of the Princes greene estate of body; but others alleadge many arguments to proue that matrimoniall performance was betweene them, howsoeuer her selfe, (when that afterward came in question) * appealed to the conscience of King *Henry* the eight (her second husband) if he found her not a Maid. But Prince *Arthur* enjoyed his marriage a very short while, for in Aprill following he died at *Ludlow*, being vnder sixteene yeares of age: being a Prince, in whose youth the lights of all noble vertues did clearely begin to shine. His aptnesse to learne was almost incredible, for (by the report of his * Master) hee had eyther learned without booke, or otherwise studiously turned and reuolued with his owne hands and eyes these Authors following. In *Grammar*, *Garin*, *Perot*, *Sulpicius*, *Gellius*, and *Valla*: In Poetrie, *Homer*, *Virgil*, *Lucan*, *Ouid*, *Silius*, *Plautus*, and *Terence*: In Oratorie, *Tullies Offices*, *Epistles*, *Paradoxes* and *Quintilian*: In Historie, *Thucydides*, *Liuie*, *Cæsars Commentaries*, *Suetonius*, *Tacitus*, *Plinius*, *Valerius Maximus*, *Salust*, *Eusebius*. Wherein we haue beene particular, to signifie what Authors were then thought fit to be elementary and rudimentall vnto Princes; and by their example, to all of Noble or gentle birth, whose superficiall boldnesse in bookes in these frothy daies, is become most scandalous and injurious to the honour and vse of learning.

Prince *Arthur* married.

* *Addit.* to *Fab.* saith on a Sunday the feast of *S. Erkenwald.*

* *Io. Stowes Annal.*

Prince *Arthur* dieth.

* *Bern. Andr. M. S.* Prince *Arthurs* bookes, and learning.

(64) But before the vntimely expiration of this great hope of *England*, King *Henry* weary of warres and tumults; and desirous to lay the beginnings of a long peace by most inward friendship with all his great neighbours, had concluded a match betweene *Margaret* his eldest Daughter; and *Iames* the fourth King of *Scotland*, the * assurance whereof was published in the February next before Prince *Arthurs* death at *Pauls*-Crosse; in rejoycement whereof, *Te Deum* was sung, and other signes of publike joy declared. The * Bishop of *Rosse* saith, that the Earle of *Bothwell* did openly hand-fast, or espouse the said faire Lady, in the name of King *Iames* at *Pauls*-Crosse, being Saint *Pauls* day. This contract was brought about in manner following. After that the storme of warre had (by mediation as before said) beene throughly laid betweene the two sister-Nations, it chanced certaine of the Scots by their suspitious behauiour, and rough Phrases to prouoke the Garrison of *Norham*-Castell to issue, who in the bickering slew and hurt some of them, and droue the rest away. King * *Iames* expostulates this violence very sharply by letters with King *Henry*, who returned most satisfactory answeres. *Richard Fox* Bishop of *Durham* (whose the men and Castell were) wrote also many deprecatory letters, humbly praying the Scottish *King* to accept amends, whereunto he in the end inclined, and hauing some matters of farre greater moment to impart, desired the Bishops presence in *Scotland*, (knowing his deepe wisdome and great grace with his Soueraigne) which King *Henry* gladly assented vnto. The meeting was at *Melrose*, an Abbey of Cistertian Monkes, where the King abode, who hauing roundly vttered to the Bishop his offence conceiued for the breach of good termes at *Norham*-Castell, and yet being finally pleased to receiue satisfaction, he then secretly discouered his whole minde, the summe whereof was, *That the King of England would be pleased to giue to him in marriage the Ladie Margaret his eldest daughter, as a pledge of indissoluble amitie.* The Bishop promised his best diligence, and accordingly after his returne, laboured therein with King *Henry*, who most gladly hearkened thereunto. Whereupon the *Scottish King* sent the Archbishop of *Glasco*, the Earle of *Bothwell*, and others, to demand the Lady in marriage. Their entertainement was hearty and princely. But when the proposition came to scanning at the Councell-Table, it had not currant passage at first: for there were who objected as an inconuenience; *That by this marriage the Crowne of England might come to the Scottish line, by the issue of Lady Margaret.* Whereunto it is said, King *Henry* made this answere, * *What if it should? for if any such thing should happen, (which Omen God forbid) I see it will come to passe, that our kingdome shall leese nothing thereby, because there will not be an accession of England to Scotland, but contrarily of Scotland vnto England, as to that which is far away the most noble head of the whole Iland, seeing that which is lesse vseth to accrue to the ornament and honour of that which is much the greater, as Normandy heretofore came to be vnder the dominion and power of the English our fore-fathers.* When this was said, the whole boord of councell receiued it as an Oracle, and it went cleare about, *That Margaret should be married to the King of Scotland.* With this answere, and other instructions, the Scottish Ambassadors were sent home, who afterward returned into *England* with full authority and satisfaction to all *Henries* propositions, whereupon ensued the beforesaid publishment of assurances at *Pauls*-Crosse. It was a principall Article in this agreement: *That no Englishman should enter Scotland, nor Scot into England without commendatory letters from their Soueraigne.* Which Article was reputed a speciall meane to preserue the peace inuiolable.

Bishop *Fox* his presence desired by the Scottish King.

* King *Henries* answere to an objection against the match with *Scotland.*

Episc. Ross. ex Polyd. Virg.

(65) But ere the young Lady her selfe was conuaied into *Scotland*, her brother Prince *Arthur* died, and in * February next ensuing, their Mother also Queene *Elizabeth*, as shee lay in Child-bed within the Tower of *London*. The King to repaire his mind with fresh Consolations, in aduancing his onely remayning sonne, *Henry* Duke of *Yorke*, created him suddainely Prince of *Wales*, Earle of *Chester* & *Flint*, within few dayes after his Mothers decease. Thus was *Arthurs* losse supplied; howsoeuer. *Henry* made Prince, espoused soone after (* though with much reluctation) the Lady *Katherine* his elder Brothers widdow, * vpon the fiue and twentieth of Iune, at the Bishop of *Salisburies* house in *Fleetstreete*. And in this wise, by prouiding so worthy a wife for him, (though to say truth, her great Dower was the chiefe motiue) the *King* thought, that the estate of *England* was sufficiently setled; wherfore conuerting his cares to the accomplishment of affinity with *Scotland*, he most sumptuously furnished his deerest eldest daughter for her journey, and himselfe in person trauelled from *Richmond* as farre with her as *Coleweston* beside *Northampton*, where his Mother the Countesse lay: * after certaine dayes spent in solace, the King gaue her his blessing, with fatherly counsell and exhortation,

An. D. 1502. *An. Reg.* 18. King *Henry* a Widdower, and *Henry* his sonne created Prince of *Wales.*

* See in the life of *Henry* the 8.

* *Io. Stow. Annal.*

K. *Henry* brings his daughter the Lady *Margaret* on the way to *Scotland.*

* *Episc. Ross.*

An. D. 1501. *An. Reg.* 17.

* The contract betweene *Iames* King of *Scots* and Lady *Margaret* published.

* *Io. Stow. Annal. in Iac.* 4.

* *Polyd. Virg. Episc. Ross.*

exhortation, and committed the guard and conduct of her person principally to the Earles of *Surrey* and *Northumberland*, and to such Ladies and Gentlewomen as were appointed to that seruice; a great company of Lords, Knights, Esquiers, and men of Marke attending them as farre as *Berwicke*. At S^t. *Lamberts* Church in *Lamer Moore* within *Scotland*, the King attended by the principall of his Nobles, receiued her from the hands of the Earle of *Northumberland*, and the next yeare after, married her at *Edenborough*, in the presence of all his Nobility. The King gaue great entertainement to the English, and shewed them justing and other pastimes, after the Scottish fashion. The Scottish-men (saith * the Bishop of *Rosse*) were not behinde, but farre aboue the English-men, both in apparrell, rich Iewels, and massie chaines, many Ladies hauing their habiliments set with Gold-smith worke, garnisht with Pearle and Stone of price, with gallant and well-trapped horses. Diuerse Ladies also and young Gentlewomen of *England*, attending Queene *Margaret*, remained there, and were well married to certaine Noblemen of *Scotland*, whose progenie liues honourably there euen at these daies. The effect of this marriage is grauely described by the same Bishop in these words: *There was perfect peace and sincere amity betweene the two Realmes of England and Scotland a long time after. And verily, during the life of King Henry the seuenth, no cause of breach was ministred by either of the Princes, but they continued in great loue and friendship, and mutuall societie, contracting of marriages, continuall enterchange of Merchandize betwixt the Subjects of both the Realmes, as they had beene* AL *vnder the obedience of* ONE PRINCE; *where-through, Iustice, Policy and Riches did flourish and abound throughout the whole Isle of Albion.* And of this marriage is *Iames* the sixth descended, being that ONE PRINCE vnder whose obedience AL are now gouerned, as vnder the sole and lawfull lineall *Monarch of Great-Britaine:* for this *Iames* the fourth had Issue *Iames* the fift, hee had Issue Queene *Mary*, she had Issue our present Soueraigne, the great grand-childe of the said Queene *Margaret* eldest daughter of King *Henrie* the seauenth.

The Earle of *Northumberland* deliuers her to King *Iames* within *Scotland*.

* *In Iac. 4.*

The immediate happy effect of this marriage.

(66) Which effects of peace and riches, as they could not but be comfortable to so wise a King as *Henry*, they being the fruit as it were of his owne just labours; so let vs now obserue the last worldly cares of his raigne, and vpon what objects he fixed his minde, freed from the awe of open challenges of the Crowne, and from throwes at his maine, which with what art, valour and felicity, hee at first atchieued, and with how great hazards, troubles, and bloudie businesses, he brought it to such passe, that neighbour-Kings reputed it safe to enter-marry with his Family, wee haue already heard: Two principall poynts tooke vp the last Scenes of his life; for the rest of his time he wholly employed, eyther in the seruice of Almighty God (wherein hee was so diligent, that euery day he was present, after the deuotions of those times, at two or three Masses, oftentimes hearing godly Sermons,) or in *building*, wherewith he kept his senses busied. The one of the two chiefe poynts, was to watch ouer the waies of his wiues kindred (the remaining branches of the turbulent & vnfortunate house of *Yorke*) whose growth and greatnesse he supposed might at some time or other ouer-top his owne; the other was, vnder opinion of justice, to encrease his treasure out of the common purses, whereby hee seemed onerous to many, and somewhat obscured the brightnesse of his former glory, at least-wise diminished his opinion with the generality. Considering his courses holden with his wiues kindred, (the laterall issues and staddles of the *Plantagenets*) it fell out thus; which (by *occasion of the accidentall landing of *Philip* King of *Spaine* at this time, whereby the * Earle of *Suffolkes* taking was procured) wee thought it best to handle here together. *Edmund de la Pole* Earle of *Suffolke*, (sonne to *Iohn* Duke of *Suffolke*, and of *Elizabeth* sister to King *Edward* the fourth) in the sixteenth yeare of King *Henries* raigne, wilfully slew a common person in his fury. *Henry* not sorry to haue occasion of encreasing his popularity, by presenting so great a person to exemplary justice, and in the same act to blemish the honour of a man, whose quality was to him suspected, caused him for the same to be arraigned. The fact hee was perswaded to confesse, and thereupon had pardon. The Earle neuertheless, as a Prince of the bloud, holding himselfe disgraced, by hauing beene seene a Prisoner at the *Kings-Bench-Barre*, fled the Land discontented, and went to his Aunt the Dutchesse Dowager of *Burgundie*; but within a while after, being fairely reconciled, hee returned. After which, notwithstanding, whether it were by reason of debt (the certaine attendant of vaine-spirited, and base-braue-minded Courtiers) whereinto he had deepely throwne himselfe, for his furniture, at the celebration of his cousen Prince *Arthurs* marriage, or for that the restlesse spirit of enuy in the Dutchesse had preuailed, he taking his Brother with him, fled againe the next yeare after. The King, who had pardoned his life, seemed now to repent his clemency, * though it is plaine, hee spared him of purpose, till he might discouer more of a conspiracy which he knew was in hammering; but his flight troubled him not a little, knowing the violent humour of that Lord, and remembring to what a dangerous and bloudy issue his Brother the Earle of *Lincolne* had once already brought things at the battell of *Stoke* in the beginning of his raigne.

A Prince of the bloud-royall arraigned for murther of a priuate person.

The Earle of *Suffolke* causeth troubles.

Polyd. Virgil. Edw. Hall. Holinsh. Io. Stow Annal.

* *Polyd. Virgil.*

(67) For remedy, he betakes himselfe to his wonted arts, and therefore to learne the secrets of the enemy, Sir *Robert Curson* Knight (Captaine of the Castell of *Hammes* by *Callis*) faines himselfe a friend to the Earle, and flyes from his charge vnto him. An office vnworthy of Knighthood; neither can any good spirit in the world stoope it selfe to such double-faced employment, which besides the treacherous dissimulations thereof, cannot but be accompanied with wilfull impieties. For who is admitted into trust vpon a contrary side, without inuocations of Gods holy name, protestations, adjurations, oathes, the vtmost assurances which man can giue to man, to beget a conuenient affiance in his sinceritie? but by this stratagem the King ransackes the bosomes and cabinets of his aduersaries, discouering their designes and hopes. Whereupon, *William Courtney* Earle of *Deuonshire* (being most nobly descended, and hauing to his wife the Lady *Katherine*, one of the daughters of King *Edward* the fourth, and sister to Queene *Elizabeth* wife of King *Henry*) *William de la Pole* Brother to the said *Edmund* Earle of *Suffolke*, Sir *Iames Tyrrell*, Sir *Iohn Windham* Knights, with other, were attached, and committed to custody, and afterward also * *George Neuill* Lord *Abergenie*, and Sir *Thomas Greene* Knight, were likewise apprehended, but were soone deliuered. The Earle of *Deuonshire*, though innocent (for it is the misery of such great men, that their owne innocency cannot alwaies procure their owne safety; but their birthright many times, and often other mens designations without their least priuity, is enough to hazard them, yea it is in the power of any conspirator by bare nomination, to doe as much, so that it concernes them *to haue an eye not to their owne onely, but to the behauiour also of their whole Alliances and dependancies*) this Earle (I say) though innocent, remayned Prisoner during this Kings life, and some yeares of his Sonnes raigne, who set him at liberty. The other, *William* the Earle of *Suffolkes* Brother, had not so strict an hand holden ouer him. But Sir *Iames Tyrrell*, Lieutenant of *Guines*-Castell, and Sir *Iohn VVyndham*, *VVelbourn*, seruant to Sir *Iames Tyrrell*, *Curson* a Pursuant, *Matthew Iones* Yeoman, and a Shipman, were condemned of Treason, for ayding the Earle of *Suffolke*. The * two Knights were beheaded at Tower-Hill. The Shipman

Apprehensions of persons for the Earle of *Suffolkes* cause.

* *Polyd. Virg.*

The misery of great subjects & a lesson for them.

Executions for the Earle of *Suffolkes* cause.

* *Stowes Annal.*

*A.D.1506. *An. Reg. 21.*

* *Addit. to Fab.* cals him Duke.

man quartered at *Tiburne*: * *Curſon* and *Iones* ſuffered death at *Guines*.

(68) This ſo round and quicke dealing with the Earles complices and fauourers, ſtartled his ſhallow and raw inuentions, and made their whole bulke to ſwarue and ſplinter; but the King reſted not ſo; for vpon the Sunday before the feaſt of *SS. Simon* and *Iude*, in the ſame yeare, of the ſaid executions, there was publiſhed at *Pauls-Croſſe*, by the Kings procurement from Pope *Alexander* the ſixt, a Bull of * *Excommunication* and curſe againſt the ſaide Earle of *Suffolke*, Sir *Robert Curſon*, and fiue other perſons by ſpeciall name, and generally all other which ayded the Earle againſt the King, to the diſturbance of the kingdome. Thus did the moſt prudent *Henrie* purſue his enemies, not onely with ſecret countermines and open weapons of Law, before they could aſſemble to make any ſhew, but alſo with ſpirituall lightening; which doubtleſſe, had they beene vpon juſt cauſe, and by lawfull authoritie fulminated, ought infinitely to be dreaded of good Chriſtians, becauſe (as *Saint Paul* ſaith) *they deliuer ouer to Satan*. Sir *Robert Curſon* was named, of purpoſe, to make the Earle ſecure of him; which may well be called a perillous, if not a prophane deuiſe, though his Holineſſe were made the inſtrument thereof. Neither did the King leaue here, for by his Letters and Meſſengers he ſo preuailed with Pope * *Alexander*, as hee decreed by his Bull, *That no perſon ſhould afterward haue priuiledge of Sanctuary, who had once taken the ſame, and come forth againe: and that*, * *if any Sanctuarie-man ſhould afterward commit any murther, robbery, ſacriledge, treaſons, &c. hee ſhould by lay force be drawne thence to ſuffer due puniſhment*. This was of great vſe to the King, and preſerued many Subjects from precipitation, for the abuſe of Sanctuaries had beene an efficient of many troubles. But the ſame Pope (hauing ſent *Iohn Giglis* his *Receiuer*, to gather money in *England*) ſhewed himſelfe much more fauourable to ſuch as perpetrated thoſe ſaid hainous offences, as alſo, *Vſury, Symony, Rapines, Adulteries, or whatſoeuer offences, (excepting certaine offences againſt the Pope and Clergy, &c.)* when hee ſent a * *Bull* of Pardons (for money) to all ſuch offendors in England; *diſpenſing alſo thereby, with ſuch, as kept away, or by any fraud had gotten the goods of other men, which they ſhould now retaine ſtill without ſcruple of conſcience, ſo as they paid a ratable portion thereof vnto his Holineſſe Receiuers*. Sir *Robert Curſon* (though before accurſed by the Pope) returnes, when he ſaw fit time, into *England*, and withall into wonted fauour with his Soueraigne. The Earle, ſeeing himſelfe thus ſtript of all hope to doe much harme, wandred about *Germany* and *France* to finde repoſe, but in the end quite tyred, hee put himſelfe into the grace and protection of *Philip* then in *Flanders*, who by the death of *Iſabella* was King of *Spaine*, in right of *Ioan* his wife, eldeſt daughter of *Ferdinando* and *Iſabella*; where he remayned in baniſhment, till King *Philip* was driuen by tempeſt in the moneth of *Ianuary* into *England*, as hee meant to haue paſſed through the *ſleeue*, or *Engliſh* Ocean, into *Spaine*, there to take poſſeſſion of that Kingdome, and other the appurtinances.

(69) The chiefe Ship of the *Nauie-Royall*, wherein the King was, and two other (all the reſt being ſcattered by the fury of the weather into ſeuerall places and other Ports of *England*,) thruſt into Harbour at * *Falmouth*. Himſelfe weary and ſicke with the violent toſſings of the Sea (whereunto hee had neuer, as it ſeemes, beene vſed,) would needes come on ſhoare, and refreſh his ſpirits, though the principall men about him diſſwaded that courſe, as foreſeeing it would procure a longer ſtay, then the nature of their occaſions would perhaps well beare. And ſo indeed it fell out, for being now in another Princes (though his friends) dominions, where hee had no power ouer himſelfe, nor others, and the rumour of arriuall ſtirring the men in authority thereabout; Sir *Thomas Trenchard* Knight with the ſudden forces of the countrey, not knowing what the matter might be, came thither, and vnderſtanding the royall quality of the perſon, inuited him with all humble humanity to his houſe, and forthwith diſpatched poſtes to Court; not long after Sir *Iohn Caro* Knight, (with a great troupe of armed men) repaired alſo, purſuing the like humble entreaties; which the King, fearing conſtraint, becauſe they were but ſubjects, and durſt not let him paſſe without their Lord & Maſters leaue neceſſarily yeelded vnto. Vpon notice of this mighty Princes caſuall arriuall, King *Henry* preſently commanded the Earle of *Arundel* to entertaine him till himſelfe could come, who very magnificently did ſo, with * three hundred Horſes by Torch-light; and in the meane-while King *Henry* himſelfe prepares. *Philip* perceiuing, that whatſoeuer ſpeed his affaires required, yet now there was no remedy but to ſtay, thought not good to expect his approach, but to preuent it, and came vpon the ſpurre to *Windſore*, that he might be gone againe the ſooner, after whom Queene *Ioan* his Wife came leaſurably. The reſt of this entertainement, becauſe it hath matter of weight, and is well ſet downe by *Polydor Virgil*, it ſhall ſuffice vs to follow his footſteps. At *Windſore*, the two Kings, after long and ſeuerall diſcourſes, began to conferre about renewing their league. *Henrie* required *that Edmund Earle of Suffolke might be deliuered vp into his power*, which *Philip* denyed to be a thing that he could doe, as holding it moſt vnreaſonable to be the author of his death, whom hee had taken into Protection: but when at the laſt he found, that no excuſe nor reaſon could ſatisfie, for that, *Henrie* voluntarily offered to ſaue the Earles life, he promiſed to do therein what he deſired, and preſently tooke order for his ſending ouer. According whereunto, King *Henrie* (to draw out the time, till hee had the wiſhed prey) conuayed King *Philip* to *London*, to ſhew him the head Citie of his Kingdome, out of which, after a little ſtay, he re-conducted him. The Earle in the meane time, who conceyued horror at the firſt newes of King *Philips* landing in *England*, as fatall to him, and reſolued that no hope was longer to be repoſed in the faith of forraine Princes, *came ouer not vnwillingly*, preſuming that after pardon of life, hee might alſo in time re-gaine his liberty; or if that hope fayled, yet ſhould he at leaſt-wiſe obtaine to die, and be buried in his Countrey. But King *Philip* and his Queene, hauing feaſted with her ſiſter the *Princeſſe of Wales*, departed *England*. The Earle was brought through *Flanders* to *Callis* vpon the ſixteenth of March, and landed at *Douer* vpon the foure & twentieth of the ſame, conuayed thither by Sir *Henrie Wyat*, and Sir *Iohn Wiltſhire*, with threeſcore men in armour of the Garriſon of *Callis*; and at *Douer* Sir *Iohn Louel* and others receyuing him, guarded him ſafe to the Tower of *London*. King *Philip*, not long after his landing in *Spaine* deceaſed, being not thirtie yeares olde. That tempeſt which draue him into *England*, was holden by the people as prodigious; for it blew downe the *Golden-Eagle* from the famous Spire of *Pauls*-Steeple (being of Copper, richly ouer-guilt, of forty pounds weight, in length foure foot, and in bredth three,) which alſo in the fall thereof, brake and battered the ſigne of the *Blacke Eagle*, in *Pauls*-Church-yard, in the place where now the *Schoole-houſe* ſtands. This accident euen then made ſome conjecture, that the Emperour *Maximilian* (whoſe Imperiall Enſigne the *Eagle* is) *ſhould ſuffer ſome loſſe accordingly* (ſaith *Polydor*) *as indeed he did by the death of King Philip his ſonne*. Which (if any ſuperſticiouſly delight in Calculations of that blinde nature) we may well paralell with that * lightning which ſtroke the Letter *C*. out of *Cæſar* in the inſcription of *Cæſar Auguſtus* his ſtatue; whereupon it was gathered, that *Auguſtus* ſhould liue but *one hundreth* daies after, and then be called a *God*, (*Æſar* the remaining ſyllables ſo ſignifying in the olde *Hetruſcan* tongue,) which accordingly hapned.

(70) Thus

* *Add. to Fab.*

* *Addit. to Fab.* The Earle or Duke of *Suffolke*, and Sir *Robert Curſon* and others accurſed.

* *Antiquit. Britan. in Mortons life*, names *Innocentius*, and not *Alexander*.
* *Polyd. Virgil. Ant quit Brit. in vita Morton.*

* *Antiquit. Britan. Ibidem.*

Philip the firſt, King of *Spaine*, and his Queene driuen by tempeſts into *England*.

An. D. 1506. *An. Reg. 21.*

* *Ioh. Stow Annal. Polydor* ſaith *Waymouth*.

* *Io. Stow Annal.*

The Kings of *England* and *Spaine* at Windſore.

Polyd. Virgil.

The Earle of *Suffolke* deliuered vp, and ſent to the Tower.

The ominous fall of the weather-cocke of *Pauls*.

* *Suet. in Aug. cap. 97.*

(70) Thus was the Earle of *Suffolke* brought backe, and the King anchored his quiet at the safe custody of his person within the Tower. The other worldly poynt wherein he chiefely bestowed his ages care, was to gather money, though by courses seeming very grieuous and full of bitternesse; the too-griping *greedinesse*, and too-profuse *lauishnesse* of money in Princes, being both alike offensiue to a well-setled estate. Some excuse his doings herein (amongst whom *Polydor* is chiefe) as not proceeding from any deprauation or vncorrected affection of his nature; but from an opinion and fore-cast of generall profit: becausea Princes humour of gathering, tendeth, though with distaste of particular men, to the good publique, whereas his profusenesse, though with some particular mens profit, endeth in the empouerishment of the whole. And *Henry* himselfe protested (saith *Polydor*) *hee did it not for loue of money, but with a purpose to bridle the fierce mindes of a Nation bred vp among factions:* though they (saith the same Author) who felt the smart, and were wounded by his *Instruments*,)* cried out *they were not so much the darts of seuerity, which did hit them, as of auarice.* Yet *Polydors* Apologie may be current: for it is not to be doubted, but that such vse the King might propound himselfe; and yet withall, wee can hardly finde any commendable root thereof, the wayes being so importune and harsh, by which hee raised money. Let vs heare in this poynt the obseruatiue *Knight. *Of nature* (saith he) *Henry coueted to accumulate treasure, which the people (into whom there is infused, for the preseruation of Monarchies, a naturall desire to discharge their Princes, though it be with the vnjust charge of their Counsellors and Ministers) did impute vnto Cardinall Morton, and Sir Reinald Bray, who (as it afterward appeared) as Counsellors of ancient authoritie with him, did so sound his humour, as neuertheless they tempered it.* Where it is truely said, *it afterward appeared:* for till they were gone to account to God, and his feare for the maine quite banished, the King did not let loose the reines to his immoderate desire of hauing, which yet was not more sinnefull, then the meanes vnder him practised, were odious. *For * Empson and Dudley that followed, being persons that had no reputation with him, otherwise then the seruile following of his owne humors, gaue him way, and shaped him weanes to those extremities, whereby himselfe was touched with remorse at his death, and which his successor disauowed.* And this we take to be a true judgement. To be particular in the recitall of things worthy to dye in forgetfulnesse, is not onely to recite, but in a sort to teach them also, as some, who by broad inuectiues, haue as it were read a lecture of those vices, against which they haue pretended to inueigh. But publique and shamefull Arts may more safely be deliuered. The instruments whom the King set on worke, (or who perhaps set the King on worke) were * two Lawyers, *Richard Empson*, (afterward knighted) and *Edmund Dudley* Esquier; their employment was to call the richer subject into question for breach of old penall lawes, long before discontinued and forgotten, whereby they brake in vpon the people, as it were at vnaware, like a kinde of authorized robbers, masked vnder the pretext of *seruice for the King*, and the names of *Delators* or *Promotors*, a * familiar sickenesse in the times of ancient Tyrannies. But the courses to execute their employment, were void of all conscience and colour. For one of them was to * *outlaw persons secretly, and then to seise their estates*, driuing them to chargefull compositions with the King, and heauy bribes to the Authors of their trouble. More detestable was another practise of theirs: For *there were false Iurors and ring-leaders of false Iurors, who would neuer giue any verdict against the will of their patrons*, the said *Empson* and *Dudley*; so that if any durst stand out vpon triall, the destiny of their causes was squared forth by the leaden rule of those fellows consciences; which to be a truth, the expiatory punishment which King *Henry* the eight tooke of them in the first yeare of his raigne, doth clearely conuince. By these meanes many honest and worthy Subjects were rigorously fined, imprisoned, or otherwise afflicted, which filled the Land with sorrow and repinings. Among very many others thus abused, Sir *William Capell* Alderman of *London* was eminent, as from whom, in the tenth yeare of the Kings raigne, had beene scruzed, vnder the colour of moth-eaten and vn-reuiued *Lawes*, aboue sixteene hundreth pounds sterling, and was now againe plaide at a-fresh, and another hand drawne vpon him for two thousand pounds, which becausehe would not pay, hee was by *Dudley* commaunded prisoner to the Tower; but by the death of the King which ensued, all such Prisoners were released. If any perhaps will slight the hard vsage extended to Citizens, and to the like, they are vnwise therein, neither thinke as Patriots ought. For though it may so fall out that the personall vexation of some few, merits no great pitty; yet the example is pestilent; and it is a part of the cunning, to choose out at first such for patternes, as vpon whose persons least compassion may fall, which examples may afterward bee extended to whomsoeuer. These reuels and rages against the wealthier sort continued, till it pleased GOD to sting the Kings heart with just compunction, toward the horror of his death; who had the fauour from Heauen, as to lye sicke of a consuming disease, which wasted him by such insensible degrees, as gaue him the vse of his whole selfe (as it were) till the last gaspe, whereby he had meanes to recollect himselfe, after those many soule-wounding assaults which attend regall greatnesse, and to submit his thoughts to such ghostly admonishments (touching another life) whereunto in daies of health, the hearts or eares of great Princes are seldome attentiue.

(71) About the yeare of his death, hauing vnderstood that *Lewis* King of *France*, despayring of Issue-Male, had annulled the Contracts made betweene *Charles* King of *Spaine*, (sonne of the late King *Philip*, and afterward elected Emperour by the name of *Charles* the fift) and the Lady *Claudia* his eldest daughter, whom he newly betrothed to *Francis* of *Valois* Dolphin of *France*, and Duke of *Angolesme*; King *Henry* (whose care for preseruation of the common quiet, and good of his Countrey, by forraine alliances, was euer wholy in him & awake) thought it a faire occasion for him to match his younger daughter the Lady *Marie*. The French King to haue the aduise of *Iames* the fourth King of *Scots*, in the bestowing the said Madam *Claudia* his eldest Daughter, had before sent *Bernard Steward* Lord *Dobignie*, and the President of *Tholouz*, Ambassadours for that purpose; who finally in effect receyued this answere: * *That the saide King Iames thought it best that his eldest daughter should be married within his owne Realme of France; for if she were married vpon any forraine Prince, it might giue colour to claime title to the said Realme afterward. And if he did marry her at home, rather to him the saide Francis, whom he had appointed to succeed then any other.* Which resolution was very acceptable to King *Lewis*, becausе it jumped with his owne purpose, and it was followed accordingly. King *Henry* therefore hearing that King *Charles* might be obtained, so pursued the poynt *by the prudent managing of *Richard Fox* (now Bishop of *Winchester*) his Ambassadour, that King *Charles* his Ambassadours comming out of *Flanders*, where hee was educated, and meeting him at *Callis*, the affaire was opened, disputed, concluded, and the Lady *Mary*, then about ten yeares of age, (as King *Charles* himselfe) was by solemne contract assured to him for wife.

(72) Now therefore his sonne *Henry* Prince of *Wales*, being heire of the Crowne, and married; his eldest daughter, the Lady *Margaret*, Queene of *Scotland*; the Lady *Mary* his youngest, prouided for so highly (though in the end it came to nothing) all likelihood

King *Henries* gathering of treasure.

*Non tam seueritatis, quam auaritiæ tela esse clamabant.

* Sir Fr. B. M.S.

King *Henry* giues way to the needlesse molestation of his people.

* Sir Fr. B. M.S.

*Addit. to Hard. The foule practises vsed to empouerish the subject.

* Cor. Tacit.

* Polyd. Virgil.

*Io. Stow Annal.

An. D. 1508. *An. Reg. 23.*

The King falleth sicke.

Polyd. Virgil.

King *Henry* seekes to assure his daughter *Mary* to *Charles* King of *Castile*.

The French King sends for aduise to the King of *Scots*.

* Episc. Roff.

* Polyd. Virgil.

The Lady *Mary* promised to King *Charles*.

An. D. 1508. *An. Reg. 24.*

likelihood of perill by competitors, or buſie Factioniſts, buried in the Tower, by the empriſonment of *Edmund* Earle of *Suffolke*; his people tractable and calme; his coffers full, and the ſtate of things ripe for a ſucceſſour: Death (the executioner of the Almighties ſentence,) was ready to diſcharge him of the priſon of his fleſh. Before he departed, * *well diſpoſed perſons tendering the health of his ſoule, did both in Sermons, and otherwiſe, informe him of the exclamations againſt Informers*; Wherefore hee of his bleſſed diſpoſition, granted to all men generall pardons, certaine onely excepted. In his life-time he founded the goodly Hoſpitall of the *Sauoy*, built ſixe religious Houſes for *Franciſcan Friers*, three of them for *Obſeruants*, and the other three for *Conuentuals*. Of his building alſo was *Richmond*-Pallace, and that moſt beautifull peece, the Chappell at *Weſtminſter*, the one the place of his death, and the other of his buriall: which formes of more curious and exquiſite building, he and Biſhop *Foxe*, firſt (as is reported) learned in *France*, and thence brought with them into *England*. He died about the age of fifty two yeres, vpon the two and twentieth of * *April*, hauing raigned twenty three yeares and eight moneths. A right noble, wiſe, victorious, and renowned King, and one whoſe pietie would haue beene farre more eminent then all his other vertues, if from the beginning the malignant quality of the times would haue permitted him to liue in quiet. Hee ſpecially honoured the remembrance of that Saint-like Man, *Henry* the ſixt, the founder of his Family, and Propheticall fore-teller of that fortune which now he died ſeiſed of, whom alſo hee laboured to haue * Canonized for a *Saint*, but that Pope *Iulio* held that honour at too high a rate. It is reckoned by ſome Writers * of that age among his principall glories, that three Popes, *Alexander* the ſixth, *Pius* the third, and *Iulius* the ſecond, did in their ſeuerall times, with authority and conſent of the Cardinals, elect and chooſe him for *chiefe defenſor of Chriſts Church*, before all other Chriſtian Princes. In his laſt Will and Teſtament, after the diſpoſition of his Soule and Body, he deuiſed and willed *Reſtitution ſhould be made of all ſuch monyes as had vnjuſtly beene leuied by his Officers*. A moſt pious and truely Chriſtian care, whereby alſo appeareth, that he hoped the wrongs done vnder him were not ſo enormous nor innumerable, but that they might fall within the poſſibility of redreſſe. The deſcription of his whole man, is had in the beginning of his life, and the courſe thereof deſcribed in his Actions. There remaine of his wiſdome many effects, and thoſe as his fame, likely to continue for euer.

K. *Henry* the 7. dies.

* *Iohn Stow.*

Generall pardons granted by the King.

* Sir *Fr. B.* M.S. *Iob. Stow Annal.* The yeare of his age, and raigne.

A Saint loſt for want of pay.
* *Cambden in Surrey.*
See more *Supra in Edward 4.* §. 79. & 80.
* *Add to Fabian. King Henry* ſaluted Defenſor of Chriſts Church by three Popes.

His Wife.

(71) *Elizabeth*, the firſt Childe Legitimate, and eldeſt Daughter of *King Edward the Fourth*, was at the age of nineteene, vpon the eighteenth of Ianuarie, and yeare of Chriſt Ieſus 1485. married vnto King *Henry the Seauenth*, whereby was vnited the long-contending Families of *Lancaſter* and *Yorke*, and the Roſes *Red* and *White* joyned into one, to the great joy of the Engliſh Subjects. She was crowned at *VVeſtminſter* vpon the fiue and twentieth of Nouember, the third of her Husbands Raigne, and of Grace 1487. Shee was his Wife eighteene yeares, and twentie foure dayes, and died in Childebed in the Tower of *London*, the eleauenth of February, euen the day of her owne Natiuitie, the eighteenth of her Husbands raigne, and yeare of our Saluation, 1503. and is buried at *VVeſtminſter* in the moſt magnificent Chappell and rich Monument of Copper and gilt, where ſhee with her husband lieth entombed.

His Iſſue.

(72) *Arthur*, the eldeſt Sonne of King *Henrie* the Seauenth, and of Queene *Elizabeth* his wife, was borne at *Wincheſter* the twentieth day of September, the yeare of Grace, one thouſand foure hundred eightie ſixe, and the ſecond of his Fathers raigne. In whoſe fifth yeare he was created Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornewall*, and Earle of *Cheſter*, and at the age of fifteene yeares, one moneth and twenty fiue dayes, vpon the foureteenth of Nouember, in the yeare of our Lord, one thouſand fiue hundred and one, eſpouſed the Lady *Katherine*, daughter to *Ferdinando* King of *Spaine*, ſhe being then about eighteene yeares of age, in the Cathedrall Church of *Saint Paul*, *London*; and preſently ſent into *Wales*, the better to gouerne that principality by his owne Preſence, enjoyed his marriage bed onely foure moneths and nineteene dayes, departing this life at *Ludlow* the ſecond of Aprill, the yeare of our Lord, one thouſand fiue hundred and two, of his Fathers raigne ſeauenteene, and of his owne age fifteene yeares, ſixe moneths, and thirteene dayes. His body, with all due funerall ſolemnities, was buried in the Cathedrall Church of *Saint Maries* in *Worceſter*, where, in the South-ſide of the Quire he remaineth entombed in Touch, or Ietre, without any remembrance of him by picture.

(73) *Henrie*, the ſecond ſonne of King *Henrie* the ſeauenth, and of Queene *Elizabeth*, was borne at *Greenwich* in the Countie of *Kent*, the two and twentieth of Iune, in the yeare of Grace, one thouſand foure hundred ninetie and one, being the ſeauenth of his Fathers raigne. In his Infancy he was created Duke of *Yorke*, and Marſhall of *England*, and ſo trained vp in his youth to literature, as hee was righ.ly accounted the beſt learned Prince in *Europe*, and, by the death of his Brother, ſucceeded his Father in all his Dominions; whoſe Raigne and Acts are preſently to be related.

(74) *Edmund*, the third ſonne of King *Henrie*, and of Queene *Elizabeth*, was borne in the yeare of Chriſt, one thouſand foure hundred ninetie fiue, and in his young yeares was created Duke of *Sommerſet*, which Title he no long time enjoyed, being taken away by death at *Biſhops-Hatfield*, before hee attained fully to fiue yeares of age, the yeare of Grace, one thouſand foure hundred ninetie and fiue, and fifteenth of his Fathers Raigne, his Body lyeth interred at Saint *Peters* in *VVeſtminſter*.

(75) *Margaret*, the eldeſt Daughter of King *Henrie*, and of Lady *Elizabeth* his Queen, was borne the nine and twentieth day of Nouember, the yeare of Chriſt 1489. and fifth of her fathers raigne; ſhe at the age of foureteene was married vnto *Iames* the Fourth King of *Scotland*, the yeare of our Lord one thouſand fiue hundred and three, vnto whom ſhee bare *Iames* the fifth, *Arthur* and *Alexander*, and a Daughter: which laſt three, dyed all of them young; and, after the death of King *Iames* (being ſlain at *Flodden*-field in fight againſt the *Engliſh*,) ſhe was re-married vnto *Archibald Douglas* Earle of *Anguiſſe*, in the yeare of our Lord, one thouſand fiue hundred and foureteene, vnto whom ſhee bare *Margaret*, afterward eſpouſed vnto *Matthew* Earle of *Lennox*, Father by her of the Lord *Henrie*, who died at the age of nine moneths, and lyeth interred in the vpper end of the Chancel in the Pariſh-Church of *Stepney* neere *London*, vpon whoſe Graue is engrauen in Braſſe, as followeth:

> *Heere lieth Henry Steward, Lord Darle, of the age of three quarters of a yeere, late Sonne and Heire of Matthew Steward Earle of Lennox and Lady Margaret his wife, which Henrie deceaſed the XXVIII. day of Nouember, in the yeare of our Lord God 1545. Whoſe Soule Ieſus pardon.*

Her ſecond Sonne was *Henry* Lord *Dernley* a Noble Prince; and reputed for perſon one of the goodlieſt

Gentlemen of *Europe*, who married *Mary* Queene of *Scotland*, the royall Parents of the moſt royal Monarch *Iames* the firſt, King of great *Britaine*, and of the *Britaine World*. And her third Sonne was *Charles* Earle of *Lennox*, father vnto Lady *Arbella*.

(76) *Elizabeth*, the ſecond Daughter of King *Henry* and Lady *Elizabeth* his Queene, was borne the ſecond day of *Iuly*, one thouſand foure hundred ninety two, and died the foureteenth of *September*, and yeare of Chriſt, one thouſand foure hundred ninety fiue, and is interred at *Weſtminſter*.

(77) *Mary*, the third bloſſome of the Imperiall Roſe-tree of *England*, was firſt wife to *Lewis* King of *France*, who liued not long after, and died without iſſue by her. Her ſecond Husband was that Martiall and pompous Gentleman, *Charles Brandon* Duke of Suffolke.

(78) *Katherine*, fourth Daughter of this ſeauenth *Henrie*, and of *Elizabeth* his Queene, was borne vpon Candlemas-day, in the yeare of our Lord one thouſand fiue hundred and three, and in the eighteenth yeare of her Fathers raigne, who was called vnto a far better Kingdome within a ſhort while after.

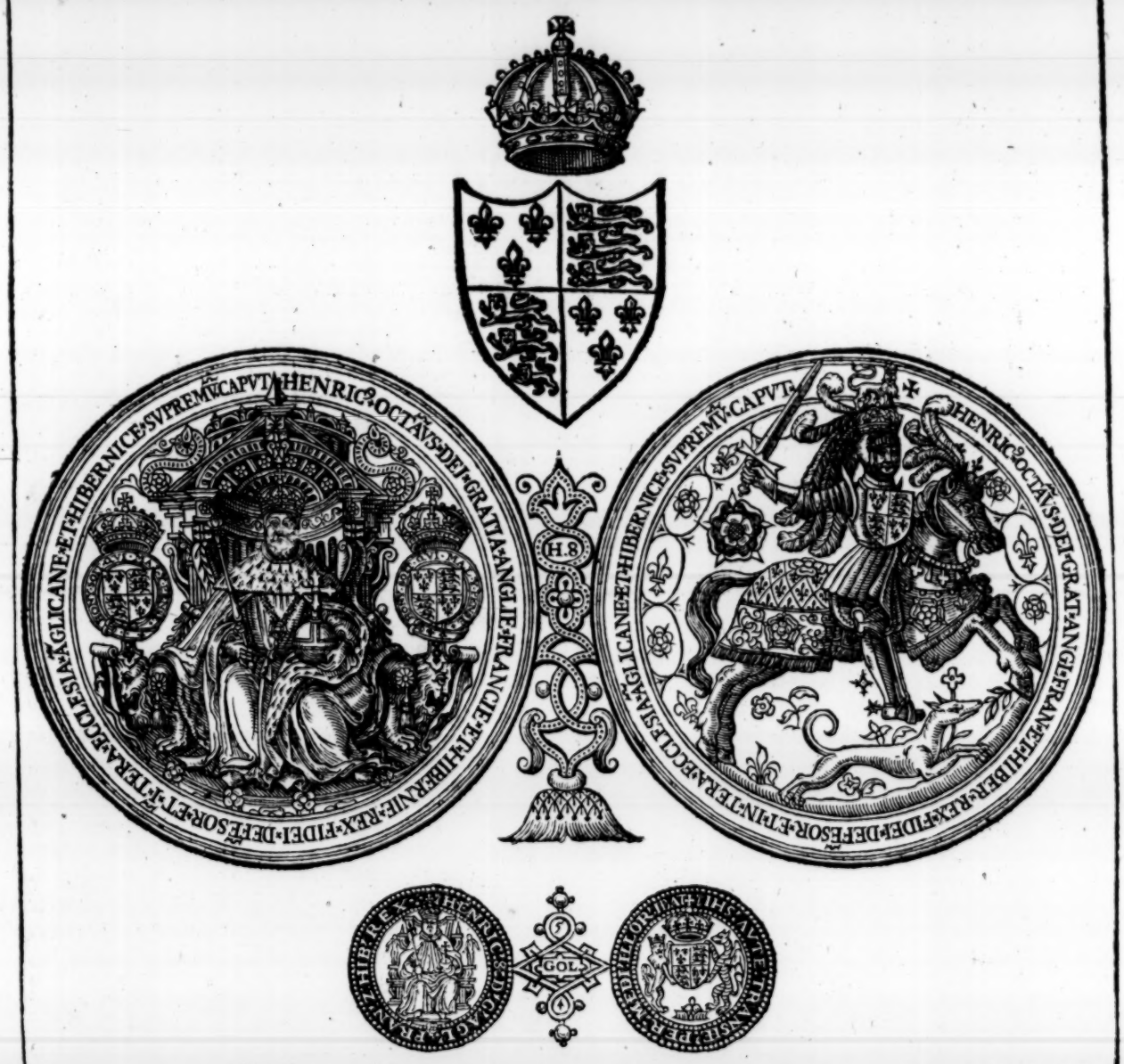
HENRIE

Henry VIII.

HENRIE THE EIGHT OF THAT NAME, KING OF ENGLAND, FRANCE, AND IRELAND, DEFENDER OF THE FAITH, &c.

Monarch 58

THE FIFTIE-EIGHT MONARCH OF THE ENGLISH, HIS RAIGNE, ACTS, WIVES, AND ISSVE.



CHAPTER XXI.

An.D.1509.

THe rich and wiſe King (*Henrie* the ſeauenth) gone (as is ſaid) the way of all fleſh, his Sonne bearing the ſame name, a moſt magnanimous and heroicall Prince, ſucceeded in his Throne ouer all his Dominions, as the onely true heire vnto the Crowne, by both the Houſes of *Lancaſter* and *Yorke*. His birth was at *Greenwich*, in the yeare of Grace, 1491. the twentieth two of Iune: and his youth ſo trained vp in literature, that he was accounted the moſt learned Prince of all Chriſtendome, indued with parts moſt beſitting a King, both in lineaments of body, and liberality of minde, beſides his ripe knowledge in politicke affaires, and was made the more agreeable to the affections of men, by the conſideration of his flouriſhing age, as hauing not attained vnto nineteene at his fathers death. In his infancy he was created Duke of *Yorke*; at twelue yeares (his Brother deceaſed) Prince of *Wales*, and at eighteene became ſole Monarch of the Land, when at *VVeſtminſter* vpon Sunday the twenty fift of Iune, euen the feſtiuall of Saint *Iohn Baptiſt*, and yeare of Chriſt Ieſus, 1509. he with his beauteous Queene *Katherine* receyued their Crownes at the hands of *William Warham* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, no Prince giuing better hopes vnto juſtice, or ſeeking the wealth of his ſubjects more then himſelfe.

King *Henry* his birth-place. *Polydor.*

The moſt learned King of Chriſtendome.

King *Henry* and Queene *Katherine* crowned. *Edw. Hall.*

(2) His Counſellors hee choſe of the graueſt

King Henry vſed to ſit often in Councell himſelfe in perſon.

Diuines, and the wiſeſt Nobility, with whom he not onely often ſate, to the great encreaſe of his politicke experience; but would alſo yeeld his authoritie to their graue and farre in-ſeeing wiſdomes: Of whom the plaints of Petitiones were ſo mouingly regarded, that Proclamations went forth, with promiſe of reſtitution, to them that had beene wronged by *Dudley* or *Empſon*, two perſons that had abuſed the authority of K. *Henrie* his Father, by enriching their owne coffers, with the vtter vndoing of many better ſubjects. Theſe men, King *Henry* the ſeauenth had made his Inſtruments for the finding out of offenders in his penall Statutes, themſelues being learned in the Lawes, and apt inough to execute their Commiſſions to the full: for, by their daily informations and recouering of fines, they digged and brought a ſiluer Mine into the Kings Exchequer, ſome veines whereof by the way, ranne alſo into their owne coffers, to the great vexation of all, and vtter vndoing of many; whereat the Noblemen grudged, the Gentility repined, the Commons lamented, and all of them felt the teeth of theſe rauening Wolues: But the Father-King departed, and his Sonne ſet on his Throne; the complaints of the oppreſſed ſo oppreſſed the King and his Councell, that *Dudley* and *Empſon* were ſent priſoners to the Tower, and both of them by Parliament attainted of Treaſon.

Dudley. Empſon.

Iohn. Stow.

Hollinſh. pag. 791.

Edw. Hall.

(3) *Edmund Dudley* by deſcent was a Gentleman, and by profeſſion a Lawyer, hauing both wit and words at will; had he not abuſed both, to his owne deſtruction. *Richard Empſon* his inferiour by birth, was the ſonne of a poore Sieue-maker, but yet had he ſtepped before him to the degree of a Knight: Theſe night-ſprung Muſhrumps that ſucked the earthes fatneſſe, from farre better plants then themſelues, ſaw not the many hands ready to plucke them vp by the rootes, when the ſeaſon ſhould ſerue to cleare the Land of ſuch weeds: for albeit they had their diſcharge vnder the Kings owne hand to doe what they did, and their ſeruice knowne Crowne-ſeruice, a matter impugnable, yet no ſooner were they left to ſtand vpon their owne baſis, but that they felt the weight of their done wrongs too importunable for them any longer to beare; for ſo importune were all degrees againſt them, that *Dudley* forthwith in *Guild-hall London* was arraigned and condemned to dye: and King *Henry* in progreſſe, (through the cry of the people) could take no pleaſure, till he had ſent for *Empſon* into *Northamptonſhire*, where among them he was arraigned, and receiued ſentence of death, which was ſo deſired and followed, as to ſatisfie his Subjects, the King ſent a ſpeciall writ for their executions, which with great joy of all was performed vpon Tower-hill, by taking from them their heades; when they left their riches to be ſpent by others, and their names to remaine vpon Record for the Caterpillers of thoſe times: whoſe like, if any ſuch liue, ſhall leaue their hatefull remembrance to the like ſtaines of reproachfull infamy, how pleaſing ſoeuer the promotion ſo gotten in their owne eyes ſhall ſeeme, or the employments in their ſelfe-conceits accounted profitable to the State.

In *Tocester in Northamptonshire.*

Edmund Dudley condemned.

Iohn. Stow. Annals.

(4) This juſtice of King *Henry* wanne him great praiſe of his people, and his charity extended towards *London*, when that City was ſore diſtreſſed with famine, by ſending ſixe hundred quarters of corne, great loue; ſo that neuer any King entred his raigne with better hopes then himſelfe. That his perſon was tall, is not to be doubted, though not like vnto *Sauls*, as ſome haue alledged, whoſe report is, that at the ſiege of *Bulloigne*, he was higher by the head then any in his Campe, and euery joynt proportionable to ſo royall a ſtature: but that hee was ſtrong, his many Iuſts and Tilts, and fights at *Tournay*, (moſt dangerouſly performed) was manifeſted vpon them that vnder-went his heauy hand: for at Tilt he bare downe a man at Armes both horſe and all, and threw Sir *William Kingſton* a Knight of great ſtrength to the ground at Barriers; with Battell-axe he combated againſt one *Giot* a Germane, very ſtrong and tall, and lent him better blowes then he could againe re-pay.

K. Henries juſtice and charity commended.

Holinſh.

Henry a goodly man of ſhape and ſtature.

King Henries great ſtrength.

(5) His glorie thus mounted the Trophie of fame, and young *Henry* the onely morning-ſtarre in this Weſterne Orbe; Pope *Iulius* the ſecond, fearing the further incroch of the French, who then had entred into ſome part of *Italy*, thought this Prince the ſtrongeſt pillar whereunto to truſt, and the fitteſt Carde to trumpe the French King, well knowing the Title that the Engliſh Kings had vnto *France*, and the readineſſe of his Subjects to forward that way: whereupon writing his letters vnto King *Henrie*, complained againſt *Lewis* the French King, and twelfth of that name, who neither (as hee alledged) *eſteeming of God, good fame, nor conſcience, detained the reuenewes of the Clergy, ſupported the Cardinall William to aſpire the Papacy, ayded in the ſiege of Bonen Alfonſo of Ferrara, and the Bentenoly, both traitors to the Papall Sea, where hee intended to lay the foundation of his Empire, to vſurpe all Italy, beſought him for the pitty of our Sauiour, and by the vertue of his famous anceſtors*, (for I vſe the words of the Popes briefe) *that neuer forſooke the Church of God in diſtreſſe, and by the filiall obedience, the ſtrongeſt bond, to enter into the holy league, they hauing elected him againſt Lewis*, Caput fœderis Italici.

The Popes letters vnto *King Henry.*

(6) And indeed to ſpeake as it was, *Lewis* much emulated King *Henries* greatneſſe, fearing that fortune would giue him occaſions to make his claime by ſword vnto the Kingdome of *France*; which the ſooner he did by this holy fathers inſtigations, and by his Herauld *Clarentiux* roughly demanded, the Dutchies of *Normandy*, *Guyen*, *Anjou*, and *Mayne*, and with them alſo the Crowne that King *Lewis* ware. The Scottiſh King likewiſe, in caſe of *Andrew Barton* ſlaine in his Piracies (as the Engliſh alledged) by the Admirall of *England*, accounted the truce-broken, and ſought the reuenge vpon the Borders adjoyning. Againſt theſe two Nations young *Henry* at once prepared, and happily obtained faire victories againſt both: but the ſucceſſe of the one, (though not following preciſely the time) we meane to relate before we enter diſcourſe of the other.

King Henry demanded *France.*

Iohn Leſly Biſhop of *Roſſe.*

An. D. 1510.

(7) The enterpriſe great which K. *Henry* meant to vndergoe, he thought it good wiſdome to joyne amity with *Maximilian* the Emperour, *Ferdinando* King of *Spaine*, and many other Princes, holding alſo correſpondency with Pope *Iulius* the ſecond, that buſie Pontificall Prelate of *Rome*: then propounding his purpoſes in Parliament, ſent ouer certaine Nobles before him into *France*, and afterward followed them himſelfe, pitching downe his Tents before the Towne of *Terwin*, where hee raiſed his royall Standard of the Red-dragon, and begirt the Citie with a ſtrait ſiege.

K. Henry maketh league with many Princes. *Guicciardin.*

King Henry entreth *France.*

An. Reg. 1. Edw. Hall.

(8) To this place *Maximilian* the Emperour repaired, and to the great honour of *Henry* entred into his pay, wearing the Croſſe of Saint *George*, with a roſe (the Kings badge) as his faithfull Souldier, and receiued wages by day for euery of his, according to their degree: the French ſeeing the Towne in diſtreſſe, ſought the relieſe with victuals, and men, but were ſo encountred by the King and his company, as that many of their chiefeſt Captaines were taken, and ſixe of their Standards wonne, the reſt for ſafeguard of life ſo poſted away, that this conflict was called the Battell of Spurres.

Sleidans Com. The Emperour ſerueth *K. Henry.*

Anglorum prelia.

Paulus Iouius.

Battell of Spurs.

An. D. 1513. Auguſt. 24.

(9) Then was the battery brought ſo neere their wals, that many breaches were therein made, and the Towne by compoſition yeelded vnto the King; whereupon the Earle of *Shrewsbury* was ſent to ſee all things ſafe, who ſtucke vpon the higheſt Turret the Banner of Saint *George*, and tooke the oath of alleagiance of all the French Citizens, to acknowledge King *Henry* their ſupreame Lord: This done, the King as a Conquerour entreth *Terwin*, ſent thence their

Terwin wonne and the Citizens ſworne vnto *Henry.*

their Ordnance, dismounted the Turrets, cast downe the walls, filled vp the ditches, and fired the Towne, excepting onely the Cathedrall Church and Bishops Pallace.

Edw. Hall. *Tourney* besieged by K. *Henry.*

(10) Then was the siege remoued vnto *Tournay*: about which City King *Henry* commanded diuers Trenches to be cast, and placed his Ordnance to such aduantage, that none might enter in, or come out of the same. Into this Towne a great number of the French from the Countries adioyning had lately fled, relying much vpon the strength and safety of the place, which indeed had euer beene accounted so inuincible, that this sentence was engraued ouer one of the gates. *Iannes ton me à perdeu ton pucellage, Thou hast neuer lost thy maiden-head:* Notwithstanding, it was yeelded vp vnto *Henry* with ten thousand pounds sterling for the Citizens redemption, who to the number of fourescore thousand, then tooke their oathes to become his true Subiects, and foure of their principall bare vp the Canopie, vnder which the King in triumph-wise entred, hauing boren before him his Sword, Axe, Speare, and other abiliments of warre, euery Citizen holding a staffe-Torch for his light. The safe keeping of this City the King committed to Sir *Edward Poynings*, Knight of the Order of the Garter, whom hee there made his Lieutenant, and ordained *Thomas Wolsey* his Almoner the Bishop of *Tournay*. The yeare now spent, and season vnfit for the field, a surcease from warre was determined vntill the next spring; whereupon all were shipped for *England*, with full payment, and praise, but *Terwin* and *Tournay* stucke heauily vpon the French mens hearts.

The strength of *Tournay.*

An. D. 1513. *Octob. 2.* King *Henry* in triumph entred *Tournay.*

(11) King *Lewis* thus endammaged in his owne Dominions, thought it best pollicy to pay like for like, to which end at the first attempts against *Terwin* hee solicited *Iames* the fourth of that name, King of *Scotland* (though brother by marriage vnto King *Henry* of *England*) to disturbe the peace of his Subiects, that so hee might bee drawne out of *France*; which *Iames* for his part put presently in practise: for writing his letters to *Henry* in the French Kings behalfe, charged him with breach of Truce, both in the case of his Scots slaine at the Sea, as also against his Confederates the Duke of *Gelder*, and King of *France*, against which last he desired him to desist, otherwise hee should bee forced to reuenge the *Frenches* wrongs vpon his English: and to giue Letters of Mart to recouer the losses of his Subiects.

Iob. Lesly.

K. *Iames* of *Scotland* incited by the French King. *Edw. Hall. Holinsh.* See the contents of this Letter in *Iob. Lesly* Bishop of *Rosse*, dated at *Edenbrough* the twenty sixt of *July* in *A. D.* 1513.

(12) King *Henry* a Prince of a Maiesticall spirit, most highly offended at these his Brothers requests, and threates, was so farre ouer-gone with fury and rage, that *Lions* King at Armes the bringer, was thereby somewhat daunted at his present answere, which hee desired might be sent in writing, refusing to carry in words his reply to his Soueraigne. This *Heralds* wise and weighty request was forthwith granted, and Letters framed to King *Iames* demands, answering those imputations with rough and round words, which notwithstanding he neuer read or saw, being slaine in the battell of *Flodden*, before that *Lions* could come to deliuer the same.

Lions terrified at king *Henries* answeres. See the contents of this Letter in *Holinshead*, dated from the Campe at the siege of *Terwin* the 12. of *August. A. D.* 1513.

(13) For *Iames* King of Scots preparing for war, had in the meane while entred the borders, and with his Ordnance battered and wonne the Castell of *Norham*; making still forward vpon the English. Against whom *Thomas Howard* Earle of *Surrey* made the Kings Lieutenant of the North at his going into *France*, assembled an Army of twenty sixe thousand strong, vnto whom came his Sonne the Lord Admirall of *England*, with a great supply of good Souldiers well-appointed for warre. The Earle from *Newcastell* came vnto the water of *Till*, and pitched his battell besides a little Towne called *Brankeston*, vnder *Flodden* hill, a mountaine lying in the North of *Northumberland*, betwixt the Riuers *Till* and *Tweed*, where vpon a rising banke, the Scottish hoast had taken the aduantage of the ground: vnto King *Iames*, *Thomas* Earle of *Surrey* sent *Rouge-Crosse* a Pursuant at Armes, with proffer of battell to be done vpon Friday the ninth of *September*, if so it pleased his Highnesse, who withall carried this message from the Lord Admirall, that he was come in person to iustifie his act against *Andrew Barton*, and would abide the last drop of his bloud in the Vant-gard of the field.

Iames King of *Scotland* enters *England.*

Thomas Earle of *Surrey*, King *Henries* Lieutenant maketh towards the *Scots.*

Lord *Howard* proffereth battell vnto *King Iames.*

(14) King *Iames* most readily accepted the offer, and by his Herald *Hay* sent the Earle word, that if hee were as then in *Edenbrough*, yet would he most gladly come to fulfill his desire; and withall sent his Letters for the iust occasions giuen him to inuade *England* as hee did. The day approached, and the Scots keeping the higher ground, the Earle marched vpward along the Riuer, and by two Bridges passed ouer with his hoast, making still forward, as though he ment either to haue taken into *Scotland*, or else to circumuent King *Iames* his returne, which hee perceiuing, hasted downe the hill, putting from him his horse, raised his royall Standard, and as a most valiant Chiefetaine encouraged his Souldiers to the fight.

King *Iames* accepteth of battell.

Iohn Lesly.

(15) The Scottish Ordnance discharged from aboue, ouer-shot the English with very small dammage, and the ground of no difficult assent, gaue them the easier accesse, so that Sir *Edmund Howard*, who led a wing to the Vant-gard (whereof his Brother the Admirall was Captaine) got almost to the height; against whom the Earles of *Lenox* and *Argile*, with their Battels of Speares on foot so violently encountred, that they beat downe and brake the wing of the English, wherein many were slaine, and the Horsemen disbanded, and put to flight; but presently recalled, ioyned themselues againe to the great battell, which by this time had attained to the toppe of the hill. King *Iames* that saw this first brunt performed, made full account that the day was his owne, supposing verily the English had fled, and therefore most valiantly hee aduanced forward, not staying for the reregard to second his battell, and encountring the Earles Battalion, a bloudy fight was performed, with the losse and life of many a man: but strength neere spent, and the Scottish somewhat disioyned, through force of a great shore of Arrowes falling among them; Sir *Edward Stanley* hauing three bands reserued for the like purpose, with a fresh on-set inuaded the open sides of the enemy, whose force was so violent, that the Scots no longer were able to stand, but tooke downe the hill vnto flight, which the Earles of *Lenox* and *Argile* perceiuing, did their best to stay them, and fighting most valiantly, themselues were slaine in the same place.

Pauius Iouius.

The fight begun.

The Scots at the first encounter beat the English backe.

The battels ioine.

The Scots put to flight.

(16) King *Iames* then perceiuing the wings of his Battell distressed and gone, and that the enemy began to enclose him about; with a stout resolution incouraged his men, willing them to regard the person of their King, their owne honour, their valiant Ancestors, and now their present employments; that their bloud might bee bought deare to the English, and the Scottish valours recorded for euer in the volumes of Fame for this their one daies worke; & thervpon rushing among the thickest began a most eager and bloudy battell, & piercing through with a strong hand went so far, that he had almost ouerthrown the Earles Standard: thus busied in doubtfull chance, the Lord *Howard* and Sir *Edward Stanley* hauing discomfited the enemy in either wing, returned in the face of the maine battell, and the Lord *Dacres* with his Horse-men came vpon their backes, so that the Scottish were forced to fight in a round compasse, but being ouer-layd, the Kings Standard was strucken downe, and himselfe most valiantly fighting slaine in the middest of his enemies: with whom died three Bishops, whereof one was *Alexander* Archbishop of Saint *Andrewes* the Kings base sonne, two Abbots, twelue Earles, and seauenteene Lords, Knights,

The valiant courage of *K. Iames.*

Iames king of *Scots* slaine with 12. Earles, and 17. Lords.

Knights and Gentlemen a great number, in all about eight thousand, and almost as many taken prisoners, saith *Paulus Iouius*.

(17) The next day, when the Scouts had found the field cleared of enemies, and the English busied to bury their dead: the body of King *Iames* was found slaine among the rest, hauing receiued many bloudy wounds, and most of them deadly: for his sides were stucke thicke with sharpe arrowes, his necke cut into the middest, and his left hand in two places almost cut quite off. These wounds notwithstanding, he was descryed, and knowne by the Lord *Dacres*, and others to be the King: and thereupon his body bowelled, embalmed, and wrapped in Lead, was solemnely brought vnto the Monastery of *Shine* in *Surrey*, where no doubt it was honourably enterred: but at the dissolution of that House, in the daies of King of *Edward* the sixt, it was (as almost all other Monuments were) disturbed of rest, and throwne into a waste roome among olde Timber, Stone, and Lead, which *Iohn Stowe*, the Relater saith, himselfe so saw: and further declareth (let him be the Author) that the seruants of *Launcelot Young* Glasier to the late Queene, being at *Shine* in new glasing the windowes, either vpon a foolish pleasure, or desire of the Lead, cut the head from the rest: but smelling the sweet perfumes of the balmes, gaue it to their Master, who opening the Lead, found therein the Head of a man retaining fauour, though the moysture were cleane dried vp, whose haire both of Head and Beard was red, which after he had well viewed, and a while kept, he caused to be buried in S. *Michaels* at Woodstreet *London*, the Church of the Parish wherin himselfe dwelled.

King *Iames* body embalmed and buried at *Shine*.

Iohn Stow Surueyor of *London* in Criplegate Ward.

(18) Notwithstanding this faire tale of *Iohn Stow*, *Iohn Lesly* Bishop of *Rosse* affirmeth, that *it was held for certaine, the body thus found, was the body of the Laird* Bonehard *then slaine in the battell: and that King* Iames *was seene aliue the same night at* Kelso, *whence hee passed vnto* Ierusalem, *and there spent the rest of his daies in holy contemplation: but howsoeuer it is* (saith he) *he neuer was seen any more in* Scotland, *no more then* Charles *Duke of* Burgundy *was in his Countrey after the Battell of* Nanze: *howbeit his people held a vaine opinion that he escaped, and would againe shortly returne.* This battell was fought vpon the ninth of September, the yeare 1513. and is commonly called the battell of *Floddon*, or *Floddon* field: whence with victory, the Earle Generall departed with the embalmed body of King *Iames*, whom hee presented vnto Queene *Katherine*, who with the Gauntlet of the slaine King sent the newes of the victory vnto her Lord King *Henry*, then lying in his siege before the Towne *Terwin*.

Iohn Sleidan. Phil. Comin.

Edward Hall.

(19) But as these his proceedings went prosperously forward, and his fame daily spread in further parts, so the *Flemmings* (who hitherto had held side with his sailes) began to fall off suddenly, vpon the occasion as followeth. It had beene concluded betwixt King *Henry* the seauenth, and *Philip* King of *Spaine*, that *Charles* his eldest sonne should marry *Mary* the younger daughter of the English King, with a Princely Dowry agreed vpon, but she being young, and not ten yeares of age, and the *Castilian* vnable to giue assurance of her pension assigned, that match went not forward during the life of her Father, howbeit King *Henry* her brother regarding greatly her honour, prouided for the marriage, and signified so much to the Counsell of *Flanders*: who dallied him off with many excuses, and lastly sent him word they could not receiue her that yeare.

The *Flemmings* fall off from king *Henry*.

Holinsh. pag. 830.

An. D. 1514.

(20) This therefore gaue *Lewis* King of *France* occasion to hammer at a peace, and making Pope *Leo* his, they both together put it in practise; the readier was *Henry* to listen thereunto, both for the loue he bore to his sister, and for the great regard he held of the Apostolike See, whence *Iulius* the second, and this Popes Predecessor had lately sent him a Cappe of Maintenance and Sword, and by decree of Councell giuen him the Title *Christianissimo*; which were receiued with great thankes, and solemnities. The French Kings desire was to marry the said Lady *Mary*, whose dowry hee assigned to be thirty two thousand Crownes by yeare, during her naturall life, couenanting further to pay vnto King *Henry* her brother the summe of one hundred thousand Crowns annually for fiue yeares continuance.

Great fauours betwixt the Pope and king *Henry*.

In Consil. Later.

A marriage concluded betwixt king *Lewis* and Lady *Mary*.

(21) Peace thus concluded, the Lady *Mary* with an honourable Company was shipped at *Douer*, the Duke of *Norfolke*, the Marquesse *Dorset*, and the Earle of *Salisbury*, being her chiefe conductors: whose fleet had not passed two leagues at Seas, but that a sudden tempest arose, and so violently raised the waues, as their Ships were seuered each from others, some into *Flaunders*, some into *Callis*, and hers with great difficulty struke in at *Bulloigne*, where by Boates her traine was landed, and her selfe borne to the shore in the armes of a Knight. Thence with thirty sixe Ladies, all their Palfreis trapped in crimson Veluet, embroidered with gold, her selfe all in Cloth of siluer, her Horses and Chariots in Tissue-cloth of Gold and Crimson Veluet, set with Goldsmiths worke, more like an Angell then a humane Creature, met with King *Lewis* at *Abuile*, and there the ninth of October the marriage was solemnized; where the French so gazed at their new Queenes beauty, as they could not cast their eies from her attractiue rayes, nor the infirme King bee satisfied with any other obiect whilest she was in presence; for (so saith *Guicchardine*) *he gaue himselfe ouer too much to behold her most excellent beauty, not considering her young yeares, being not yet eighteene, with the vnequality of his owne expired; nor the constitution of his weake decayed body.* For hauing been sicke before this his marriage, and not well recouered of his lingring disease, (though he set the fairest shew outward) liued with this his faire Queene only eighty two daies, and then by his death left her to choose another Husband, to her best liking, which she shortly did in her second match.

Lady *Mary* sent into *France*.

Lady *Mary* landed at *Bulloigne*.

Lady *Mary* married vnto king *Lewis*.

Guicchard.

Lewis the French King dieth.

(22) For, thus left a stranger in the French Court, and desirous to turne againe into *England*; King *Henry* her brother, sent *Charles Brandon* the new made Duke of *Suffolke*, to conduct the young Queene out of *France*. This Duke a gallant, and of a goodly presence, so courted his charge, and cartied himselfe in the eye of her melting affections, as his loue entred deepely into her tender heart: which thing indeed King *Henry* perceiued before, for which cause, as was thought, he raised him to the grace of a Duke; howsoeuer the Gemme thus got, and too precious to bee lost, he made her his owne, by celebration of marriage before he past *Callis*, and thence sent to intreate his Soueraignes consent, who seeing it was bootlesse to vndoe what was done, with a light touch of reproofe allowed their nuptials. But her dowry kept backe by the *French*, and other grieuances complained of, caused no little troubles betweene the two Realmes, as shall be related in place conuenient. In the meane while, let it not seeme ouer-tedious if we (somewhat extrauigant and briefly) runne ouer the rising and height of *Thomas Wolsey*, that great Statesman and Pontificall Priest, seeing that many dependances of Story had their euents in the Acts of this man, who with the King together went as King, if not before him in managing the State.

Queene *Mary* falleth in loue with *Charles* Duke of *Suffolke*.

Iraf. Rot.

(23) His birth was at *Ipswich* in the County of *Suffolke*, his Parents poore, but of an honest report, and himselfe a good Philosopher, very eloquent and full of wit. His education in youth was at *Oxford* in *Maudlin Colledge*, and his first preferment from the Lord *Marquesse Dorset*, who bestowed vpon him a Benefice in his gift, in regard that hee was Tutor vnto his Sonnes; which Sir *Amias Paulet* so crost him in, that hee tyed *Wolsey* by the feete in the Stockes, though afterward hee put this his Act among other his deeds, whereof he had iust cause to repent: for the Schoolemaster no sooner was mounted into the Chancellor-

Thomas Wolsey his rising.

Marquesse *Dorset Wolseys* first preferrer.

Chancellorſhip of *England*, but that he laid his command vpon *Paulet*, and retained him as priſoner in the Middle-Temple the ſpace of 6. yeares. But in the meane time Marqueſſe *Dorſet* dying, left *Wolſeys* pillar of hope altogether vnpoliſhed, and the baſe thereof it ſelfe vnſetled vpon any firme ground: ſo that *Wolſey* now ſought his fortune in *France*; who comming to *Callis*, became ſeruant to Sir *Iohn Naphant* the Treaſurer of that Towne, where he carried himſelfe with ſo great diſcretion, as ſhortly his Maſter preferred him to King *Henry* the ſeauenth.

Wolſey intertained in the North.

(24) This Scholler hauing thus caſt Anchor at Court, the hauen of hope, was more then double diligent in the Kings eye, and very ſeruiceable alſo both to Doctor *Fox* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, *Secretary*, *and Lord Priuie Seale*, as alſo to Sir *Thomas Louell Maſter of the Wards*, *and Conſtable of the Tower*: but moſt of all vnto Fortune, that now fitted occaſion to make her ſelfe famous in this poore Butchers ſonne. For King *Henry* the ſeauenth hauing vrgent buſineſſe with *Maximilian* the Emperour, ſent this his Chaplein vnto him in Poſt; who poſted againe, before he was thought to be gone, and withall concluded ſome points forgot in his directions, to the high content of his Soueraigne Lord the King: for the which he beſtowed vpon him the Deanry of *Lincolne*, the worthieſt promotion vnder the degree of a Biſhop: then was he made the Kings Almoner, and preſently following one of the Priuy Councell; wherein his aduiſe was ſo wiſe, and his perſwaſions ſo weighty, that he was continually imployed to be their expoſitor to the King, alwayes carrying a moſt ſpeciall regard, to preferre his Maieſties will howſoeuer it went; ſo that his mouth was the onely Organ that euer ſounded his pleaſure, and freedome from troubles of all State affaires.

Sleidans Com. lib. 6.

Wolſey ſent to the Emperour.

Wolſey a Priuy Counſellour.

(25) But warres hauing beene commenced betwixt *England* and *France*, and *Tournay* loſt from the obedience of *Lewis*, King *Henry* gaue his Almoner the Biſhopricke thereof, and changed his Deanry of *Lincolne* into the Biſhopricke of the ſame Dioceſſe, and not long after ſet alſo the Miter of *Yorke* vpon *Wolſeyes* Wiſe-head: whereby he became (as it were) three Biſhops at once, and now being *Primas Angliæ*, carried himſelfe accordingly, by erecting his Croſſe in the Kings Court, albeit it were within the Iuriſdiction of *Canterbury*, which ſeemed vnſufferable; for the dignity of the Church held then much by Precedency of place, and the giuing way to inferiours, was accounted the infringing of all religious liberties; Wherfore *William* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* found himſelfe ſore agreeued to haue the Croſſe of *Yorke* (which owed him obedience) aduanced with his, and that in his preſence, for which he greatly checked the preſumption of this proud Prelate.

Wolſey made Biſhop of *Tournay*, *Lincolne*, and *Yorke*.

Strife begun betwixt the Archbiſhops of *Canterbury* & *Yorke*.

(26) But *Wolſey* not wanting wherewithall to mate him, by the inſtigations of the Kings, both of *England* and *France*; obtained to be made Prieſt, Cardinall, and *Legatus de Latere*, vnto whom Pope *Leo* ſent a Cardinals Hat, with Bulls of authority in that behalfe; yet were theſe high Preſents brought in no better a caſe, then in a meane budget, which ſeemeth ſomewhat diſgracefull in the new Cardinals eye; wherefore he commanded a ſtay to be made of the bringers approach; and for the greater honour to this honourable preſent, arrayed him in moſt coſtly ſilkes, beſeeming ſo great an Ambaſſador, who aduancing forward, he cauſed to be encountred by a number of gallant Gentlemen, and a great aſſembly of Prelates, vpon *Blacke-heath*, by whom he was conducted with much honour through the City of *London*, and his Preſent deliuered at *Weſtminſter*, attended by many mytred Biſhops and Abbots, with a rich ſhew of Copes, as if it had beene a Kings Coronation.

Rich. Grafton.

Wolſey made Cardinall.

The great ſolemnity in receiuing of the Cardinals Hat.

(27) Thus got before *Canterbury* by his power Legatiue, to weare now his Hat without controule of an equall, he obtained the Purſe with the broad Seale of *England*, which Archbiſhop *Warham* had enioyed long before the death of King *Henry* the ſeauenth, and was made Lord Chancellour in his roome; ſo that beſides the Purſe and Mace of that honourable Office, he had two Croſſes and two Pillars boren euer before him by the talleſt Prieſts that were to bee found in the Realme. To the better maintenance of his chargeable eſtate, the King beſtowed on him the Biſhopricke of *Wincheſter*, and in *Commendam* the Abbey of Saint *Albanes*, and with them he held in Farme the Biſhoprickes of *Bathe*, *Worceſter*, and *Hereford*, enioyed by ſtrangers incumbents, not reſiding in the Realme, ſo that now ſeeming a monſter with ſeauen heads, and each of them crowned with the Miter of a Biſhop; let vs thus leaue him dandled in Dame Fortunes lap, till ſurfeited with dalliance ſhee caſt him from thence.

Wolſey made L. Chancellou of *England*.

Iohn Stow.
1. *Tournay.*
2. *Lincolne.*
3. *Yorke.*
4. *Wincheſter.*
5. *Bathe.*
6. *Worceſter.*
7. *Hereford.*

(28) But the ſtate of *Londons* Tradeſ-men proſpered vnder his greatneſſe nothing ſo well, for ſuch was the concourſe of ſtrangers, and ſo much were they borne with, by the ſuperiours, that they abuſed the Engliſh openly in the markets, kept from a Citizen his owne wife, with his plate, yea, and paſt with a ſmall pennance for killing an Engliſh-man. Theſe firſt were complained of in a Sermon at Saint *Maries* Spittle, and afterwards aſſaulted, and much hurt done to their ſubſtance and houſes, for which riotous offence *Iohn Lincolne* the onely inſtigator was hanged; and foure hundred men, boyes, and eleauen women led in ropes along the City in their ſhirts, and halters about the neckes, to the Kings Hall at *Weſtminſter*, where his Maieſty ſitting vnder a cloth of eſtate, pardoned the offences, to the great reioycing of the *Londoners*.

An. D. 1517. Ill-May-day.

The Engliſh abuſed by ſtrangers.

Rich. Grafton.

(29) But the loſſe of *Tournay* ſticking ſore vpon the ſtomacke of the French King, hee ſought to redeeme it againe with money, and to that end ſent his Ambaſſadors into *England*, where it was concluded, that the City ſhould be deliuered vnto *Francis Valois* then King of *France*, paying for the ſame vnto *Henry* ſixe hundred thouſand Crownes in twelue yeares continuance, that is to ſay, fifty thouſand Crownes a yeare; that the Duke of *Albany* ſhould be recalled out of *Scotland*, and that the *Daulphin* ſhould marry the Lady *Mary* King *Henries* young daughter, which marriage if ſo it hapned not to take effect at the yeares of conſent, then *Tournay* ſhould be re-deliuered to the Engliſh; neither was this forgotten, that the Cardinall ſhould receiue a thouſand Markes yearely for the reuenewes of the ſaid Biſhopricke, and vpon theſe Couenants were hoſtages for further aſſurance deliuered.

An. D. 1519.

Tournay deliuered vpon compoſition.

Articles of agreement betwixt K. *Henry* and K. *Lewis*.

(30) But peace much affected among Chriſtian Princes, and daily increaſed of moſt potent Eſtates, was very much feared would worke alteration in the authority, abuſe, and great riches of the Clergy, if Kings might haue leaſure to looke into their owne charges at home. To buſie their heads therefore from all ſuſpition or iealouſies, Pope *Leo* the tenth deuiſed the meanes, by a preparation intended for the Holy lands warres; a ſubiect in ſhew very religious, howſoeuer the former ſucceſſes had proued it not pleaſing to God, when to recouer the City once holy, and to build vp that which Chriſt by propheſie had caſt downe, as much Chriſtian bloud was ſpilt to raze thoſe ruinous wals, as there was morter laid to faſten the ſtones of their firſt building.

The Pope an enemy to Chriſtian peace.

The warres for *Ieruſalem* vnpleaſing to God: *Luk.* 19.

(31) To this end therefore three Legates were ſent from the holy See of *Rome*, one into *France*, another into *Germany*, and Cardinall *Campius* into *England*, with whom was ioyned *Wolſey* in Commiſſion, who hearing of the ragged retinue of his fellow-Cardinall, ſent ſtore of red cloth vnto *Callis*, to make them meet followers of ſo great a Lord; and *Campius* landed at *Douer*, *Wolſey* cauſed the Townes thorow which he ſhould paſſe, to receiue him with proceſſion: and ſo being brought by the Gentility of *Kent* vnto *Blacke-heath*, neere vnto *Greenewich*, was there met and receiued by the Duke of *Norfolke*, many Knights, but many more Prelates, where in a Tent

Cardinall *Campius* came Legate into *England*.

The honourable receiuing of Cardinall *Campius*.

Tent of Cloth of Gold he shifted himselfe into his Cardinall Roabes, which was edged about with most rich Ermine, and thence rode to *London*, in more pompe and estate then *Christ* did to *Ierusalem* when *Hosanna* was sung.

Matth.21.9.

(32) Eight Mules he had laden with necessaries belonging, but those made no shew in proud *Wolseys* eyes, therefore twelue more he sent him to furnish his Pageants through the streets of *London*; these either wanton, or ashamed to be wondred at, played the skittish Iades indeed: For in Cheape-side, as this Triumph forth-passed, these Beasts by breaking their Collers, and escaping their Leaders, cast their Carriages and Coffers vpon the cold ground; whose lids flying open, layd most of their riches to the sight of the people. For, from some of them fell olde Breeches, Bootes, and broken shooes; from others, torne stockings, tottered ragges, old Iron and horse-shooes; and for fainting by the way, therein was bestowed, and now cast abroad, broken meate, mary-bones, rosted egges, and crusts of bread, ywisse worth the keeping; this Shipwracke made vpon the Shelues of Cheape-side, no need it was to bid the Muliters to bestirre them, who like good thrifty Marriners saued from spoyle as much as they could, and trussing vp their trinkets, laded againe these wantons, with the wealth of the Cardinall, who (good man) was iogging on afore with his Crosses, Pillars, Gilt-axe and Mace, vnto *Pauls* Church, where he was met with many mitred Bishops, and attended vpon to *Bathe* place, where we will leaue him, & returne to the place where wee left.

The Cardinals rich treasures shewed in Cheapside.

(33) The vnity agreed vpon betwixt *England* and *France*, a meeting was motioned for the two Kings, and to that end great preparation made aswell of the one, as of the other. But in the heat of this businesse, King *Henry* had word that *Charles*, his Queenes Nephew, and new-made Emperour, would visit him in *England*, which accordingly hee did, accompanied with the Queene of *Arragon*, and a most Royall Traine, and was as royally entertained by King *Henry*: the cause of his comming was to hinder the peace concluded with *France*, for although this Emperour was young, and but newly established; yet was hee wise, and well fore-saw the hurt that this amity with *France* would bring him, and therefore came in person of purpose to disswade the Kings minde, and to stay his entrance with the *French* if he could, but finding *Henry* so forward in those proceeds, he baited his hookes with golden gifts to the Cardinall, that might doe all with the King, and wanne him wholly to his deuotion.

Charles the Emperour commeth into *England*.

John Stow.

Rich. Turpin. King *Henry* goeth into *France*.

(34) King *Henry* passing the Seas vnto *Callis*, met with King *Francis* at a place newly built for that purpose, betwixt the Townes of *Guisnes*, and *Arde*: where to describe the Iusts, Banquets, and Maskes were to fill vp (with *Hall*, *Grafton* and *Holinshead*) whole sides of excessiue great cost. At *Callis* also the same time the Emperour, with his Aunt the Lady *Margaret* Dutchesse of *Sauoy* landed, whither King *Henry* & his Queene repaired, to the no little grudge of the *French* King, though hee kept it to himselfe, and consented vnto the ancient league tripartite betwixt these three Monarchs, which done, the Kings returned into their owne Realmes.

Rich. Grafton.

Edw. Hall.

An. D. 1521. *An. Reg. 13.*

(35) Displeasures shortly arising betwixt the Emperour and the French King, King *Henrie* assaied to bring them to peace, but that failing, fell himselfe from the *French*, imputing the fault vnto *Francis*, for suborning the *Scots* against him, & King *Francis* againe laid all the blame in the Cardinall, accusing him of dissimulation, abhorred practises, and what not? but whersoeuer lay the defect, the Duke of *Albany* was sent into *Scotland*; the French followed a Spanish ship, fraught with the goods of English Merchants vnto *Margate*, and tooke her euen in the Kings streames, in both which King *Francis* excusing himselfe with ignorance, alleaged no breach of truce broken by him.

Variance betwixt *England* and *France*.

John Stow.

Rich. Grafton.

(36) Then was it thought best by the Cardinals aduice to repay like with like, and therefore counselled his King to reare *Charles* Duke of *Burbon* against *France*, and to perswade him to inuade the very heart thereof, incouraging him with sufficient pay, and making him his Champion-generall of the Field; whilest the Emperour likewise held him play against *Millan*. And to that end was sent in way of loane to the Emperour a great summe of money, and forraigne Princes sollicited to take Armes against *France*, for effecting which, King *Henry* sent his Ambassadours to the States of *Venice* and *Swissers*, with these instructions as followeth.

Taken out of the Cardinals owne Letters, dated *Ianuary* 16. Anno. 1524.

Duke *Burbon* made King *Henries* Captaine Generall.

(37) That whereas in a treaty of peace it was concluded betwixt the *Emperour*, King *Henry*, and *Francis* the French King, that if any Controuersies should arise betwixt any two, the Prince not inuading should giue ayd and assistance against the inuader: but now the Emperour being inuaded by the French Kings Captaines in the Realme of *Nauarre*, and in his owne Countrey by *Robert de la March*, and others by his procurement, and our King (said they) being often called vpon by the Emperour, hath often entreated the French King to surcease, but hath nothing obtained, besides faire words and detraction of promises. Complaining likewise that in the intercourse of these businesses, the French King, contrary to his Oath, had sent the Duke of *Albany* into *Scotland* (in contempt of King *Henry*) and to the great danger of the young Kings death or deposition, hee being the next in bloud to succeed, and to the dishonour of the Queene-Mother, had caused a separation betwixt her and her lawfull Husband the Earle of *Angus*. That the French King had detained the paiment compounded for the deliuery of *Tournay*; and kept backe the dowry of his Sister *Queene Dowager of France*, that hee had entertained the rebellious Subiects of King *Henry*, and spoyled his Merchants both by Land and Sea. Neither was vnremembred the danger that the *Venetians* stood in, if the Realmes of *Naples*, and *Sicilie*, the Seigniories of *Ieanes*, and *Millane* were lost from the Empire. These therefore seemed faire proiects vnto King *Henry* for him to warre against *France*, and to that end a generall Muster by Commission was taken of all able men from sixteene yeares and vpward, of euery *Hamlet*, *Village*, *Burrough*, *City*, *Hundred*, and *Shire*, throughout *England*, which seemed to many another Domesday-Booke: and yet was there neither peace nor warre against *France*.

Instructions of King *Henry* dated in Anno. 1524. *Ri. Pace* Secretary.

The English Embassages into forraigne States.

The wrongs done by the *French* vnto the *English*.

Iohn Lesly.

The Queenes Dowry vnpayd.

A. D. 1522. A generall muster.

Iohn Stow.

(38) In this great and hasty preparation, *Charles* the Emperour, as he passed toward *Spaine*, landed at *Douer*, where King *Henry* met him, and in great estate brought him to *London*; which was so prepared with Ornaments and Pageants, as if it had beene the Kings Coronation, and in the *Blacke-friers* the Emperour was lodged, in a most Princely Pallace, new built by the King; then was he feasted at *Windsore*, where he sate in his state, in his Mantle and Garter, and by receiuing the Sacrament these two potent Monarches tooke their corporall Oaths to obserue the Couenants concluded betwixt them: whereof one was, that the Emperour *Charles* agreed to stay for, and to take to Wife the young Princesse Lady *Mary*, King *Henries* then onely daughter; and in such golden bands of loue, *Charles* and *Henry*, seemed to be linked, as in *London* this sentence was set vp in the *Guild-hall* ouer the doore of the Counsell-Chamber, where it still remaineth.

Charles the Emperour commeth againe into *England*.

Hollinsh. in Anno 18. *Henry* 8.

The Emperour affianceth Lady *Mary*.

Carolus, Henricus, viuant, defensor vterque
Henricus fidei, Carolus Ecclesiæ.

(39) Why the Titles Defender of the Church and Faith, were attributed vnto these two Princes, is no maruell; for *Charles* chosen Emperour, was scarsly confirmed, but to purchase the Popes fauour, he directed forth a solemne Writ of Out-lawry against *Martin Luther*, who then had giuen a great blow to the Papall Crowne. And King *Henry* likewise was renowned

Iohn Sleidan. Com.

K. Henry wrote against Martin Luther.

renowned in *Rome*, for writing a Booke against the said *Luther*: vnder-propping the tottering or downcast countenance of the Popes pardons; which *Luther* shrewdly had shaken; the Pope therfore to shew himselfe a kinde father vnto those his sonnes, gaue them these Titles; which in truth were none other, then the same which they sware vnto, when the Crownes of their Empires were first set vpon their heads. But with what acceptance his Holinesse receiued King *Henries* booke, his owne Oration solemnely made at the deliuery thereof vnto M. *Iohn Clarke* the presenter, and Kings Ambassador, in his Consistory, and in the presence of his Cardinals, sufficiently doth shew, the translation whereof we haue inserted as we finde it in the Originall it selfe.

The Popes Oration at the deliuery of K. Henries Booke. Ex Original.

"We doe receiue this booke with all alacrity: it is "indeed such as there could not be any thing sent vs, "and our venerable Brethren, more acceptable then it "is. For the King himselfe, a most mighty, most pru-"dent, and most truely Christian Prince, wee know "not whether we may more praise or admire, being "the first that by war, with happy successe, hath sub-"dued the enemies of the Church of Christ, that seeke "to rend Christs coat, and at last ouercomming the "enemies, hath restored peace to the Church of God, "and to this holy See. But now against so foule a Mon-"ster, both to vnderstand, to be able, and willing to "write this booke, he hath shewed himselfe no more "admirable to the whole world for his elegant style, "then for his wit. We humbly giue thankes to our "Creator, for giuing such a Prince to defend his "Church, and this holy See, desiring the same God to "grant to this his King a happy life, & all his desires, "and after this life in his heauenly Kingdome, to keep "for him an euerlasting Crowne. And we so farre as "we are able to entreat of God, will neuer be wanting "to the said most wise King in the faculties granted "to vs of God.

(40) To manifest which his readinesse, himselfe among his Cardinals decreed an augmentation vnto King *Henries* royall Style, to be annexed vnto his others; confirming the same by his Bull, which that it perish not by the deuouring teeth of Time, wee haue here published from the originall Parchment, and Leaden seale it selfe, as followeth.

(41) Leo *Episcopus, seruus seruorum Dei, &c.* Leo *Bishop, seruant of the seruants of God; To our most dearely beloued Sonne in Christ,* Henry *King of* England, *Defender of the Faith, health and Apostolicall Benediction. We by diuine permission, the cheife ouerseer for the gouernment of the vniuersall Church, though vnsufficient for so great a worke, doe powre forth the cogitations of our heart, that the Catholike faith, without which no man can attaine to saluation, may receiue continuall increase, and that those good lawes and constitutions decreed by the wisedome and learning of such as are in authority, especially the faithfull in Christ, for restraining the attempts of all that labour to oppresse the same, or by wicked lyes and fictions seeke to peruert and obscure it, may prosper with perpetuall increase, doe bestow our paines and vtmost endeauour in our office and Ministery. And like as the Romane Bishops our predecessors, were woont to shew especiall fauour to Catholike Princes (according as the quality of matters and times required) especially to them that in troublesome times, when the madnesse and perfidious dealing of Schismatikes and heretikes most of all abound, did abide constant and vnmoueable, not onely in soundnesse of faith and pure deuotion to the holy Romane Church, but also as the most legitimate sonnes and valiant Champions of the same, opposed themselues both with mind and body against the furious madnesse of Schismatikes & heretikes: so likewise also doe we desire to extoll your Maiesty with worthy and immortall praises, for your high and immortall deserts and labours towards vs, and this holy See, wherein by Gods permission wee sit, to grant vnto it those things for which it ought to watch, and driue away the Wolues from the Lords flocke, and to cut off with the materiall sword rotten members, which infect the mysticall body of Christ, and to confirme the hearts of the faithfull in soundnesse of beliefe. Now, where of late our beloued sonne* Iohn Clarke *your Maiesties Orator with vs, being in our Consistory before our venerable Brethren of the holy Romane Church, the Cardinals and many other Prelates of the same, exhibited a Booke vnto vs to be examined and allowed of vs, which Booke your Maiesties selfe (who doth all things with diligence, and nothing amisse) enflamed with charity and zeale to the Catholike faith, and with ardent deuotion toward vs, and this holy See, hath composed, as a most worthy and soueraigne Antidote against the errors of diuers heretikes, often condemned by this holy See, and of late stirred vp and brought in by* Martin Luther: *And your said Orator hath also largely declared vnto vs, that your Maiesty is ready, and purposeth, like as you haue confuted the notorious errors of the said* Martin, *by true reason and inuincible authorities of sacred Scripture, and ancient Fathers, so you will punish to the vttermost of your power, all those of your whole Kingdome, that shall presume to follow, or defend them: and we haue diligently and exactly perused and viewed the admirable doctrine of your said Booke, watered with the deaw of heauenly grace, and doe heartily thanke Almighty God, from whom euery good & perfect gift doth come, who hath vouchsafed to inspire your Noble mind, inclined to euery good thing, and to endue you with so great grace from heauen, as to write those things, whereby you are able to defend his holy faith, against such a new Innouator of damned errors; and also incite by your example all other Christian Kings and Princes, to be willing to fauour and further with all their best aydes the Orthodoxall faith, and Euangelicall truth, whensoeuer it be brought into danger or doubt. And wee thinke it also meete, that they who haue vndertaken such godly labours for the defence of the faith of Christ, should haue all praise & honour of vs; and wee are desirous, that not only the things themselues which your Maiestie hath written, being both of most sound doctrine, and no lesse eloquence, should be extolled and magnified with condigne commendations, and allowed and confirmed by our authority; but also, that your Maiesty should bee graced with such an honour, and such a Title, as that both for our time, and euer hereafter, all men might perceiue how gratefull and acceptable this gift of your Maiesties hath beene vnto vs, especially offered vnto vs now at this time. Wee, who be the true successors of* Peter, *whom Christ at his ascension into heauen left his Vicar on earth, & to whom he committed the care of his flocke: We, I say, who sit in this holy seate, from which all dignities and titles doe flow, vpon mature deliberation had with our said Brethren about these things, haue by the generall agreement and consent of them decreed, to bestow vpon your Maiesty this Title, namely,* THE DEFENDER OF THE FAITH. *And accordingly by these presents doe instile you with such a title, commanding all faithfull Christians that they name your Maiestie with this Title, and when they write to you, that after the word* KING, *they adioyne* DEFENDER OF THE FAITH. *And truely, we diligently considering and weighing your singular merits, were not able to bethinke vs of a name more worthy and conuenient for your Maiestie, then the excellency and dignity of this Title, which so often as you shall heare and reade, so often you may call to minde this your singular vertue and great desert; nor may you by this Title puffe vp your selfe in pride, but according to your wonted prudence become more humble, and bee more valiant and constant in the faith of Christ, and in deuotion to this holy See, by which you haue beene exalted, reioycing in the Lord the giuer of all good things, leauing this as a perpetuall and immortall monument of your glory to your children, shewing them the way vnto the like, that if they shall desire to be graced also with such a Title, they must labour to doe such workes, and to follow*

the excellent ſteps of your Maieſtie, whom, accordingly as you haue well deſerued of vs, and this ſaid See, together with your wife, and all your Children that ſhall be borne of you, or of them, we bleſſe with our Benediction, with a large and liberall hand, in the name of H I M, from whom the power of granting this bleſſing is giuen vnto vs, praying and beſeeching that Almighty One, who ſaith, By me Kings raigne, and Princes rule, and in whoſe hands are the hearts of Kings, *that hee will confirme your Maieſty in your holy purpoſe, and encreaſe your deuotion, and by your worthy endeauours for the ſacred faith, ſo to illuſtrate your renowne, and make you glorious through all the world, that this our Teſtimony which wee haue giuen of you, adorning you with ſo excellent a Title, may neuer be iudged by any to be falſe or vaine. Laſtly, we deſire God, that after this life ended, he would make you partakers of his eternall glory. Giuen at* Rome *at Saint* Peters, *in the yeare of the Incarnation of our Lord God, 1521. the fift Ides of October, the ninth yeare of our Papacie.*

Thus ſubſcribed.

Ego Leo *X. Catholicæ Eccleſiæ Epiſcopus Sanctiſ.*
With twenty fiue other Cardinals & Biſhops, vnder-writing their ſeuerall names with their owne hands.

(42) But from theſe Prieſtly and Papall gratulations, let vs returne to leade our Story vnto temporall Princes affaires. How the Emperour *Charles* had beene entertained in King *Henries* Court, wee haue ſaid, and now ready to depart with many rich gifts, hee repaired to *Southampton*, where hee tooke his Ships for *Spaine*, whoſe conductor through the narrow Seas was *Thomas* Earle of *Surrey*, Lord high Admirall of *England*, who hauing wafted him vnto *Biſcay*, with a gallant crew of Gentlemen, made thence ſaile into *France*, and in *Britaine* beſieged and wonne the ſtrong Towne *Morleis*, and with the Garriſon Souldiers of the Marches daily bickered with the heart-burning French, and daily went away with the better, but new ſtirres arreared by the Scots, the Lord Admirall was recalled, and came to the Court, where he declared to his Highneſſe what hee had done in *Britaine*.

The Emperour departeth *England*.

The L. Admirall winneth *Morleys*.

(43) King *Henries* buſineſſe thus on foot in *France*, hee thought to purſue it with all the aduantage hee could, and firſt to finde the Scots play, who were euer faſt friends to the French, he ſent the Lords *Roſſe* and *Dacres* to ſecure the North-borders, appoynting for his Lieutenant in thoſe parts the Earle of *Shrewsbury*, and ſent the Lord Admirall of *England* againe into *France*, who diuided his Army into three Battalions; the *firſt* whereof, was led by *Robert Ratcliffe*, Lord *Fitzwater*; the *Middle*, the Earle conducted himſelfe, with the aſſiſtance of his Brother Lord *Edmund Howard*; and the *Rereward* was gouerned by Sir *William Sands*, and Sir *Richard Wingfield*, both of them Knights of the Order, the Colonell of the horſe was Sir *Edward Guilford*.

The Earle of *Shrewsbury* Lieutenant of the North.

Lord Admirall ſent againe into *France*.

(44) Theſe in September entred into the French Pale, and made toward the Caſtell of *Heding*, vnto whom ioyned the *Burgundians*, ſent from the Lady *Margaret* then Regent of *Flanders*, vnder whoſe colours ſerued many Spaniards; *Surrey* thus ſet forward, burned all things where he came, demoliſhing the Caſtles and Townes of *Sellios*, *Brumbridge*, *Senekerk*, *Botingham*, *Manſtier*, *Nerbins*, *Dauerne*, *Culumberge* and *Fringes* the Towne and Churches fortified of *Boards*, *Vaus*, and *Saint Mary de Bois*: but laying his ſiege againſt *Heding*, was forced for want of battering peeces, to breake vp againe, and depart: In whoſe returne he burnt the Townes and Caſtles of *Dorlens* and *Darrier*, and comming to *Callis*, ſet ſaile for *England* with a wonderfull great Booty.

Holinſh. pag. 875.

The Engliſh make great ſpoiles in *France*.

(45) In this while the Duke of *Albanie* being made Gouernour of *Scotland*, with an Army of foureſcore thouſand drew vnto the Borders, whence he ſent into *France* for ſixe thouſand *Almains*, which were promiſed, and daily expected though in vaine, for none came at all. The Earle of *Shrewsbury* with eight and twenty thouſand ſtrong, drew likewiſe towards the Borders, but the Scots lying ſtill, without further inuaſion, an abſtinence from warre was betwixt them concluded, which how the Engliſh kept, the ſequell well ſhewed; for the King ordaining *Henry Percy* Earle of *Northumberland*, Lord Warden of the whole *Marches*, hee either refrained to impeach his honour by breach of truce, or elſe loath to be diſquieted of his ſoft reſt, made meanes to the King, to be diſcharged of the office, which was forthwith beſtowed (and thankefully accepted) vpon *Thomas* Earle of *Surrey*, lately returned out of *France*, who deliuered the charge of the Eaſt and Middle-Marches vnto the Lord Marqueſſe *Dorſet*, and the Weſt vnto the Lord *Dacres*, who preſently made a roade into *Scotland*, and returned with booty.

Polyd. Virgil. The Duke of *Albany* commeth to the Borders.

A ſurceaſe of warre.

Thomas Lord Admirall made Lord Lieutenant of the North.

(46) *France* and *Scotland* thus aſſailed at once, a Parliament was aſſembled at *Blacke-Fryers* in *London*, wherein Cardinall *Wolſey* moued, and with much adoe obtained, the halfe of the yearely reuenewes of all ſpirituall liuings, to be payd for fiue yeares continuance, and the tenth part of all temporall ſubſtance to maintaine this great charge of the King, for the exact collection whereof the Cardinall was ſo forward, as he moued, and would haue had euery man ſworne for his wealth, had not the Citizens of *London* vtterly refuſed it, which when the King heard of, he was highly diſpleaſed with *Wolſey*, and ſaid, that ere long he would looke to things himſelfe without any Subſtitute.

A great Subſidy granted.

Polyd. Virg.

(47) Among other great eſteeme of this magnanimous Monarch, it was not the leaſt that the Emperour in perſon had twice come into *England* to viſite him, and euen at this time, *Chriſtian* King of *Denmarke* with his Queene, vnto whom Queene *Katherine* was Aunt, landed at *Douer*, and was honourably brought vnto *London*, where they were royally feaſted, and after two and twenty dayes intertainement, receiuing great gifts of the King and Queene, they returned to *Flanders*, where he remained as a baniſhed man out of his owne Countrey.

The King and Queene of *Denmarke* came into *England*.

Edw. Hall. f. 111.

(48) King *Henry* purpoſing his further purſuits, ſent a great Army into *France*, vnder the leading of the Duke of *Suffolke Charles Brandon*, attended vpon by the Lords *Montacute*, *Herbert*, *Ferrers*, *Marney*, *Sands*, *Barkley* and *Powis*, nineteene Knights, ſix hundred demi-Lances, two hundred Archers horſed, three thouſand more of them on foot, fiue thouſand Bill-men, and ſeauenteene hundred Garriſon Souldiers, with one thouſand fiue hundred labourers and Pioners. Theſe departing *Callis*, firſt beſieged, and wanne *Bell-Caſtell*, and then entring *Picardy*, there ioyned vnto him three thouſand foot, and fiue hundred horſe of Almans and Spaniards; with theſe hee aſſailed, and tooke the Caſtell of *Bounegard*, wherein hee put Garriſon, wanne *Braye*, *Roie*, *Lihome*, *Montdedier* and *Boghan*: but the winter come on, and the weather extreame in wets and froſts, beſides other wants euer following the Winters Warriers, the Duke was enforced to breake vp Campe; and from *Callis* came ſafely to the Court, where, vnto King *Henry* hee was very welcome, but much more vnto the French Queene his Wife.

The Duke of *Suffolke* ſent into *France*.

Places wonne the Duke of *Suffolke*.

The Duke of *Suffolke* returneth into *England*.

(49) The Scottiſh (as we haue ſaid) keeping the Borders, and the Engliſh making inroades, where the places were weakeſt, the ſtirres betwixt them began daily to increaſe. In ſo much as the Duke of *Albany* ſent a *Herauld* vnto the Earle of *Surrey*, the Kings Lieutenant of the North, to offer him Battell, promiſing on his honour if hee tooke him Priſoner, his ranſome ſhould be eaſie, and his perſon courteouſly dealt with; who returned as rough an anſwere,

Holinſh. pag. 881. Duke *Albanies* courteous offer.

as

Lord Admirals rough answere.

as the offer was kinde, saying, *he would abide Battell if he durst giue it, & if the Duke were taken either by him or his, he would strike off his head and send it for a present to his Master the King of England.* So netled was the Earle against the French, that had raised *Albany* thus against *England*, and King *Henry* (as Bishop *Lesly* reporteth) tooke from the Scots inhabiting *England* all their goods, sending them into their Countrey on foote, with white Crosses sewed vpon their vppermost Garments, by which they were knowne and suffered to passe. The Scots vpon the Earles answere were wonderfully enraged, and seeking the reuenge, some of them passed ouer the water, and hotly besieged the Castell of *Warke*, which the Englishmen as valiantly defended, and in their resistance slew almost three hundred of their French Souldiers, the Scots retyring againe to their Campe.

The hard vsage of the *Scots*.

Warke Castell besieged by the *Scots*.

(50) The Regent not able to digest the Earles pill, commanded his Army to march forward into the English Marches, wherewith the common Souldiers much reioyced, but the wiser of the Nobility vrged this in their Counsell, that hauing displayed in warlike manner, their Banners vpon the Verge of the Borders, and defended their Countrey from the spoile, they saw no great reason further to proceed, no necessity or cause mouing, besides the quarrell of the French: and thereupon repayring to the Regent, they demanded why they should proceed further, alleadging that at his commandement (yea and that willingly) they had so farre passed, for the defence of their Countrey, which was sufficient without further inuasion of the others, the time so vnconuenient in the nonage of their young King, and the action so dangerous, wherein all the Peeres of *Scotland* were assembled, to attend and suffer the doubtfull issue of warre, which euer is vncertaine, and more losse in one battell many times suffered, then gaine can be gotten in many: whereof too too lamentable experience (said they) wee haue had by King *Iames*, that by peace and life, brought *Scotland* to her best, but by his warre and death almost to the worst, therefore would wee know (said the Nobility) whether this your intent stands with the weale of the King and vs, or else is prosecuted in the cause of your selfe and the French?

Bishop *Lesly*.

The *Scottish* Nobility expostulateth with the Regent.

More lost by war, then gotten by victory.

(51) The Duke making some pause, lastly replyed, and said; "This question would haue beene "demanded ere now: for well you know, that from "*Scotland* I beare my name, honour and lineage, "haue passed the Seas from the noble Realme of "*France* for the loue of my Countrey, to set you in "amity which were at dissention, by whose diuision "your Realme lay prostrate to destruction and Con"quest, for whose ayde you see I haue procured the "French to ioyne with you against the English. A"gaine, when these warres were determined by Par"liament, you made me your Captaine, authorizing "me to inuade *England* with Banner displayed, then "was no question or demand of the cause; neither "haue I entred the quarrell without your agree"ment; and therefore may I iustifie my present do"ings, and yet to me it seemeth there is cause sufficient, with fire, sword and bloud, to enter *England*, "if wee be not too forgetfull, and will submit our "selues to dishonour and reproach: for we all know "that the Realme of *Scotland* is ours by inheri"tance, and that portion of the world allowed to "our Nation to enioy; how can we warre better, "then to maintaine our naturall inheritance, against "which the *English* giue daily attempts, with man"slaughter, murthers, thefts and spoyles? haue we not "then (thinke you) iust cause to make warre? The de"fence of a kingdome, is the office of a King, the ho"nour of the Noble, the seruice of the Souldier, and "the duty of a naturall Subiect. But be it as you "will, yet hauing so puissant an army to auoide our "owne reproach, and encouragement of the Ene"mie, let vs campe here still on the Borders till we "see what the Englishmen intend.

The Duke of *Albanies* answer.

(52) But *Margaret* Queene of *Scots* solliciting her brother for a peace, these stirres brake vp for a time, as those in *France* did shortly after, by the working wit of Cardinall *Wolsey*, who in the State affaires was euer one, which made him the more emulated, and the grieuances of the Commons euer cast vpon him; in so much that it was commonly spoken hee was the causer of the heauy imposition granted to maintaine the Kings warres, which was so importable to the poorer sort of Subiects, as the payment thereof was vtterly denyed to the appoynted Collectors, with weepings, cursings, and great acclamations; yea, and almost grew to an open Rebellion: for *Kent* denied it to the Lord *Cobham*: *Essex* refused to commune with the Commissioners: *Huntingtonshire* resisted, and would not heare them: *London* would be taxt by none but by their Aldermen: and *Suffolke* rose vp in Armes, making *Pouerty* their Captaine. Of these stirres when King *Henry* heard, hee had great indignation, blaming the Counsellors, and wrote his Letters vnto euery County, that no such demands should be payd: and the Cardinal to curry-fauour with the Commons gaue it forth forsooth, that at his intercession the Offenders were pardoned, and the money remitted.

Margaret Queen of *Scotland* worketh a peace.

Cardinall *Wolsey* hated of the Commons, as in his owne Letters he signified. *Ex. Orig. M.S.*

The Subsidy denied to be paid.

Ex Bibliotheca Dom. R. Cotton Baronet.

(53) And now more to shew his owne power, then any great cause; hee beganne to alienate the heart of King *Henry* against his Nephew the Emperour, and caused him to with-hold pay from the Duke of *Burbon* his late made Generall: which was the cause of the French Kings Captiuity. For *Burbon* incamped within the Towne of *Pauia*, and besieged by the French in most warlike manner, was for want of his said pay so desperate of life, that he attempted a most dangerous escape. In the dead of the night he set a part of his company to assaile the enemy on that side of the Towne which was least strong, himselfe issuing secretly out of a Posterne on the contrary side. The watch but slender, and the Souldiers asleepe, a great terror arose, in which the besiegers turned their Ordnance to the place of the crye, when as suddenly *Burbon* was at their backes, and winning their Ordnance, discharged them against their owners, slew their Souldiers, cut downe their Tents, and by the Vice-roye of *Naples* was the French King taken prisoner in the field.

An. D. 1525. King *Henry* falleth from the Emperour.

Guicchard.

Burbons desperate attempt.

The K. of *France* taken prisoner.

(54) This fortunate successe made these *Almaines* more bolde, who presently with the Imperiall Ensignes marched towards *Florence*, and thence to *Rome*, vnto whose walls in one day they gaue three assaults, in the last whereof *Charles* Duke of *Burbon* their Generall was slaine; notwithstanding the City was taken and sacked; Pope *Clement* in the meane while, to make all sure as he thought, thundred out his Curses, and with Bell, Booke and Candle, committed those *Lutherans* to Hell; who neuertheless broke drown that windy Bulwarke, and with great slaughter forced him with twenty three Cardinals, into the Castell of Saint *Angello*, where they kept them besieged from the sixt of May, vnto the tenth of December: in which time, in mockage of the Pope, the Souldiers to make solace did often apparell one in Pontificall attire, who sometime should blesse them, and sometime accurse them, and riding on Horse backe with a Whore set behinde him, should so passe the streets, that the Pope & Cardinals might see him. These contumelies and Papall Captiuities were grieuously taken by many Christian Princes, insomuch that *Cæsar* in *Spaine* forbad all Enterludes to be playde, and Pageants prepared for ioy of the birth of his Sonne, Prince *Philip*, to be pulled downe. In *France* by the Court of Parliament the Duke of *Burbon* was condemned of Treason, his name and memoriall accursed, his Armes puld downe, and his Lands and goods confiscated; neither would King *Henrie* of *England* answere the Emperours Letters, wherein he excused himselfe from hauing any hand in the action.

Burbon marcheth toward *Rome*.

Burbon slaine.

Pope *Clement* and his Cardinals imprisoned.

Sleident. Com. li. 6.

Charles the Emperour sore grieued at the Popes captiuity.

Troubles in *Ireland*.

(55) Whileſt theſe things were in working at *Rome*, aroſe great troubles in *Ireland*, the *Kerns* caſting off all obedience, and killing the Kings ſubiects where they found them: againſt whom *Thomas Howard* Earle of *Surrey*, Lord Lieutenant of that kingdome, made forth his power, and followed them himſelfe with ſuch danger of life, that the viſor of his Helmet was ſhot off, as hee purſued the enemy through the deſert woods: but theſe Rebels cut off by his high valour, and warres proclaimed at one time againſt *Scotland* and *France*, the Lord Lieutenant was recalled into *England*; and *Piers Butler* Earle of *Oſorie* made Deputy of *Ireland* in his ſtead; betwixt whom, and *Girald Fitz-Girald* Earle of *Kildare*, whoſe ſiſter hee had married, aroſe no little ſtrife and debate, which grew to that height as King *Henry* ſent Commiſſioners to trie and examine the differences, which was ſo cleared on *Kildares* behalfe, that *Oſorie* was diſcharged of his Office, and the Lord *Fitz-Girald* ſworne Deputy in his place; whereat Cardinal *Wolſey* (whoſe hand chiefly ſteered all ſtates affaires, a deadly enemy to the Earle of *Kildare*) was highly offended, and to vndermine the foundations of this his new Gouernment, gaue eare vnto *Oſorie*, who accuſed the new Deputy of many miſdemeanours, among which theſe were the principall; that he winked at *Deſmonds* eſcape, whom he ſhould haue attached by order from the King: that he grew ouer-familiar with the natiue Iriſh; and that he put to death the Kings beſt Subiects: for theſe the Lord Deputy was commaunded into *England*, in whoſe abſence *Oſorie*, his enemy, was againe choſen Lord Deputy by the Kings Counſell, but himſelfe none of the wiſeſt for pollitike Gouernment, was altogether therein ruled by his Wife, and ſhe made it no courteſie to abuſe her Husbands honour againſt her naturall brother *Kildare*, who now in *England* muſt anſwere his demeanour before the Lords of the Counſell, and to their Table was he brought, where the Cardinall, Lord Chancellor, made his faults nothing leſſe, and thus addreſſed himſelfe againſt the Earle of *Kildare*.

Holinſh. pag. 84.

Diſcention betwixt the Lord Deputies of *Ireland*.

Kildare accuſed to the Cardinall.

The Cardinals ſpeech at the Counſell Table againſt *Kildare*.

" (56) I wot well (my Lord) that I am not the "meeteſt at this boord to charge you with theſe "treaſons, becauſe it hath pleaſed ſome of your "Pew-fellowes to report, that I am a profeſſed ene-"my to all Nobility, and namely to the *Giraldines*: "but ſeeing euery ſhrewd boy can ſay as much when "he is controuled, and theſe points ſo weighty, that "they ſhould not be diſſembled of vs; and ſo appa-"rant that they cannot be denied of you: I muſt "haue leaue (notwithſtanding your ſtale ſlander) to "bee the mouth of theſe honourable Lords at this "preſent, and to trumpe your treaſons in your way, "howſoeuer you take me. Firſt you remember, how "the lewd Earle of *Deſmond* your kinſeman (who "paſſeth not whom he ſerueth might he change his "Maſter) ſent his Confederates with Letters of cre-"dence vnto *Francis* the *French* King: and hauing "but cold comfort there, went to *Charles* the Em-"perour, proffering the helpe of *Mounſter*, and *Co-*"*naught*, towards the Conqueſt of *Ireland*, if either "of them would helpe to win it from our King. How "many Letters, what precepts, what meſſages, what "threats, haue beene ſent you to apprehend him, "and yet not done? Why ſo? Forſooth I could not "catch him? Nay, nay Earle, forſooth you would "not watch him: If hee be iuſtly ſuſpected, why "are you partiall in ſo great a charge? If not, why "are you fearefull to haue him tryed? Yea, for it "will be ſworne and depoſed to your face, that for "feare of meeting him, you haue winked wilfully, "ſhunned his ſight, altered your courſe, warned "your friends, ſtopped both eares and eies, againſt "his detectors, and whenſoeuer you tooke vpon you "to hunt him out, then was he ſure afore-hand to be "out of your walke. Surely, this iugling and falſe "play, little became either an honeſt man, called to "ſuch honour, or a Nobleman put in ſo great truſt: "had you loſt but a Cow or a Horſe of your owne, "two hundred of your retainers would haue come "at your Whiſtle to reſcue the prey from the vtter-"moſt edge of *Vlſter*: all the Iriſh in *Ireland* muſt "haue giuen you the way. But in purſuing ſo need-"full a matter as this was; mercifull God, how "nice, how dangerous, how wayward haue you "beene? One while he is from home, and another "while he keepeth home, ſometimes fled, ſometimes "in the Borders, where you dare not venture. Y-"wiſſe, my Lord, there be ſhrwd bugges in the bor-"ders, for the Earle of *Kildare* to feare; the Earle, "nay the King of *Kildare*: for when you are diſpo-"ſed, you raigne more like, then rule in the Land: "where you are pleaſed, the Iriſh foe ſtandeth for a "iuſt Subiect: hearts and hands, liues and lands "are all at your courteſie: who fawneth not thereon, "cannot reſt within your ſmell, and your ſmell ſo "rancke, that you track them out at pleaſure. Whileſt the Cardinall was ſpeaking, the Earle chafed and changed colour, & at laſt brake out, and interrupted him thus.

Kildare interrupteth the Cardinals tale.

" (57) My Lord Chancellor, I beſeech you par-"don me, I am ſhort-witted, and you I perceiue in-"tend a long tale: if you proceed in this order, halfe "my purgation will be loſt for lack of carriage: I haue "no Schoole-trickes, nor art of memory: except you "heare me while I remember your words, your ſe-"cond proceſſe will hammer out the former. The Lords aſſociate, who for the moſt part tenderly loued *Kildare*, and knew the Cardinal his manner of taunts ſo ready, being inured therewith many yeares together, humbly beſought his grace to charge him directly with particulars, and to dwell in ſome one matter vntill it were examined throughly.

The Lords tender *Kildare*.

" (58) That granted: It is good reaſon (quoth the "Earle) that your Grace beare the mouth of this "boord: but my Lord, thoſe mouthes that put theſe "things into your mouth, are very wide mouthes: "ſuch indeed as haue gaped long for my wracke: "and now at length for want of better ſtuffe, are "faine to fill their mouthes with ſmoake: what my "Coſen *Deſmond* hath compaſſed, as I know not, ſo "I beſhrew his nacked heart for holding out ſo long. "If he can be taken by mine Agents, that preſently "waite for him, then haue mine aduerſaries bewrai-"ed their malice, and this heape of heinous words "ſhall reſemble a ſcarre-Crow, or a man of ſtraw "that ſeemeth at a bluſh to carry ſome proportion, "but when it is felt and peized, diſcouereth a vanity "ſeruing onely to feare Crowes: and I verily truſt "your Honours ſhall ſee the proofe by the thing it "ſelfe, within theſe few daies. But goe to: ſuppoſe he "neuer be had? What is *Kildare* to blame for it "more then my good Brother of *Oſorie*, who, not-"withſtanding his high promiſes, hauing alſo the "Kings power, is yet content to bring him in at lea-"ſure? Cannot the Earle of *Deſmond* ſhift, but I "muſt be of Counſell? Cannot he hide him except "I winke? If he be cloſe, am I his mate? If he be frien-"ded, am I a traitor? This is a doubty kinde of accu-"ſation which they vrge againſt me, wherein they "are ſtabelled and mired at my firſt deniall. You "would not ſee him (ſay they): who made them ſo "familiar with mine eie-ſight? Or, when was the "Earle within my view? Or, who ſtood by when "I let him ſlip? Or, where are the tokens of my "wilfull hudwinke? But you ſent him word to "beware of you: who was the meſſenger? Where "are the Letters? Conuince my negatiues, ſee how "looſe this idle geare hangeth together. *Deſmond* is "not taken: well, you are in fault: why? Becauſe you "are: who proueth it? No body: What Conie-"ctures? So it ſeemeth: To whom? To your ene-"mies. Who tolde it them? They will ſweare it. "What other ground? None: Will they ſweare it my "Lord? why then of like they know it, either they "haue mine hand to ſhew, or can bring forth the "meſſenger, or were preſent at a Conference, or priuy

He anſwereth the Cardinals obiections

to

"to *Desmond*, or some body bewraied it to them, or "they themselues were my Carriers or Vicegerents "therein: which of these parts will they chose? for I "know them too well: To reckon my selfe conuict "by their bare words, or headlesse sayings, or fran-"ticke oathes, were but meere mockerie. My letters "were soone read, were any such writing extant, my "seruants and friends are ready to be sifted: of my "Cosen of *Desmond* they may lie loudly, since no "man here can well contrary them. Touching my "selfe I neuer noted in them much wit, or so fast "faith, that I would haue gaged on their silence the "life of a good Hound, much lesse mine owne: I "doubt not, may it please your honours to appose "them, how they came to the knowledge of those "matters which they are so ready to depose; but you "shall finde their tongues chained to another mans "trencher, and as it were Knights of the Post, subor-"ned to say, sweare, and stare the vttermost they can, "as those that passe not what they say, nor with "what face they say it, so they say no truth: but "on the other side, it grieueth mee, that your good "Grace, whom I take to be wise and sharpe, and "who of your blessed disposition wisheth mee well, "should be so farre gone in crediting these corrupt "Informers, that abuse the ignorance of your state "and Country to my perill. Little know you (my "Lord) how necessary it is, not onely for the Go-"uernour, but also for euery Nobleman in *Ireland*, "to hamper the vnciuill neighbours at discretion, "wherein if they waited for processe of law, and had "not those liues and lands you speake of within their "reach, they might hap to lose their owne liues and "lands without law. You heare of a case, as it were "in a dreame, and feele not the smart that vexeth vs. "In *England* there is not a meane Subiect that dare "extend his hand to fillip a Peere of the Realme: In "*Ireland*, except the Lord haue cunning to his "strength, and strength to saue his Crowne, and "sufficient authority to take theeues and varlets when "they stir, he shall finde them swarme so fast that it "will be too late to call for justice. If you will haue "our seruice take effect, you must not tye vs al-"waies to those iudicial proceedings, wherewith your "Realme (thanked be God) is inured. Touching my "kingdome, I know not what your Lordship should "meane thereby; If your Grace imagine that a king-"dome consisteth in seruing God, in obeying the "Prince, in gouerning with loue the Common-"wealth, in supporting subjects, in suppressing rebels, "in executing justice, in brideling blinde affecti-"ons, I would be willing to be inuested with so ver-"tuous and royall a name: but if therefore you terme "mee a King, in that you are perswaded that I repine "at the gouernment of my Soueraigne, or winke at "malefactors, or oppresse ciuill liuers: I vtterly dis-"claime that odious tearme, maruailing greatly that "one of your Graces profound wisdome, would "seeme to appropriate so sacred a name to so wicked "a thing: but howsoeuer it be (my Lord) I would "you and I had changed Kingdomes, but for one "moneth, I would trust to gather vp more crummes "in that space, then twice the reuenewes of my poore "Earledome: but you are well and warme, and so "hold you, and vpbraide not me with such an odious "tearme. I slumber in a hard Cabine, when you "sleepe in a soft bed of Downe: I serue vnder the "Kings Cope of heauen, when you are serued vnder "a Canopie: I drinke water out of my skull, when "you drinke wine out of golden cups: my Courser "is trayned to the field, when your Gennet is "taught to amble: when you are graced and belord-"ed, and crouched and kneeled vnto, then finde I "small grace with our Irish borderers, except I cut "them off by the knees.

In what case stand the Noblemen of *Ireland* with Rebels.

At these girds the Lord Chancellor much fretted, and finding *Kildare* to be no Babe, deferred the hearing of his cause, till more proofes were produced from *Ireland*; then in a great fume he arose from the Counsell board, and committed the Earle vnto prison, against the minds of most at the Table, who knew well, that this his accusation was more of hatred borne by the Cardinall, then any occasion giuen by the accused late Deputy. Whereupon *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolke* stept to the King, and craued that *Kildare* might be his Prisoner, offering to be bound in goods and body for his forth-comming, whom he obtayned, though with no great liking of the Lord Chancellor, who daily entertained new plaints against him, till at last he pressed him sore with letters sent to *Oneale* and *Oconor*, to encourage their rebellions against *Osorie* the Lord Deputy; which letters were brought them by his own daughter and their sisters, the Lady *Elice Fitz-Girald* wife to the Baron of *Slane*.

Kildare committed to prison.

Kildare accused for suborning of Traitors.

(59) This presumption being vehement, the King suspitious, the Cardinall eager, and his friends faint, *Kildare* was sent to the Tower, where he committed himselfe to GOD, and expected daily his death, but with such couragious resolution, as he being in play with the Lieutenant at slide-groat, when the Mandate was brought for his execution on the next Morning, and seeing the Lieutenant strucke into a suddaine sadnesse; by Saint *Bride*, Lieutenant (quoth the Earle) there is some madde game in that scrowll; but fall how it will, this throw is for a huddle: and when the worst was told him, now I pray thee (quoth hee) doe no more but learne assuredly from the Kings owne mouth, whether his Highnesse be witting thereto or no; the Lieutenant louing his prisoner well, repayred to the King, and shewed him the Cardinals warrant, who then controuled the sawcines of the Priest (for those were his tearmes) and gaue the Lieutenant his Signet for a counter-mand, whereat the Cardinall stormed, but *Kildare* deliuered from his eminent death, and not long after from his imprisonment also, was sent into *Ireland*, where, at his entrance into *Dublin*, he was met with a solemne procession, and so brought into the City; so well beloued was this Earle abroad, and at home.

Kildare committed to the Tower.

Kildares noble courage. *Holinshead, Hist. of Ireland.*

(60) But the French Kings fortunes were nothing so good, who was straitly imprisoned at *Madrill* in *Spaine*, and great suite made for his deliuerance, which notwithstanding would not be heard. The Queene-mother, then Regent of *France*, wife of her selfe, and forwarded by others, saw no better meanes to free her sonne the King, then to enter amity with *England*, which to accomplish, shee solicited King *Henry*; working vpon the occasions then ministred, which was some vnkindnesse growne betwixt the English King, and the Emperour, the one of them more strange by the greatnesse of his fortunes, and the other in jealousie of lessening renowne. The sparkes of which Cinders were stirred to flame, by *Wolsey*, that euer was in the eare of the King: alleadging his potency, so much esteemed of all Christian Princes (a sound very tunable in *Henries* wide eare) would be lesse regarded by the Emperours late victory; who now began to carry himselfe with another respect, and neuer after that victory gotten subscribed his Letters to King *Henry*, according to his accustomed manner, *Your Sonne and Cosen*; but to the draught of his Secretaries, infixed his hand with the word *Charles*, and no more.

The French King imprisoned at *Madrill. Guicchard.*

Queene-mother solliciteth King *Henry.*

Dislikes betwixt the Emperour and King *Henry.*

(61) These dislikes and other intercourses of State, drew *Henry* shortly to a peace with *France*. In the exemplification of which league the Venetians, and other Princes were left to their choyse, whereof himselfe notwithstanding would be styled the Protector. And to his leaguer Ambassadours sent these instructions to moue the States to consider the Emperours aspired greatnesse, who now commanded the Kingdomes of *Naples*, and *Sicilie*; the Dutchie of *Millan*, the Seigniorie of *Iean*, the Countie of *Ast*, and other possessions in *Italie*, the whole Countrey of *Germanie*, being the greatest part of Christendome, already either totally in his posses-

Peace betwixt *England* and *France.*

Signed with his owne hand, in Ann. 1526.

The great Dominions of the Emperour.

possession, or facilly might be at his command, hauing likewise the lower parts thereof, as the Countries of *Artoys*, *Flanders*, *Zeland*, *Holland*, *Brabant*, *Henault*, and others; from the which also a direct passage lay vnto the Dutchie of *Burgonie*, *Auerne*, and *Burbon*, besides the Realmes of *Castile*, *Arragon*, *Granate*, *Galice*, *Asturia*, *Perpynyon*, *Russinian*, and other parts of *Spaine*; whereupon hee with some other Princes complayned, and sought the French Kings deliuerance, which when it was gotten, King *Francis* acknowledged *Henry* next vnder God to be the onely meanes: * but was so slacke in performance of Couenants, that when the Emperour sent to haue them accomplished, hee with vnprincely termes returned the answere, with challenge of combate, which when the Emperour had accepted, hee shrunke backe, and made meanes of a league.

* *Sleidan. com. l. 6.*

(62) But howsoeuer the vnconstancy of our king *Henry* hath beene blanched forth, for not holding himselfe in his leagues or couenants of amity with other Princes; yet the cause being so as some haue obserued, there were occasions giuen aswell as oportunity taken: for *Charles* the Emperour, contrary to couenant, receiued *Grancetor* a trayterous rebell, condemned by Parliament, whom hee refused to deliuer, though the King made earnest suit for the man. Moreouer, by his Ambassadors in a Treaty of perpetuall peace, holden at *Windsor*-Castell, the nineteenth of *Iune*, and foureteenth of King *Henries* raigne; it was concluded that *Charles* the Emperour should contract the young Princesse the Lady *Mary*, and take her to his wife, when shee came to able yeares, which (as *Holinshead* saith) himselfe sought, at his being in *England*, promising to remaine vnmarried, till that Princesse had past her Minority, and againe before the battell of *Pauia*, (shee now growne vnto sixe yeares of age) sent his Ambassadors to haue her stiled Empresse, and to be made Gouernesse of the low-Countries; all this notwithstanding after that victory against the French King, he began to re-call, and to make small account of that match, pretending the desire of his subiects to haue an heire of his body, which for long time he could not by Lady *Mary*; but rather as the *English* judged, the cause was the money receiued in loane from King *Henry*, whereby (as hee thought) the greatest part of her portion was already paide; and the Emperours wants being great, * *Isabel* the sister of *Portugall* was much affected: with whom plenty of gold was expected, and great liberality offered by the Emperials in desire to haue an Empresse of their owne Nation.

Acts and *Mon. pag.* 1239. Occasions of King *Henries* displeasure.

An. D. 1522.

Holinsh. in *An.* 18. *Hen.* 8.

Mary styled Empresse.

The Emperours excuse for not taking Lady *Mary* to wife.

* The daughter of *Emmuel*, and sister to *Iohn*, both of them Kings of *Portugall*.

(63) Besides, against this marriage with *Mary*, his Counsell of *Spaine* also excepted, alledging her to be begot of his brothers wife, whereby her legitimation might be called in question, as also the issue of her body, which they in their wisdom thought meete to preuent; these no doubt were the causes that the negotiation of these two Potentates grew daily more desperate. And for his falling off from the French King, these occasions may well be alleadged.

Acts and *Mon. pag* 1192.

Lady *Maries* legitimation called in question.

(64) That whereas it had beene couenanted at the marriage of Lady *Mary* vnto King *Lewis* departed this life, one hundred thousand Crownes should be paid to King *Henry*, and thirtie two thousand Crownes yearely for her Dowry, during terme of life; both which notwithstanding were retained and kept backe vnpaide. 2. That the said French King had listned vnto Cardinall *Poole*, who was sent to him from the Pope to stirre warres against *England*. 3. That contrary to his Couenant hee had entred alliance with the House of *Medicis*, and had married his daughter *Magdalen* vnto *Iames* the fift King of *Scotland*, then an hostile enemy vnto King *Henry*. 4. That he had made suit to match his second sonne *Henry* Duke of *Orleance*, with Lady *Mary*, the onely then Heire apparant of *England*, which when it came to conclusion, was put in suspence by *Anthonie Vescie* one of his French Commissioners, who then made doubt whether the marriage of her mother being wife to the Kings owne brother, could be dispensed with, or the Children begot in this second bed legitimate, or by law allowed to succeed in the throne.

The occasions King *Henry* had against *France*.

Acts and *Mon. pag.* 1239.

Objection of the French for Lady *Maries* legitimation.

(65) These considerations no doubt drew the King to be vnconstant to them that were vnconstant in themselues, and the question of Lady *Maries* legitimation serued such doubts in his melting conscience, as neuer after could be made sollid: whereof Doctor *Longland*, his Confessor, is said to be the first man which told the King that his marriage was vnlawfull, vnto whose opinion other great Clerkes did likewise consent; whereupon a rumour ran that the King would be diuorced from the Queene, and the occasion thereof altogether cast vpon the Cardinall of *Yorke*, in displeasure taken against the Emperour, vnto whom he had beene suiter for the Archbishopricke of *Toledo*; whereof failing, he reuenged his spleene vpon his innocent Aunt Queene *Katherine*, in mouing the King to cast her off, and to become Suiter vnto the Dutchesse of *Alenzon*, sister vnto the French King; these rumours King *Henry* himselfe forbad; but with no better successe then was the report of Queene *Annes* death, the wife of the Vsurper; both euents following before the mouthes of those relaters could be stopped; vnto which lamentable accident my penne must now enter.

King *Henry* put in doubt of his marriage.

Iohn Stow.

Cardinall offended with the Emperour.

Polyd. Virg. Iob. Stow.

Tho. More.

(66) King *Henry* ouercome by the aduise of his Councell (lest so great a Dowry assigned should indammage *England*, if Lady *Katherine* of *Spain* married elsewhere) presently vpon the death of his father, and not fully forty dayes after he had begun his raigne (by the dispensation of Pope *Iuly* the second) tooke her to Wife, shee hauing beene wedded and bedded with Prince *Arthur* his elder brother, as we haue said.

King *Henries* marriage called in question.

(67) This match was made by King *Henrie* the seauenth, and *Ferdinando* of *Spaine* their Parents, Prince *Henry* hauing then attained but to ten yeares of age, and when hee came to foureteene, proscribed against it, as by a deed vnder his owne hand, I haue here inserted, the tenor thereof faithfully translated out of Latine, is thus as followeth.

In the name of God, Amen. In the presence of you reuerend Father and Lord in Christ, Lord *Richard* by the grace of God, and See Apostolicke, Bishop of *Winchester*. I *Henry* Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall*, and Earle of *Chester* doe say, affirme, and by these Writings declare; That although in the time of my Minority, and when I was vnder yeares of marriage, I absolutely contracted Matrimony with the most vertuous Lady *Katherine*, daughter of the King of *Spaine*, and although also the saide Contract by reason of my being vnder age, doth now appeare of it selfe insufficient, weake, and of no force, vigour, or efficacie: yet forasmuch as that now I come to perfect yeares, and that thereby the said Contract may peraduenture be thought and seeme, by silent consent, mutuall abode in one house, by giuing and receiuing gifts and tokens, or by any other way whatsoeuer, to be apparantly sufficient, and confirmed: Therefore I *Henry* Prince of *Wales*, doe heere protest, and make knowne to all men that I intend not to approue, ratifie, or confirme in any sort this pretended contract by any thing that I haue said or shall say, haue done, or shall doe: but doe at this present renounce the same, freely, and of mine owne accord, vnconstrayned either by force, fraud, entreaty, or any way else: and I deny it, and wholly purpose and intend quite to relinquish this pretended contract of Matrimony by the best wayes and meanes that by law more fully, effectually, and sufficiently I may or shall be able to doe: and expresly doe disauow the same, according as by these presents I doe disclaime it, and disauow it; and I protest that I nei-

Prince *Henry* disclaimed his contract.

I neyther will nor intend to consent vnto the saide Contract, or vnto the saide Lady *Katherine* as my espousall and wife, by any word, deede, act, or gesture to be spoken, done, performed, or acted by me, or in my name, by any whomsoeuer, whensoeuer, or howsoeuer for the time to come. In witnesse whereof I desire, require, entreate, and adjure you all to giue testimonie hereunto.

By me Henry *Prince of* Wales.

The aboue-written Protestation was read and made by the aforesaid Noble Prince Lord Henrie, in the presence of the reuerend Father and Lord in Christ, the Lord Richard, *by diuine permission, Bishop of Winchester, sitting iudiciously in his Court; and I the Notary vnder-written, at that time present, the writer of his Acts in this behalfe appointed, and in the presence of the vnder-named witnesses, in the yeare of our Lord God* 1505. *the eight Indiction of the most holy See, of our father and Lord in Christ, by diuine prouidence Pope Iulius the second, in his second yeare, and* 27. *of the moneth of Iune, in which day the said worthy Prince was of perfect yeares of marriage, as then he did there affirme, in a certaine outward Court within the royall Palace of Richmond, situate in the West-part of the said Palace: Concerning all and singular which things, the aforesaid most noble Prince instantly required and entreated mee the aforesaid Notarie to frame an instrument, and likewise the witnesses vnder-written to giue testimony. In iustification of all and singular the premisses, the aforesaid Noble Prince hath superscribed his name; and the witnesses, as aforesaid entreated and required, haue subscribed their names, with their owne hands.*

Miles Daubeney.
C. Sommerset.
Thomas Rowthale.
Nicholas West.
Harry Mainy.

So it is as aboue said, which I *Iohn Read* doe witnesse by my hand and Seale.

The second protestation when he came to yeares of marriage.

Notwithstanding this prescription foure yeares after, and the first of his raigne, hee tooke the said Lady *Katherine* to wife; and without all exception enioyed her nuptial society the space almost of twenty yeares; in which time shee had borne him two sonnes, both of them in their infancy taken away by death, and one daughter, Lady *Mary*, growne now vnto tenne yeares of age. But the scruple of Conscience increasing more tender in the Kings breast, he first refused the Queenes bed; and then mouing the doubt vnto his owne Diuines, sent for the opinions of the most Vniuersities in *Europe*, as to *Paris, Orleance, Bononie, Burges, Anion, Padua, Tholouze, Vincentia, Vauia, Foro, Iuly*, and others, which howsoeuer they then stood for the Pope, and he allowing (by his Predecessors dispensation, whose doing could not erre) the Matrimonie lawfull, yet these Academickes concluded against it, and signified the contrary vnder most of their common Seales, as the relation of the Kings Agent imployed vpon the same purpose for that of *Padua* doth import, which writing vnder his owne hand I haue seene, and here will insert his words, as followeth:

The King refuseth the Queens bed.

Ex Manuscript.

Pleaseth it your Highnesse to be aduertised, that as this day I obtayned the Common Seale of the Vniuersity of Padua in substantiall and good forme; for all the Doctors were assembled vpon Sunday, and the case was amongst them solemnly and earnestly disputed all Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday, and this present Friday in the morning. And thereupon they concluded with your Highnesse, and desired a Notary to set his signe and hand vnto an instrument by Leonicus and Simonecus deuised, in Corroboration of your cause, and thereby to testifie that this instrument was their deed, deuise, act, and conclusion. And more credence to be giuen to the said instrument they caused the Chancellor of the Potestate hereto to set his hand and seale for the approbation of the Authority of the Notary: A Coppy of all the which things I send vnto your Highnesse by this Bearer, in most humble wise beseeching the same to be aduertised that the Generall of the Blacke Friers hath giuen commandement that no Blacke-frier dispute the Popes Power: Notwithstanding Prior Thomas Omnibonus procureth daily new superscriptions, and will doe till the briefe of contrary commandement shall come vnto his hands. My fidelity bindeth me to aduertise your Highnesse that all Lutherans be vtterly against your Highnesse in this cause, and hath letted as much with their wretched poore malice, without reason or authority, as they could and might, aswell here as in Padua and Ferrara, where be no small company of them: I doubt not but all Christian Vniuersities if they be well handled, will earnestly conclude with your Highnesse. And to obtaine their assent as well through Italie, France, Almaine, Austrich, Hungary, and Scotland, I thinke it maruellous expedient for the preferment of this your most honourable and high cause.

The Lutherans against King Henries diuorce.

At Venice the first of Iuly at night, *Anno* 30.

And in another Letter, dated from *Venice* the xiii. of Iuly, the said Agent thus writeth. *I haue procured vnto your Highnes, as appeareth by the Originals being in my hand alone, the Subscriptions of an hundred Diuines, beside the conclusion* Collegij Theologorum Pacamnot, *vnder their common Seale, whereof I haue sent your Highnesse a Copy, &c.*

Now as touching their determinations, these are the abstractiues taken out of larger discourses, whereof you may reade, if you please, more in *Hollinshead.*

The decree of the Lawyers in the Vniuersity of *Paris.*

We the Deane and Colledge of the Vniuersity of Paris, after many disputations and reasons, made vpon both sides, turning and searching of Bookes, both by the Law of God, the Popes Law, and the Ciuill Law; we say, that the Pope hath no Power to dispence in this case of Matrimony. Teouen vnder the Seale of their facultie, at Saint Iohn Lateranense in Paris, May 2. 1530.

The Iudgement of the Diuines in the Vniuersity of *Paris.*

The Deane and the faculty of holy Diuinity in the Vniuersity of Paris, to all them to whom this present writing shall come, wisheth safety in Christ; For the Question proposed, we came together in the Church of Saint Martin, and there, for the same cause, had a solemne Masse of the Holy Ghost, and vpon our oathes determine, that the foresaid Marriage with the Brothers wife departing without children is so forbid by the Lawes of God and Nature, that the Pope hath no power to dispence with such Marriages, whether they be contract or to be contracted; to which this our assertion we haue caused the Seale of our faculty, with our Notaries signe to be put to this present writing. Dated in our Generall Congregation. Iuly 2. *Anno* 1530.

The Determination of the Ciuilians of the Vniuersity of *Anion.*

After wee the Doctors and Rector had discussed and examined many places, as well of the Law of God, as of mans Law, vpon sufficient deliberation taken, wee define and determine, that neither by the Law of God, nor of Nature, it is permitted for any Christian man, no not with the authority of the See Apostolicke, or with any dispensation granted by the Pope, to marry the wife that his brother hath left. In witnesse whereof wee haue commanded the Scribe of our Vniuersity to signe this present publike instrument with the great Seale of our said Vniuersity.

Enacted

Enacted in the Church of Saint Peter in Anion. May 7. Anno 1530.

The Determination of the Vniuerſity of *Burges.*

We the Deane and faculties of Diuinity, in the Vniuerſity of Burges, *after the example of Saint Paul the Doctor of the Gentiles, begin with prayer to the quieting of the conſcience, to whom this our writing ſhall come; The Queſtion moued, is whether the brother taking the wife of his dead brother, the marriage conſummated, and perfect, be a thing lawfull or no. We by much labour and turning of Bookes, euery one of vs apart by himſelfe, free from corruption, the better to obey the truth, find it forbidden by the Leuiticall Law, which is Gods, and that ſuch marriage is an abhominable diſcouering of his brothers ſhame, which cannot be allowed by the authority of any man: which our determination wee haue cauſed to be ſigned with the Seale of our faculty, the tenth day of Iune, and yeere of our Lord 1530.*

The opinions of the Diuines in the Vniuerſity of *Bonony.*

All we Doctors of Diuinity in this Vniuerſity, vnto whom this Queſtion was propounded, whether it was forbidden onely by the Ordinance of the Church, or elſe by the Law of God, that a man might not marry the left wife of his brother departed without children, and hauing examined the matter euery one of vs alone, laſtly came altogether, and as it were line by line, and rule by rule, brought forth the reaſons for the contrary part, with thoſe of the moſt Reuerend Father Cardinal Caietaine, yea and of the diſpenſation for raiſing vp ſeed to his brother, ſpoken of in Deuteronomie; thus we determine, giue iudgement, and ſay, and confidently doe hold and witnes that ſuch marriage is horrible, accurſed, and to be cryed out vpon, and vtterly abhominable, not onely for a Chriſtian man, but for an Infidell, vnfaithfull, or heathen: and that it is prohibited vnder grieuous paines and puniſhments by the Law of God, of Nature, and of man, and that the Pope, though he may doe much, vnto whom Chriſt gaue the keyes of the Kingdome of Heauen, hath no power to a diſpenſation to any man to contract ſuch marriage: In witnes whereof we confirme this our iudgement, both vnder the Seale of our Vniuerſity, as alſo with the Seale of our Colledge of Doctors of Diuinity, and haue ſubſcribed it in the Cathedrall Church of Bonony, *this tenth of Iune, the yeere of our Lord 1530.*

The determination of the Vniuerſity of *Padua.*

Seeing that certaine great Orators and Ambaſſadors did humbly require of vs, that wee would vouchſafe to ſearch out with all diligence this Queſtion following, Whether to marry the wife of our brother departed without children, is forbidden onely by the Law of the Church, or by the Law of God alſo: and if forbid by both the Lawes, whether the Pope may diſpence with any man for ſuch Matrimony or no? which Queſtion we haue diſcuſſed, and as farre as wee can, haue made it cleare, both priuate euery man by himſelfe, and after altogether openly, we ſay, iudge, decree, witneſſe, and for truth affirme, that ſuch marriage is no marriage: yea, and that it is abhorred and curſed of euery Chriſtian man, and to be abominate as a grieuous ſin, and that it is clearely forbidden, vnder cruell penalty, by the Lawes of nature, of God, and of man, and that the Pope, vnto whom the keyes of the Kingdome of Heauen are committed by Chriſt the Sonne of God, hath no power to diſpence, by the right of law, for any cauſe, ſuggeſtion, or excuſe, that any ſuch Matrimony ſhould be contracted. In witneſſe whereof we haue made this writing, and haue authorized it, with the accuſtomed Seale of our Vniuerſity: dated at Padua, *in the Church of the Heremites of Saint Auguſtine, the firſt of Iuly, and yeere of our Lord 1530.*

The determination of the Vniuerſity of *Tholouze.*

It was treated in our Vniuerſity of Tholouze: whether it were lawfull for a brother to marry her which had beene wife to his brother now departed, and without children: as alſo, whether the Pope, which hath the cure of Chriſts flock, allowing it by his diſpenſation it be lawfull: to reſolue which, the beſt Doctors of Diuinity, and the Lawes, did ſweare that they would obey the ſacred Counſels, and would follow the holy Decrees of the Fathers, and falling to concluſion ſtucke faſt vpon this poynt, that it is lawfull for no man, neither by the Law of God, nor by the Law of nature, to take her to wife that his brother hath left; neither can the Pope diſpence with this law of God: as touching the commandement in Deuteronomy, that the brother ſhould marry his wife to raiſe vp ſeede vnto him, that his name ſhould not periſh among the Tribes of Iſrael, we anſwere that that Law was but a ſhadow and figure of things to come, which vaniſhed away as ſoone as the ſubſtance of the Goſpel appeared. Thus haue wee giuen our ſentence, which we haue ſigned with our Authenticall Seale of this Vniuerſity. Yeouen at Tholouze, the Calends, or firſt day of October, the yeare of our Lord 1530.

These and many more were read by the Lord Chauncellour vnto the lower Houſe of Parliament that they might report in their Countries, the Kings juſt cauſe of diuorce: And with what key *Henry* opened the golden ſhut of the Popes Conſiſtory for his free acceſſe, therein to enroll his owne Banes, to his beſt liking, I cannot ſay, but thus I finde it confirmed by a Bull of Pope *Clement* the ſeauenth, dated three yeares before theſe publiſhed determinations in theſe words.

Bulla Clementis Sept. Conceſſa Henrico Octauo de ſecundis nuptijs contrahendis conſtante nullitate primarum.

Clement Biſh. Seruant of the Seruants of GOD, to our dearely beloued Sonne in Chriſt, Henry King of England, Defender of the Faith, health, and Apoſtolicall benediction.

You cauſed not long ſince to be ſignified vnto vs, that you, and our beloued daughter in Chriſt Katherine, the late widdow of your brother Arthur, (not being ignorant how nearely you were otherwiſe ioyned together in the firſt degree of affinity) haue made a contract of matrimony by words otherwiſe lawfull, hauing at that preſent obtained no diſpenſation, at leaſt-wiſe Canonicall or of any force for the ſame. That you haue confirmed it with carnall knowledge one of another, and haue thereby brought forth a Childe, incurring the cenſure of excommunication. Moreouer, that (in regard your Maieſty may not remaine in ſuch kinde of Matrimony without great offence to God, and that you might not continue longer in this ſinne and cenſure of excommunication) your Maieſty doth deſire Abſolution from ſuch cenſure of excommunication at the hands of ſome ſufficient Eccleſiaſticall Iudge. Furthermore, that your Maieſty doth deſire to haue this Matrimony pronounced infirme and of none effect: And that it might be lawfull for you, (notwithſtanding any Canon to the contrary) to make contract with any other woman whatſoeuer. That vpon the pronouncing of the nullity touching this marriage, you might obtaine a diſpenſation lawfully to be ioyned in matrimony, therein freely to remaine and beget a lawfull heire by any other woman whatſoeuer, yea though ſuch ſhee be who hath otherwiſe made contract with any other man, ſo ſhee haue not confirmed it with carnall knowledge: though ſhee be otherwiſe nearely allied vnto you, either by the ſecond or a more remote

The Originall remaineth in the Liberary of Sir *Rob. Cot.* Knight *Bana.*

remote degree of consanguinity, or the first degree of affinity, or joyned to you by any lawfull or vnlawfull lying together: prouided she be not the relict of your said Brother, though she be annexed to you in kindred spirituall, or legall, yea though it be an hinderance to the right of publique honesty. Wherefore in the behalfe of your part (who affirme that it is to be seene in ancient Records of your Kingdome, many great grieuous warres to haue beene rayſed, Christian peace and concord disquieted through the meanes of wicked men stirred vp with their owne detested lust, and desire of dominion, but pretending that those, which haue beene begotten in lawfull marriages of your Ancestors and Progenitors Kings of England were illigitimate, by reason of some fayned impediment of consanguinity or affinitie, and consequently were not capable of the Kingdomes succession, and that there hath followed miserable destructions of Princes, Nobles, and People,) an humble supplication was made vnto vs, that wee would haue a care of the tranquility and peace of your Kingdome and Subjects, and that wee would (out of our Apostolicall benignity) daigne to resist so great euils, and otherwise in the foresaid danger administer some seasonable remedies. We therefore which are ready alwaies (vnder God) to entertaine, and fauourably to grant the honest petitions of all Kings, at least minding the safetie of Soules (but more especially your Maiesties, for its manifold immeasurable benefits towards vs and this holy Seat, wherein by the diuine prouidence of God) wee now sit, not ceasing daily, as well with might and sword, as with penne and learning to free it from the wicked attempts of pestilent men, which aduenture partly by force and wicked boldnesse, partly with peruerse doctrine vtterly to subuert it. We, by the foresaid causes, and some others best knowne to our selues, being moued to such like supplications, by vertue of our Apostolicall authority, out of our certaine knowledge of the matter had by vs, and fulnesse of our Apostolicall power, doe by the tenor of these presents, grant you a dispensation, that if it shall so fall out that the contract with the foresaid Katherine shal be contrarily pronounced void, and of none effect, and that you shall be lawfully freed from all interest in her, that then you may lawfully make contract of matrimony with any other woman, and she with you, prouided she be not to this end enforced by you, yea though such shee be whom hath otherwise contracted her selfe to another man, so she hath not confirmed it with carnall knowledge: though that she be otherwise nearely allied vnto you, either by the second or a more remote degree of consanguinity, be it the first degree of affinity, or ioyned to you by any lawfull or vnlawfull lying together, prouided she be not the relict of your said brother as before, though she be annexed to you in kindred spirituall or legall, yea and be an hinderance euen to the right of publique honesty. And that you may lawfully remaine in this contract, though it were made betwixt you and the said woman, either publiquely or priuately, and perfected by carnall knowledge one of the other. Further, we decree that the issue (perhaps already conceiued, or what hereafter may be conceiued) shall be legitimate, notwithstanding all prohibitions of diuine Lawes and other constitutions or ordinations whatsoeuer published to the contrary, which we (as farre as our Apostolicall authority may stretch it selfe) in this case specially and expresly extenuate, they elsewhere standing in full force as before. Distinctly forbidding in the name of holy obedience charging expresly vnder the pronouncing of Gods holy iudgement, the punishment of a Reprobate, and the rest whatsoeuer ecclesiasticall censures and punishments, which I here pronounce, and promulgate in these writings, that no man hereafter shall either openly or priuately, by Law or otherwise presume, or any way attempt to alledge, propound, or obiect any impediment of a pre-contract which was not compleatly confirmed, or of consanguinity in the second or farther degree, of affinitie in the first degree as before, of kindred spirituall or legall, of hinderance to their honest report as before, against your issue, which by Gods blessing you shall enioy by any Matrimony whatsoeuer to be contracted through the vertue of these presents: or to defame them in words or deeds: Be it not therefore lawfull for any man to infringe, or by any rash attempt whatsoeuer withstand the tenor of our dispensation, decree, derogation, inhibition and charge, which if any one attempt, know hee that hee incurres the wrath of Almightie God, and his blessed Apostles Peter and Paul. Dated in our City Vrbin, Anno Incarnationis Dom. 1527. 16. Kal. Ian. Pontificatus nostri 5°.*

* Et publicæ honestatis iustitiæ impedimentum subsistat.

Thus haue we seene the determinations of diuerse Accademies in Christendome, and likewise of Pope *Clement* himselfe, confirmed by his Bull: the first, condemning the retention of that vnlawfull bed: and the other, admitting any other into his bosome, his Brothers relict onely excepted. So that the wrongs done by King *Henry* vnto Queene *Katherine* in that diuorce, are nothing so capitall, as her fauourers alledge them, at least-wise if we hold Pope *Clement* for an honest man; or his Cardinall *Wolsey* a sure pillar to be leaned vpon, who was a prime actor in the said deuorce. To forward which, he went Ambassador into *France*, laden with Crownes, as *Guiccharden* saith, and with surpassing pompe, as *London* beheld, when with twelue hundred Horse he passed the Bridge for *Amiens*, there to negociate of this and other businesses with *Francis* the French King.

Sleidan Coment. lib. 9.

Guicchardin. Rich. Turpin. G. Cauen.

But the rumours in *England* still spreading of the good Queenes diuorce, about a yeare after, King *Henrie* to satisfie all, sent for his Nobles, his Councellors, Iudges, and many wise Commoners, vnto whom hee made a most pithy Oration, shewing them with what "care he had ruled almost twenty yeares with honour "and victory, which (as hee said) would shortly be "clouded, if he should die and leaue them a litigious "Heire, examples he shewed of the wofull experience "of *Lancaster* and *Yorke*, in whose dissentions the "Realme was like to haue beene vtterly destroyed: "and although (saith hee) we haue a daughter, to the "great comfort of her mother and me, yet it is told vs "by great Clerkes, our marriage is not lawful, but that "she stands in case of illegitimation; and wee both, are "said to liue in abominable Adultery: thinke you (my "Lords) that these words doe not touch my very "Soule, the perill whereof we venture, as you doe also "your Inheritance? for which cause I haue asked coun-"sell of the greatest Clerks in Christendome, and haue "likewise heard the opinion of mine owne. But as "touching the Queene, if it be judged by the Law of "God that shee is my lawfull Wife, there shall be no-"thing more acceptable vnto me, whose noble conditi-"ons, I assure you, (besides her great Parentage) is most "gentle, louing, and obedient, whereof I haue had a "true experience almost these twenty yeares: and "were I to choose a wife (if the marriage might stand "with Gods Law) my Choyse should be of her, be-"fore any other woman in the world, and if it shall o-"therwise be proued, I shall not onely be most sorrow-"full for parting with so louing a companion, but "much more haue occasion to lament my chance, and "life in so foule a sinne; these then are the sores that "torments my minde, for the sauing of my Soule, and "for which cause I haue here assembled you, that you "may declare to our louing subjects this our true mea-"ning, and to stay (if it may be) the rumours of vn-"stayed reports. And this being said, he let them to depart, each man bewraying in countenance the affection of his minde, some pittying the King to see him so perplexed, some, fauouring the *Queene*, sorrowed her case, and some sighed deeply at this strange speech and sudden alteration.

An. D. 1528.

The Kings Oration to his Nobility.

Edward Hall.

The Kings complaint.

The commendation of Queen *Katherine.*

(68) But the *Cardinall of Yorke* returned out of *France*, and now fearefull to wade too farre alone in these troubled waters, desired the assistance of the learned in the Realme, and thereto got the Kings license, which with his Legantine authority, commanded many learned men, both Diuines and Lawyers, from *Oxford* and *Cambridge*, with the presence of many Bishops besides. These assembled at *London*, were shewed the Instruments and Seales of many forraine Vniuersities, all of them disabling the marriage,

George Cauen. Learned men assembled to decide the Kings marriage.

The teſtimonies of many Vniuerſities ſent vnto *Rome*. *Ioh. Stow, pag. 911.*

and holding the diſpenſation (allowing it) vnlawfull: but becauſe that ſtring could not be touched without ſound of reproach to the Pope, as alſo to cleare the King from calumnious reports; it was thought fitteſt to ſend the ſaid inſtruments to *Rome*, whereunto theſe ſo appoynted ſet their owne Seales, with an humble requeſt to his Holineſſe, that an indifferent Iudge might be ſent them, to determine this great and ſtrange cauſe of the King; which was ſo followed by his Ambaſſadors in the Popes Court, that *Laurence Campius*, a Cardinall of great credit and wiſdome, from their Conſiſtory was ſent into *England*, vnto whom, wiſe *Wolſey* Cardinall of *Yorke* was joyned in Commiſſion, with power to erect a Court, to heare the cauſe pleaded, and to giue ſentence definitiue as they found the equity of law.

Cardinall *Campius* commeth into *England*.

The King and Queene ſummoned to appeare perſonally in the Court at *Blacke-Friers*.

(69) To that end therefore a place was ordayned at the Blacke-Friers in *London*, and the King with the Queene remoued themſelues vnto his palace of *Bridewell* neere adioyning, whence ere long they were ſummoned by Proceſſe perſonally to appeare in Court, which accordingly they did, hauing ſeuerall ſeats ordained vnder clothes of eſtate, mounted ſomewhat higher then the two Cardinals, the Preſidents, vnder whoſe feete ſate the Scribes and other Officers; the Court being framed Conſiſtory-wiſe, was furniſhed with Biſhops, Doctors, Lawyers, and learned Counſellors, in moſt ſolemne wiſe: the Doctors for the King, were *Simpſon* and *Bell*, and his Proctors *Peter* and *Tregonell*: for the Queene were *Fiſher*, *Standiſh*, and *Ridley*, a very little man, but a great Diuine, the Court thus ſet, and Commiſſion read, the Cryer called the King, by the name of King *Henry* to come into the Court, who forthwith anſwered and ſaid, Here. Then was the Queene called by the name of Queene *Katherine* to come into the Court, who made no anſwere at all, but preſently roſe vp, and going about the Court to the King, fell downe on her knees, before his feete, and in the hearing of the people, ſpake thus in effect.

Queene *Katherines* ſpeech to the King.

"Sir, I deſire you to take ſome pitty vpon mee, and "doe me Iuſtice and Right: I am a poore Woman, a "ſtranger borne out of your Dominions, hauing here "no indifferent Councell, and leſſe aſſurance of friend-"ſhip. Alaſſe, wherein haue I offended, or what "cauſe of diſpleaſure haue I giuen, that you intend "thus to put mee away? I take GOD to my Iudge, "I haue beene to you a true and humble Wife, euer "conformable to your will and pleaſure, neuer gaine-"ſaying any thing wherein you tooke delight, with-"out all grudge or diſcontented countenance; I haue "loued all them that loued you, howſoeuer their affe-"ctions haue beene to mee-ward; I haue borne you "Children, and beene your Wife now this twentie "yeares; of my Virginitie and marriage-bed, I make "GOD and your owne conſcience the Iudge, and if "it otherwiſe be proued, I am content to be put from "you with ſhame. The King your Father in his "time for wiſdome was knowne to be a ſecond *Salo-"mon*, and *Ferdinando* of *Spaine* my Father, accoun-"ted the wiſeſt among their Kings; could they in "this match be ſo farre ouer-ſeene, or are there now "wiſer and more learned men, then at that time "were? ſurely, it ſeemeth wonderfull to mee that "my marriage after twenty yeares ſhould be thus "called in queſtion with new inuention againſt mee, "who neuer intended but honeſty. Alaſſe, Sir, I "ſee I am wronged, hauing no Counſell to ſpeake "for mee, but ſuch as are your Subjects, and cannot "be indifferent vpon my part. Therefore I moſt "humbly beſeech you, euen in Charity to ſtay this "courſe, vntill I may haue aduiſe and counſell from "*Spaine*; if not, your Graces pleaſure be done. And therewithall riſing, and making lowly obeyſance to the King, departed thence, leaning vpon the Arme of her receiuer, each man expecting ſhee had returned to her ſeat, when as ſhee tooke directly out of the place; which being perceiued, the Crier againe called her by the name of Queene *Katherine* to come into the Court; Madam, quoth her guide, you are againe called; On, on, ſaid ſhe, it maketh no matter, this is no indifferent Court for mee, therefore goe forward.

Queene *Katherine* departed the Court.

The Kings report of his Queene.

(70) The King perceiuing that ſhe was departed, preſently ſpake thus vnto the aſſembly. "I wil (quoth "he) in her abſence declare before you al, that ſhe hath "beene to me a moſt true, obedient, and comfortable "Wife, endued with all vertuous qualities and condi-"tions, according to her birth; and in lowlineſſe e-"qualls any of baſer eſtate. With that Cardinall *Wol-ſey* made vnto the King an humble requeſt, that his Majeſtie would be pleaſed to declare before that honourable audience, whether he had beene the cauſer of this his intended diuorce, wherewith he was charged in the opinions of the people.

The King excuſeth the Cardinall.

"My Lord Cardinall, quoth the King, I can well ex-"cuſe you in this, and rather affirme that you haue "beene againſt me, in attempting it thus farre: but the "chiefeſt motiue for this matter, was the ſcruple of "conſcience, conceiued vpon certaine words ſpoken "by the Biſhop of *Bayon*, the French Ambaſſadour, "ſent from the King to conclude a marriage betwixt "Prince *Henry* his ſecond ſonne, Duke of *Orleance*, "and our onely Daughter Lady *Mary*, which Bi-"ſhop made doubt, and deſired reſpite to be ſatisfied "for the legitimation of our ſaid Daughter, in reſpect "of our marriage with this Woman, being my owne "Brothers Wife, which preſently engendred ſuch "ſcruples and doubts in me, that my conſcience hath "beene continually vexed, leſt by continuing in that "ſinne after knowledge, I draw Gods indignation a-"gainſt me, which I feare we haue already done in "that he hath ſent vs no Iſſue-Male, and them that "were begot in this Nuptial-bed, no ſooner came into "the World, but were taken againe thence, and hope-"leſſe now of more iſſue by her, it behoueth me to "conſider the ſtate of this Realme, and the danger that "may follow for lacke of a lawfull Prince to ſucceed. "This burden too weighty for my weake conſcience "(not in any diſlike of the Queenes age, or perſon, "with whom I deſire onely to continue, if our marri-"age may ſtand with the law of God) I haue in this "place aſſembled you our graue Prelates, and learned "Diuines, to determine of, and will (God willing) ſub-"mit my ſelfe to your judgements. My doubts in "this caſe I moued in confeſſion to you my Lord of "*Lincolne*, and ghoſtly Father, whereof your ſelfe be-"ing ſomewhat troubled, ſaid you would aske coun-"ſell of you all my Lords. Then of you, my Lord of "*Canterburie* being Metropolitane, I got licenſe to "put the matter in queſtion, to which grant you all "put your Seales, as here in this Court the ſame is to "be ſeene. True it is, ſaid the Lord of *Canterburie*, and I doubt not but that all my Brethren here preſent will acknowledge the ſame. Not ſo my Lord, ſaid the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, you neuer had my hand to that Inſtrument, nor neuer ſhall. Indeed, ſaid *Canterbury*, you did it not your ſelfe, but admitted me to ſubſcribe your name, and allowed me your Seale; vnder your correction, ſaid *Rocheſter*, that is not ſo; Well, well, (quoth the King) you are but one man, againſt whom at this time we will not diſpute, and ſo roſe vp, and the Court adjourned vntill another day. Which was vpon the next following, twentieth of May, the two Cardinals being ſet, the Lawyers were ready vpon either parts. Againſt the lawfulneſſe of the marriage, was alledged the other, formerly ſolemnized with Prince *Arthur*, the Kings elder Brother, and the Nuptiall knowledge of Lady *Katherines* body, which was vehemently proſecuted by the Kings learned Councell, by many reaſons and likelihoods of truth: one was, that Prince *Henry* had beene deferred from creation and title of Prince of *Wales*, the ſpace of ſixe months after *Arthurs* deceaſe, as doubtfull whether Lady *Katherine* had beene by him conceiued with childe; for which cauſe, as was alledged, the ſaid Lady had procured a ſecond Bull from the Pope, with this toleration, *Vel forſan cognitam*, *and peraduenture carnally knowne*: which Bull was onely purchaſed to diſpence with this marriage. That

King *Henries* conſcience and care.

The Biſhop of *Rocheſter* contradicteth the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

The ſecond ſitting of the Court in *Blacke-Friers*.

Fox Mar. p. 1194.

Hollinſh. pag. 913.

Reaſons to diſproue the marriage.

ſhe

ſhe was carnally knowne; was vrged the report of his Chamberlaine, vpon certaine words ſpoken by Prince *Arthur* the firſt Morning that he roſe from her bed.

Edward Hall.

(71) The Negatiues denied all the preſumptions, eſpecially this laſt, as to farre vnbeſeeming that reuerend aſſembly and honourable Court. But by theſe Authenticall records which M. *Fox* had in his cuſtody, the matter is paſt all contradiction for her carnall knowledge, where it is affirmed that the Ambaſſadors of *Ferdinando*, being in *England* to ſee the ſame marriage conſummated, returned their knowledge of their mutuall conjunction, as that nothing was left vnperformed of any nuptiall right; and they being of yeres able to explete the act, he aboue fifteene, and ſhe aboue ſeauenteene; laide both in one bed almoſt fiue months together, doe aſſure vs the certainety of that, which they made their greateſt doubt, vnleſſe the Popes diſpenſation was a Core to the cauſe. But that ſhee was carnally knowne, the Vniuerſity of *Padua* had concluded in their ſentence, whom the Emperours Ambaſſadours earneſtly ſollicited, either to retract their ſaid Grant, or to giue forth a new Sentence vpon the caſe that the Queene was not *carnaliter cognita ab illuſtriſſimo Principe Arthuro*, or to determine that this Matrimony was not *dirimendum*, which in no wiſe they could obtaine, though they offered very largely to haue it done. Thus from day to day the pleas proceeded, but nothing concluded touching the diuorce; whereupon the King ſent the two Cardinals to perſwade with the Queene to put the whole matter onely to himſelfe, which would be farre better, and more honourable for her, then to ſtand to the tryall of Law.

Great preſumptions that Qu. *Katherine* had bin carnally knowne by Prince *Arthur.*

Ex MS. by the Kings Agent.

The Emperour ſought to reuert the ſentence of *Padua.*

(72) Theſe Legates accordingly repaired to *Bridewell*, and in the preſence ſtaied for the Queene, who preſently from among her maids at worke came forth vnto them, hauing a skeine of white thread about her necke; at whoſe ſight ſhe ſaid, Alacke my Lords, I am very ſorry to make you attend vpon me; What is your will? If it pleaſe your Grace, (quoth Cardinall *Wolſey*) to goe into your priuy-Chamber, we will deliuer the cauſe of our comming: My Lord (quoth ſhe) this place is moſt fit, I pray you therefore declare here your mindes. With that he began his ſpeech in Latine, which ſhe preſently interrupted, ſaying, that ſhe vnderſtood the Engliſh very well.

The two Cardinals perſwade the Queene.

Wolſeyes ſpeech to the Queene.

"(73) Madam (quoth the Cardinall) we are come "in good will, to know your Graces minde, in this "great matter of your marriage, and to giue you our "aduiſe with the beſt ſeruice we can. My Lords (ſaid "ſhe) I thanke you, but for anſwere of my reſolution, "I cannot ſo ſuddenly make, the cauſe is great, and "toucheth me very neere; I am here a ſtranger, a poore "woman, lacking wit, not able to anſwere ſuch noble "and wiſe Perſonages as yee be; I haue need of coun-"ſell, and they be in *Spaine*; for thinke you, my "Lords, that any Engliſh ſubjects, will be for mee a-"gainſt the King? forſooth I know they will not, I "pray your Lordſhips be good vnto mee, a forrainer "and deſtitute of friends, and aſſiſt mee with your "Counſels, which I will be glad to heare. And there-upon taking them by the hands, led them into her Chamber, where they ſtayed ſomewhat long; which done, they departed, and made relation of her anſwer vnto the King. Who nothing pleaſed at the anſwere ſhe made them, ſent againe certaine Lords vnto her, to ſhew her the determinations of thoſe Chriſtian Vniuerſities, who had preſcribed the marriage vnlawfull, and to wiſh her to remit the matter for the quieting of the Kings conſcience vnto foure Prelates, and foure temporall Lords: Vnto whom ſhee anſwered, ſaying, "The King my Father which concluded my "marriage, I am ſure was not ſo ignorant, but he asked "counſell of Clerkes and well-learned men, before hee "married mee the ſecond time: for if he had had any "doubt in my marriage, he would not haue disbur-"ſed ſo great a treaſure as he did, and then all the Do-"ctors agreed my marriage to be good; inſomuch that "the Pope himſelfe, which knew beſt what was to be "done, did both diſpence and ratifie the ſecond mar-"riage, againſt whoſe doings I maruaile that any "perſon will ſpeake or write. But as touching the de-"terminations of the Vniuerſities; I am a woman, and "lacke wit and learning to anſwere to them; but to "God I commit the judgement of that, whether they "haue done juſtly or partially: for this I am ſure, that "neither the Kings Father, nor my Father would "haue condiſcended to our marriage, if it had beene "declared to be vnlawfull; and where you ſay, I "ſhould put the cauſe to eight perſons of this Realme "for quietneſſe of the Kings conſcience; I pray God "ſend his Grace a quiet conſcience: and this ſhall be "your anſwere, that I ſay I am his lawfull wife, and "to him lawfully married, and by the order of the ho-"ly Church, I was to him eſpouſed as his true Wife, "(although I was ſo vnworthy) and in that poynt I "will abide, till the Court of *Rome*, which was priuy "to the beginning, haue made thereof a determination "and finall end.

The Queenes anſwere.

(74) The King then hopeleſſe of his Queenes conſent, haſted his Lawyers to forward their diuorce, which daily they did, and the Conſiſtory at *Blacke-Friers* daily frequented, all points in Law were opened to the full, ſo that nothing now remained but the ſentence of the Iudges: for which a ſolemne day was aſſigned, when the King in perſon came to heare it himſelfe. His ſeat taken, and the Court ſet, after a crie for ſilence, the proceedings were openly read, and all doubts cleared, the learned Counſell at Barre called for Iudgement, whereunto *Campius*, the Popes ſtout Champion, vpon his ſtiffe gouty legges ſtood vp, all men expecting the ſentence of Diuorce, but the Cardinall now not to learne what he had formerly determined, ſaid flatly, "I will not giue judgement in this "matter, too high for vs, conſidering the eſtates of the "Perſons, and the doubtfulneſſe of the occaſions al-"leaged, vntill I haue made a full relation to the Popes "Holineſſe of all our proceedings, whoſe counſell and "commandement in this caſe I will obſerue and fol-"low, vnder whoſe authoritie we ſit and are Commiſ-"ſioners, therefore I will adjourne the Court for "this time, according to the order of the Court of "*Rome*, from whence our ſemblable juriſdiction is de-"riued. Which, how it diſpleaſed the King, the Sequell will ſhew, and how then taken, the words of the Duke of *Suffolke* did well declare, who ſtepping forth, with a ſterne countenance vſed theſe words; "It was neuer merry in *England* ſince we haue had a-"ny Cardinals among vs.

King *Henry* proſecuteth his diuorce.

Cardinall *Campius* referreth the cauſe of Diuorce to the judgement of the Pope.

The ſaying of the Duke of *Suffolke.*

The Iudgement thus ſtaid, the King ſent his Secretary *Stephen Gardiner* to *Rome*, to follow that Court, whether Queene *Katherine* had made her appeale: and Cardinall *Campius* admitted to depart, went away in no ſuch eſtate as was held fit for a Man of his place, but rather as one ſuſpected to carry with him more then his owne, had all his Cheſts ſearched at *Calis*, euen to the Cloke-bags and Males. The cauſe of this ſtay (ſaith *Sleidan*) was, that the *French* King, an entire friend vnto *Rome*, had no better ſucceſſe in *Naples*, againſt the Emperour, whom the Pope durſt not diſpleaſe, the Lady *Katherine* being his Aunt, for whom the Emperour was ſo earneſt, as in her behalfe he laboured *Millan* and many other places, that their learned men ſhould not determine againſt the ſaid Queene. But whatſoeuer the cauſe was, that *Campius* denied his ſentence for the Diuorce, certaine it is, that Cardinall *Wolſey* fell likewiſe in great diſpleaſure of the King, though he ſought to excuſe himſelfe with want of ſufficient authority: but now his Sunne hauing paſſed the Meridian of his greatneſſe, began by degrees againe to decline, till laſtly it ſet vnder the cloud of his fatall eclipſe.

The Cardinals Cheſts ſearched.

Iohn Sleidan. Com. Lib. 9.

The cauſe why *Campius* ſtayed ſentence.

(75) Formerly we haue ſpoken of the riſing of this man, who now being ſwolne ſo bigge by the blaſts of promotion, as the bladder not able to containe more greatneſſe, ſuddenly burſt, and vented forth the wind of all former fauours. Vaine-glorious he was, in ſtate, in dyet, and in rich furniture for houſe, and in prodigall intertainements, more like to a Prince then a

Wolſeys greatneſſe.

Prelate, attended with ſo many officers, and ſeruants, as is almoſt incredible, were not his Check-roll yet to be ſeene. At his Maſſe he was ſerued by Dukes, and Earles, who took the aſſaie of his wine on their knees, and held him his Baſen at the Lauatorie. And being Ambaſſadour vnto the Emperour at *Bruſſels*, was there waited vpon by many Noble-men of *England*, and ſerued at Table by his ſeruitors vpon their knees, to the great admiration of the *Germaines* which beheld it: and indeed ſo much ouer-topped the Pompe of a ſpirituall function, as hee ſeemed to the more humble, to be mad for joy; and him doth *Campian* judge, rather to be a Baſtard of ſome Prince, then the ſonne of a Butcher; ſo moulded for the one, and ſo far mounting from the other: exceedingly wiſe he was, and very well ſpoken, but full of reuenge, and vicious of body, thrall to affection, and lulled aſleepe with flattery, inſatiable to get, but princely in beſtowing, lofty to his enemies, and not eaſily reconciled, which haſtened his fall, when he firſt began to ſlip. Queene *Katherine* in her cauſe, did grieuouſly accuſe him; the Councell for their parts did article againſt him; the Law found him in a premunire vnto the King; and Sir *Thomas Moore* in the high Court of Parliament, inueighed bitterly againſt him.

Holinſh. pag. 848.

Ex Paralip. Abb. Vrſper.

Edmu. Campian.

Edw. Hall.

Complaints againſt *Wolſey.*

(76) The firſt ſtep of his diſcent was his diſlike of the Kings affection vnto *Anne Bullen*, a Gentlewoman nothing fauourable to his Pontificall Pompe, nor no great follower of the Rites of thoſe times, which moued the Cardinall (the *Pope* hauing aſſumed the ſentence of *Queene Katherines* cauſe vnto himſelfe) to write vnto his Holineſſe to deferre the judgement of Diuorce, till he had wrought the Kings minde in another mould. This was not done ſo ſecretly, but that it came to the Kings eare, and laſtly coſt the proud Cardinall his life. For the broad Seale firſt taken from him, and his other Biſhopricks elſewhere beſtowed, his Houſe and furniture ſeazed vpon, and himſelfe remoued into the North, at *Cawood*-caſtle ſeuen miles from *Yorke*, was ſuddenly arreſted (for arrogant words importing a deſire of reuengement, ſaith *Sleidan*) by the Earle of *Northumberland*, whence he was conueied toward *London* by the lieutenant of the Tower, in which journey at *Leiceſter Abbey* hee ended his life, whoſe death himſelfe had haſtened by taking an ouer-much quantity of a confection to breake winde from off his ſtomacke, and in that Church was there enterred.

Wolſies declination.

Sleidans Com. l. 9.

Io. Stow Annal. Nouemb. 6.

Nouemb. 18. Edw. Hall.

(77) The grudges againſt this Cardinall were many and great, not onely for the eſpeciall fauour he ſtood in with the King, and great ſtroake he bare at Counſell-Boord, (both which commonly breed emulation vnto the man ſo eſtated) but for his intollerable pillings, who to patch vp his pride in the raiſing of his new Colledges, erected at *Oxford* and *Ipſwich* by the licenſe of *Pope Clement 7.* ſuppreſſed fortie Monaſteries of good fame, and bountifull Hoſpitalitie, conuerting all their goods and moueables into his owne Cofers; which were ſo ſtuffed with treaſure, that twelue Barrels full of Gold and Siluer were laide aſide, to ſerue the *Pope* in his warres. As alſo, that he emptied the Land of twelue-ſcore thouſand pound, enforced by him from the King. All which hee conuerted to relieue, and ranſome the *Pope* then in Priſon, to the great impoueriſhing of his Majeſties Cofers. That his owne reuenews by his faculties, licenſes, and other legantine exactions did equalize the Kings yearely Reuenewes, and laſtly his pride ſo intollerable, as no leſſe then twelue hundred Horſe for his retinue, foure-ſcore Wagons for his carriage, and threeſcore Mules for ſumpter-Horſes attended him into *France*. But *ſic tranſit gloria mundi*, for the higheſt floud is ſubject to an ebbe.

The cauſes of grudge againſt the Cardinall.

Mr. *Fox* in Acts and Monuments. Forty Monaſteries ſuppreſſed by Cardinall *Wolſey.*

Edw. Hall.

(78) But whilſt the matter of the Kings marriage hung thus in ſuſpence the ſpace of two yeares, and other Ambaſſadors intended to be ſent vnto *Rome*: it chanced Doctor *Cranmar*, Doctor *Stephens*, and Doctor *Fox* to meete at *Waltham* at one Table, where the two latter, great Agents for the King, fell in diſcourſe of his cauſe, by tearmes and ſtrength of the Ciuil-Law. Well, ſaid Doctor *Cranmar*, if I might be heard, I thinke much better it might be tried by Gods Law: whereby the King ſhould be ſurer ſetled in the cauſe of his Conſcience, then thus to be poſted off with delayes from yeare to yeare. This ſpeech *Doctor Fox* made knowne to his Majeſty, which ſounded very tunably in his eare, then was *Cranmar* ſent for, conferred with by the King, and commanded to write his minde in the matter, but with this caution prefixed, not to reſpect the perſons but the cauſe; who to him commended the vertuous perfections of his Queene, with whom aboue all others he moſt deſired to continue, if their marriage could be made warrantable by Gods Laws: to which end he commended the care of Bookes, and of his other Prouiſions vnto the Earle of *Wiltſhire* at *Durham* Place. The Doctor thus ſet on worke, when he leaſt looked to be ſo imployed, proued by Scriptures, Generall Councels, Ancient Writers, beſides the preſent, and his owne opinion, *That the Biſhop of Rome had no authority to diſpence with the word of God, nor the Scriptures.*

Doctor Cranmar ſent for to the King.

Cranmars collections againſt the Pope.

Doctor *Cranmars* opinion of the controuerſie.

(79) The treatiſe thus finiſhed, hee preſented it to the King, which when he had well read, and weighed the ſubſtance therein contained; Will you (quoth he) Maſter Doctor, abide by what you haue writ? That will I by Gods grace ſaid *Cranmar*, euen before the *Pope* himſelf, if your Majeſty will ſo aſſigne it; Marry, quoth the King to him ſhall you go. Wherupon *Thomas Bullen Earle of Wiltſhire*, *Doctor Stokeſley*, *Elect of London*, *Doctor Lee the Kings Almoner*, the Doctors *Crane*, *Bennet*, and *Cranmar*, were ſent to the *Pope* then at *Bononie* in *Italy*. The day approached for audience of their Ambaſſage, and the high Prelate ſet vpon his Throne of Eſtate, the Doctor prepared to make his Oration in defence of what he had writ, when on the ſuddaine he was interrupted by an vnmannerly ſpaniell of the Earles, who ſeeing the *Pope* put forth his foot to be kiſt, caught in his teeth the Pontificals great Toe, ſo that theſe Ambaſſadours diſdaining to kiſſe where the dogge had taken an aſſay, let the *Pope* draw backe his foot, and ſo loſt that eſpeciall fauour offered vnto them. The Propoſition then made, that no man, *jure diuino*, could or ought to marry his Brothers Wife, and that the Biſhop of *Rome* by no meanes could diſpence to the contrary, was replied vnto, that it ſhould be anſwered at more leaſure, when his Holineſſe returned to *Rome*; in the meane while, to grace *Cranmar* the more, he gratified him with the office of the Penitenciariſhip, and ſo diſmiſſed the Ambaſſadors: who all, ſauing *Cranmar*, returned to *England*; but he tooke his way towards the Emperour, (to whom the cauſe ſomewhat appertained) being then at *Vienna* in his expedition againſt the Turke, vnto whoſe learned men he offered diſputation, and in priuate conference ſo ſatisfied *Cornelius Agrippa*, the moſt reſpected for learning in the *Emperours* Court, as he held the Propoſition moſt true. Whereupon, others learned, were diſcouraged to diſpute, and ſuffered *Cranmar* to depart without any further proceedings.

Ambaſſadors ſent vnto the Pope.

Fox Acts and Monuments, pag. 1034.

Anſwere to the propoſition put off.

Cornelius Agrippa yeeldeth to the propoſition.

(80) The matter thus manifeſted in moſt parts of *Chriſtendome*, this *Gordians* knot was laſtly vnlooſed by King *Henry* himſelfe, who now beſides this his marriage, began to call in queſtion, what authority the *Pope* had in his dominions, which being afterwards debated in Parliament, an Act paſſed againſt his vſurped *Hierarchy*, and all perſons forbidden to appeale, or to make any paiments vnto *Rome*. The Kings marriage with Lady *Katherine*, was by the ſame Parliament diſſolued, and his ſeparation from her, made by the Archbiſhop of *Canterburie* to ſtand good, and effectuall by Law, and that Queene *Katherine* from thenceforth ſhould be called *Princeſſe Dowager*, which doings ſhe tooke ſo to heart, as ſhe procured the *Popes* curſe againſt King *Henrie* and his Realme, which curſe was ſet vp at *Dunkirke* in *Flanders*, for that the bringer thereof durſt come no neerer. And the *Pope* in reuenge of himſelfe, being ſet in his Conſiſtory accompanied with his *Cardinals*, proceeded to the Cenſure of theſe great Princes marriage, which hee then adjudged to ſtand moſt firme and Canonicall, and

The Popes vſurpation forbid by Parliament.

Ex Parl. 4. H. 8. K. Henries marriage diſſolued by Parliament.

Fox Mart. 1197.

Katherine Dowager.

Holinſh. pag. 936.

Pope *Clement 7.* adjudgeth the marriage lawfull.

and enioyned King *Henry* to hold matrimoniall ſociety with the ſaid *Katherine* his lawfull wife & Queene, and in that eſtate to account and maintaine her as it became a King and louing Husband to doe, and if he refuſed to accompliſh theſe premiſſes, then to be compelled thereunto, and neuer after to be heard in any Court, as touching the inualidity of the ſaid marriage, and to pay the expences of the ſaid trauerſe, as he the holy Father ſhould limit and thinke meet. This was done a yeare after that the King had married Queene *Anne*, and bare date from *Rome*, the 23. of March and yeare of *Chriſt 1534.* When afterwards King *Henry* ſet his affection vpon the Lady *Anne Bullen*, a Phenix indeed in his Princely eye, and another *Heſter* for *Englands* ſaluation, both in her ſelfe and royall Bud ſucceeding, as the Heauens and World doe witneſſe to this day. She was the daughter of Sir *Thomas Bullen* Viſcount *Rochford*, Earle of *Wiltſhire*, and of Lady *Elizabeth*, daughter of *Thomas Howard* Duke of *Norfolke*. This Earle *Thomas* her father was the ſonne of Sir *William Bullen*, whoſe wife was Lady *Margaret*, the ſecond daughter and Coheire of *Thomas Butler* Earle of *Ormond*, and the ſaid Sir *William* was the ſonne of Sir *Godfrey Bullen* Lord Mayor of *London*, who lyeth buryed in S. *Laurence* Church in the Iewry, pictured in his winding ſheet vpon a plate of Braſſe, & about his Graue-ſtone vpon a border of Braſſe in many places theſe words are written, *Now thus, Now thus, Now thus*, whoſe Charity was extended vpon the poore Houſholders of that Citie, in diſtributing among them a thouſand pounds. His Lady was *Anne*, eldeſt daughter and Coheire vnto *Thomas* Lord *Hoo* and *Haſting*, and his diſcent out of the Houſe of the *Bullens*, an ancient Family in the County of *Norfolke*; accurſed therefore be the pen, that ſlanderouſly bringeth this Roſe from a defiled Bed, whoſe *Serpents* mouth to vphold his God the Pope, hath ſpewed out his poiſon of vntruths, and made his tongue a ſharpe ſword againſt the Lords annointed; let him therefore receiue his portion with the Serpent of deceit, and his reward with Sathan the father of Lyes.

The thundrings of Pope *Clem.7.*

Sleid.com.lib.9.

The diſcent of *Anne Bullen.*

Sir *Godfrey Bullen* Lord Mayor of *London*, *An.1457.*

Sanders in Schiſ. Angl.

(81) This Ladies religion was different from all Papall indulgences, imbracing the Goſpell that then began in our vulgar language to be read, for which cauſe ſaith *Sleiden*, ſhe was accounted a *Lutheran*, cauſe enough to be enuied at, by the Biſhops of that time.

Anne Bullens religion.

Sleid.com.lib.9.

(82) Her, the King inueſted Marchioneſſe of *Pembroke* with Mantle and Coronet, both in regard of her Nobility, and many vertues (for ſo runne the words of her Patent) which done, he tooke the Seas for *France*, accompanied with ſuch a traine of his Nobles, as the like had not beene ſeene, and among many Ladies *Anne Bullen* was one, where he complained to the French King of the great wrongs offered him by the dull Pope, as hee called him, who would haue Kings in perſon to attend his leaſure at *Rome*, and contrary to their Kingly dignities, to expoſe themſelues and affaires at his will there, to bondage and great danger; and therefore hee earneſtly requeſted that the Pope might be ſummoned to a Councell, to anſwere the many abuſes that hee had offered vnto moſt of the Princes in Chriſtendome, and vnto himſelfe not the leaſt; who for his part had allowed him threeſcore thouſand Angels monthly, to maintaine an Army for his deliuerance out of the Caſtell of *Angell*; where the Emperials vnder the Prince of *Orenge* kept him. Which his buſines being ended in *France*, & the king againe returned into *England*, he preſently (though priuily) married the ſaid Lady *Marchioneſſe* in his Cloſet at *Whitehall*, in the preſence of many; the Lady *Anne Sauage* bearing her Train, & Doctor *Lee* doing the rites of their coniunction, who was afterwards conſecrated Biſhop of *Cheſter*, *Couentree*, and *Lichfield*, and Preſident of *Wales*.

Anne Bullen created Marchioneſſe of *Pembroke.*

An.D. 1532. *Octob. 11.*

K. *Henry* complaineth of the dull Pope.

King *Henry* allowed the Pope 60000. Angels monethly.

Io. Stow pa 946.

An.D. 1533. *Nouemb. 14.*

Vpon S. *Erkenwalds* day, ſaith *Holinſhead* and *Grafton*, King *Henry* married *Anne Bullen.*

(83) The Romaniſts much fearing that *Babell* would downe, if Queene *Anne* might be heard againſt wicked * *Haman*, ſought to vnder-proppe the foundations therof, with certain deuiſes of their own; and that the ſame might paſſe without note of ſuſpition, they layd their forgery euen vpon Heauen it ſelfe; whoſe pretended Oracle *Elizabeth Barton* (commonly called, the *holy maide of Kent*) was made to be; and the pillers of this godleſſe Fabricke were *Edward Bocking*, a Monke by profeſſion, and Doctor of Diuinity, *Richard Maſters*, Parſon of *Aldington*, the Towne wherein ſhe dwelt, *Richard Deering* a Monke, *Hugh Rich* a Frier, *Iohn Adeſtone*, and *Thomas Abell*, Prieſts, put to their helping hands, and *Henry Gould* Bachelour of Diuinity, with *Iohn Fiſher* the Reuerend Father of *Rocheſter*, imployed their paines to daube theſe downe-falling walles, with their vntempered Morter. The Scribes that ſet their pens for her Miracles, were *Edward Thwaites* Gentleman, and *Thomas Lawrence* Regeſter, beſides *Haukherſt* a Monke who writ a Letter that was forged to be ſent her from Heauen; and *Richard Risby* and *Thomas Gould*, were the men which diſperſed her Miracles abroad to the world. This holy maide *Elizabeth* made a Votariſſe in *Canterbury*, was taught by *Bocking* her ghoſtly Father, and ſuſpected Paramour, to counterfeit many fained trances, and in the ſame to vtter many vertuous words for the rebuke of ſin, vnder which, more freely ſhe was heard againſt *Luthers* Doctrine, & the Scriptures tranſlation, then deſired of many: neither ſo only, but that ſhe gaue forth from God, and his Saints, by ſundry ſuggeſtiue Reuelations, that if the King proceeded in his diuorce, and ſecond marriage, hee ſhould not raigne in his Realme one moneth after, nor reſt in Gods fauour the ſpace of an houre. But the truth diſcouered by Gods true Miniſters, this Oracle gaue place as all other ſuch did, when Chriſt by his death ſtopped their lying mouthes: for her ſelfe and * ſeauen of her Diſciples were executed for Treaſon at Tiborne, and the other ſixe put to their fines and impriſonment. With the like counterfeit reuelations and fained predictions this Generation of Hypocrites had brought *Edward* Lord *Stafford*, Duke of *Buckingham* vnto his vnhappy end, when as by the working of *Iohn de la Court*, his owne Confeſſor, together with *Nicholas Hopkins* a Monke of the *Carthuſian* Order, in the Priory of *Henton* in *Somerſetſhire*, who by his viſions from heauen forſooth, heartned him for the Crowne; but before his owne Coronet could aſpire to that top, hee worthily loſt both head and all vpon Tower-hill for his treaſon, *Anno Dom. 1521.* Vnto ſuch ſinnes the world was then ſubiect, and into ſuch conceits their reputed holineſſe had brought them, not onely among the ſimple and vnlettered, but euen with them that ſeemed to bee learned indeed: for by certaine predictions fore-ſhewing a great deluge, Prior *Bolton* of Saint *Bartholomewes* in *London*, was ſo fearefull, that he built him a houſe vpon the height of *Harrow*-hill, ſtoring it with prouiſions neceſſary, to keepe himſelfe from drowning, *in An. Dom. 1524.*

Elizabeth Barton the falſe Oracle of the Romaniſts.

The aſſiſters of this falſe Propheteſſe.

Read Statut. *in Anno* 25. of King H. 8.

The counterfeitings of *Elizabeth Barton.*

Edward Hall. Iob Stow. Hollinſh.

Cranmar. Cromwell. Latimer.

* *Elizab. Barton. Edward Bocking. Richard Deering. Richard Risly. Richard Maſters. Henry Gould.* Two Monkes.

Iohn Stow.

Edward Duke of *Buckingham* beheaded. *Holinſhed.*

The vaine feare of Prior *Bolton.*

(84) But the Popes Holineſſe fearing the euent of the game, if euery man might ſet & caſt at his Crowne; thought it high time to lay hand on his own ſtake, and to keepe what was left, leſt all would be gone; to which end he ſollicited many Chriſtian Princes to ſtand on his part, and among them ſent his Briefe vnto *Iames* the fift King of *Scotland*, deſiring his aſſiſtance againſt King *Henry* of *England*, whom in his Conſiſtory hee had pronounced to be an Hereticke, a Schiſmaticke, a manifeſt Adulterer, a publike murtherer, a committer of Sacriledge, a Rebell, and conuict of *Læſæ Maieſtatis*, for that he had riſen againſt him who was his Lord. And therefore he had iuſtly depriued him of his ſaid Kingdome, and would diſpoſe the ſame to him and other Princes, ſo as they would aſſiſt to recouer the ſame: a very good prouiſion, and very well fore-ſeene; for notwithſtanding theſe boiſterous blaſts from *Rome*, the King kept his Crowne, and was rather feared of the Popes beſt Abetters, then did feare any potent power that the world could afford, whoſe thoughts were now buſied for the Coronation of his Queene.

The Pope inciteth *Iames* King of *Scotland* againſt *England. Ioh. Leſly.*

High treaſon.

The Pope giues *England* to him that could get it.

(85) For Queene *Anne* conceiued, and perceiued with-Child, her royall Coronation was forthwith prepared,

Queene *Anne* crowned.

Lady *Elizabeths* birth.

An.D.1533.

prepared, which with all royall obſeruances vpon the firſt of *Iune*, being *Whitſunday*, was performed; and the ſeuenth of *September* following, ſhe bare into the world that excellent Princeſſe, which afterwards proued the mirrour of the world, euen Lady ELIZABETH, our late and moſt famous Queene.

Fox Martyr. 1366.

(86) True it is, that the zealous conuerſation of this godly Queene gaue great encouragements vnto many, more publikely with boldneſſe to profeſſe the Goſpell; ſo that the Miniſters formerly fled in caſe of Religion, returned againe into *England*, where the new Teſtament (tranſlated by *Tyndall*) was read, but with ſuch diſlikes to the Biſhoppes, that they got it to bee burnt. Notwithſtanding, to tickle the Kings eare, they preached againſt the Popes ſupremacy, & tooke the Oath for the King themſelues; abolithed his authority by Act of Parliament, and ſuppreſſed many Monaſteries; leauing their reuenewes to the Kings will; faire introductions indeed for what they intended, as the ſequell of the ſixe Articles by them procured, doth manifeſtly ſhew: and thoſe purpoſely made againſt the maintainers of the Goſpell, wherof Queene *Anne* was the chiefe; who firſt was moſt fauourable to thoſe learned Diuines, that laide mans ſaluation vpon the Rocke Chriſt; next in procuring a tollleration from the King for them, whoſe doctrine did daily vndermine the Papall foundation: and laſtly, ſhe by no meanes would conſent to marry the King, vntill a lawfull diuorce was had for his ſeparation from Lady *Katherine*, his brother *Arthurs* wife, which thing this Pope greatly withſtood: theſe were cauſes ſufficient to moue his Holineſſe to bend his brow & by his Inſtruments in Court to cut off this principall mooquer, who fore-ſlowing no time, took the Ball before his rebound.

Stat. Parl. H. 28. *cap.* 10.

Queene *Anne* a great louer of the Goſpell.

An.D.1536. Ianuar. 29.

(87) For the Queene deliuered of a dead child, and the Kings affection wandring elſewhere, gaue them occaſion to worke on that Subiect, which God in his wiſedome would haue done; leſt his deliuerance from the bondage of darkneſſe ſhould be attributed to any fleſhly arme; or that ſhe who then ſate in the throne of the worlds full felicity, ſhould fixe her ſenſes on ſo fickle a Center, who hauing had experience what it was to be a Prince, muſt henceforth practiſe the patience of a poore priſoner; which in the third yeare of her marriage, and ſecond of May, to act the wofull Scene of her Tragedy, ſhe came vpon the Stage; being ſent to the Tower of *London*, and charged with high Treaſon againſt the King: at whoſe firſt entrance ſhe fell on her knees before *Thomas Audley* Lord Chancellor, the Duke of *Norfolke*; and *Thomas Cromwell* Secretary, her bringers, deſiring God ſo to helpe her as ſhe was guiltleſſe of thoſe things whereof ſhee was accuſed, beſeeching thoſe Lords to be Petitioners vnto his Maieſty in her behalfe, who lamenting her caſe, left her Priſoner with Sir *William Kingſton* Conſtable of the place.

Queene *Anne* deliuered of a dead Child.

Queene *Anne* ſent to the Tower.

(88) I will in no wiſe excuſe her guilt, hauing had iudgment & death by law, though others, and that vpon iuſt occaſions before me haue done, but will ſpeake from them what they haue ſaid; and namely one, that wrote thereof vnto a worthy and reuerent perſon; in whoſe defence his words are theſe: *It ſeemeth very plaine, that the crimes ſuppoſed againſt this Chriſtian Queene Anne, were matters contriued by the deriſe of the Pope, & his inſtruments, her enemies. None of them all that were accuſed in the ſame Treaſon, confeſſing the act euen vnto death, but haue left direct Teſtimonies in writing to the contrary; one meane Groome excepted, namely* Marke Smeton, *made confeſſion vpon ſome promiſe of life belike, but had his head cut off before he was aware, or had time to recall what he had ſaid.* The like did *Cromwell* the Secretary ſignifie to the King, after the priſoners had beene throughly examined in the Tower by the Councell, who wrote thus in his letter on the ſame day; *many things haue been obiected, but nothing confeſſed, only ſome circumſtances haue been acknowledged by* Marke. And ſo doth *Cranmer* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* in his Letter of comfort vnto the King, who ſore lamented that ſuch a ſtar was fallen, if her gilt could be proued, & willed his Highneſſe to ſtand in defence of the Goſpell, as ſhe had done, without any report of confeſſing or acknowledging any ſuch Acts as were obiected, which as *Sleiden* writeth, *were Adultery, and inceſt, but vniuſtly* (ſaith he) *as it is ſuppoſed and proued ſince: With her were executed certaine Gentlemen of the Kings Priuie Chamber, namely*, Norris, Weſton, Brewton, *& one* Marks, *which contrarie to his conſcience (as it is reported) for hope of preferment ſubſcribed to a bill, whereby he condemned both himſelfe, and all the reſt.*

Mirb. Sands. The defence of Queene *Anne.*

Cromwels Letter to the King vnder his owne hand.

Archbiſhop *Cranmers* Letter to the King.

Sleid. Com. lib. 10.

(89) For vpon the ſeauenth of May, her brother *George Bullen*, Lord *Rochford*, for his ſuppoſed offence with theſe foure before named, were all of them beheaded vpon the Tower hill, but none of them confeſſing the action. I haue heard it reported that *Rochford* the Queenes brother comming to her bed ſide to ſolicite a ſuite, leaned thereupon to whiſper her in the eare, which the Spials gaue forth that he did ſo, to kiſſe the Queene, howſoeuer, they are dead, and the Queene muſt die, who two daies before had beene arraigned in the Tower, the Duke of *Norfolke* being her Iudge; to her inditement ſhe anſwered ſo effectually, that ſhee ſeemed to cleare all matters laid to her charge; yet was ſhe found guilty, and vpon the nineteenth day of May was brought to a Scaffold erected on the Greene within the ſaid Tower, where, in the preſence of many Noblemen, the Lord Mayor of *London*, the Sheriffes, and ſome principall Commoners, ſhe is ſaid to haue ſpoken theſe words in their preſence.

L. *Rochford*, *Norris*, *weſton*, *Brewton*, & *Marks*, beheaded.

May 15.

Queene *Anne* condemned and beheaded.

Robert Greene. Queene *Annes* ſpeech at her death.

"(90) Good Chriſtian people, I am come hither to "die; for according to the Law, and by the Law, I am "iudged to death, and therefore I will ſpeake nothing "againſt it; I come hither to accuſe no man, nor to "ſpeake any thing of that whereof I am accuſed and "condemned; as for mine owne offences God know-"eth them, & vnto God I remit them, beſeeching him "to haue mercy vpon my ſoule; and if any perſon will "meddle in my cauſe, I deſire them to iudge the beſt; "and ſo I take my leaue of the world, and of you all, "and heartily doe beſeech you to pray for me; and I "beſeech Ieſus ſaue my Soueraigne and Maſter the "King, the moſt godlieſt, nobleſt, and gentleſt Prince, "that is, long to raigne ouer you. Theſe words ſhee "vttered with a ſmiling countenance, which done, ſhe "kneeled downe, and with a feruent Spirit ſaid, to Ie-"ſus Chriſt I commend my ſoule, Lord Ieſus receiue "my ſoule: and repeating thoſe words very often, ſud-dainly the ſtroake of the ſword ſealed the debt that ſhe owed vnto death; whoſe head and body was buried in the quier of the Chappell in the Tower.

(91) Now that her death was rather ſought for then any wiſe deſerued, doth witneſſe the ſword, whoſe edge was not wiped from the bloud of her death, before the marriage-bed of the King was prepared for another wife, which was L. *Iane Seimer*, in vertues her equall; who vpon the next day following being the 20. of May, was married vnto the King, and ſucceeded this vnfortunate Lady in place of his Queene.

King *Henry* married the day after Queene *Annes* death.

Iohn Stow.

(92) And albeit Queene *Anne* in her life time had ſinned, as *Dauid*; or by frailety fell, as who ſinneth not? yet that it ſhould be ſo licentious & vnnaturall, the quiet of her conſcience at her death, did well witnes the contrary, and her innocency ſo much more apparant, as her Chriſtian modeſty, in excuſing her Soueraigne, and yeelding obedience to the law, howſoeuer *Poole* and *Paulus Iouius*, from their Cardinals ſpleenes, haue filled their pennes to blot her faire name, whoſe death notwithſtanding was ſo grieuouſly taken among the German Proteſtant Princes, who were minded to haue made King *Henry* the head of their league, that thereupon they vtterly brake off, and refuſed him, onely for the cauſe and death of this moſt Chriſtian Queene, whoſe Religion and vertues daily ſhewed forth the fruits of her life, both in preferring the beſt men of gifts vnto the beſt Benefices, and alſo retaining for her Chapleins them of good fame, whoſe godly exhortations ſhee did not onely follow, but would will them freely to tell her what they ſaw in her amiſſe. So mercifull ſhe was to the poore, that ſhe ſpent almoſt her whole reuenew for

Queene *Anne* thought to die guiltleſſe.

Fox. Mar. pa. 1134.

Grafton pag. 1227.

Latimer to the Biſhopricke of *Worceſter*.
D. *Shaxton* to the Biſhopricke of *Salisbury*.

The godly life of Queene *Anne*.

Act. and Mon.

for their reliefe, and in nine moneths ſpace diſtributed among them to the value of fifteene thouſand pounds, intending likewiſe to beſtow a great ſtocke into the fore quarters of the Realme, to ſet poore Artificers on worke. Now if the tree be knowne by the fruites, as truely it is, then theſe were her lights that ſhined before men, and the workes that ſhewed the fruites of her faith, farre from ſuch ſinnes, as the ſway of thoſe times charged her with.

James 2. 18.

Out of the relation of a Noble-man.

(93) And by the working of the ſame faith, her penancy was ſeene, in her ſorrowes conceiued, and thirſting reconciliation vnto them whom ſhe had any wiſe offended, as by this worthy example is apparant; when the day before ſhe ſuffered death, being attended vpon with ſixe Ladies in the Tower, ſhe tooke the Lady *Kingſton* into her Preſence Chamber, and there locking the dore vpon them, willed her to ſit downe in the chaire of Eſtate: whereunto ſhe anſwered, that it was her duty to ſtand, and not to ſit at all in her preſence, much leſſe vpon the ſeat and ſtate of her, her Queene. Ah Madam, quoth ſhe, that title is gone, I am a condemned perſon, and by law haue no eſtate left me in this life; but for clearing of my conſcience, I pray you ſit downe; well, ſaid the Lady *Kingſton*, I haue often plaide the foole in my youth, and to fulfill your command, I will doe it once more in mine age, and thereupon ſate downe vnder the cloath of eſtate; which no ſooner was done, but that the Queene moſt humbly fell vpon her knees before her, & with teares, holding vp her hands, charged her in the preſence of God and his Angels, as ſhe would anſwere her before them, when all ſhould appeare in iudgement, that ſhe ſhould ſo fall downe before the Lady *Maries* Grace, her daughter in Law; and in her name in like manner, aske her forgiuenes for the wrongs ſhe had done her, for till that was accompliſhed (ſhee ſaid) her conſcience could not bee quiet: what her offence was to her-ward, we know not, but may be ſuppoſed not to be capitall, the Queenes caſe wayed, the time conſidered, and her enemies none of the meaneſt, onely this I obſerue, that as ſhe cleared her conſcience of the leſſer crimes, ſo vndoubtedly would ſhee haue done of the greater, if any had beene committed, and ſo as her ſelfe inſtantly deſired, I commit her caſe to be charitably ſpoken of, and leaue her and them vnto the Lord.

The example of Queene *Agnes* penancy.

(94) But as one pillar for the Goſpels defence was fallen by the death of Queene *Anne*, ſo another was raiſed, by raiſing *Cromwell* from the baſe of his birth, no better indeed then a Blacke-ſmiths ſonne, who ſeruing great *Wolſey* in the office of his Solicitor, was employed by him for the ſuppreſſion of forty Monaſteries, to the erection of his Colledges at * *Oxford* & *Ipſwich*; by which he mounted thoſe ſteps of eſtate, which ſet (but not kept) him in the high chaire of his authority; firſt by King *Henry* he was made Maſter of his Iewell-houſe, then Baron of *Okeham* in *Rutlandſhire*, then Knight of the Garter, ere long was created Earle of *Eſſex*, then was he made Lord great Chamberlaine, and laſtly ordained the Kings Vicar Generall; and thus farre fortune brought him from the Forge for a fall.

The riſing of *Cromwell*.

* S. *Brideſwide*, now *Chriſt-Church*.

Statut. in An. 31. Hen. 8. cap. 13.

(95) For King *Henry* vnſtayed in religious reſolution (the Supremacy ſetled wher he would haue it, and the Reuenewes of all Monaſteries giuen him by Parliament) ſought no further to reforme the Churches abuſes, but onely gaue way that the Lords Prayer, the Creede, and Commandements might be read in Engliſh, which *Cromwell* procured to be enacted by Parliament. The Commons then miſling that their mumblings muſt downe, and the Monkes ſore troubled to mingle Engliſh in their Maſſes, the *Lincolneſhire* men began a Commotion, vnder the conduct of D. *Mackarell* a Monke, who named himſelfe Captaine *Gobler*, & his followers were growne well neere vnto twenty thouſand. Againſt theſe, the King in perſon prepared, ſending forth his command vnto ſeuerall Counties, to charge them with a taxation of furniſhed Souldiers to meet him at *Amphell*, as by * one we haue ſeene ſigned with the ſtampe of his hand, and ſent vnto the Biſhop of *Exceſter* for foure hundred able men,

The Lords Prayer, the Creed, and Commandements in the Engliſh tongue.

Commotions of *Lincolneſhire*.

* King *Henries* Letter dated at *Windſor* 8. of October, and 27. of his raigne.

whereof ſixeſcore to be Archers, which great preparation being knowne to the Rebels, they ſent to his Maieſty theſe Articles, ſubſcribed with many of their hands, the tenour whereof out of the Originall it ſelfe was, as followeth.

To the King our Soueraigne Lord.

The aggreeuances of the Commons of *Lincolnſhire*.

Pleaſeth it your Highneſſe to be aduertiſed, that your poore Comminalty, true and faithfull Subiects, in your County of *Lincolne*, at this preſent time aſſembled, findeth our ſelues grieued in theſe Articles hereafter following.

Suppreſſion of Monaſteries.

Firſt, for the ſuppreſſion of ſo many religious houſes, as be at this inſtant time ſuppreſſed. Whereby the ſeruice of God is not onely miniſhed, but alſo the poorealty of your Realme be vnrelieued, and many perſons be put from their liuings, and left at large, which wee thinke is a great hindrance to the Common-wealth.

Act of Vſes.

The ſecond Article is, that we humbly beſeech your Grace, that the Act of vſes may be repealed, becauſe we thinke that by the ſaid Act wee be clearely reſtrained of our liberties, in the declaration of our Willes, concerning our lands: aſwell for the paiment of our debts, for doing of your Grace ſeruice, as for helping and relieuing of our children, which we haue had by the ſufferance of your lawes by a long continuance, which we thinke is great hurt and diſcommodity to the Common-wealth.

Taxe of *quindecim*.

The third Article is, that where your Grace hath a taxe, or quindecim, granted vnto you by Act of Parliament, payable the next yeare: which is, and euer hath beene leueable of ſchepe and catall: And the ſchepe and catall of your Subiects within this ſaid Shire, are now at this inſtant vtterly decayed and gone. Whereby yff your Grace will take the ſaid taxe, Your ſaid Subiects ſhould be conſtrained to pay iiij. d. for a beaſt, and xij. d. for xx. ſchepe: And that would be an importunate charge to theym, conſidered the pouerty that they be in already, and the loſſe which they haue ſuſtained theſe two yeares by-paſt.

Counſellors diſliked.

The fowrt Article is, that we your true and faithfull Subiects, thynkes that your Grace takes of your Councell, and very nygh about you, ſuch Perſonages as be of lawe birth, and ſmale reputation, which haue procured the premyſſes, moſt eſpeciall for their ſingler lucre and aduantage: the which we ſuſpect to be the Lord *Cromwell*, and Sir *Richard Rich* Chancellor of the augmentations.

Tenths of ſpirituall liuings.

The fift Article is, your Grace to haue the x^th. and firſt fruites of euery ſpirituall promotion, of the value of xx. l. and aboue. And of all other vnder the ſaid value which doe not keepe reſidence and hoſpitality of their ſaid Benefices.

Diſlike of Biſhops:

The ſixt Article is, that wee your true Subiects finde them grieued, that there bee diuers Biſhops of *Yngland*, of your Grace late promotion, that haue ſubuertyd the faith of Criſt, as wee thinke, which is the Archbyſhop of *Canterbury*, the Biſhoppe of *Rocheſter*, the Byſhoppe of *Saliſbury*, the Byſhop of Saint *Daueys*, and the Byſhop of *Deuelyn*. And in eſpeciall as wee thinke the beginning of all the troble of this Realme, and the gret exactions that hath beene taken of your poore Communalty, haue riſen by the occaſion of the Biſhop of *Lincolne*: by whoſe Officers, and by other of the Lord *Cromwels* ſeruants, a great rumor and noyſe is riſen, and the commune voce is, that ſuch Iowellys, Plate, and other anornaments of our Pariſh Churches, which wee occupy in the ſeruice and honour of God, ſhould be taken from vs, and ſpoiled in like maner and facion, as the houſys of Religion hath bene. For a reformation of all and ſyngler the aforeſayd abvſes, Wee your poore and trewe Subiects humble reguirys your Grace and Maieſty, that it might pleaſe your Highneſſe to call vnto you the Nobility of this your Realme, to ſee ſuch Order and direction concerning all & ſingler the premiſſes, as may ſtand with honour and ſewerty of your Grace, the welthe and proſperity of your Realme, and the contentation of vs your poore Subiects, and other the whole Communalty of this your Realme.

Thom. Cranmer. Iohn Fiſher.

Iohn Longland.

Whereby

Whereby we ſhall not onely accept your Grace to be the Head and Soueraigne of vs your Subiects, but alſo accept and take your Grace to be Supreame head of the Church of *Ingland*, which wee doe knowledge your Grace trewe inheritance and right.

The Commons requeſt for the bearer.

Alſo your ſaid trewe and faithfull ſubiects, with the hole aſſent of all your Communalty of the ſaid Shire, moſt humbly beſechith your gracious Maieſty, to pardon this poore bearer in doing this his meſſage to your Highneſſe, who is your trewe and faithfull ſubiect, and hath taken this meſſage vpon him for the feruent loue that he hath to your Grace moſt in eſpeciall, and for the ſtaying of your Cominaltie euer ſens this ruffull began, hath bene as glad with all his diligence to ſtay the commune people for the effuſion of bloud, as bee all his powre he might. The King with good words pacified theſe Commons, who laying aſide weapons, imbraced their pardons.

Commotions in *Yorkeſhire*.

(96) But this cloud ſcarſly ouer-blowne, another more dangerous aroſe in the North, which threatned ſoarer ſtormes by the Skies ouer-caſt: for 40000 Ruſtickes aſſembled in *Yorkſhire*, furniſhed with Horſe, Armour, Artillery, and Abillements for warre, threatned to ſet the ſtay of Eſtate vpon the props of their giddy inuentions. Their pretence was Religion, and defence of holy Church, their Banners painted with the fiue wounds of our Lord, the Challice, the Cake, and other like inuentions of *Rome*, and vpon their ſleeues was writ the name of the Lord: and ſo forward and feruent were they in their proceedings, that this their attempt muſt be termed the *holy Pilgrimage*. Holy Pilgrimage.

Neither were the Rurall onely guilty in this rebellion, but others of greater place and degree were aſſociates, namely, *Edward* Lord Archbiſhop of *Yorke*, and the Lord *Thomas Darcy*, though both of them conſtrained by the Rebels as the ſaid Archbiſhop teſtified vnder his owne hand: but voluntary and moſt forward were the Clergy of thoſe parts, the Lord *Lumley*, Sir *Thomas* and Sir *William Percies*, Sir *Robert Conſtable*, Sir *Francis Bigot*, and Sir *Robert Neuill*, all of them Knights, *Iohn Lacy*, *Richard Beamond*, and *Robert Bowes* Eſquiers; the Bayliffes of *Snaythe*, of *Leeds*, *Kellam*, and of *Beuerly*. And for Captaine Generall, was *Robert Aske* a meane Gentleman, and one *Rudſtone* his aſſociate in the Field. Other Commanders they had out of the common ſort, as *Iames Diamond* Generall of the Foot, and a poore Fiſher-man, ſtyled by himſelfe and others, the Earle of *Pouerty*. What authority theſe bare among theſe rude multitude may partly be perceiued by their Mandates, and Commiſſions, ſent forth in their names, and ſubſcribed with their owne hands; as from the Originals of ſome of them is here to be ſeene. *Ex M.S.* in Sir *Robert Cottons* Library.

The Captaine of the Commotions Letters.

Lords, Knights, Maſters, Kinſmen, and Friends, we perceiue that ye be informed that this Aſſemble our Pilgrimage, which we by the fauor and mercy of Almighty God intendyth to proceed in, is becauſe the King our Soueraine Lord hath had much inpoceſſions of vs, wee doubt not but ye doe knowne and remember that to our powers we haue beene alwaies as ready in paiments and ſeruices to his Highneſſe as any his ſubiects: and further to acertaine you of the cauſe of our ſaid aſſemble and pilgrimage is this, That forſomuch that ſuch ſimple & euil-diſpoſed perſons being of the kings Councell, hath not only incenſed his Grace with many things which be contrary to the Faith of God, honour of the Kings Maieſty, & the Common-wealth of this Realme: and therby hath deſtroyed, & yet vtterly intendeth to deſtroy the Church of England, *and the Miniſters of the ſame, as ye know ſo well as we: but alſo the ſaid Councell hath robbed and ſpoiled, and further intendyth vtterly to rob and ſpoile the whole body of the Kings Realme, and that as well all you, as vs, if God of his infinite mercie had not cauſed ſuch as hath taken, & hereafter ſhal take this pilgrimage vpon them to proceed in the ſame: and whether all theſe things be true or not, we put it to your conſcience. And if ye thinke it be true, and fight againſt vs, which intendeth the Comen-wealth of this Realme, & nothing elſe, we truſt ye ſhall haue ſmal ſpeed: For this pilgrimage we haue taken hyt for the preſeruation of Cryſts Church of this Realme of* England, *the King our Soueraigne Lord, the Nobility, Barony and Comens of the ſame, and to the intent to make petition to the Kings Highnes for reformation of that which is amiſſe within this his Realme. And for puniſhment of Heretickes and Subuerters of Lawys; & neither for mony, malice, nor diſpleaſure to any perſon, but ſuch as be not worthy to remain neere the King our Soueraine Lords perſon. And further we know if ye ſhould obtaine, as we truſt yn God ye ſhall natt, then ye put both vs and you, your heires and ours in bondage for euer; and further yee are ſure of the interdiction of Cryſts curſe, and we cleare, and out of the ſame: And if we ouercome you, ye ſhall be in our wylls; wherefore for a concluſion, if you wyll not comen with vs for a reformation of the Premiſes, we certifie you by this our writing, that we will feyght & dye, both againſt you, and all thoſe that ſhall be about-wards to ſtop vs in the ſaid pilgrimage: And God ſhall ſhew his Grace and mercy therein: And then ye ſhall be iudged hereafter to be ſhedars of ſome of Cryſtyn bloud, and deſtroyers of your euyn Cryſten. From* Robert Aske, *chiefe Captaine of the Comynalty aſſembled in pilgrimage, for the Barony and Cominalty of the ſame.*

By me *Robert Aske* yn the name of all the Comynalty and Barony.

Of ſuch terrour and haughty ſpirit was this Captaine *Aske*, that when *Lancaſter* an Herald at Armes, was ſent to declare the Kings meſſage in *Pomfret* Caſtle (which the Rebels had got by ſurrender from the Lord *Darcy*) he ſo bluſtred out his anſweres, that the daunted man excuſing himſelfe to be but a meſſenger, fell before him on his knees; till the Archbiſhop of *Yorke* tooke him vp, ſaying, it was not beſeeming the Coat he wore, to proſtrate to any, but only to his Soueraigne. Reade likewiſe if you pleaſe this ſtrange Mandate from ſome meane man among them; the falſe ſuggeſtion that they poſſeſſed the ignorant with, and the Oath wherunto theſe holy Pilgrims were ſworne, as I find them recorded by themſelues in theſe very words. *Ex M.S.* The audacious dealings of the Rebels.

To the Commyns of *Hawkeſide* Pariſh, Bayliffes, or Conſtables, with all the Hamlets of the ſame.

Welbeloued we greet you wel, and whereas our brother Pouerty, *& our brother* Rogers, *goith forward, is openly for the aid & aſſiſtance of your faith, & holy Church, and for the reformation of ſuch Abbeys & Monaſteries, now diſſolued & ſubpreſſed without any iuſt cauſe. Wherfore gudde brethers, Foraſmuch as our ſaid brederyn hath ſend to vs for aide and helpe, we doe not onely effectually deſire you, but alſo vnder the paine of deadly ſinne wee command you, and euery of you, to be at the ſtoke Greene beſide* Hawkeſide-*Kirke, the Saturday next, being the xxviij. day of October by xj. of the clokke, in your beſt array: as you will make anſwer before the heigh Iudge at the dreadfull day of Dome, and in the paine of pulling downe your Houſes, and leaſing of your gudds, and your bodies to be at the Capteyns will: For at the place aforeſaid, then and there, yee and we ſhall take further direction concerning our faith, ſo farre decayed, And for good and laudable Cuſtomes of the Country, And ſuch naughty inuentions and ſtrange Articles now accepted and admitted, ſo that our ſaid brother be ſubdued, they are like to goe furthwards to vtter vndoing of the Commyn-welth.*

Slanderous vntruths againſt the King.

(97) And the more to draw forward the rude multitude, which were forward enough of themſelues, they ſet forth in writing theſe ſlanderous vntruths againſt the King.

1 The *firſt* is, that no Infant ſhall receiue the bleſſed Sacrament of Baptiſme, bott onleſſe an trybett to be payd to the King.

2 The *ſecond* is, that no man vnder xx^{l}. Lands ſhall eyte no brede made of Wheat, ner Capon, Chekyn, Gois, ner Pigge, bott onleſſe to pay a trybett to the King.

3 The *third* is, that for euery ploghe-land the King will haue en trybett, with other diuerſe extreme vrgent cauſes, and hertely fare ye well.

The

The Oath of the holy Pilgrimes.

The oath of the Pilgrims.

Ye ſhall nat enter into this our Pilgrimage of Grace for the Commyn-welthe, but only for the loue that you doe bere vnto Almighty Godde, his faith, & to holy Churche militant, the maintenance thereof, to the preſeruation of the Kings perſon, his iſſew, to the purifying of Nobilitie, and to expulſe all vilayne blode, and euill Councellers againſt the Commyn-welthe, frō his Grace & the prinie Counſel of the ſame, & that ye ſhall nat enter into oure ſaid Pilgramege, for no particular profite to your ſelfe, nor to do no diſpleaſure to no priuey perſon, but by Councell for the Commyn-welthe, ner ſlee, ner murder for no enuye, but in youre hertis put away all feare and dread, and take afore you the Croſſe of Criſte, and in your herts his faith, the reſtitution of the Churche, the ſubpreſſion of theſe Heryiyks, and their opynyons, by all the holle contents of this Booke.

And for the obſeruation of this Oath, heare another command of the Commiſſioners, as we finde it recorded.

To the Bayliffes and Communes of the Towne of *Skarboro.*

Welbelouyd, we Francys Bygod Knighte, and Iohn Halom yoman, in the name of all the Communes, commande and charde you, that ye aſſemble your ſelues together mediately vpon recepete hereof, and ſo take thys othe wychys we here ſend vnto yow, and then after in all haſte poſsible to aſsiſt and hayde theis ower brethren, wome we ſende to you to keepe, & make ſure the Caſtell, Towne, and Port of Skarboro, that no man enter into the ſame Caſtel, that belongys vnto Raſe Euers the yonger knyghte, nor any outher whiches did not take full parte with the Communes, at ower firſt and laſt aſſemblynge, in whoys name, aethority, or attorney, ſoeuer they cume, vnleſſe they haue licence of all the Communes, in like manner, ye ſhall truely keepe all ſichys ordinance, and ſhippe to the vſe of the Communes, wythe wyches we charde you at our late being here, and thys not to faile, vpon paine of yower lyues, ye ſhall refer credence vnto thys meſſyngeres, thus in haſt: Fare ye well, from Settrynton this Mondaye Sancte Mawris daye.

Francis Bygott Knight, in the name, and by commandement of all the Communes.

The Earle of *Shrewsbury* maketh againſt the Rebels.

Againſt theſe rout of Rebels *George* Earle of *Shrewſbury* muſtred his men, not ſtaying for the Kings commiſſion, which made him much ſuſpected, he meant to haue ſided with the Pilgrims himſelfe. To cleare which aſperſions, he made this ſhort (but loyal) Oration vnto his followers, before he entred further into the field.

" How ſoeuer theſe Rebels colour their pretences for "the Weale-publike, and would draw in others to "participate with them; yet certaine it is, that Trai- "tors they be, and traiterouſly doe proſecute what "they wickedly begun. Follow them who liſt in this "lawleſſe enterprize; But I for mine own part meane "not to ſtaine my bloud and Anceſtors by ioyning "my means with ſuch a ſort of Raskals, but wil rather "liue and die in defence of the Crowne; yea, if it ſtood "but vpon a ſtake. Therefore thoſe that will take my "part in theſe buſineſſes, let them follow me; and if a- "ny heare amongſt you be otherwiſe minded, let him "depart; but looke for no more fauour then the Hat- "chet and Halter will afford him. And then in the ſight "of them all he cauſed his Chaplain to adminiſter him "an oath of his loyalty vnto the King. It was likewiſe reported that the Earle of *Darby* was ſet forward towards them, whom the Pilgrimes well-hoped would haue ſided with them, as by their Mandate ſent to the Brethren appeares, where is forbid that none of them ſhould aide him, vnleſſe he tooke the Oath: which he neuer meant to aſſay or ſweare to.

Thomas Duke of *Norfolke* Lord Lieutenant of the North.

(98) But true it is the King ſent *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolke* Lord Generall againſt them, accompanied with the Marqueſſe of *Exceſter*, the Earles of *Huntingdon* and *Rutland*; who ioyning their powers made towards *Doncaſter*, where the Rebels then lay in their Randiuou; in whoſe ſight immediately they ſet vp their Tents, and determined battell vpon the next day; but on the night betwixt, ſuch fluds of water fell, that the riuer *Dunne* ouerflowed his bancke, and admitted no paſſage ouer the Bridge, which thing was taken as a token from God; and thereupon the Lord Generall offered them conference, alledging that the King was tender of his Subiects liues, and very vnwilling to ſhed Chriſtian bloud: that their cauſe ſhould be fauourably heard, and iuſt complaints redreſſed, if with ſubmiſſion & duty of Subiects, they would yeeld themſelues and affaires to the Kings mercy; that this their rebellious proceedings, was not only the fore-running meſſenger of deſtruction to themſelues and partakers, but gaue alſo a great aduantage vnto the Scots, the dangerous enemy vnto the Land, & them all: with theſe and the like perſwaſions the matter was ſo forwarded, that a conference was appointed at *Doncaſter*, and foure pledges were ſent from the Lord Generall vnto the Commons, for the ſafe returnes of their aſſigned Commiſſioners, which were theſe by name.

Pardon and peace offered to the Rebels.

Lord Neuill.	*Sir William Conſtable.*
Lord Darcy.	*Sir Raufe Conſtable.*
Lord Streſſre.	*Sir Richard Tempeſt.*
Lord Lumley.	*Sir Raufe Romemer.*
Lord Latimer.	*Sir William Euſtan.*
Sir Thomas Percy.	*Sir George Lawton.*
Sir George Darcy.	*Sir Thomas Hylton.*
Robert Aske Captaine.	*M. Robert Conſtable.*
Sir Raufe Clayer, Seni.	*M. Richard Banner.*
Sir Raufe Clayer, Iun.	*M. Wiſeroppe.*
Sir Raufe Euers.	

Whoſe Articles and demands were theſe, as followeth. *Ex Original. pt. 3.*

The inſtruction for Sir *Thomas Hylton*, and other Companions.

The demands of the Commons.

1 *Firſt, to declare to the Duke of Norfolke, and other the Lordys, that th'entent of our meeting of our partie, ſurely is meant and thought of aſſured troth, without any manner of diſceyte, or male engyne.*

2 *The ſecond is, to receiue the Kings ſauecundyth vnder the Brode Seale of Englonde, & to deliuer our ſauecundyth, and promiſe, vndre owre hands, for the Lordys there.*

3 *The thirde, to entreate of owre generall perdon for all cauſys, and all perſons, which be within the Realme, wyche in herte, word, or deed aſſentyd, edyter procured, the furtherance in this our quarrell, may be pardoned life, lands, goods; and that in the ſaid perdon, nor other the Kings records, we be not witon reputed, ne taken, as Rebylleous or tretors, nor reherſyd in the ſame.*

4 *The fourth, that Thomas Cromwell, nor any of his bande or ſerte, be not at owre metyng at Doncaſtre, but abcente themſelfe from the Councell.*

5 *The fift, to receiue the Kings anſwere by the declarations of the Lords, and to certifie the vere etent thereof to vs there.*

Alſo, to know what authority the Lords haue to etreate, in promes with vs ther, as well of owre promes of other things.

Alſo, to know what plege the wyll deliuer for our Capitans.

Alſo, yf thys pertyculars be concluded, then for to condyſcend of other perticulars.

The whole drift was to downe with the Goſpell.

1 *The firſt touching our faith, to haue the hereſyes of Luther, Wyclyf, Huſſee, Melanćton, Ecolampadius, Buſyrs, the Confeßion Germane, the Applege of Melanqton, the werke of Tyndale, of Bernys, Fryth, of Marſhall, Raſtell, the Bookes of Sent Germane, and ſuch other of any manner Hereſie, without the Realme, not to be kept, but vtterly to bee dyſtryed.*

2 *The ſecund, to haue the ſupreme of the Chyrch toching cure of ſowlle to be reſeruyd to the See of Rome, as byfore hyt was accuſtomyd for to be; and to haue the conſecration of Byſhoppys frome him without any firſt fruts, or pencyons to him to be payde out of this Realme, or ellys a pencion reaſonable for the outwarde defence of our fayth.*

Alſo, we beſeke humble our moſt drade Soueraign Lord, that the Lady Mary may be legetymate, and the eſtatutes contrary to the ſame to be anulyd for the dome of the tytle

that might incur to the Crowne by Scotland, and that to be by Parliament.

Alſo, to haue the Abbeys that be ſuppreſſed to be reſtoryd to their Lands, Howſys, and Goods.

Alſo, to haue the Tents and firſt fruts clearely diſchargyd, onles the Clergy wyll of their ſelfys grant a Rent or Charge to the augmentation of the Crowne.

Alſo, to haue the Freres obſeruans reſtoryd to their houſes againe.

An vncharitable and vnchriſtian motion.

Alſo, to haue the Heretiks Biſhoppys, and temporall men of their ſeete, to haue condigne ponyſment by fire, or ſuch other; or ells to trie ther quarrell with vs and our partakers in battell.

Alſo, to haue the Lord Crumwell, the Lord Chanceller, and Sir Ryc. Rych Knight to haue condigne ponyſment, as ſubuerters of the gud lawes of the Realme; and onetemers of the ſleſe ſect of this falſe heretykes fyrſt inuenter and brengers of them.

Alſo, that the Landys in Weſtmorland, Comberland, Kendale, Denſyd, Furnes, and the Abbeis lands in Yorke, Worſaidyſhire, Kerbyſhire, Neuerdale, mayne be Tenant Right, and the lord to haue at euery change two yeres rent, in the name of a agar ſumme, and no more, according to a grant now made by the Lords to the Commens vnder their ſeales; and this to be done by act of Parlement.

Alſo, the hand-gunnys and Croſſe-boys, with the penalty of the ſame to be repelled, onles hyt be in the Kings Forreſts and Parkes to kyllers of Deere.

Alſo, that Doctor Lee, and Doctor Leyton, may haue condigne ponyſhment for their extortions in time of viſitation, in brybes, of ſome religyous houſes, x. l. xx. l. and for other ſummes, beſyde horſys, vowſens, leaſes, vnder couent ſeallys, by them taken, and other abominable acts by them committed and done.

Alſo, to ſee reformation for the election of Knights of ſhire, and the Burgys, and for the vſe among the Lords in the Perlament after the ancient cuſtome.

Alſo, the Statute for incloſing Intackes to be put in execution, that all Intacks, Incloſys ſyth Anno quarto Henrici ſeptimi *be pullyd downe exceding Foreſts, and Parkys to be dyſtrud of their qũtion, and tax now granted by Parlament.*

Alſo, to haue the Parlyament in a conuenient place as Nottingham or Yorke, & the ſame to be ſo moued ſhortly.

Alſo, that it may be enacted by authority of Parliament, that all recogniſans, ſtatutys, penaltyes newly forfeyted during the tyme of the Commiſſion may be pardoned and diſcharged, aſwell againſt the King as ſtranger.

Alſo, the priuilege of the Ryght of the Church to be confirmed by act of Parlament, and Pryſts not to ſuffer onles they be degraded; a man to be ſaued by his Booke; Sanctuary to ſaue a man in all cauſes in extreme need, and the Church to ſaue a man for forty daies; and further according to the lawes as they were vſed in the beginning of the Kyngys dayes.

Alſo, the libertyes of the Church to haue their old cuſtoms, as the County-Palatine of Durham, Beuerley, Reppon, S. Peter of Yorke, and ſuch other by act of Parliament.

Alſo, to haue the Statute that no man ſhall declare his will on his land to be repelled.

Alſo, the Statute of treaſon for Wurdys, made ſith Anno xxi. of our Soueraign that now is, to be in like wiſe repelled.

Alſo, that the common Law may haue place aſwell as was vſed in the beginning of your gracious raign, and that all Iniunctions be clearly denied, and not granted, vnleſſe the matter be heard in the Chancery, & there determined.

Alſo, that no man vpon ſub pœna, *or Priuy Seale from Trent Northward, appeare but at Yourke, or by Atturney, vnleſſe it be directed vpon pene of allegyance, or for like matter concerning the King.*

Alſo, a remedy againſt Exchequor for fining of falſe Offices, and extortions in taking of Fees, for that which is not held of the King, and againſt the promoters thereof.

Theſe were the inſtructions giuen to their Commiſſioners to be conferred vpon; all which as it ſhould ſeeme, were drawne into foure Articles or heads, as by the minute of the Kings anſwere thereunto doth appeare. Which originall wholly penned by King *Henries* owne hand, I haue here inſerted word for word, to ſhew his learned care both for Church and Common-wealth: the originall it ſelfe remaineth in the Liberary of the worthy Sir *Robert Cotton* knight Barenet, the ſtorer of all learned antiquities.

Anſware to the demands off the Rebellys in Yorkeſhyre.

28 Hen. 8: December.

Firſt, as touching the mayntenance off the fayth, the termys be ſoo general that hard thay be to be anſward. But yff they meane the fayth off Chryſt, to which all Chryſten men be moſt oblygyd, we declare and proteſt our ſelfe to be he that always do, and haue myndyd to dy and lyue in the puryte off the ſame, and declare that no man can or dare ſett hys fote by ours in prouyng off the contrary: maruelyng not a lytyll that Ignorant pepole wyll goo abowght, or take vpon them to inſtructe vs (which ſume thyng haue bene noted to be lerned) what the ryght fayth ſhold be. Or that they wold be ſo ingrate and vnnaturall to vs theyre moſt ryghtfull King, with owght any our deſart, vpon falſe reports and ſurmyſys to ſuſſpecte vs off the ſame, and gyffe rather credence to forgyd light talys, then to the approued traght by vs thys xxviij. yers vſyd, and by oure deds approued.

The firſt Article.

To the ſeconde, which tochythe the mayntenance off the Chyrche, & lybertes off the ſame, thys is ſo genera apropoſycion that withowgt diſtinctions no man with trawght can anſware it nother. For firſt, the Chyrche whiche they mene muſt be knowne. Secondly, whether they lawfull or vnlawfull lybertes whych they require, I mene bothe by Gods laws, and laws off the Realme. And thes know I dowght not but they ſhal be anſwarde, according to Gods Law, equite and Iuſtice.

The ſeconde Article.

The thyrde tochyth three things, the laws, the Commune-welthe, the directors off the lawes vnder vs. Tochyng the laws, we expreſly dare teſtyfy that blind men denying no colers, nor yet being Iudggs, it ſhall be duly prouy that there were neuer in any of our prediſſeſſours dayes ſo many holſume commodius and benyffyciall Acts made for the Commenwelthe, and yet I mene it ſyns theyre tyme that wolde fayne haue thanke withowght deſert. For our Lord forbedde (ſeyng we haue bene this xxviij. yere your King) that both we and our Counſell ſhuld haue loſt ſo muche tyme, as not to know now better then when we came firſt to our rayne, what were the Commenwelthe, and what the ſelf-conceit were not, & thought the owtherquedance of ſume may chance wil nott lett them to knowledge it ſo; yet I truſt and dowght nott but the moſt part of our louyng Subiects (ſpecially thos which be not ſeducyd by falſe report, do bothe thynke it, accept it, and fynde it ſo.) Now tochyng to the Commune-welthe, what King hath keptt yow all hys ſubiects ſo longe, in welthe & peace ſo longe, withowght takyng or doyng wrong, whon to the other ſo indifferently mynyſter iuſtice to all bothe hye & low; Soo defendyd you all frome owghtward enymyſe; ſo fortyfyed the fronters off the Realme, to his no litytl and in a maner ineſtimable cargs, and all for your welthes and ſurtes. What king hath gyffen among you mo generall or frear pardons. What Kyng hath be lother to punyſhe his Subiects, or ſhewde more marcy amoſt them? Theſe thyngs beyng ſo trew, as no trew man can deny them, it is an vnnaturall and vnkynd demenour off you our Subiects, to beleue or deme the contrary off it, by hous report ſoo euer it ſhuld be.

The third Article

As tochyng the begynyng of our Rayne, wher ye ſay, ſo meny Nobyllmen were Counſelers, hoo were then Counſelers I well remember, and yet off the Temporalte I notte non but two wordy callyng Nobyll, the won Treſourer of *Yngland*, and the other hye Stuvard off our others, as the *Lord *Marney* & *Darcy*, but ſars wel-borne Gentyllmen, and yet off no grett lands, till they were promotyd by me, and ſoo made knyghts and Lords, the reſt wer Lawyers and Preſtes, ſaue two Biſhopys, whyche wer *Canterbyry* and *Wynchester*. Yff theſe then be the grett Nobyllmen ye ſpecke off, and ye ſemed then to be content withall, why then nowe be ye nott muche better content with vs, whyche haue now ſo meny Nobylls in dedd, bothe of byrth

*Let not this Relation wrong theſe Noblemen; I follow the Record: not impeaching their births, nor Nobility, howſoeuer the preſent carried the ſpleene of the King.

byrth and condyſſion. For firſt off the Temporalyte in our preve Conſell, we haue the Duke of *Norfolke*, the Duke of *Suffolk*, the Markes off *Exceter*, the Lorde *Stuward* (when he may come) the Erle off *Oxford*, the Erle off *Suſſex*, the Lord *Sandes* our Chamberlayn, the Lord Admyrall Treſourer off our Houſe, Sir *Wyllyam Paulet* Controler off our Houſe: And off ſpirituall the B. off *Hereford*, *Chycheſter*, and *Wyncheſter*. Now, loke how fare ye be abuſed to recõne that then there wer mo Nobyll men in our preuy Conſell, than now. But yet though I nowe do declare the truthe, to pull yow fro the blyndenes that you wer leddin, yet we enſure we wolde ye knoo, that it appartayneth nothyng to any off oure ſubiects to poynte vs our Conſell, ne we wolde take it ſoo at your hands. Wherfore henſefourth remember better the dutys off Subiects to your King and Souerayne, and meddle not off that whyche ye haue nothyng to do in. And in caſe it be but a falſe and vntrue report (as we verely thynke it is) then it were as mette and ſtandyth as well with iuſtice, that they ſhulde haue the ſelfeſame puniſment whyche wrongfully hath obiectyd thys to them that they ſhulde haue had, if they deſeruyd it. And wõn thyng amonſt others makyth me thynke that thys ſlander ſhulde be vntrw, by cauſe it procedyth frome that plaſe whyche is bothe ſo ferre diſtant frome wher they inhabite, & alſo frome thos peple whyche neuer hard them preche, nor yet knowght any part off theyre conuerſation: Werfore we exorte ye our Commons to be no more ſo lyght off gredit, nother off ill thyngs ſpoken off your kyng & Souerayne, nor yet off any off his Prelats or Conſellers; but to thynke that your Kyng hauing ſoo long raynyd ouer you, hath as good diſcreſſion to elect and cheuſe his Conſellers, as thes hoo euer they be that hath put thys in your hedds.

Here in this fynall poynt whyche ye our Cõmons off *Yorkſhire* do deſyre it, and alſo in the mator off the hole we verely thynke, that the reſt off our holle Commones (wheroff ye be in maner but an handfull) wyll grettly diſdayne, & nott bere that ye take vppon ye, to ſet order bothe to them and vs your bothe Souerayne, & that (thowght ye be rebelles) you wolde make them as berers and part takers off your myſcheffe, wyllyng them to take pardon for inſurrection, whyche verely I thynke, and dowght nott they neuer myndyd, but like trew ſubiects to the contrary, hathe bothe with hart and dede bene redy att our call to defende bothe vs & themſelfe. And now for our part, as to your demandes, we let you wytt, that pardon of ſuch thyngs as ye demande liett wonly in the wyl & pleaſure off the Prince: But it ſemyth by your leaude Proclamations and ſaue condutes, that there be amongſt you who take vpon them bothe the Kings and Conſellers parts, whyche nother yet by vs, nor by conſent off the Realme, hath bene admytted to any ſuche rome. What arroganſy then is in thos wretches (being alſo off none experiens) to preſume to rayſe ye our ſubiects with owght Commiſſion or auctoryte, ye, and agaynſt vs, vnder a clokyd colur off your wellthe, & in our name: And as the ſucces wyll declare (we benyng no more merſifull then ye hytherto do deſarue) to yours other confuſions. Wherfore we lett you wytt, ye our ſubiects off *Yorkſhyre*, that were it not that our pryncely hart can nott recõne thys your ſhamfull Inſurrection & vnnaturall rebellyon to be done off malice, or rancore, but rather by a lyghtnes gyffen in a maner by a naghty nature to a Communalte, and a wonderus ſodeyne ſurreption off Gentyllmen, we muſt nedes haue excecuted another maner of puniſhement then (ye humbelyng knowlegyng your faults, and ſubmyttyng your ſelfes to our marcy) we intend to doo. And to the intente that ye ſhal all know, that our Pryncely hart rather inbraſeth (off his awne diſpoſicion) pite & compaſſion off his offending ſubiects, then wyll to be reuenged off theyre naghte deddes, we are contented, yff we may ſee and parſayue in you all a ſorofulnes for your offenſys, and will henſforth to do nere ſoo, nor to beleue ſoo leaude & nawghty tales or reports off your moſt kynd and louyng Prynce, & hys Conſell, to grant vnto you all our Letter Pattens off pardon for this rebellion; ſo that ye will deliuer vnto vs ſhuche off the ryng-leders and prouokers off you to thys rebellion, as wee ſhall aſſyne to yow and poynt. Now note the benyngnyte off your Prince. Now note how eaſely ye maye haue pardone bothe Gentyllmen, and other, yff ye liſt. Now note, how effuſion off blude maye be exchuyd. Now note what thys lytyll wyle off your rebellyon hath hynderyd your ſelfes and Contre. Now lerne by a lytyll lake to exchew a worſe. Now lerne by thys ſmalle warnyng to kepe yow trw men. Thus I as your hed, praye for you my members, that God may light yow with hys grace to knowlege, and declare your ſelfes our trw ſubiects hensforth, and to gyff more credence to thes our benyng parſwaſions, then to the paruarſe inſtigations off malicius diſpoſed parſons.

Fynys.

The effect that the Kings reply wrought, is manifeſt by his free pardons ſent vnto the offenders, by Proclamation diuulged by his meſſenger at Armes and his Trumpet throughout the North parts, the tenour whereof from the Originall is, as followeth.

King *Henries* free pardon by Proclamation.

All bee it, that yowe the Kings Subiects and Commons dwelling and inhabiting in the Shires of Yorke, Cumberland, Weſtmerland, Northumberland, the Biſhopricke of Durham, the Citty of Yorke, and the Shire of the ſame, the Towne of Kyngſton vpon Hull, and the Shire of the ſame, the Towne of Newcaſtle vpon Tyne, and the Shire of the ſame, and in other Shires, Townes, Dalis, Places priuiledged, the Fraunchiſes and Liberties within the limits of the ſaid Shires, Cities, and Townes, or any of them, or being reputed or taken for any part, parcell or number of any of them, and ſuch other the Kings ſaid Subiects, inhabited in the Towne of Lancaſter, or elſwhere by North, in the Shire of Lancaſter, haue now of late attempted and committed manifeſt and open rebellion, againſt his moſt royall Mageſty, whereby was like to haue enſewde the vtter rewin and diſtruction of thes hole Cuntreis, to the grete comforte and auancement of your awncient enemies the Scots, which as his Hienes is credably enformed, doe with a great Redines wache vpon the ſame, and to the high diſpleaſure of God, who ſtreitely commandeth you to abay your Soueraign Lord and King, in all things, and not with violence to reſiſt his will or Commandement, for any cauſe whatſoeuer it be: Neuertheleſſe the Kings roiall Mageſty, perceiuing as well by the Articles of their partners ſent to his Hyenes: As alſo dewly enformed by credible reports, that their ſaid offences proceeded of ignorance, and by occaſion of ſundrie falſe talis, neuer minded or entended by his Hienes, or any of his Councell, but moſt craftely contriued, and moſt ſpitefully ſet abroade amongs you, by certaine malitious and ſeditious perſons; and thereupon his Hyghnes inclined to extend his moſt gratious mercy and pitty towards you, hauing cheſe charge of you vnder God, both of your ſowles and bodies, and deſiring rather the preſeruation of the ſame, and your reconciliation, by his mercifull meyns, than by the order and rigour of Iuſtice to puniſh you according to your demeryts, of his ineſtimable goodneſſe, benignity, mercy, and pety, and at your moſt humble petitions and ſubmiſſions made vnto his Highneſſe, he is content and plaiſed to gife and grant, and by his preſent Proclamation doth gyue & grant vnto you all, and to al & euerie your confederates whereſoeuer they dwell, of eſtate, degree, or what condition ſoeuer you or they be, or by what name or names ſoeuer they or you be, or may be called, his Generall and free pardon for all manner of treaſons, rebellions, inſurrections, miſpriſions of treaſons, murders, robberies, felons, and of all acceſſaries of the ſame, and of euery of them, vnlawfull aſſembles, vnlawfull Conuenticles, vnlawfull ſpeaking of wordes, confederacies, riots, rowts: And all other treſpaſſes, offencies and contempts, done and committed by you, or anie of you againſt the Kings Mageſtie, his Crowne or dignity roiall, within and from the time of the beginning of the ſaide Rebellion whenſoeuer it was, vnto the preſent day of proclaiming of this Proclamation, and of all paines, iudgements, and executions of death, & all other penalties, forfeitures, fynes, and forfeitures of Landes, Tenements, Hereditaments, Goods or Cattels, by any of your forfeitures incurred by reaſon of the premiſes, or any of them; which Fines,

Forfeitures, Lands, Tenements, Hereditaments, Goods and Cattels, the Kings said Highnes of his speciall grace, and mere motion by these presents giueth to such of you, as haue or should haue forfeited, or loste the same, by occasion of the premisses, or any of them: And also his Highnes is pleased, and contented, that you, and euery of you, from time to time, shall and may haue apon your sewtes to be made hereafter in his Chauncery, his said and most gracious and free pardon vnder his great Seale concerning the premisses, without any further Bill or Warrant to be obtained for the same, and without paying any thing for the great Seale thereof: And that you, and euery of you, from time to time, may freely and liberally sewe for his said pardon, when and as often as it shall like you, without any trouble, vexation or impeachment for the premisses, or any of them, by his heires, or by any his Officiaries, Ministers, or Subiects, by any manner of meanes or in anie manner of wise. Prouided alwaies, that you and euerie of you in token of a perfect declaration and knowledge, that ye doe hartilie lament and be sorrie for your said offencies, shall make your humbly submission vnto his Highnes, in the presence of his right trustie and right intirely beloued Cosens and Concellairs: the Duke of Norfolke, and the Earle of Shrewsburie his Lieutenants Generall, or any of them, or to their Deputy or Deputies of them, or any of them, or such other person, or persons as the Kings Highnes shall appoint for the same: Furthermore, the Kings most roiall Magesty, streitely chargeth and commandeth, that you, & euery of you, shall from henceforth, like trew and faithfull Subiects vse your selues, in Gods peace, and his, according to the dueties of allegeance, and that you shall in no wise hereafter, attempt to make or procure, any such rebellion, intent, vnlawfull Assemblies, Riots, Rowts, and Conspirations, nor at the Commandement, nor by the Authority of any person, of what estate or degree, or for what cause soeuer it be, shall arise in any forcible manner, and array, vnlesse it be at the speciall commandement of the Kings Highnes, or his Lieutenant, sufficiently auctorised for the same. In witnes whereof the Kings most royall Magesty, hath caused this his Proclamation to be made Patent, and sealed with his great Seale at Richemounte the IX. day of December in the XXVIII. yeare of his Reigne. 1536.

Pexsall.

Notwithstanding this Generall pardon and merciful dealings of the King, a new Insurrection was raised in the North, wherein many of the former were now a-gaine Actors, as by name *Robert Aske*, whom the King had not onely pardoned, but also highly rewarded, the Lord *Dacres*, Sir *Robert Constable*, Sir *Francis Bygod*, *Pulmer*, *Percy*, *Hamilton*, *Tempest*, and *Lumley*, all of them put to death, as they well deserued.

Holinsh. pag. 944.

Aske executed.

(99) In which Commotions those men whose profession was onely the Booke and their Beades, mistaking Christs meaning, who bad his Disciples *to sell their coate, and to buy a sword*, came armed among the Rebels into the Field, and with them were taken as Traitours against the Crowne: for which offence many of them suffered death: namely, *Iohn Paslaw* Abbot of *Whaley* in *Lincolnshire*, *Iohn Castegate*, and *William Haydocke* Monkes of the same house, *Robert Hobs* Abbot of *Woborne* in *Bedfordshire*, *Adam Sudbury* Abbot of *Geruaux*, with *Astbeed* a Monke of that house; the Abbot of *Sawley* in *Lancashire*, and the Prior of the same place, *William Wold* Prior of *Birlington*, the Parson of *Pudington*, fiue Priests of *Lincolnshire*, and with them their Chiefetaine, Captaine *Cobler*, and *Iohn Allen* Priest.

Luke 22.36.

Spirituall men Commotioners.

Monkes hanged for rebellion.

(100) These stirres thus quieted, and the Statesmen at leasure to preuent the like, a Commission came forth to purge the Churches of Idols; and to suppresse the Monasteries, to the Kings vse, granted vnto him by Parliament: the one of them the onely working cause, through the gaine that was got by ignorant deuotion, and gadding on pilgrimage, and the other, the Nest and very receptacle of all traiterous attempters against the peace of the Land and Supremacy of the Crowne. The abuse of the first was solemnly shewed at *Pauls Crosse* in *London*, vpon Sunday the twenty foure of February, by Doctor *Iohn Fisher* Bishop of *Rochester*,

Idols and Monasteries suppressed by Parliament.

An. D. 1538.

where the Roode of *Boxley* in *Kent*, commonly called the *Roode of Grace* (made with diuers vices to bow downe, and to lift vp it selfe, to shake, and to stir both Head, hands, and feet, to rowle the eyes, mooue the lips, and to bend the browes,) was then broken and pulled in pieces. So likewise the Images of our *Lady of Walsingham* and *Ipswich*, set and besprinkled with Iewels, and Gemmes, with diuers others both of *England* and *Wales*, were brought to *London*, and burnt at *Chelsey* before the Lord *Crumwell*. Then the Axes of the hewers began to cast downe the walles of all Monasteries, whose number (as *Cambden* doth account them) were six hundred forty fiue, besides foure-score and ten Colledges, them of *Oxford* and *Cambridge* not accounted: Of Hospitals one hundred and ten, and of Chaunteries and free Chappels two thousand three hundred seauenty foure, all of them almost were then borne downe with the sudden deluge of those tempestuous times, whilst the world stood amazed, King *Henry* proceeded, & the Clergy-men groaned vnder their owne destructions: Among these the Shrine of *Thomas Becket* was defaced, which did abound with more then Princely riches, whose meanest part was pure gold, garnished with many precious stones, as *Erasmus* that saw it, hath written, whereof the chiefest was a rich Gemme of *France*, offered by King *Lewis*, who asked and obtained (you may be sure, he buying it so deare) that no passenger betwixt *Douer* and *Whitesand* should perish by shipwracke; his bones by *Stephen Langton* had been laid in a golden Shrine, his name canonized, and the day of his death made annually holy, such concourse of Pilgrimes, such pressing to touch him, and such creeping and kneeling to his Tombe, that the prints of their deuotion, in the Marble stones, remaines to this day; euery Pillar resounding the miracles of this reputed Martyre, and the Church it selfe dedicated to Christ, forced to giue place to the name of Saint *Thomas*. The Timberworke of this Shrine was couered with plates of gold, damasked and embossed with wires of gold, garnished with broches, images, angels, precious stones, & great Orient Pearles: all these defaced filled two Chests, and were for price of an vnestimable value. But in steed of these *Dagons*, the *Bible* in English was commanded to be read in all Churches, and Register Bookes of weddings, Christenings and Burials in euery of them to be kept.

The Roode of Grace broken at Pauls Crosse. Lamb. Peram. in Boxley.

Our Lady of Walsingham, and other Images burnt.

Camb. Brit. 645. Monasteries in England. 90. Colledges. 110. Religious Hospitals. 2374. Chaunteries and free Chappels.

Eras. Dialogue. W. Lamb. Peram.

The state and opinion of the Beckets Shrine.

John Stow.

The great riches of Beckets Shrine.

(101) The yerely reuenues of these, as they were valued by the Commissioners, at their subuersions, amounted to an vnestimable summe, as appeareth by the Originall Booke it selfe, presented to the King, whereof more shall be spoken in the end of this Chapter, and yet most of them rated at *Robin-hoods* penny-worths, what their rents were, a libell scattered abroad, and read to the King, by demonstration did proue, wherein was accounted, that vnto the fiue Orders of Friers, (euery housholder paying them fiue pence the Quarter) the summe of forty three thousand, three hundred thirty three pound, sixe shillings and eight pence sterling, was paid them by yeare, besides the reuenewes of their owne lands, which was not a little; so that not without cause many entred into a Monasticall life, rather to liue at full, and without cares of this world, then to feede flocke of *Christ*, or to winne them, and not theirs, after the example of the Apostle. For the Testament of *Christ*, was vnto most of these, as a booke sealed with seauen seales, and their mouthes vnmuzled they did deuoure, but not tread out the corne, so that the Sunne by their doctrine seemed to be darkned, as with smoake, and themselues to be the *Locustes* that ouer-spread the superficies of the Earth, whose faces were like men, pretending humanity, their haire like women in shew of modesty, their Crownes of counterfeited gold, signifying their vsurped authority, their teeth like Lyons shewing their Tyranny, their force like Horses prepared for battell, their habergions of Iron betokening their strength, the sound of their wings, t e thundering out their mandates like to the rumbling of Chariots in warre, their Tailes (the false Prophets) hauing stings like vnto Scorpions,

The great reuenewes of the Monasteries.

Supplication of Beggars.

The great reuenewes of the Friers.

2 Cor. 11. 14.

Deut. 25. 4.

Apoca. 9.

Scorpions, and their King the bad *Abaddon*, euen the Angell of the Bottomles pit. All thoſe alluſions moſt aptly fitting theſe Cloyſtered Friers, who now grown to the height of their ſinnes, their skirts were diſcouered, that their ſhame might appeare; being the onely men then laid open to the world. For, beſides the idle ignorance and voluptuous exceſſe of theſe Cloyſtered votaries, their monaſticall ſenſualities afforded a ſhamefull diſcouery of wicked adulteries and filthy *Sodomites*: whoſe ſinnes, as they then ſtained the world to their Cells ouerthrowe, ſo let their remembrance ſtaine that religion which debarres the bed of lawfull marriage, and diſpenſeth with ſuch crying and too monſtrous ſins. A Catalogue of whoſe names (if the inke ſtaine not the Paper wherein they ſtand) ſhall ſtand a Record of their filthy ſhame, as long as inke is to be read vpon Paper. Take them then from his teſtimony that tooke them out of an Engliſh Book, containing an Inuentory (or Catalogue) of the villanies diſcouered in the Viſitations of Monaſteries, Couents, Collegiate Churches, and other religious Houſes in *England*, by command of King *Henry* the eight; wherein the whoredomes, adulteries, inceſts, and filthy Sodomites of the Monkes, Friers, and Prieſts, both names and ſurnames are written, as followeth.

Jere. 13. 26.

Henry Steuen in his Apologie for *Herodotus*. cap. 21. fol. 183.

In *Battell Abbey*	*Iohn Abbot.*	*Thomas Crambrooke.*	Sodomites.
	Richard Salchurſt.	*Thomas Bayll.*	
	Thomas Cuthbert.	*Iohn Hamfield.*	
	William March.	*Iohn Iherom.*	
	Iohn Haſting.	*Clement Grigge.*	
	Gregory Champion.	*Richard Touey.*	
	Clement Weſtfield.	*Iohn Auſtine.*	
	Iohn Croſſe.		
In *Canterbury*	*Richard Gormerſhan.*	*Iohn Ambroſe.*	Sodomites.
	William Lichfield.	*Thomas Farleg.*	
	Iohn Goldingſton.	*Thomas Morton.*	
	Nicholas Clement.	*Chriſtopher Iames*	
	William Cawſton.	kept 3. maried whors.	

In Saint *Auguſtine*, *Thomas Barham* a whoremonger and a Sodomite.

In *Chicheſter*, *Iohn Champion*, *Roger Barham*, both of them vnnatural Sodomites.

In Cathedrall Church *Iohn Hill* had no leſſe then thirteene whores.

In *Windſore* Caſtle, *Nicholas Whyden* had 4. *George Whitethorn* kept 5. *Nicholas Spoter* kept 5. *Robert Hunne* had 5. *Robert Danyſon* kept 6. whores.

In *Shulbred* Monaſtery. *George Walden* Prior of *Shulbred* had 7. *Iohn Standney* had at his command 7. *Nicholas Duke* to ſupply his venery had 5. whores.

In *Briſtow*. *William*, Abbot of *Briſtow* kept 4 whores.

In *Maydenbeadly*. *Richard* Prior of *Maydenbeadley* kept 5 whores.

In *Bath* Monaſtery. *Richard Lincombe* had 7. whores, and was alſo a Sodomite.

In *Abington* Monaſt. *Thomas* Abbot of *Abingt.* kept 3. whores, and had 2. children by his owne ſiſter.

In *Bermondſey* Abbey. *Iohn White* Prior, or rather Bull of *Bermondſey* had twenty whores.

But ſaith mine Author, the Catalogue of ſuch whoremaſters, and adulterers, is too long to record: for thoſe Cloyſtred Monkes and Friers, from 600 Couents (almoſt) ſcrawling about the land by auricular confeſſion, got into the boſomes of ſimple ſinning women, & defloured the beds of many better men. And the wanton Nunnes likewiſe dalying with them in the arke, brought forth the fruites of darkneſſe, as was found in finding many Infants bones in many of their Cells: Whoſe wickedneſſe (as the *Ammonites*) being now full, the maule of Gods iuſtice beate downe the walls of their ſhelters, and the ſword of his wrath ſo cut the cords of their ſtrength aſunder, as that Idoll of *Rome* hath had his crowne cruſhed, and his authority ſhortned in all the Chriſtan world euer ſince.

(102) Againſt theſe and their doctrine in former times (beſides many others in other forreine parts) two in the daies of King *Henry* the fourth, the firſt Engliſh King that put any to death for the doctrine of *Rome*; (omitting *Sir Iohn Oldcaſtle* and others, that died for the Goſpels defence, in the daies of King *Henry* the fift) foure in the raigne of innocent *Henry* the ſixt. One in the daies of *King Edward the fourth*; and ten in the time of K. *Henry the ſeuenth*, ſealed the doctrine againſt the papall religion with their bloud; all of them being martyred before that *Martin Luther* wrote. And in the raigne of this King 26. ſuffered the fire, before the flames thereof could bee quenched, which a while was done by the meanes of good Queene *Anne*, till afterwards they mounted higher, when the ſixe Articles were made: but becauſe this Eccleſiaſticke text is handled elſewhere, and ſeemeth vnſociable to our begun Subiect, we will referre the Reader for theſe matters vnto the induſtrious paines of that worthy and euer-venerable man Mr. *Fox*, taken in his Acts and Monuments of Eccleſiaſticall Hiſtory.

Many ſuffered death for the Goſpell before that *Martin Luther* wrote.

Queene *Anne Bullen* a fauourer of the Goſpell, laied the rage againſt the Profeſſours.

(103) The Monaſteries thus diſſolued, and the reuenewes therof conuerted to temporall vſes, K. *Henry* ran in great obloquie of many forrain Potentates, but moſt eſpecially of the Pope; who with Card. *Poole* inſtigated diuers Princes in Chriſtendome to inuade *England*, thus fallen from his faith: Yea, and home-borne Subiects diſliking the courſe for Papiſticall ſubuerſion, by ſecret working ſought to depriue King *Henry*, and to raiſe vp *Reynold Poole* vnto the Regall dignity, as by their inditements appeareth. The perſons conuicted, were L. *Henry Courtney* Marqueſſe of *Exceſter*, & Earle of *Deuonſhire*, the ſon of L. *Katherine*, the ſeauenth daughter of K. *Edward* the fourth. *Henry Poole* Lord *Montacute*, with Sr. *Geffrey* his brother, & Sr. *Edward Neuill* brother to the L. of *Abergauenny*. Theſe *Pooles* were the ſons of L. *Margaret* Counteſſe of *Salisbury*, the only daughter of *George* Duke of *Clarence*: and of theſe *Reinold Poole* once Deane of *Exceſter*, and now Cardinall at *Rome*, was accounted the onely man.

King *Henries* doings diſpleaſed many Chriſtian Princes. *Sleid. Com. lib.* 10.

(104) And this foreſaid Lord Marqueſſe had formerly been in ſuch fauour with K. *Henry*, that at his going into *France* he ordained him his heire-apparant, though at his return, vpon graue deliberation, he ſaw it better policy to pluck him downe then was vſed in ſetting him vp, leſt in acting his part vpon that infectiue ſtage, he put the land to as much trouble as the arreared D. *Richard* of *Yorke* had done, after he was ordained heire-apparant, which Title produced the Tragedy of his raiſer K. *Henry* the ſixt, and now hauing him and his Abbeters vpon the aduantage, the better to ſecure his own Eſtate, he cauſed the heads of this Lord Marqueſſe, with the Lord *Montacute*, and Sir *Edward Neuill* to be cut off vpon Tower-hill.

Cambd. Brit. Lord Marqueſſe and others beheaded.

(105) The King then a Widdower, ſince the death of Q. *Iane*, who departed this life two yeares before, meant to maintaine what he had done, maugre all oppoſites: which the better to effect, by the Councell of Lord *Cromwell*, he ſought and obtained the alliance of the Princes of *Germany*, and heard the motion for marriage with the Lady *Anne*, ſiſter to *William* Duke of *Cleue*, whoſe other ſiſter *Frederick* D. of *Saxony* had eſpouſed, a great fauourer of the Goſpell, and maintainer of *Martin Luther* the zealous Preacher & profeſſor thereof. But whether *Fredericke* for the death of *Anne Bullen*, or that he would haue his wiues ſiſter beſtowed neerer at home (which thing he pretended) a great hinderer he was of that match. But the Lady ſent into *England*, and married vnto K. *Henry*, ſeemed nothing pleaſing in his eye; which *Stephen Gardiner* then Biſhop of *Wincheſter* perceiuing, thought it a fit ſubiect for him to worke vpon, againſt the L. *Cromwell* the maker of the match; he therefore inſtigated iealouſies daily into the Kings eare; firſt exaſperating the hatred of the Princes of *Germany* to him-wards, and eſpecially of D. *Fredericke* his compulſiue brother in Law,

An. D. 1539. *Ianuar.* 9.

Ioh. Sleidan.

King *Henry* married *Anne* of *Cleue*. Ian. 6. An. 1540.

Fox Mart. 1296.

The ſixe Articles deuiſed.

the Emperour, French King, the Scots, and the Pope, all ſeeking at once to raiſe their powers againſt *England*. The ciuill tumults lately paſſed, and new commotions greatly to be feared, he letted not to remember, and all to nip the ſpring of the new-ſpreading Goſpell, whereby this wiſe Politician in the end got ſixe ſuch Articles againſt it, as the Conſiſtory of Hell could deuiſe no worſe. Whoſe cruelties were ſuch, that not long after, and in the dayes of this King, ſome of thoſe Acts of Parliaments were againe repealed; and ſome of them qualified, as too ſharpe and ſearching into the bloud of the Kings beſt Subiects.

31. *H.*8. chap. 10. 35. *H.*8. chap. 5.

Lord *Cromwell* impriſoned.

(106) The fruit of theſe bloud-thirſty inſtigators, the Lord *Cromwell*, and Lady *Anne* of *Cleue* ſoone taſted of, he by impriſonment and death, and ſhe by diſgrace and diuorce; hauing beene his wife from Ianuary to Iune, in all which time the King refrained the mutuall knowledge of her body, for the diſlike he had of her perſon, euen at the firſt ſight, as himſelfe called to witneſſe the Lord *Cromwell* then Priſoner in the Tower, for whoſe report he wrote a Letter with his owne hand; and ſhe good Lady, no other cauſe alleaged, was diuorced by Parliament, when alſo it was enacted, that ſhe ſhould no longer be ſtyled Queene. The Lord *Cromwell* was charged by the Lord *Rich*, and Sir *George Throgmorton*, with ſpeaking of certain generall words, not excepting therein the Kings perſon, which neuertheleſſe were thought ſo ſleight and inſufficient to take away his life, that his enemies feared to put it to the triall of his Peeres, leſt he ſhould be acquitted by them, as the Lord *Dacres* of the North not many yeares before had beene; wherefore there was a Bill drawne to attaint him of hereſie and Treaſon, in general words, rather then in particular proofes, which when he was dead, paſſed in both Houſes of Parliament with the Kings aſſent.

In a letter written by himſelfe. *Ex M. S.* Anno 32. *H.*8. cap. 25.

Queene *Anne* diuorced by Parliament.

Cromwell after his death attainted by Parliament. *Ex M. S.*

D. *Sanders.*

(107) Howbeit *Sanders*, that ſeldome ſpeakes well of the Goſpels profeſſors, will haue him to die for the breach of a Law made by himſelfe, which was, that one appeached of treaſon ſhould not come in the kings preſence, till he had tryed himſelfe not guilty; but beſides that we find no ſuch Act by him made: his inditement doth not charge him with treaſon, but with ſetting at liberty certaine perſons committed for miſprision of treaſon & hereſie; for fauouring & maintaining the tranſlation of hereticall bookes into Engliſh; for bearing out *Barnes* and other hereticall Preachers; that himſelfe was an hereticke, and had ſpoken words, great words for the vpholding of his ſaid religion, which were, *that the King ſhould not change it if he would:* for theſe things he was attainted by Parliament of high Treaſon, & that grounded either vpon a Statute made in the fiue and twenty of *Edward* the third, or elſe by the explanation of that Act which referreth the expoſition of Treaſons to the Parliament, and ſo no way did *Cromwell* deuiſe or make any law of treaſon, which himſelfe firſt fell into, as that partiall Romaniſt hath ſaid.

No ſuch things as *Sanders* ſuppoſeth againſt *Cromwell.*

No act by *Cromwell* to cauſe his owne death.

(108) But moſt ſure it is, that the Kings affection, altogether guided by the faireſt obiect, found no other point in the Compaſſe to fixe his varible eye, beſides that onely, which to his ſeeming was touched by the Loadſtone of nature, and the ſame to be the Lady *Katherine Howard*, daughter to *Edward* the brother of *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolke*; againſt whom *Cromwell* ſtanding in the defence of Queene *Anne*, and vſing words of diſlike in the Lady *Katherine*, diſtaſtfull vnto the King, was thereupon apprehended (his enemy ſo working) and vpon the 28. of Iuly ſuffered death with the ſtroke of the Axe vpon Tower-hill, with-whom was beheaded the Lord *Hungerford* of *Heiteſbery*, neither ſo Chriſtianly ſuffering, nor ſo quietly dying for his offence committed againſt nature.

Cromwell's diſlike of the Lady *Katherine* the cauſe of his death.

An. D. 1540.

Buggery.

An. D. 1541. May 27. *Margaret* Counteſſe of *Salisbury* beheaded.

(109) The ſword thus vnſheathed vpon the necks of the Nobility; ſtrucke off the head of *Margaret* Counteſſe of *Salisbury*, daughter & heire vnto *George* Duke of *Clarence*, and mother vnto *Reynald Poole* Cardinall, being neither arraigned nor tryed, but condemned by Parliament as *Cromwell* had beene. And the Lord *Leonard Gray* in this preſent yeare loſt his head for treaſon, the twenty eight of Iune. And the next day following *Thomas Fines* Lord *Dacres* of the South, dyed at Tyborne for killing a priuate man in a fray. Neither was it put vp, vntill that the heads of Queene *Katherine Howard*, and the Lady *Iane Rochford* were ſtricken off, the one for Adultery, the other for concealement, as was alleadged; the parties offending were *Francis Dereham*, and *Thomas Culpepper*, *Dereham* before ſhe was Queene, and *Culpepper* after; who both were executed at Tyburn the 10. of December, and the 12. of February following, Miſtreſſe *Katherine Howard* (for ſo in the Act of her Attainture ſhe is called) who had bin ſtiled and receiued Queene for the ſpace of ſix moneths, and foure dayes, with the Lady *Iane* then widdow, & late wife vnto *George Bullen*, L. *Rochford*, were both of them brought vnto a Scaffold, raiſed vpon the hil within the Tower, where they in lamentable paſſions ſuffered death.

Lord *Dacres* hanged.

Stat. in 33. of *H.*8. cap. 21.

Since the eight of Auguſt preceeding. Queene *Katherine* and the Lady *Iane Rochford* beheaded.

(110) Howſoeuer thoſe times afforded ſuch Queenes to the Kings bed, or himſelfe vnfortunate in making his choiſe: yet many of no meane iudgement haue rather accuſed King *Henry* for his changing and variable affections, then thinke them guilty in the breach of Matrimony. Of *Anne* we haue ſeene what hath beene ſaid, and of this Queene let vs heare what ſhe proteſted after her condemnation to Doctor *White* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, her laſt Confeſſor, and by him deliuered to a noble young Lord of her name, and neere alliance: Her words were theſe: *As to the Act my reuerend Lord for which I ſtand condemned, God and his holy Angels I take to witneſſe vpon my ſoules ſaluation, that I die guiltleſſe, neuer hauing ſo abuſed my Soueraignes bed: what other ſins and follies of youth I haue committed, I will not excuſe; but am aſſured that for them God hath brought this puniſhment vpon mee, and will in his mercy remit them, for which I pray you, pray with me, vnto his ſonne, and my Sauiour Chriſt.*

(111) As theſe then in caſe of Treaſons eyther acted or intended, ended their liues; ſo others in caſe of conſcience (though diuerſly affected) came to their deaths, and that by force of the Statutes enacted vnder this King; whereof one was the aboliſhing of the Pope, and the oath of Supremacy, the refuſers of either made offenders in ſtate of high Treaſon; and the other in caſe of religion, when the ſix Articles enacted by Parliament, was made Hereſie and death, to ſuch as held or taught the contrary; which Articles were thus concluded in both the houſes of Parliament with conſent of the King.

Stat. *H.*8. 28. c. 10. The oath of Supremacy enacted.

1 That after the words of conſecration ſpoken by the Prieſt, the reall and naturall body and bloud of Chriſt, as he was conceiued and crucified, was in the Sacrament, and no other ſubſtance conſiſting, in the forme of bread & wine, beſides the ſubſtance of Chriſt God and man.

Stat. *H.*8. 31. c. 4. The ſixe bloudy Articles enacted.

2 That the communion in both kinds was not neceſſary vnto ſaluation, the fleſh only in forme of bread ſufficient for the Laity.

3 That Prieſts after they haue receiued orders might not marry by the law of God.

4 That the vowes of chaſtity either in man or woman, ought by Gods law to be obſerued, and by which they are exempted from other liberties of Chriſtian people.

5 That priuate Maſſes was neceſſary for the people, and agreeable to the law of God.

6 That auricular confeſſion was expedient to be retained, and continued in the Church of God.

Theſe Statutes (I ſay) as well the one as the other, brought many to their ends, which otherwiſe were very good Subiects, and worthy inſtruments in the common weale: for offending in the firſt, there died Biſhop *Fiſher*, and *Sir Thomas More*, beſides many Abbots, Priors, and Friers, and among them, in *Smithfield* the Welſh-rode ſet Frier *Forreſt* on fire, according to the propheſie very rife in their mouthes, *that this holy rode ſhould ſet a whole Forreſt on fire.* For the other, ſuffered in flames, many godly Chriſtians, whereof *Robert Barnes* a reuerend Doctor and worthy Miniſter

Iohn Fiſher. *Sir Thomas More* beheaded.

Fox Mart. p. 1363.

Minister of Christ, the first reducer (as Mr. *Fox* reporteth) of the Vniuersity of *Cambridge* from rudenesse and barbarity, vnto good literature and learning, was with the first: And *Anne Askew*, a Gentlewoman of an incomparable dexterity one of the last, who, aboue the weakenesse of her Sexe most valiantly stood against the violence of the time.

Anne Askew her story.

(112) Her birth was worshipfull, and education accordingly; bestowed in marriage, vnto *Iohn Kyme* a Gentleman in *Lincolneshire*, and commended by *Bale* for her rare wit, and elegant beauty; which her parts the pensill of *N. D.* with his vn-euen hand, (euer ouer-hard to shadow the truth,) hath slanderously blurred, and measured those graces in her, by his owne loose affections, and those wanton Votaries, which in the height of sinne had changed the naturall vse of women against nature.

In Bale Cent. 8. fol. 669.

Rom. 1. 26.

Three conuersions by N. D. pag. 495.

This young heifer (saith he) *abiding no yoake, a coy dame, and of very euill fame, left the company of Master Kyme, to gad vp and downe a Gospelling and Gossipping where she might, and ought not, but especially in London, and neere the Court, now she being faire and but twenty fiue yeares old at her death, doth easily shew what may be suspected of her life, and the mysticall speeches and demands of the Kings Councel touching her departure from her husband, were grounded vpon somewhat, especially in that shee called her selfe Anne Askew, alias Kyme.* Thus farre this scandalizing man hath accused this holy *Anne*, by the outward appearance of her youth and beauty: as holy *Anna*, by *Eli*, was accused of drunkennesse when her heart was most feruent, in supplications to her God; and his partiall pen, made the Fan to sift the Wheat of her holy conuersation to find out some Chaffe, whereof none is free, nor is she to be condemned vpon the imagerie of his suspicious head (who vndoubtedly would haue told all if any thing could haue beene found) whereas she in the vigour of beauty and weakenesse of her Sexe, resisted the gaine-sayers of the truth with her deerest bloud: testifying from the Prisons her faith and constancy, and from the Racke preached Christ, whereon most vnhumanely and against kinde, she was twice tormented; and lastly, sealed her testimony in *Smithfield*, through the flames of fire: being borne to the place of her death in a Chaire, her bones so disjoynted by the Racke that she could not goe.

Anne and *Anna* compared. 1 Sam. 1. 13.

Anne Askew burned in Smithfield.

(113) The irreuerend * *N.D.* whose affection to Christs Gospell and loyalty to the *English* Crowne hath sufficiently shewed it selfe, to make her no Martyr, and that her life did demerit the Racke, saith that the *King* himselfe commanded that torture to be inflicted, for infecting with her erroneous doctrine, his Court, his Neeces, *Suffolkes* Daughters, and his Queene. Whereas the truth tels vs, that the Lieutenant refusing to racke her the second time, was threatned by *Wriotheseley* Lord Chancellor (who did it himselfe) to be complained of to the King, who immediately tooke Boate, and told the whole Tragedy; whereof King *Henry* seemed to be sore offended, for vsing a Woman with such inhumane tortures. But such fauours had the Popes Chickens vnder the shroud of the Church, and wing of this Monarch, that they feared not to follow the appeale of death, euen vpon her that slept in his owne bosome, which was Queene *Katherine Parre*, espoused vnto him some three yeares before, and *whom* (as this States intelligencer doth confesse) *he meant to haue burned had he longer liued. For the truth is (saith hee) that the Kings sickenesse and death shortly ensuing was the chiefe cause of her escape; and the error of the Lord Chancellor, Wriotheseley, who let fall out of his bosome the Kings hand and Commission for carrying her to the Tower, gaue occasion (the paper found and brought her) to goe and humble her selfe to the King; the principall occasion against her, was Hereticall Bookes, found in her closet, both brought and sent her by Anne Askew, whereof the witnesses were the Lady Herbert, Lady Iane, Lady Tyawit, and others.* Indeed it is true that by Gods prouidence such papers were let fall out of the Lord *Chancellors* bosome, containing certain articles against her, with a warrant to commit her to the Tower, whereunto the Kings hand was subscribed: which being found, was presently brought vnto the Queene, whereof the vnexpected content so deepely touched her tender heart, that forthwith shee fell into great feares, laments, and a most heauy melancholy, and was in such danger of death, that the King came to visit her, hauing not gone forth of his Chamber of many daies before; whereat she so rejoyced, as she began to amend: and to acknowledge her like loue and duty, the next night following, repayred to the Kings Bed-chamber, accompanied onely with the Lady *Herbert* her sister, and the Lady *Iane* the Kings neece, carrying the Candle before her, of whose presence the King seemed to be most desirous; and presently falling in talke of Religion, began to debate some question thereof with the Queene, demanding to haue her resolutions therein; but she knowing that his nature was not to be crost, and the soreneesse of his legge to encrease his choller, made him answere, *that she was a woman, accompanied with many imperfections, but his Maiesty wise and iudicious, of whom she must learne, as of her Lord and Head, for so God hath appointed you (said she) the Supreame Head of vs all, of whom next vnto him I will euer learne. Not so, by Saint* Mary, *said the King, you are become a Doctor Kate to instruct vs, and not to be instructed by vs, as often heretofore we haue seene. Indeed (said she) if your Maiesty haue so conceiued, I haue beene mistaken in my meaning, who haue euer held it preposterous for a woman to instruct her Lord. And whereas I haue heretofore held talke with your highnesse touching Religion, it was to learne of your Maiesty some excellent point which my selfe stood in doubt of: and sometimes to the end that you might with lesse griefe passe ouer this painfull time of your infirmity, wherein if by my ouer-much boldnesse I haue failed in the latter, yet haue I not done in the former, to my no small benefit and comfort. And is it euen so sweet heart?* (quoth the King,) *why then, are we friends,* and so kissing her, gaue her leaue to depart. But the day drawne on for her apprehension, and the King disposed to take the ayre, sent for the Queene to walke in the garden, himselfe accompanied onely with two Gentlemen, and she with the three foresaid Ladies. When as suddenly the Lord Chancellor with forty of the guard, came into the garden, with purpose to haue apprehended and carried the Queene to the Tower; whose malepert approach the King greatly misliked, and sternely beholding him, stept aside, saluting him with the names of knaue, foole, and beast, bidding auaunt out of presence. The Queene seeing the King chafed, but knew not the cause, indeauoured by all meanes to pacifie his Majestie, and intreated for the Lord Chancellour, whose fault as she thought and alledged was rather through misimprision then will, and therefore, said she, I will become an humble suiter for him vnto your Highnesse. *Ah poore Soule* (quoth the King) *thou little knowest Kate how euill he deserueth this grace at thy hands: of my word* (sweet heart) *he hath beene towards thee a very knaue.* But in following this tract of bloud, flowed from the fountaine of the sixe Articles, we haue stepped ouer some other occurrences that happened somewhat before this time; vnto which with thy patience, good Reader, we will returne againe.

The Queene seeth the sentence of her death.

Queene *Katherine* visiteth the King, who falleth in conference with her about religion.

Act. and Mon. Queene *Katherines* wise answer.

The Counter, Newgate, and the Tower.

Persons as some suppose. Three conuersions, pag. 493.

See *Acts & Mon.*

Queene *Katherines* life laid for.

Ibid. eon. pag. 494.

Saunders three conuersions.

The Lord Chancellor lost his commission.

The Lord Chancellors purpose to apprehend the Queene.

(114) King *Henry* by order of Parliament hauing assumed the Stile and Title of *King of Ireland*, with the submission of most of the *Irish* Nobility, *Iames* his Nephew, King of *Scotland*, tooke it not well, for that, as *Lisley* saith, a great part of *Ireland*, especially in the North, had beene in possession of the Scottishmen for many hundred of yeares before. These discontents conceiued, King *Henry* well perceiued; and because he would haue no ill-will so neere him, that had so many enuiers abroad, he sent vnto King *Iames* that it would please him to repaire vnto the City of *Yorke*, where he would meete him, to conferre for the wealth of both the Realmes, vnto which at first he granted, but vpon better aduise, vnaccomplished, his Counsellors moouing the dangers; and his Clergy the feares; lest their

Henry assumeth the name of *King of Ireland*. A. 1541 confirmed by Parl. 35. *Hen. 8. Iohn Lisly.*

The Kings of *England* and *Scotland* appoynt to meet at *Yorke*.

Religion

Religion ſhould be changed to the offence of his confederates the *Pope*, the *Emperour*, & the *French King*.

An. D. 1542.

(115) The vnkindneſſe growing from this ſmall ſparke, was preſently kindled into great flames, for Commiſſioners being ſent from both Kings, to view the limits of either Kingdome, they fell at ods about a ſmall peece of ground, and from that tooke occaſion of emulations and warres: to proſecute which, King *Henry* prepared an army, and ſent them into *Scotland* vnder the conduct of the Duke of *Norfolke*, accompanied with the Earles of *Shrewsbury*, *Darby*, *Cumberland*, *Surrey*, *Hertford*, *Angus*, and *Rutland*. Theſe, paſſing the *Engliſh* Marches, did much hurt in the kingdome of *Scotland*. To withſtand whom, King *Iames* gathered a power of fiue and thirty thouſand ſtrong, & at *Fallaw* moore, meant to haue bidden the Duke battell, which as that Writer related, was not then minded to doe, but made againe into *England*, and paſſing the water *Tweed*, ſuſtained great loſſe by the couragious purſuit of the L. *Huntly*. King *Iames* vpon a luſty courage, meaning to repaire the *Scots* loſſes with the Engliſh ſpoyles, was very forward to follow the Duke into their borders, but the Scottiſh Nobility wiſely waying the danger of war, by no meanes would either aſſent or aſſiſt him out of his owne kingdome, affirming it honour ſufficient, to haue forced the Engliſh backe with no little loſſe.

An expedition into *Scotland*.

The Scottiſh noblemen refuſe to inuade *England*.

(116) King *Iames* diſcontented at his Nobles denials, made towards the borders himſelfe, where, mouing the *Lord Maxewell*, *Lord Warden* of the *Weſt* Borders, with many other men of ſpeciall fauour and account, to inuade *England*, they gaue their conſents. Theſe, paſſing the Riuer *Eske*, did ſome ſmall dammage vpon the *Weſterne Borderers*, whereof *Thomas* Baſtard *Dacres*, and * *Iacke of Muſgraue*, as *Holinſhead* cals them, ſent word to *Thomas Wharton*, *Lord Warden* for the *King* vpon the *Weſt-Marches*: But the Scots comming forward, they were forced to prepare for fight before the Lord *Wharton* could come, and out of their ſmall company left a ſtand vpon the ſide of a hill.

The Lord Warden of the Weſt-Borders yeelds to the Kings perſwaſions.

* *William Muſgraue* ſaith *Stow*.

(117) The *Scots* aduanced forward with no little hope, were preſently danted with the ſight of theſe men, and verily thought that the Lord *Wharton* had aſſembled his Charge, or that the Duke of *Norfolke*, with a great army, were come to their reſcue; whereupon they began to conſult what was beſt to be done; and demanding who was deputed Lieutenant by the King, *Oliuer Sinclere*, of no great parts, nor honourable parentage, being lifted vp vpon the ſhoulders of two ſouldiers, ſhewed forth the *Kings* Commiſſion, wherein himſelfe was appointed their Generall, and whereat howſoeuer it was written or read, the Lords tooke no little diſdaine that ſo many more worthy, honourable, and approued Captaines of the Field, ſhould be lead by this his Minion, but no Seruant of *Mars*. In whoſe contempt, and for the indiſcretion of their *King*, they ſuffered themſelues to be taken Priſoners, and willingly loſt the day.

The miſtaking of the *Scots*.

Oliuer Sinclere the Kings Lieutenant-Generall.

The *Scottiſh* Nobility, in diſdaine of their Generall, loſt the field. *Iohn Leſſie*.

(118) This victory was won vpon the twenty fourth of *Nouember*, at a place beyond *Carliel*, called *Solemmoſſe*, where were taken Priſoners the Earles of *Caſſils* and *Glencarne*, the Lords *Maxwel*, *Flemming*, *Summerwell*, *Oliphant*, and *Grey*, *Sir Oliuer Sinclere*, and others, to the number of one & twenty men of account, who were conueied to *London*, and committed to the Tower. For griefe of which loſſe, and ſuſpition of his Nobility, King *Iames* fell into a melancholy Paſſion, which the birth of his new-borne *Princeſſe* rather increaſed, then gaue him any comfort, ſo as he deceaſed the foureteenth day of *December* following, fore-ſhewing (ſaith *Leſly*) great troubles to follow in *Scotland*.

Solem-moſſe.

Grafton ſaith foure and twentie.

The death of K. *Iames* of *Scotland*.

(119) Newes brought neere at one inſtant, of the death of *King Iames*, and birth of the Princeſſe his Daughter, *King Henrie* intended to doe that by the match of a marriage, which long had beene aſſayed by the Sword of *Mars*: all things ſo conſorting as it did, he hauing one onely ſonne, then aboue fiue yeares of age, and *Scotland* no heire beſide this new-borne daughter; their yeares ſuiting a conſent for marriage, the whole Iland offering both the joynter and dowry, and that which moſt moued, their chiefe Nobility in his owne hands, to be moulded for this deſigne, as if heauen it ſelfe had bid the banes.

A marriage intended betwixt Prince *Edward*, and the young Queene of *Scotland*.

(120) Thoſe Priſoners therefore which had remained in the Tower onely two daies, vpon the twenty-one of December, he ſent for to *Weſtminſter*, the Earles and Lords all ſuited in gownes of blacke damaske, furred with Cunny, where, after ſome words of friendly reproofe, they were beſtowed among the Engliſh Nobility, who vſed them according to their eſtates: and the third day, in *Chriſtmas*, were inuited to the Court at *Greenewich*, where they went before the *King* to his Chappell, were royally feaſted, and the motion then made for the eſtabliſhing of peace, by the conjunction of the two Princes, whereunto the *Scottiſh* were as willing as the Engliſh, and proffered all forward aſſiſtance to haue it accompliſhed. So that theſe Nobles were deliuered without other ranſome, and richly rewarded at their departure from Court.

The Scottiſh priſoners honourably entertained.

The *Scottiſh* priſoners releaſed without Ranſome. *Iohn Leſly*.

(121) Theſe returned into *Scotland*, declared what they had done, and ſo effectually followed the buſineſſe, that in a Parliament aſſembled of the three Eſtates, the marriage was confirmed, and a peace proclaimed to continue betwixt the two realmes the ſpace of ten yeares, which agreements were ſent into *England* by honourable Ambaſſadours, and there interchangeably ſealed betwixt theſe Potent Eſtates. But Cardinall *Beton* Archbiſhop of Saint *Andrewes*, fearing leaſt *Scotland* would change the Church Orders, as *England* had done (the *Bible* already read in their owne language, and the Popes vſurped power called in Queſtion, as then it began to be, by the feruent preaching of Frier *Guliam*, to the great liking of moſt of the Lords) made ſome exceptions againſt the Earle *Arraine* the new-choſen Gouernour, being neereſt in bloud to the young Queene. And the French *King* not liking this vnion with *England*, ſought by all meanes to breake the ſame match: to effect which, he ſent the Earle of *Lennox* to perſwade with the Gouernour, with great proffers and promiſes of aſſiſtance, but finding him faithful vnto *King Henry*, preſently made faction for the French, wherein he drew the Queene-Mother, the Earles *Huntly*, *Argile*, *Montroſſe*, *Menteith*, and many more Peeres, the Cardinall amongſt them euer the chiefe.

The marriage of Prince *Edward* and Queen *Mary* concluded by Parliament.

Cardinall *Beton* againſt the marriage with *England*.

The *French* King ſets factions in *Scotland*.

(122) Earle *Lennox* thus growne into credit with the Queen-Mother, and made ſtrong by her adherents that fauoured the French, preſently claimed to be Gouernour of *Scotland*, being the ſecond perſon of degree in the Realme, and withall to haue the cuſtody of the young Queene, who with her mother were forthwith taken from *Linlithqw* vnder the charge of the Gouernour *Arraine*, and brought vnto *Striueling*, ſtrongly guarded, with the continuall preſence of the Lords, *Leuinſton*, *Erskwin*, *Flemming*, and *Ruthwen*, leaſt Queene *Mary* ſhoud be conueyed into *England* vnto *King Henrie*. Theſe violent courſes, cauſed great Emulations among the Scottiſh Nobility, each of them ſiding as their affections were ſetled, but laſtly agree to ſet the Crowne on their young Queenes head: and prepared for the ſolemnity, whereunto all the Lords came, (excepting thoſe that ſtood for *England*,) and by them the Gouernour with much adoe was drawne to be preſent at the Coronation: but that accompliſhed, and the State affaires conſulted vpon, it was agreed that the French-*Kings* ſuite ſhould be fauoured, and that the Earle *Arraine* ſhould be Gouernour ſtill, whereat Earle *Lennox* conceyued ſuch diſpleaſure, as he became wholly for *King Henrie*, and joyned himſelfe with the Earles of *Angus*, *Glencarne*, and *Caſſils*, the Lords, *Maxwell*, *Summerwell*, *Gray*, and others, that ſtood with the *Engliſh* for the match with Prince *Edward*.

The Queene, and Queene-mother conueyed to *Striueling*.

Queene *Mary* of *Scotland* crowned.

The Earle of *Lennox* falleth from the Queen-mother.

(123) King *Henrie* then hearing what was done, and intended; ſent preſently into *Scotland*, to demand the Cuſtody of the young Queene, and that certaine Scottiſh Noble-men might be appoynted to guard her in *England*, vntill ſhe came to yeares of conſent, according to Couenants formerly concluded; which

King *Henry* demandeth the young *Scottiſh* Queene.

An Army sent into *Scotland*.

no waies would be granted, and thereupon he prepared an army thitherward, vnder the conduct of Lord *Edward Seimer* Earle of *Hertford*, Lieutenant-General by Land, accompanied with the Earle of *Shrewsbury*, and a Fleete of two hundred saile by Sea, whereof Sir *Iohn Dudley*, *Vicount Liſle*, was Admirall.

Iohn Leſſie. The *Pope*, and *French*-King ſend ayde into *Scotland*.

(124) To the ayde of the Scots, the Popes Holineſſe was very forward, who ſent them the *Patriarch* of *Venice* as his Legate, and Orator, to perſwade their Reſolutions; with whom the French King ſent *Monſieur la Broche*, and *Monſieur Menager*, to lead them to fight, and fifty thouſand Crownes of the Sunne, to ſuſtaine the Charge; with munition worth ten thouſand Crownes more. It ſeemeth by *Leſly* that part of this ſiluer fell into the Earle *Lennox* his hand, and that therewith he made head againſt the Gouernor, but not able to match him, ſent vnto King *Henry* for aide, with proffer of his ſeruice againſt the French ſide, which ſo well was accepted of *Henry*, as he made him his Nephew, by giuing the Lady *Margaret* his ſiſters daughter to be his Wife.

Matth. Earle of *Lennox* marrieth Lady *Margaret*.

(125) The Engliſh thus ſeconded with this vnlooked-for alliance, Cardinall *Beton* thought good to bind all to the Gouernour, who with the authority of the Queene *Dowager*, proclaymed *Lennox* an Enemy to the State. But in the meane-while the *Admirall* of *England* was entred the *Frith*, and at New-Hauen landed his men, where joyning his, to the Land-Seruice, they all together marched thence toward *Lieth*, himſelfe leading the Vaward, *Shrewsbury* the Rereward, and the Lord Lieutenant the maine Battel. Theſe comming to *Lieth*, ſpoyled the Towne, and thence to *Edenbrough*, burnt the City, and waſted the Country for ſeauen miles about; this done, they ſet fire vpon *Haddington*, and *Dunbarre*, and then the whole Army returned vnto *Barwicke*.

Earle *Lennox* proclaymed an enemy to the State.

The Engliſh enter *Scotland*.

An.D. 1544.

(126) Whilſt things thus paſſed in *Scotland*, and the maine purpoſe reſting in ſuſpence, King *Henry* well knew where the greateſt rub did lie in his way, which was the French King, the chiefeſt Abetter of the *Scots*, whom he euer vphel[d], to hold him tacke at home, leſt otherwiſe he ſhould tugge with *France* for his owne right. And therefore hauing joyned with the Emperour againſt the French, ſent his Herald, *Garter*, King at Armes, to demand certaine couenants, which if he refuſed, to proclaime defiance vnto open warres, but he not ſuffered to doe his meſſage to the King, returned, and *Henry* prepared an expedition into *France*, wherein he imployed the Dukes of *Norfolke* and *Suffolke*, the Earles of *Arundell*, *Oxford*, and *Surrey*, the Lords, *Ruſſell*, *Grey*, *Ferrers*, *Mountjoy*, and *Sainct-Iohn*, beſides many other ſeruiceable Knights, and Sir *Iohn Dudley* appointed high Admirall for the Seas. Of theſe ſome joyned with the Emperials, and ſhewed their value in the ſiege of *Mattrell*.

Defiance ſent into *France*.

Iob. Stow.

Bolloigne beſieged.

(127) The Duke of *Suffolke* in the meane while ſtrucke downe his Standards on the Eaſt ſide of *Bolloigne*, and with many ſharpe skirmiſhes, entred the baſe-Towne, which ſiege King *Henry* himſelfe in perſon ſeconded, who hauing paſſed the Seas from *England*, vpon the ſixe and twentieth of Iuly, encamped before *Bolloigne* on the Eaſt-ſide, whence his Canons ſo rent the Wals and Bulwarke, as their mounted tops lay vpon the Ground, and his great morter-peeces were diſcharged with ſo skilfull a compaſſe, that their bullets falling downe-right, beat all buildings downe vpon the Enemies heads. Whereby (ſaith *Sleidane*) *in ſhort time he got that, which neither his Father, nor the Kings in former times could neuer win.* For thereupon the Towne was ſurrendred and cleared of the French ſouldiers, women, and chi[l]dren.

Iohn Sleidan. Comment.

Bolloigne wonne.

(128) The King like a Conquerour with his ſword borne before him entred the Gate, where the Duke of *Suffolke* preſented him with the keyes of the Towne, the Trumpets ſtill ſounding, and nothing wanting that might applaud his fame. The town thus won, the *Engliſh* meant ſtill to keepe; for the ſtrengthening whereof, the King commanded the faire Church of S[t]. *Maries* to be taken downe, and in the ſame place, a mount to be raiſed for the planting of Ordnance, to annoy any ſiege. But being thus buſied in *Bolloignes* affaires, the Emperour, without his knowledge or conſent, came to a peace with the French King, whereat King *Henry* was ſore diſpleaſed, and the ſooner left *France*, leauing Sir *Iohn Dudley Lord Liſle*, his deputy in *Bolloigne*, and landed at *Douer* the firſt day of *October*, to his great honor, and joy of his Subiects.

R. Greſton.

(129) The French King chafed with this late and great loſſe, ſought to try fortune in further attempts, and that not onely for the recouery of *Bolloigne*, (which with twenty-thouſand well appointed he aſſayed) but alſo in aſſayling the *Engliſh* dominions, as the *Ile of Wight*, and thoſe parts of *Suſſex* that lay vpon the Seas, though with loſſe of many Captaines and thouſands of Souldiers, that neuer returned to tell him what intertainement they had; as likewiſe in ſending ayde vnto *Scotland*, where *Monſieur Mungumry* of the Order of *France*, with 5000. ſtrong, entred to maintaine the breach betwixt them and King *Henry*, which was ſo followed on both parts, as the *Engliſh* making a Roade towards *Gedworth*, got praiſe for their valour, but reproach for their ſpoyles, and the *Scots* renowne for killing the Lord *Eure*, Lord *Warden* of the *Eaſt-Marches*, with many other Captaines in defence of their Countrey.

Iohn Serres.

The *French* inuade the Ile of *Wight* and the coaſts of *Suſſex*.

A roade made into *Scotland*.

Lord *Eure* ſlaine.

(130) Hereupon an Army of twelue thouſand ſtrong was ſent into *Scotland*, whereof the Earle of *Hertford* was Generall: with theſe hee forraged the Borders before him, and burnt many Townes in the Middle-Marches, with *Kelſey* and *Coldingham*-Abbey, the *French* not haſty to ſtay the incurſion, lay ſtil, and let them (vnfought with) depart for *England*.

An.D. 1546.

(131) But the warres remoued againe into *France*, the *Reingraue* with a great power came to victuall a Fort built neere vnto *Bolloigne*; to impeach which, the Earle of *Surrey*, then Lieutenant of the Towne, made forth, but was diſcomfited in the enterprize, and Sir *Edward Poynings*, Captaine of a Band, ſlaine, with fifteene other Captaines, beſides many Officers and common Souldiers. Theſe Princes wars in theſe violent proceedings, became very fearefull leſt they would grow to the common hurt of Chriſtendome, and therfore many other Potentates, whereof the Emperour was firſt, ſollicited theſe Kings vnto a peace, which the ſooner was heard and imbraced, for that they were both of them olde, and King *Henry* diſeaſed in body. Commiſſioners therefore appointed, certaine articles were agreed vpon: the firſt thereof was, that the French King ſhould pay vnto King *Henry*, eight hundred-thouſand Crownes in eight yeares ſpace, and then to re-enter vpon *Bolloigne*, but in the meantime it to remaine vnder the *Engliſh*; to accompliſh which peace, *Mounſieur Danebalt*, high Admirall of *France*, was ſent into *England*; and Sir *Thomas Cheynie*, Lord *Warden* of the Cinque Ports, to be the Kings Agent at the Font, for the Baptiſme of the *Dolphins* new-borne Daughter.

A great loſſe of *Engliſh* in *France*.

Iohn Serres.

Iohn Sleidan. Com. lib. 7.

Peace concluded betwixt *England* and *France*.

(132) Notwithſtanding theſe complements, the ſight of *Bolloigne* was a great ſore in the *Frenchmens* eyes, inſomuch that *Monſieur Chatillon*, Captaine of *Mountplaiſier*, began to make a new *Baſtilion* neere vnto the Towne, euen in the very mouth of the Riuer; which the Lord *Grey of Wilton* perceyuing, certified the King, what inconuenience would happen if that were made ſtrong, and the ſame diſcuſſed at the Councell-Table, it paſſed with one voyce that the Peace with *France* was not to be infringed, notwithſtanding this French attempt: to which end a prohibition was drawne, (whereunto King *Henry* alſo ſet his hand,) that no let ſhould be made againſt *Chatillon* in his Fort. Howbeit the King commaunded Sir *Thomas Palmer* (imployed in this buſineſſe) to bid the Lord *Grey* to impeach the new worke, and to flat ſo much as was rayſed thereof vnto the Earth. This Commiſſion read, with the report of Commaund to the Contrary, the Counſell of State, thought it moſt meete to follow their inſtructions in writing, leaſt the words might eyther be miſ-deliuered or miſtaken. But the Lord *Grey*, cauſing the meſſengers words to be writ, and ſubſcribed with all their hands that

Holinſhead.

Chatillon raiſeth a Fort neere vnto *Bolloigne*.

King Henries command againſt his owne writing.

The Lord Grey flatteth *Chatillons* Fort.

that were preſent at the report, ſuddainely and vnlooked for, came to the Fort, and in foure houres ſpace caſt downe, what had beene in raiſing three moneths before, which when the King heard off, he asked his Councellors what they thought of this, that *Chatillon-garden* was caſt downe? amongſt whom one of them anſwered, *the doer thereof was worthy to looſe his head*; I had rather (ſaid the King) looſe a dozen of ſuch heads as thine is, then his that had done the deed, and immediately ſent the Lord *Grey* his pardon, with many great thankes.

An. D. 1547.

King *Henry* ſickneth.

(133) But now the date of his time almoſt run, and he preparing towards the way of all fleſh, the great and faire Church of the *Gray-Fryers* London, lately ſuppreſſed by himſelfe, he cauſed againe to be opened, and to be made a Pariſh-Church, giuing the reuenewes thereof vnto the City of *London* towards the relieſe of their poore, whereunto he gaue 500. Markes yerely of Lands for euer to maintain Gods diuine ſeruice, and the ſaid Churches reparations, within whoſe wals we find this often written, *This is Chriſts Church founded by King* Henry *the eight*.

Iohn Stow in Suruey *London*.

(134) And his ſickneſſe increaſing to the great danger of life, he prepared himſelfe to make his Will, wherein howſoeuer titles had beene vnabled in Parliaments, he ordained his three children to ſucceed each after others, for want of other Iſſue. One thouſand markes he commanded to be giuen to the poore, and to twelue poore Knights at *Windſore* each of them twelue pence a day for euer, euery yeare a long Gowne of white cloth, the Garter imbroydered vpon the breaſt, wherein was placed the Croſſe of *Saint George*, and a Mantle of red-Cloth to be worne thereupon, ordayning for his Executors in the minority of Prince *Edward*, theſe here-vnder named.

Dated the 30. of *December*, and 38. of his raigne.

1 *Thomas Cranmar*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.
2 *Thomas Wriotheſley*, Lord Chancellor.
3 *William Paulet, Lord Saint-Iohn*, Great maſter of the Houſhold, Knight of the Order.
4 *Iohn Ruſſell*, Lord Priuy-Seale.
5 *Edward Seimor, Earle of Hertford*, Lord great Chamberlaine.
6 *Iohn Dudley, Viſcount Liſle*, Lord high Admiral.
7 *Cutbert Tunſtall, B.* of *Durham*.
8 *Anthonie Browne*, Knight, Mr. of the Horſe.
9 *William Paget*, Knight of the Order.
10 *Edmund Mountacute*, Chiefe-Iuſtice of the Common-pleas.
11 *Thomas Bromley*, Lord Chiefe-Iuſtice.
12 *Anthony Deny*, Knight.
13 *Edward North*, Knight.
14 *Edward Wotton*, Knight.
15 Doctor *Wotton*, Deane of *Canterbury*.

And for their ayde and aſſiſtance in Counſell, he appointed theſe following.

1 *Henry Fitz-Alan*, Earle of *Arundell*.
2 *William Parre*, Earle of *Eſſex*.
3 *Thomas Cheney*, Knight, Treaſurer of the Houſhold.
4 *Iohn Gage*, Knight, Controller of the houſhold.
5 *Anthony Winkefield*, Knight, Vice-Chamberlaine.
6 *William Peter*, Knight, principall Secretary.
7 *Richard Rich*, Knight.
8 *Iohn Baker*, Knight.
9 *Ralph Sadler*, Knight.
10 *Thomas Seimer*, Knight.
11 *Richard Southwell*, Knight.
12 *Edmund Pecham*, Knight.

King *Henries* death.

And in great penitency for his ſinnes, dyed vpon Thurſday the twenty eight day of Ianuary, in the yeare of *Chriſt Ieſus 1546*. when he had raigned thirty ſeauen yeare, nine moneths, and fiue daies, and had liued fifty fiue yeres, fiue moneths, and fiue daies, whoſe body with great ſolemnity was buried at *Windſore*, vnder a moſt coſtly and ſtately Tombe, begun in Copper and guilt, but neuer finiſhed, in the incloſures of whoſe Grates is curiouſly caſt this Inſcription. HENRICVS OCTAVVS REX ANGLIAE, FRANCIAE, DOMINVS HIBERNIAE, FIDEI DEFENSOR: With what coſt and ſtate this his monument was intended, is manifeſted by a Manuſcript taken from the true modell thereof, which I receiued from that induſtrious Harald Maſter *Nicholas Charles Lancaſter*, and for the great magnificence is worthy here to be inſerted.

The manner of the Tombe to be made for the Kings Grace at Windſore.

Firſt, the Pauement whereupon the Tombe ſhall ſtand, ſhall be of Orientall ſtone: That is to ſay, of *Alabaſter, Porfido, Serpentines*, and other ſtones of diuers colours, as in the patterne is ſhewed.

Item, vpon the ſame Pauement ſhall be two great ſteps vnder all the worke, of like Orientall ſtones.

Item, the Baſement of the Pillars ſhall be of white marble, with Angels holding between them Crownes or Garlands guilt, as more plainely ſheweth in the Patterne.

Item, aboue the ſaid Baſement and Angels, ſhall be all the old Teſtament, that is to ſay, xiiij. Images in the xiiij. Caſements of the ſame two Pillars of the Prophets, and all the Pillars which ſhall be *xvi.* ſhall be of ſtones *Serpentine, Porfido*, and *Alabaſter*, and other fine Orientall ſtones, of ſuch colours as is ſhewed in the patterne; and the foot of euery pillar, and alſo the head ſhall be of Braſſe. And euery Prophet ſhall haue an Angell ſit at his foot, with Scripture of the name of his Prophet, and aboue ouer the head of the ſame ſhall be the ſtory of his Prophet: in euery of which ſtory ſhall be at leaſt *viij.* or *xi.* figures.

Item, aboue all the ſame pillars ſhall be another Baſement of white marble, with a partition being made of ſuch fine Orientall ſtones as the pillars be, wherein ſhall be written ſuch Scripture as pleaſe you.

Item, aboue the ſame Baſement ſhall be the ſtory of the new Teſtament, that is to wit, with the Images of the Apoſtles, the Euangeliſts, and the foure Doctors of the Church, and euery Image ſhall haue ſitting at his foote a little childe, with a Scripture of the name of his Image, and a little Easket full of red and white Roſes, which they ſhall ſhew to take in their hands, and caſt them downe off the Tombe, and ouer the Pauement, and the Roſes that they ſhall caſt ouer the Tombe, ſhall be enamelled and guilt, and the Roſes that they caſt ouer the Pauements ſhall be of fine Orientall ſtones of white and red.

Item, behinde all the ſame Images of the new Teſtament round about, ſhall be made in braſſe and guilt all the life of *Ieſus Chriſt* from the natiuity to his aſcention, and it ſhall be ſo clearely and perfectly made, that the Myſtery of *Chriſts* life to his aſcention ſhall plainely appeare.

Item, aboue the ſaid new Teſtament and Images thereof, and aboue the ſaid life of *Chriſt*, ſhall be a Quire of *xx.* Angels ſtanding vpon a Baſement of white Marble, with great Candleſtickes in their hands hauing lights in them ſhewing to honor and reuerence the ſame Tombe.

Item, all theſe foreſaid figures, ſtories, and ornaments ſhall be made to garniſh and ornate the two Pillars of the Church betweene which the Tombe ſhall be ſet.

Item, betweene the ſaid two great Pillars of the Church thus garniſhed, ſhall be a Baſement of white Marble of the height of the Baſement of the Pillars, and therein the Epitaph of the King and Queene, with letters of gold, of ſuch Scriptures as ye deuiſe.

Item, vpon the ſame Baſement ſhall be made two Tombes of blacke-Touch, that is to ſay, on eyther ſide one, and vpon the ſaid Tombes of blacke Touch ſhall be made the Image of the King and Queene on both ſides, not as death, but as perſons ſleeping, becauſe to ſhew that famous Princes leauing behinde them great fame, their names neuer doe die, and ſhall lie in royall Apparels after the antique maner.

Item, ouer the right hand, ouer both the ſides of the ſame Tombe ſhall be an Angell which ſhall hold

the

the Kings Armes, with a great Candlesticke, hauing as it were light on it as a Lampe, and in like manner shall be an other Angell holding the Queenes Armes on the left hand with a like Candlesticke.

Item, on the right hand and left hand on both the sides ouer the said Images of the King and Queene, shall be two Angels, shewing to the people the bodies of the King and Queene, holding aboue their Heads veiles of Gold, and the Crownes of the King and Queene on their hands.

Item, betweene the said two Tombes of blacke Touch, and the said Angel ouer the King and Queene, shall stand an high Basement like a Sepulchre, and on the sides whereof shall be made the story of S*t*. *George*, and ouer the height of the Basement shall be made an Image of the King on Horse-backe, liuely in Armour like a King, after the antique manner, shewing in countenance and looking on the said two Images lying on the said Tombes.

Item, on the right hand and left hand of the said two Tombes shall be foure Pillers of the foresaid Orientall stones, that is to say, on either side two Pillers, and vpon euery Piller shall be a like Basement of white Marble with partitions for Scriptures as shall be aboue the other Pillers. And on the same foure Basements of the said Pillers shall be made foure Images, two of *Saint Iohn Baptist*, and two of S*t*. *George*, with foure little Children by them, casting roses, as is aforesaid.

Item, ouer the said Image of the King on horseback shall be made an Arch triumphall, of white Marble wrought within, and about it, and vpon the same arch, in manner of a Casement of white Marble, garnished with like Orientall Stones of diuers colours, as the patterne sheweth, and on the two sides of the saide Casement shall be made and set of brasse guilt, the story of the life of Saint *Iohn Baptist*, and one height of the said Casement shall be made fiue steps, euery one more then other downeward, of like Orientall stones, as the said Pillers shall shew.

Item, on the foure corners of the said Casement shall be made the Images of the foure Cardinall vertues, hauing such Candlestickes in their hands as is aboue-said.

Item, on the top of the highest step of the said fiue steps, on the one side, shall be an Image of the Father, hauing in his left hand the Soule of the King, and blessing with his right hand, with two Angels holding abroad the Mantle of the Father on either side.

Item, in like wise shal be made, on the other side, the said image of the Father, hauing the soule of the Queen in his left hand, blessing with his right hand with like Angels.

The height of the same worke from the Father vnto the Pauement shall be *xxviij*. foot.

Item, the breadth and largenesse of the said worke shall be *xv*. foot, and the Pillers of the Church in greatnesse, *v*. foote: and so the largenesse of the said worke, from the vttermost part of the two great Pillars shall be *xx*. foote.

Item, euery of the Images of the *xiiij*. Prophets, shall containe euery Image *V*. foot in length, and the Angels shall containe two foot and a halfe in length.

Item, euery of the *xx*. Pillers shall containe in length *X*. foote.

Item, euery of the Images of the Apostles, Euangelists, and Doctors shall containe in length *V*. foote and the Angels as is abouesaid.

Item, in likewise euery of the *xx*. Angels of the quire shall containe in length two foot and a halfe, and in likewise the Images of the Children two foot and a halfe.

Item, the foure Images of S*t*. *Iohn Baptist* and Saint *George*, and all the figures of the Father and Angels on the *V*. steps shall be *V*. foot.

Item, the foure Images of the King and the Queene shall be of the stature of a man and woman, and the foure Angels by them of the stature of a man euery one.

Item, the Image of the King on Horse-backe with his Horse shal be of the whole stature of a goodly man and large Horse.

Item, there shall be a *Cxxxiiij*, figures, *Xliij*. Stories, and all of Brasse guilt, as in the patterne appeareth.

(135) But, *Sic transit gloria mundi*; For howsoeuer this Kings fame was thus intended, yet that great work neuer came to perfection; but standeth as a Monument, how Kings, as other mortals are, but dust and ashes, when the breath of life in them is dissolued, as the wisest of Kings hath left vpon record in *Ecclesiastes* the ninth. This magnificent Monarch was of presence Majesticall, and of Personage more then ordinarily tall, faire of Complexion and corpulent of body, very wise, and very well learned, of a sudden and ready speech, in youth very prodigall, and in his age very liberall, pleasant, and affable, but not to be dallied with, bold in attempting, and euer thirstie of potent glory: an expert Souldier, and fauouring such as were actiue or seruiceable, according to the then vsuall saying, *King Henry loues a man*: and indeed somewhat too well the delights with women, as by his many wiues here ensuing may well appeare.

His Wiues.

(136) *Katherine* the first wife to King *Henry*, was the daughter of *Ferdinando* the sixt King of *Spaine*, and widdow-dowager of Prince *Arthur* his elder brother, as hath bin said: she was married vnto this King the third of Iune: and first of his Raigne, the yeere of Saluation 1509. being solemnely crowned with him vpon the twenty-fourth day of the same, and was his wife aboue twenty yeares, and then diuorced from him by the sentence of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*; liued three yeares after by the name of *Katherine Dowager*. She deceased at *Kimbalton* in the County of *Huntington* the eight of Ianuary, and yeare of Christ 1535. and lyeth interred on the North-side of the quire in the Cathedrall Church of *Peterborow*, vnder a hearse of Blacke Saye, hauing a white Crosse in the middest. An.D. 1533.

(137) *Anne*, the second wife of King *Henry*, was the second daughter of Sir *Thomas Bullen*, Earle of *Wiltshire* and *Ormond*. She was solemnely at *Windsor* created Marchionesse of *Pembrooke*, the first of September, and twenty foure of his Raigne, hauing one thousand pound giuen her by yeare, to maintaine her estate. She was married vnto King *Henry* in his Closet at *White-Hal*, vpon the twenty-fift day of *Ianuary*, and yeare of *Christ Iesus 1533*. being the foure and twentieth of his raigne, and was crowned with all due obseruances at *Westminster* vpon *Whitsunday* the first of *Iune*, where the Crowne of Saint *Edward* was set vpon her head, the Scepter of Gold deliuered into her right hand, and the Iuory-rod, with the Doue, into her left. She was his wife three yeares, three moneths, and twenty fiue daies, when being cut off by the sword the nineteenth of *May*, her body was buried in the *Quire* of the Chappell in the Tower, leauing her accused fame to be censured as affections best pleased the vncharitable minded, and her bed to be possest of a vertuous Lady. An.D. 1532. An.D. 1536.

(138) *Iane*, the third wife of King *Henry*, was the daughter of *Iohn Seimer* Knight, and sister to Lord *Edward Seimer*, Earle of *Hertford*, and Duke of *Sommerset*. She was married vnto him the twentieth of *May*, euen the next day after the beheading of *Queene Anne*, and the twenty eight of his Raigne. She was his wife one yeare, fiue moneths, and twenty foure dayes, and died in Child-bed the foureteenth of *October*, to the great griefe of the King, who not onely remoued from the place, but kept himselfe priuate, and wore the Garment of mourning euen in the Festiuall time of Christmas; her body was solemnely conueied to *Windsore* the eight of Nouember following, where she was interred in the middest of the Quire of the Church within the Castell.

(139) *Anne*, the fourth wife of King *Henry*, and sister to *William* Duke of *Cleue*, was married vnto him the sixth of Ianuary, in the thirty one yeare of his Raigne, the yeare of Grace 1540. she was his Wife An.D. 1540.

fixe

sixe moneths, after which time certaine Lords of the vpper House of Parliament came into the nether, and alledged cause for which that marriage was vnlawful, whereupon she was diuorced, and by Statute enacted, that she should no more be taken for Queene, but should be called the *Lady Anne of Cleue*. She remained in *England* long after the Kings death, though small mention is made of her by any of our Writers, onely we finde that she accompanied the Lady *Elizabeth* through *London* at the solemnizing of Queene *Maries* Coronation.

(140) *Katherine*, the fifth Wife of King *Henrie* the eight, was the daughter of *Edmund*, and Neece vnto *Thomas Howard* his brother, Duke of *Norfolke*: She was married vnto him the eight of *August*, and yeare of Grace 1540. being the thirtie two of his Raigne, at *Hampton-Court*, and continued his Queene the space of one yeare, sixe moneths, and foure dayes, when for her vnchast life, she was attainted by Parliament, and for the same beheaded within the Tower of *London* the twelfth of February, and her body buried in the Chauncell of the Chappell by Queene *Anne Bullen*.

(141) *Katherine*, the sixth and last wife of King *Henry*, was the daughter of Sir *Thomas Parre* of *Kendall*, and sister to Lord *William Parre* Marquesse of *Northampton*: She was first married to *Iohn Neuill*, *Lord Latimer*, and after his decease, vpon the twelfth of Iuly married vnto the King at *Hampton-Court*, the yeare of Saluation 1543. and thirty fiue of his raigne: She was his wife three yeares, sixe moneths, and fiue daies, and suruiuing him, was againe married vnto *Thomas Seimer* Lord Admirall of *England*, vnto whom she bare a daughter, but died in the same Childbed, the yeare of Grace 1548.

His Issue.

(142) *Henrie*, the first sonne of King *Henrie* by Queene *Katherine* his first Wife, was borne at *Richmond* in *Surrey*, vpon the first of *Ianuary*, & the first of his fathers raigne, whose Godfathers at the Font were the Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury Will. Warham*, and the Earle of *Surrey*: his Godmother Lady *Katherine*, Countesse of *Deuonshire*, daughter to King *Edward* the fourth. This Prince liued not fully two moneths, but died in the same place wherein he was born, vpon the two and twentieth of February, and his body with all due obsequies buried in *Westminster*.

(143) A Son not named was borne vnto King *Henry* by Lady *Katherine*, his first Queene, in the moneth of Nouember, and the sixth yeare of his raigne, who liued not long, and therfore no further mention of him can be made: the deaths of these Princes King *Henry* tooke as a punishment from God, for so he alledged it in the publike Court held in Blacke-Friers *London*, they being begot on his owne brothers wife.

(144) *Marie*, the third childe and first daughter of King *Henrie* by *Queene Katherine* his first wife, was borne at *Greenewich* in *Kent*, the eighteenth of February, in the yeare of Christs humanity 1518. and the eighth of his Raigne. She was, by the direction of her mother, brought vp in her Child-hood by the Countesse of *Salisbury* her neere kinswoman, for that as some thought, the *Queene* wished a marriage betwixt some of her sonnes and the Princesse, to strengthen her Title by that alliance into *Yorke*, if the King should die without issue Male. In her young yeares she was sued to be married with the Emperor, the King of *Scots*, and the Duke of *Orleance* in *France*, but all these fayling, and shee succeeding her Brother King *Edward* in the Crowne, at the age of thirty sixe yeares, matched with *Philip* King of *Spaine*, to the great dislike of many, and small content to her selfe, he being imployed for the most part beyond the Seas, for griefe whereof, and the losse of *Callis*, she lastly fell into a burning-feauer, that cost her her life.

(145) *Elizabeth*, the second Daughter of King *Henrie*, and first Childe by *Queene Anne* his second Wife, was borne at *Greenwich*, vpon Sunday the seauenth of September, the yeare of Christ Iesus 1533. and twenty fiue of her Fathers Raigne, who with due solemnities was baptized the Wednesday following, Archbishop *Cranmar*, the old Dutches of *Norfolke*, and the old Marchioness of *Dorset* being the witnesses at the Font, and the Marchioness of *Exceter* at the confirmation: She succeeded her sister *Queene Mary* in the Monarchy of *England*, and was for wisdome, vertue, piety, and justice, not onely the Mirrour of her Sexe, but a patterne for Gouernement to all the Princes in Christendome: whose name I may not mention without all dutifull remembrance, and whose memory vnto me is most deare, amongst the many thousands that receiued extraordinary fauours at her gracious and most liberall hand. An. D. 1533.

(146) Another man-childe *Queene Anne* bare vnto *King Henry*, though without life, vpon the nine and twentieth of Ianuary, and twenty seauen of his raigne, to the no little griefe of the mother, and some dislike of the King, as the sequell of her accusation and death did shortly confirme. *Iohn Stow.*

(147) *Edward*, the last childe of *King Henry*, and first of *Queene Iane*, his third wife, was borne at *Hampton*-Court, the twelfth of October, the yeare of Grace 1537. and twenty nine of the Kings Raigne, being cut out of his mothers wombe as is constantly affirmed, like as *Iulius Cæsar* is said to haue beene: his Godfathers at the Font, was *Thomas Cranmar* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Duke of *Norfolke*, his sister Lady *Mary* being Godmother, saith *Grafton*: Sixe dayes after his birth he was created Prince of *Wales*, and at the death of his Father, succeeded him in all his dominions, of whom more followeth hereafter.

His Naturall Issue.

(148) *Henry Fitz-Roy*, the naturall sonne of King *Henry* the eight, was begotten of the Lady *Talbois*, called *Elizabeth Blunt*, and borne in the Mannor of *Blackamoore* in *Essex*, about the tenth yeare of his Raigne; at the age of sixe yeares he was created Earle of *Nottingham*, and in the fiue and twentieth of his Fathers raigne, vpon the eighteenth of Iune, in the Kings Pallace of *Bridewell*, was made Duke of *Richmond* and *Sommerset*, Lord Warden of the East, West, & Middle-Marches against *Scotland*, and Lieutenant-Generall of all the parts of *England* Northward, he was a Prince very forward in Martiall Actiuities, of good literature and knowledge in the tongues, vnto whom the learned Antiquary *Leland* dedicated a Booke; He married *Mary* daughter of *Thomas Howard* Duke of *Norfolke*, Earle Marshall and Lord high Treasurer of *England*, with whom he liued not long, but dyed at *Saint Iames* by *Westminster*, the two and twentieth of Iuly, in the yeare of Christ Iesus 1536. and was buried at *Framingham* in *Suffolke*. An. D. 1519. *Ioh. Stow. Annals.* *Thomas Millet. Holinshead* saith at *Thetford* in *Norfolke. p.* 1237.

Holinsh. p. 883.

THe tempestuous stormes in the Raigne of this King Henry *the eight, and the violent deluge raysed against the* Church-state *of his times; bare downe so many religious strong foundations, and were the destruction of so many beautifull Monasteries, as the onely relation of their numbers and names, would haue much interrupted the narration of his History. Wherefore to retaine their memorials, (though their walls are laid waste) aswell for the reuerence we owe vnto venerable Antiquity, as for the example of their Founders holy zeale, we haue inserted a Catalogue of their names, orders, and true valuations, as in the originall Booke thereof taken by Commission, and giuen vnto the King, we finde them set downe, though at their dissolutions their values were fauourably and farre vnder-rated. Some Founders, and times of foundations we want; the rest, Table-wise, (to auoid prolixity) we haue set downe in this present following* CHAPTER.

A CATA-

A CATALOGVE OF THE RELIGIOVS HOVSES VVITHIN THE REALME OF ENGLAND and VVales, with their Orders, Founders, Benefactors, and Values, moſt *of them being ſuppreſſed by King* Henry *the eight. Together with ſuch* other ſacred places, as either then were by him left ſtanding, or ſince haue been erected.

BARKE-SHIRE.

Places.	*Dedication.*	*Founders, Benefactors, and Tyme.*	*Order.*	*Value.* l. s. d. ob. q.	
		King *Henry* the firſt, Q. *Maude* and Q. *Adeliza* his wiues. Benefactors.			
Reading —	Saint *Iacob* —M	*William* & *Richard* ſons to K. *H.* 1. — *Roger* E. of *Salop.* — *Brientius.* — *Dauid* K. of *Scots* — *Hugh Mortimer* — *Iocelme Percy* — *Warine Fitzgirald* — *Reynold* Earle of *Cornwall* — *Wil. Huntercumbe* — *Ella* Counteſſe of *Salisbury* — *Adam de Hertingtou* — *Ranuth* Chancelr. — *Robert Achard* — *Wil.* E. of *Pembrok* — *Nicolas de la Ruge* — *Roger Liſford.*	First Nunnes, after Black Monks *Cluniacenſes*	2116 03 09 00 q	Leland.
Abingdon —	Saint *Mary* —M	*Ciſſa* K. of the *Weſt-Saxons, circa* 720 K. *Edgar* and K. *Etheldred* Benefactors	Blacke Monkes —	2042 02 08 ob q	
Bromhall in Windſor forreſt	St. *Mary Mag.* N	*Edward* the blacke Prince, *temp.* K. *E.* 3. —	Blacke Nunnes —		
Biſtleham now Bitham	*Chriſt Ieſus* & our *Lady* M	*William Montacute* the firſt Earle of *Salisbury*, A. 13. *E.* 3.	Canonos —	0327 04 06 00 0	
Donnington —	— —F	St. *Richard de Abberbury* Knight —	*Ordinis Sanctæ Crucis*	0020 16 06 00 0	
Donnington —	— —H	St. *Richard de Abberbury* Knight —	— —		
Hamme —	St. *Mary Magd.* N	—— ——	Blacke Nunnes —		
Hellenſtowe —	Saint *Helene* -N	*Cilla* ſiſter to *Cadwalla* K. of the *Weſt-Saxons* about. 680.	Blacke Nunnes —	- - - - - -	Cambd.
Hurley —	Saint *Mary* —M	—— ——	Blacke Monkes *Weſtmonaſt.*	0134 10 08 ob 0	
Murreſly —	— —P	—— ——	— —	0014 03 01 00 0	
Poghley —	— —M	The predeceſſors of the Abbeſſe of *Ambresbury*	— —	0071 10 07 00 0	
Shottesbroke —	— —C	—— ——		0033 18 08 00 0	
Wallingford —	Saint *Trinity* -P	*Edmund* ſonne of *Richard* King of the *Romans*, and E. of *Cornwall temp. E.* 1.	Blacke Monks of Saint *Albans*		
Wallingford Caſ	— —C	*Edward* the Blacke Prince, *temp.* K. *E.* 3. —	— —		
Wallingford —	Saint *Iohn* —H	—— ——	— —	0006 00 00 00 0	
Windſor Caſtle	St. *Mary* St. *George* C	King *Henry* the firſt, King *Edward* the third, King *Edward* the fourth — inſtituted —	5 Choriſters, A warden, 12 Prebendes, 13 Vicors, 4 Clarkes, 6 Choriſters; 3 Vicors, 10 Clerkes, 7 Choriſters	1601 02 01 ob 0	Leland.
			The totall ſumme of the valuations of this County, beſides many others vnualued at the ſuppreſſions of their Monaſteries, amounteth to	6368. 12. 8. 0. o.	

BEDFORD-SHIRE.

Places.	*Dedication.*	*Founders, Benefactors, and Time.*	*Order.*	*Value.* l. s. d. ob. q	
Bedford —	— —F	Lady *Margaret de Patteſhall* —	Friers Minors, *alii* Grey Friers	0005 00 00 00 0	
Bedford —	Saint *Iohn* —H	—— ——	— —	0021 00 08 00 0	
Bedford —	Saint *Leonard* H	—— ——	— —	0016 06 08 00 q	
Bigleſwade —	S. *Trinity* in S. *Andrewes* Church —C	—— ——	— —	0007 00 00 00 0	
Biſconeer Merg.	Saint *Trinity* -N	*Roger* Abbot of St. *Albans* —	Nunnes —	0143 18 03 00 0	Leland.
Buſhemede *alias* Biſſemed	— —P	*Hugo de Bello Campo*, & *Roger his* brother *temp. W. C.* (Leland) L. *Latimer*	Canons Auguſtines—	0081 13 05 ob 0	Leland.
Caldewell —	S. *Iohn Baptiſt* -P	The Lord *Latimer*, *alii Iohn de Biddyſley aliis Geffrey*, a religious man, & *Simon Berſtow*, 1152. 18. K. St. (Leland) *Simon Baſket* Alderman of *Bedford.*	Blacke Canons Auguſtines	0148 15 10 00 0	Leland.
Chickſand —	Saint *Mary* —P	*Pagane de Beauchamp*, & *Roiſe* his wife, daughter of *Alberic de Vere*, *temp. W. R.*	Gilbertines, white Canons and Nuns	0230 03 04 ob 0	Leland.

	Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. l.	s.	d.	ob.	q.
	Eaton. —	*Corpus Chriſti* —C	—— ——	— —	0087	16	00	00	0
	Dunſtable. —	Saint *Peter* —P	King *Henry* the firſt, —	Blacke Canons Aug.	0402	14	07	ob	0
	Dunſtable. —	— —F	—— ——	Friers Preachers. —	0004	18	04	00	0
	Fraternitas ibidē	— —F	—— ——	— —	0009	08	07	c00	0
Leland.	Elneſtowe *alias* Hcleſtow, now Elſtow.	Saint *Trinity* / Saint *Mary* / Saint *Helene*. —N	*Iuditha* wife to *Waltheof* Earle of *Huntingdon*, *temp. William the Conqueror*.	Blacke Nunnes —	0325	02	01	ob	q.
	Harwald, *alij* Harewood.	Saint *Peter*. —P	*Sampſon* ſurnamed *Fortis de fort*. (Leland)	Blacke Nunnes Aug.	0047	03	02	00	0
	Mergate. —	Saint *Giles* —N	*Gilbert de Clare* Earle of *Gloceſter* and *Hertford*, Anno 6. *Ed.* 1.	Nunnes —	0325	02	01	ob	0
Leland.	Newenham. —	— —P	*Roiſe* the wife of *Paine de Beauchamp* (Leland) *Simon de Beauchampe* ſonne of *Roiſe*, temp. *H.* 1.	Blacke Canons Aug.	0343	15	05	00	0
	Northyle. —	— —C	—— ——	— —	0661	05	08	ob	0
	Sanctingfield *iuxta* Whitſand	— —H	King *Henry* the ſecond. —	— —					
Leland.	Warden. —	Saint *Mary* —M	King *Henry* the firſt, & *Walter Eſpec.* 1138. 4. *Steph.*	Ciſtercians White Monkes —	0442	11	11	00	0
Cambdenn.	Woburne. —	Saint *Mary* —N	*Hugh* (*Cambden*) *Henry de Bolebec*, *alijs Robert de vere*, E. of *Oxford*, by the licence of K. *Richard* the ſecond.	Ciſtercians White Monkes —	0430	13	11	ob	0
				The ſome totall of the valuations of this County beſides many others vnualued at the ſuppreſſion amounteth to	3054	10	3	0	0

BVCKINGHAM-SHIRE.

	Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Tyme.	Order.	Value. l.	s.	d.	ob.	q.
	Ailesbury —	Saint *Francis* –F	*Edith* daughter of *Frewald* —	Friers Minors *alijs* Grey Friers	0003	02	05	00	0
Leland.	Ankerwike —	— —N	*Gilbert* & *Rich. Mounchet* Knights, —	Nunnes —	0045	14	04	00	0
	Asheridge —	Saint *Auguſtine* C	*Edmund* Earle of *Cornewall* ſonne to *Rich.* K. of the *Romans*, *temp. Ed.* 1.	*Boni viri* Heremita —	0447	18	00	ob	0
	Bordeſley —	Saint *Mary* —	*Maud* the Empreſſe —	Ciſtertians —					
	Bradewell —	Saint *Mary* —P	*Manefelmus* —	Blacke Monkes —					
Leland.	Burnham —	— —N	*Richard* K. of *Romans*, E. of *Cornub. ſic. H.* 2.	Blacke Nunnes —	0091	05	11	ob	0
	Bittelſden —	Saint *Mary* —M	*Arnald de Boſco* Steward of the houſhold of *Rob^t.* E. of *Leiceſt.* 1127. 28. *H.* 1.	Ciſtertians White Monkes	0142	01	03	00	0
	Eaton —	— —C	King *Henry* the ſixt. —	A Prouoſt, 8 Fellowes, 60 Schollers, Choriſters					
Leland.	Iuingho —	Saint *Margaret* N	*Henry de Blois* Biſhoppe of *Wincheſter* *temp. H.* 2.	Nunnes —	0022	06	07	00	0
	Laueden —	Saint *Mary* —M	*Iohn de Bedon* —	White Canons —	0091	08	03	ob	0
	Luffeld —	Saint *Mary* —P	*Robert* Earle of *Leiceſter* —	White Canons —					
	Medmenham *alijs* Mendham —	— —M	The Anceſtors of the Earle of *Suffolke* —	White Canons Ciſte.	0023	17	02	00	0
	Merlowe *perua*–	— —M	*Geffrey* Lord *Spenſer*, *temp. H.* 3. —	Black Nunnes —	0037	16	11	00	0
	Myſſenden —	Saint *Mary* —M	- - -D'Oile- - -& *de Miſſenden*, Knights	Blacke Canons —	0285	15	09	00	0
	Newport pagauell —	Saint *Leonard* –H	*Iohn de Peynton* of Newport —	— —	0006	06	08	00	0
Leland	Nuley —	Saint *Mary* –M	*Walter Giffard* E. of *Buck.* t. 1112. *H.* 1. *Ermingard* his wife a great benefact.	Blacke Canons —	0495	18	05	ob	0
	Peretrendune —	— —P	—— ——	Blacke Canons —					
	Rauneſton —	— —M	Domini Regis Progenitor —	— —	0066	13	04	00	0
	Sandewell —	— —M	The Anceſtors of *Tho. Stanley* of *Stafford*	— —	0038	08	04	00	0
	Snelſhall —	— —P	—— ——	— —	0024	00	00	00	0
	Stoke-pogeis —	— —H	*Edward* Baron *Haſtings* of *Longhborrow*. *temp.* Maieſt.	Poore people —					
	Tekeford —	Saint *Mary* — P	*Fulco Paganel*, *alij Domini Regis progenitor*	Blacke Monkes —	0126	17	00	00	0
	Wicombe or high Wickham —	— —H	—— ——	Blacke Monkes —	0007	15	03	ob	0
		Saint *Margaret* P	—— ——		0022	06	07	00	0
				The ſum totall of the valuations of this County, beſides others vnualued at the ſuppreſſion amounteth to	1979	1	9	b	0

Peter-

Colledges	Founders	Students	An. Dō.	Benefactors	Giftes	Kings Raignes	Residents
Peter-House	*Hugh Balsham*, first Sub-prior, then Prior, and lastly Bishop of *Ely*, began the foundation 125 6. finished it with indowments 1284. he was the first man that gaue, and it the first Colledge indowed with maintenance for learning in *Cambridge* Vniuersity. He instituted —	A Master 13 Fellows 2 Scollers 8 poor-schol.	1284	*Robert Lirling* gaue to this Foundatiō	an house with the appurtenants —	Ed. 2.	A Master 17 Fellowes 21 Schollers and Bible Clarks with officers and seruants of the Found. 138.
				Riherus de Ayleshā and *Iohn de Flemingham* gaue —	an house with the appurtenants —		
				Edw. L. *North* gaue	6 Fellowshippes —	Q. M.	
				Hen. Wilshaw. B. of Diuinity gaue —	3 Schollerships —		
				Iohn Whitgift A.B. *Cant.* gaue —	1 Schollership —	Q. El.	
				Andrew Perne Dean of *Ely* gaue —	1 Fellowship —	Q. El.	
					3 Schollerships —		
					1 Liber. Keepership		
				The Lady *Mary Ramsey* of *London* gaue 40. pounds yeerely to maintaine —	2 Fellowships —	Q. El.	
					4 Schollerships —		
				The worthy Companies of *Clothworkers* and *Ironmongers* of the City of *London*, with other benefactors. —	- - - - -		
				Richard Badew. Chancellor (and the Vniuersity then being) in the yeere 1326. —	founded a house for students by the name of *Vniuersity Hall*; in the yeere 1326.	19 E. 2	
				King *Edward* 3. —	gaue lands to the yeerly value of 40. pounds for euer —	20 E. 3	
				Since which time, by the consent of *Rich. Badew* Chancellor, *Walter Thaxted* Mast. of the same house, by whom it was much increased, and *Rich. Ling* then Chancellor. This Colledge was resigned into the hands of *Eliz.* Countesse of *Clare*, and vnited into her foundation, shee then (vnder licence from K. *Ed.* 3.) altered the first name, and called it after her owne name *Clare Hall.* —			
Clare Hall.	*Elizabeth de Burgo* Cōtesse of *Clare*, daughter of *Gilbert de Clare* Earle of *Glouceſter*, sister and Coheire of *Gilbert de Clare* last Earle of *Glouceſter*, and widdow of *Iohn de Burgo* Earle of *Vlster* in *Ireland*, first Foūdresse. 22. *E.* 3. shee instituted —	*A Master.* 10. *Fellowes.* 20. *Schollers.*	1347				A Master 18 Fellowes 36 Schollers with Officers and seruants of the Foundation, and other Students. 140.
				Doct. *Leeds* late Master gaue vnto this *Hall* —	20 Schollerships		
				Tho. Cecill now E. of *Excester*, and the Lady *Dorothe* his wife gaue —	10 l. pounds per annum. —		
				William Butler sometimes Fellow & President of this house, the famous Phisitian gaue —	Plate, Books &c. aboue 500. pounds —	K. I.	
				Iohn Freeman Esquier gaue —	2000. pounds.		
				Doctor *Scot* late Mr. Vicechancellor 1619 gaue —	in money, plate, & bookes, aboue 300. pounds.	K. E.	
				with diuers other benefactors. —	- - - - -		

Colledges	Founders.	Students	An. Dō.	Benefactores.	Guiftes.	Kinges Raignes	Resident
Pembroke Hall. *Stow.*	*Mary de S. Paul* Countesse of *Pembrok* (daughter of *Guido de Chastilion* Earle of *S. Paul* in *France*, and *Mary de Britannia* his wife) after the death of *Adomarius de Valentia*, Earle of *Pembroke*, &c. whose third wife shee was (but for one day as it is thought) betooke herselfe wholy to deuotion, shee obtained licence of K. *E.* 3. (whose Cosin she was) to found this Colledge by the name of *Aula de Valence Maria*, 22. *E.* 3. afterwards called *Pemb. Hall*, & to assigne them for their habitation a place in *Cambridge* of her owne inheritance, with three messuages which shee purchased, endowing the same with diuers Patronages, Impropriations, Lands, Rents, Plate, Iewels, and other ornaments, and therein established	A Master. 6. Fellowes. 2. Schollers.	1347	Holy King *Henr.* 6.			A Master. 18. Fellows, *vnus tanquã* 33. Schollers of the house, with officers and seruants of the foundation and other studēts 145
				Edw. Story Bishoppe of *Chester*	- - - - - -		
				S^r *Will Hussey* Knight	- - - - - -		
				Charles Booth B. of *Hereford*	- - - - - -		
				Sir *Roger Strange*	- - - - -		
				Doct. *Wattes* gaue	7. Schollershipps.		
				Iane sometime wife of *Rich. Cox* Bishop of *Ely* gaue	1. Schollership.	Q. *Eliz.*	
				John Laughton Bishop of S. *Danis*	- - - - - -		
				Laurence Booth, and *Tho. Scot* alias *Rotheram*, both Bishops of *Yorke*	- - - - -		
				Rich. Fox B. of Winc.	- - - - - -		
				Edmund Grindall late A. B. *Cantr.* gaue	1. Fellowship. 2. Schollerships, & a stipēd annuall to a greek Reader	Q. *Eliz.*	
				Will. Marshall gaue	1. Schollershippe, and 4. places for poore Schollers.		
				Iohn Whitgift A.B.C. *Lancelot Andrews* B. of *Winchester*, with other benefactors.			
Corpus Christi. *Stow.*	The Colledge of *Corpus Christi*, and our blessed *Lady*, commonly called *Bennet* Colledge, was founded by the Alderman and Bretheren of *Corpus Christi* Guilde, and the Bretheren of our *Lady* Guild in *Cambridge*, at the instance and motion of *Henry of Monmouth*, surnamed *Torto Collo*, (son and Heire of *Hen.* Earle of *Lanc.* &c.) succeeding his Father in all his Honours and titles, and was the first *Henry* Duke of *Lanc.* &c. He obtained in the 26. *Ed.* 3. a licence of mortmaine for the said Alderman and brethren, that vpon a messuage to them belonging in *Cambridge* they might erect this Coll. Amongst other things he also appropriated vnto this Coll. by the same licence, the perpetual patronage of Saint *Bennets* Church standing before their gate. This Duke, being in the 28. *E.* 3. elected Alderman of the said Guilds, recognised the statutes of the Colledge: not by the Dukes seale, but by the seale of the Alder. of those Guilds. *Stow.*	A Master, Schollers. Chapline and others	1351	Lady *Elizabeth Brotherton* Dutchesse of *Norfolke*	- - - - - -		A Master, 12 Fellowes, 37 Schollers, with officers seruants of the foundation and other Students 145
				Sir *Iohn Cambridge* Knight	gaue a place called *Stone Hall*, towards the augmentation of the same		
				Mathew Parker A. B. Cant. gaue	2 Fellowships, 15 Schollerships & much plate	Q. *Eli.*	
				Sir *Nicholas Bacon* Lord Keeper	- - - - - -		
				Roger Mannors late Earle of *Rutland*	- - - - - -		
				Lord *Roos of Hamlake, Belnoir, & Trusbut*, &c.	- - - - -		
				Roger Mannors his great vncle	- - - - -		
				William Benedict & *Leonard Caustō* gaue and diuers other Benefactors.	3 Schollerships		

Colledges	Founders	Students	An. Dō.	Benefactors	Guiftes	Kings Raignes	Residents.
Trinity Hall.	*Trinity Hall* was of old time an Hoſtell, or houſe of ſtudy, wherin ſtudents liued at their owne charge. But hauing ſince been much increaſed by the guifts of *Rich. Ling* Chanc. of the Vniuerſ. & Archibald of *Norwich* &c. & in the 28. *Ed* 3. by *Rob. Stratton, Iohn Trunch*, &c. & ſince by *Walter Bakton, Peter Bittring* and *Thomas Walſingham*, inlarging it with two Meſſuages the one called *Draxes entrie*, with diuers lands & poſſeſſions, giuen by the foreſaid benefactors, was in the time of *Ed.* 3. by *Iohn Crawden* Prior of *Ely* and his Couent procured for their Monks to ſtudie in. But not long after *William Bateman* borne in the City of *Norwich*, Doctor of the Ciuill Lawes Archdeac. of *Norwich*, after the 18. Biſhop of that See, in exchange for certaine Perſonages purchaſed this houſe, with the poſſeſſions belonging, & by the Kings licence built, thereon the Col. as now for the moſt part it ſtandeth. In the worſhippe of the Holy *Trinity*, indowing it with lands and poſſeſſions, and became Founder thereof. He inſtituted.	A Maſter, 3 Fellowes, 3 Schollers.	1353.	Sundry benefactors at ſeuerall times added vnto this Foundation — 8 Fellowſhips, 5 Schollerſhips. *Simon Dalling* Maſter. *Walter Huke* Maſter — *Robt. Goodnap* — *Iohn Maptid* — *Rich. Nix* Biſhoppe of *Norwich* — *Steph. Gardiner* Maſter, Biſhop of *Wincheſter* — *Mathew Parker* Arch-Biſhop of *Cant.* — 4 Schollerſhips, 2 places for poor ſchollers. Q.E. *Gabriel Dun* — *Henry Haruy* Doct. — *Humfrey Buſhby* — Doct. *Mowſe* — Mr. *Hare* — Doct. *Cowell* Maſter — Sir *George Newman* Kni. with other Benefactors.		A Maſter, 12 Fellows 14 Schollers, with officers ſeruāts of the foundation and other Students, the whole number is. 61.
Conuile & Keyes Colledge.	*Edmund de Gonuill*, Rector of *Terrington* & *Buſhworth* in *Norfolke*, at the inſtance of *Gualter* de *Manney* 22. *Ed.* 3. 13348. (one of the founders of the Garter) obtaining licence, laid the firſt fundatiō of this Col where the orchard of *Corpus Chriſti* Colledge is now ſtanding. Dedicating the ſame vnto the honor of the Annuntiation of the bleſſed virgin *Mary*, naming it *Gonuill Hall*. But being preuented by death in 1350. left by will a great ſum of mony in truſt with *William Bateman* B. *Norf.* to endow the ſame with competent Poſſeſſions, who in 1353. remoued to a place neere vnto his own *Hall*, where he purchaſed diuers Meſſuages & Tenements, on which hee erected the ſame by the former name of *Gonuill Hall*.	A Maſter 4 Fellowes 20 Schollers	1353	The Ladies *Pakenham* & *Scroope*. *Elizabeth Cleere*. Doctor *Baly* *Steph. Smith* *William Williſon* *Willam Sigo* *Tho. Atkins* *Tho. Willowes* *William Gale* Doct. *Wendy* *Peter Huet* Doct. *Knight* *Iohn Whitacre* *Humfry Busby* — 1 Schollerſhippe *Rich. Wilſon* — 1 Schollerſhippe *Matt. Parkr.* A.B.C. 1 Schollerſhip Q.E. *Robt. Traps*, and *Ione* his wife — 4 Schollerſhips Q.E. *Ioyce Franckland* gaue vnto this Colledge — 6 Fellowſhippes, 12 Schollerſhips, A Chaplaines place. *William Cutting* — Sr. *William Paſton* Kni. Doct. *Harni* — Doct. *Legg* — Doctor *Branthwaite* Maſter — Doct. *Perſe* late Fellow — with other Benefactors.		A Maſter 25 Fellowes 1 Conduct 65 Schollers, with Officers Seruants of the foundation, and other Students. 195
	Since which time *Iohn Caius* Doct. of Phiſicke, Maſter of that houſe, a learned Antiquary, newly repairing it, obtaining leaue of K. *Philip* and Qu. *Mary* to bee a Cofounder, named it *Conuill* and *Caius* Col. He added —	3 Fellowſhips 20 Schollerſh.	1557				

Katherine

Colledges	Founders	Students	An. Dō.	Benefactors	Guifts	Kings Raignes	Residents.
Kings Colledge.	*Henry* 6. called *Henry* of *Windſor*, King of *England*, &c. beganne this royall foundation in honour of S[t] *Nicholas*, but 2. yeeres following, in the 21. yeer of his raigne he inlarged the ſame, in honor of our bleſſed *Lady Mary* the Virgin, and S[t] *Nicholas*: wherein ſtandeth at this time one of the faireſt Chappels in the World, vnto which he had a purpoſe to haue made conformable this his Colledge; but being preuented by his vntimely death, left it onely begun, and the Chap. vnfiniſhed. To this Colledge, the Founder vnder his great Seale by Act of Parliament confirmed a Coat of Armes, placing in chief the Flower de Luce of *France*, and the Lyon of *England*, inimating the worke of a King. Thoſe Lands which the magnificent Founder had left vnto this Colledge, were by King *Edward* 4. in his diſpleaſure withdrawen, reſtoring afterward a yeerely value, conſiſting of 500. markes. —— *Stow.*	A Maſter, 12 Schollers.	1441	King *Henry* 7. —— Finiſhed the ſtone work (in part) of the ſaid Chappel, cōtaining in length 188 foot, in breadth 40.	*H.*7	A Prouoſt. 70 Fellows and Schollers. 3 Chaplaines. 1 Maſter of the Choriſters. 6 Clerkes. 16 Choriſters. 16 Colledg Officers. 13 Seruitors to the Senior Fellowes. 6 Poore Schollers of the foundatiō, with other Students. —— 144.
				King *Henry* 8. —— Cauſed the ſame to bee glazed, ſeated, paued with fine marble, & perfected	*H.*8	
				Roger Goad Doctor of D. late Fellow and Prouoſt. ——		
				Adam Robins. ——		
				Rich. Day, and Doctor *Cowell* late Fellowes. ——		
				Doctor *Smith* late Fellow & Prouoſt. ——		
				William Henſon late Fellow. ——		
				With diuers other Benefact. in which Colled. at this preſent is now reſident. ——		
Qu. Colledge.	*Margaret Andeganenſis*, Daughter of *Reyner*, Duke of *Anion*, (titulary King of *Cicily*, *Naples*, and *Ieruſalem*) wife of K. *Henry* 6. at the interceſſion of M[r] *Andrew Ducket*, Rector of S[t] *Botolphs*, &c. obtained licence of the ſame King to build this Colledge, and purchaſed Lands of the yeerely value of 200. pound for the indowmēt thereof; dedicating the ſame to the honour of S[t] *Margaret* and S[t] *Bernard*; but ſhee dyed, and left it vnperfected. —— *Stow.*	One Preſident. 4 Fellowes, or more.	1441.	*Andrew Ducket*, Rector of Saint *Botolphs* in *Cambridge*, ſometimes principall of S[t] *Bernards* Hoſtell, and the firſt Preſident of this Colledge, —— was formerlie a Frier, and had gathered of diuers perſons ſo much money as bought a peece of ground, called *Gooſe Greene*, whereon the Colledge ſtandeth. Afterwards hee purchaſed, and gaue vnto this Colledge the ſame S. *Bernards* Hoſtell, and by his owne money, and helpe of others, bought certaine other tenements, and (as *Stow* ſaith) built the Colledge: hee gaue much in lands and money, procuring gifts from diuers great perſonages, *viz.* ——	*H.*6.	One Preſident. 19 Fellowes. 23 Scholers. 8 Bible Clerkes 3 Lecturers of Hebrew Arithmeticke and Geometrie, with officers & ſeruants of the foundatiō, with other Studēts. —— 230.
	Afterwards Q. *Elizabeth*, wife to K. *Edward* the 4. obtained licence to finiſh the ſame, which ſhee accompliſhed in the ſixt of *Edward* 4. ——		1465.	*Georg* Duke of *Clar.* —— *Cecily* Dutch. of *Yor.* —— *Rich.* Duke of *Gloce.* —— The Lady *Anne* his VVife. —— *Ed.* Earle of *Saliſb.* —— *Maud* Coun. of *Oxf.* —— And *Marmaduke Lomly* B. of *Lincoln* ſometime Chancel. of the Vniuerſity. —— gaue 200 Bookes.	*H.*6.	
				The Ladies *Margerie Rooſe*, *Iane Ingoldeſthorpe*, and *Iane Burrough*. ——	*H.*6.	
				King *Rich.* 3. gaue Lands to the yeerly value of 500. Markes. ——	*R.* 3.	
				D. *Tho. Smith* gaue 2 Fellowſhips:		
				Sir *Thomas Smith*, Fell. of this Houſe, principall Secretary to Q. *Elizabeth*. ——	*Q.E.*	
				Hen. now E. of *Hun.* ——	*K.I.*	
				George Montaigne, B. *London*, with diuers other noble & worthy Benefact. ——	*K.I.*	

Katherine

Colledges	Founders	Students	An. Dō.	Benefactors	Guiftes	Kings Raignes	Residents	
Katherine Hall.	*Robert Woodlarke*, borne at *Wakerley* in the County of *Northumb.* Doctor of Diuin. third Prouoſt of *Kings Coll.* in *Cambridge*, and Chancellor of the Vniuerſity, founded this Colledge in Milneſtreet, knowne formerly by the name of Carmelite Fryers, of 4. Tenemēts which he purchaſed, dedicating the ſame to the honour of Sᵗ *Katherine* the Virgin, and Martyr. The foundation whereof K. *Edw.* 4. confirmed to the ſaid *Robert Woodlarke* & his ſucceſſors by his Letters Patent for euer; for the indowment whereof, he alſo obtained the ſame Kings Licence of Mortmaine, to purchaſe 40. marks per annum: wherin hee eſtabliſhed at the firſt foundation, ——	One Maſter. 3 Fellowes.	1475	*Iſabell Canterbury*, VVidow. —— *William Taylor.* — *Katherine Myles.* — *Robert Sympton.* — *Hugh Pemberton.* — The Lady *Elizabeth Barnardiſton.* —— *Iohn Leach.* —— *Richard Nealſon.* — *Robert Shorton* Doct. of Diuinity, Maſter of Sᵗ *Iohns Colledge.* *Hugh Garret.* —— *Iohn Cheſter.* —— Doctor *Greene.* — Doctor *Thimbleby.* Doctor *Middleton.* *Roſamond Payne* widow. —— *Iohn Cholmley.* —— *Iohn Duke.* —— Sir *Iob. Claypole* Kni. And many other Benefactors. ——			One Maſt. 6 Fellowes. 8 Schollers, with Officers, Seruants of the foundation, and other Students.	60.
Stow. Iesus Colledge.	*Iesus Colledge*, had been in ancient time a Nunnery, (or Monaſtery) of religious women conſecrated to Sᵗ *Radagund*, and richly endowed by ſundry Benefactors, whereof *Malcolme* 4. King of *Scots*, and the whole race of *Huntingtons*, with their Families were chiefe; but in time the edifices falling to decay, the goods and ornaments of the Church waſting, and Lands diminiſhing, became ſo poore and void of gouernment, that two Nunnes remaining, (the one an Infant) were cōſtrained through neceſſity to depart, and leaue it deſolate. VVhervpon *Iohn Alcocke*, borne at *Beauerley* in *Yorkeſhire*, D. of the Ciuill Lawes, Deane of Saint *Stephens* in *Weſtminſter*, Maſter of the Rolles, Biſhop of *Roceſter*, after of *Worceſter*, laſtly, of *Ely*, and Lord Chancellor of *England*, a man very much approued for his many good Acts, and famous for building procured licence of King *Henry* 7 in the 11. of his Raigne, to conuert into a Colledge this ancient Nunnery, obtaining licence vnder the great Seale of *England*, that all the Lands belonging to that Cell, ſhould bee appropriated to his Colled. dedicating the ſame to the honour of the holy Trinity, the bleſſed Virgin *Mary*, Sᵗ *Iohn* the Euangeliſt, and the glorious Virgin *Radegund*. He therein eſtabliſhed ——	A Maſter. 6. Fellowes. 6. Schollers.	1497	Sᵗ *Rob. Read* Knight, Lord Chiefe Iuſtice of the Common Pleas. —— *H.7.* *Iohn Andrewes.* — *H.7.* Doctor *Eleſon.* — *H.7.* Doctor *Royſton.* — *H.7.* Doctor *Fuller*, Maſter of the ſame Houſe. —— *H.7.* *Thomas Thirlby*, Biſhop of *Ely.* —— *Richard Pigot* — *Godfrey Foliambe.* — *William Marſhal.* — *Ieane Woods.* —— *Thomas Sutton* of *Balſham* Eſquire. And by other worthy Benefactors, it is ſo increaſed, as at this preſent there is in the ſame ——			One Maſter. 16 Fellowes 22 Schollers, beſides officers and ſeruants of the foundation, and other ſtudēts	130

Christs

Colledges	Founders	Students	An. Dō.	Benefactors	Guiftes	Kings Raignes	Residents
Christs Colledge.	*Margaret* Counteſſe of *Richmōd* & *Darby*, daughter and ſole heire of *Iohn Beauford* Duke of *Somerſet*, Mother to King *Henry* 7. widow of *Edmund* of *Hadham*, Earle of *Richmond*, (halfe brother to King *Henry* 6.) ſon of *Owen Tuder* of *Wales* Knight, and of Queene *Katherine* his wife, founded this Colledg in place where the Colledge of Gods Houſe ſtood, begun by King *Henry* 6. in liew of that which had formerly beene built by *William Bingham*, Rector of Saint *Iohn Zacharies* in *London*, which neuer comming to perfection, ſhee obtained licence of the King her ſonne, in the 20 of his Raigne to finiſh it, dedicating the ſame to the honor of our Sauiour Chriſt, which ſhee endowed with Lands and reuenewes, for the maintenance of ——	A Maſter. 12 Fellowes. 47 Schollers. 6 Seruitors.	1505	King *Edward* 6. gaue 1 Fellowſhip. 3 Schollerſhips.	*E.* 6.	A Maſter. 14 Fellows. 55 Schollers, with Officers, ſeruants of the foundation, and other Students. 206.
				Doctor *Tompſon* and Doctor *Hawford* Maſters of the ſame.			
				Iohn Hawford			
				Richard Riſley.			
				Doctor *Patiſſon.*			
				Philip Rowlins.			
				Maſter *Iennings.*			
				Nicholas Colwerwell.			
				Thomas Langton.			
				Maſter *Wentworth.*			
				Iohn Collins.			
				Edmūd Grindall Archbiſhop of *Canterbury.*			
				Sir *Walter Mildmay* Knight.	eſpeciall Benefact.	*Q. E.*	
				Robert Iſham.			
				Richard Bunting.			
				Anthony Watſon B. of *Chicheſter.*			
				Richard Carre.			
				With diuers other worthy Benefactors.			
Saint Iohns Colledge.	The ſame Lady *Margaret* Counteſſe of *Richmōd*, &c. erected this Colledge vpon the ruines of an ancient Hoſpitall of regular Canons, founded by *Negellus* ſecond Biſhop of *Ely*, and Treaſurer to K. *Henry* 1. in 1134. afterwards tranſlated to a Priory, in honour of S^t *Iohn* the Euangeliſt, in the Iury, by *Hugh Balſham*, alias *Norwold*, the tenth Biſhop of *Ely*, 1280. 9 *Edward* 1. which being come to ruine, and but two perſons left; the ſaid Counteſſe obtained licence of King *Henry* 8. her Nephew, 1. of *H.* 8. to conuert the ſame into a Colledge, by the ancient name of Saint *Iohn* the Euangeliſt: but being preuented by death, ſhee left the perfecting thereof to her Executors, *Rich. Fox* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, *Iohn Fiſher* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, *Charles Sommerſet*, Lord *Herbert*, and others, who did moſt iuſtly performe the truſt ſhee repoſed in them, and therein eſtabliſhed ——	A Maſter, 50 Fellowes 50 Schollers	1508	*Iohn Morton* A.B.C. and Cardinall.			A Maſter. 54 Fellowes 84 Schollers 9 Sizers, with officers Seruants of the foūdation, & other Students. 370.
				The L. *Anne Rookesbie*			
				Doctor *Fell*			
				Doctor *Keyton.*			
				Hugh Aſhton.			
				Doctor *Lupton.*			
				Doctor *Trimbleby.*			
				Doctor *Downham.*			
				Iohn Conſtable.			
				Robert Simpſon.			
				Robert Ducket.			
				Thomas Laue.			
				Iames Berriſford.			
				Rob. Holſtreeholme.			
				Iohn Replingham.			
				Doctor *Linacre.*			
				Iohn Baily.			
				Katherine Dutcheſſe of *Suffolke.*			
				Stephen Cardinal.			
				S^r *Ambroſe Caue* K^t, gaue places for	Readers & Chaplaines.	*Q. E.*	
				William Cecill, Lord *Burleigh*, gaue	Lāds to the yeerly value of 30 l. — 2 Schollerſhips.	*Q. E.*	
				Mildred, Lady *Burleigh*, gaue	beſtow'd much in ſumptuous buildings, and gaue great Lands. — 1 Schollerſhip.	*Q. E.*	
				Elizabeth Counteſſe of *Shrewesbury.*			
				Francis Iermin, gaue			
				Sir *Henry Billingsley* Alderma̅ of *Londō.*	gaue three Schollerſhips.	*Q. E.*	
				The Lady *Iermine.*			
				Mary Counteſſe of *Shrewsbury.*			
				William L. *Maynard* Barō of *Wicklow* &c. with diuers others.			

Magdalen

Colledges	Founders.	Students	An. Dō.	Benefactors.	Guiftes.	Kings Raignes	Residents
Magdalen Colledge.	*Magdalen* Colledge was first an Hall inhabited by Monkes of diuers Monasteries (and therefore heretofore called Monkes Colledge) sent hither from their Abbies to the Vniuersity to studie. *Edward Stafford*, last Duke of *Buckingham*, &c. bestowed much cost in the repaire of it, and in 1519. 11. of *Henry* 8. new built the Hall, whereupon for a time it was called, *Buckingham Colledge*, but the Duke being shortly after attainred, the buildings were left vnperfect, continuing a place for Monkes to study in, vntill the generall suppression of Monasteries by King *Henry* the eight. At length *Thomas Audeley*, sometimes an vtter Barister of the inner Temple, after Baron of *Walden*, & Chancellor of *England*, hauing licence, founded there a new Colledge, in honor of S^t *Mary Magdalen*, 24 *Henry* 8. but being preuented by death, left it very vnperfect, leauing of his foundation ——	One Master. 5 Fellowes. 1 Scholler. 3 Seruitors.	1542	King *Henry* the 8. —— H. 8. Sir *Christopher Wray*, Lord Chiefe Iustice of the Kings Bench, 1582. —— finished the buildings, and added 3 Fellowships, and 6 Schollerships. Q. E. *Iohn Spenliffe* of *Lincolne*. —— gaue Landes to the yeerely value of 40 l. Q. E. *Edmūd Grindall* Archbishop of *Canterbury*. gaue 1 Schollership. Q. E. *Thomas Parkinson*, Rector of *Winelingham*. —— *Willia Roberts* of *Norfolke*, gaue —— 3 Schollerships. Q. E. *Iohn Hughes*. —— *Thomas Sutton* of *Balsham*, Esquire. —— Q. E. And others who haue been Benefactors, & increased the same.		A Master. 10 Fellowes. 20 Scholers. 1 Preacher. 3 Seruitors. with Officers, Seruants of the foundation, and other Students. 100
Trinity Colledge.	*Trinity Colledge*, was founded by King *Henry* 8. in the 38. yeere of his raigne, besides diuers Hostels situate in former time where now this Colledge standeth. He vnited vnto his foundation these three Colledges. First, *Kings Hall*, whereon it partly standeth, founded by King *Edward* 3. for a Master, and 32 Schollers. 2 *Michael* House, founded by *Hervicus de Stanton*, Chancellor of the Exchequer, 1323. 17 *Edward* 2. 3 *Phiswicke Hostell*, an House of Schollers, foūded by *Phiswicke* an Esquire, Beadle. All which 3 Colledges, the King vnited into one, and founded a most famous and worthy Colledge, by the name of the Holy and vndiuided Trinity, which hee endowed with 1640 l. *per annum*, for the maintenance of —	A Master. 60 Fellowes. 40 Schollers 20 poor Sch.	1546	King *Edward* 6. —— The faire Chappell of this Colledge was built in Q. *Maries* time, but not fully finished. Queene *Mary* enlarged the Colledge, and gaue Landes to the yeerely value of 338 pound, to maintaine — 20 Schollers, A Master of Choriste. 10 Choristers. 4 Chaplaines. 13 Poore Schollers. 2 Subsizers. Q. M. *Tho. Alein*, Rect. of the Church of *Steuenach*, gaue lands to the yeerly value of 75 poū l, for — 2 Schollers. 4 Poore Schollers. 3 Grāmer Schollers. *Ioh. Whitgift*, A.B. *Cant.* - Doctor *Cosins*. —— Doct. *Bil* & Doct. *Beaumont*, late Masters. — S^r *Edw. Stanhop* Knight, Doctor of Law. —— *Isaac Barrow*, D. of Phis. - *Francis Iermin* gaue Landes to the yeerely value of 7 l. 10 s. for — One Scholler. *William Sidley* Knight, and Baronet. —— S^r *Tho. Lakes*, Knight. - The Lady *Anne Bromley* widow. —— This Coll. is lately for the most part all new built. Chiefly at the charges of M^r *Tho. Neuil*, Doct. of Diuin. late Mast. Deane of *Canter.* who expended aboue the sum of 3000 l. in building the backe Court, which is now called, Neuils Court. Q. E Queene *Elizabeth*. — Q. E. King *Iames*. —— K. I. So that for beauty and magnificence, it may compare with any Colledge in Christendome.		One Master. 60 Fellowes. 67 Schollers. 4 Conducts. 3 Publique Professors. 27 poor Sch. A Master of the Choriste. 6 Clerkes. 10 Choriste. 20 Almesmē. with Officers Seruants of the foundation, and other Students. 468

Colledges	Founders.	Students	An. Dō.	Benefactors.	Guiftes.	Kings Raignes	Residents
Emanuel Colledge.	Sir *Walter Mildmay* Knight, Chancellor and Treasurer of the Exchequer, Priuie Counsellor to our late Soueraigne Ladie, Queene *Elizabeth*, in testimony of her loue to learning, obtained licence of the saide Queene, to erect this Colledge, for the maintenance of one Master, 30 Fellowes, and Schollers (*nomme plurium*) as the reuenues should euer bee able to maintaine, in the place, where in times past, inhabited the blacke Fryers, otherwise called, Fryers Predicants, in the street (of them) called Preachers streete, and therein established—	A Master, 3 Fellowes. 4 Schollers.	1584	Queen *Elizabeth* gaue out of the Exchequer. *Henry Hastings*, Earle of *Huntington*, &c.— Sir *Francis Hastings* his brother.— Doct. *Robert Iermine*.— Mr *Robert Taylor*.— Master *Skinner*, gaue— Mr *Fuller*, gaue— Other Benefactors.— The Schoolery, and Towne of *Bungy* in *Suffolke*, gaue— Sr *Francis Walsingham* Knight.— Sr *Henry Killegrew*.— Sr *Wolstan Dixie*.— Sir *Iohn Hart*.— Sir *Samuel Leonard*.— Sr *Thomas Skinner*.— Doctor *Noel*.— Doctor *Leeds*.— Doctor *Harney*.— Doctor *Branthwait*.— Customer *Smith*.— Alderman *Radcliffe*.— The La. *Mary Dixy*.— with diuers other benefactors.—	16 l. 13 s. 4 d. *per annū*. - - - - - Q. E. 1 Fellowship. Q. E. 1 Fellowship. Q. E. 1 Fellowship. Q. E. 1 Fellowship. Q. E. 1 Fellowship. Q. E. 30 Schollerships. Q. E. Places for 10. poore Schollers. Q. E. - - - - -	A Master. 12 Fellowes. 50 Schollers. 10 poore Sch. besides Officers and Seruants of the foundation, with many other Studēts.	320.
Sidney Sussex Colledge.	*Francis* daughter of Sir *William Sidney* Knight, widdow of *Thomas Radcliff*, third Earle of *Sussex*, &c. foūded this Colledge by the name of the Colledge of the Lady *Francis Sidney Sussex*, in a place called the *Grey Fryers*, built by King *Edward* 1. For the building and perfecting whereof, shee gaue by her last VVill and Testament 5000 pound, ouer and aboue all her goods vnbequeathed, which her Executors *Henry Grey*, fift Earle of *Kent*, &c. and *Iohn* Lord *Harington* of *Exon.* perfected, endowing the same with Lands and reuenues, for the maintenance of ——	A Master. 10 Fellowes. 20 Schollers	1598	*Henry Grey* 5. Earle of *Kent*, &c Executor. *Iohn*, Lord *Harington* of *Exon.* Execut.— Sr *Iohn Hart* Knight. *Peter Blundell*.— *Iohn Freeston*.— *Leonard Smith*.— *Iames Mountague* Doctor of Diuinity, late Master.— Bishop of *Winc.* &c.— *Iohn Harington* Esq.— The Lady *Lucy* Cōtesse of *Bedford*.— The Lady *Anne Harington*.— *Edw.* Lord *Mountague de Boughton*.— Sir *William Wilmore*, and Sr *George Goring*, Knights.— Doctor *Aldrich*, late Master.— Doctor *Fludd*.— *Robert Rhoades*.— VVith other Benefactors.—	- -	One Master. 12 Fellowes 28 Schollers, with officers and seruants of the foundation, and other Studēts	136.

The Philosophy Schoole, founded at the charges of the Vniuersity, and other good Benefactors, since 1136.
The Diuinity Schoole, begun by the Vniuersity, finished by the Executors of Sir *William Thorpe*, Lord Chiefe Iustice of *England*, 1400.
The Schoole of Arts, made by the Vniuersity of the ruines of the old Schoole.
The new Library, with the Gate-House, and Walkes on both sides, were built by *Thomas Rotheram*, Archbishop of *Yorke*, 1470. 11. *E.* 4. finished 1476.

The totall number of Students of all degrees in this Vniuersity, are 3050. besides diuers young Schollers that are relieued therein, which haue no names in any Colledge.

CAMBRIDGE-SHIRE.

Places.	Dedications,	Founders, Benefactors, and Tyme.	Order.	Value.	
Cambridge —	Saint *Mary* —F	{K. *Edward* 1. and Sir *Guy de Mortimer*, *Thomas de Hertford* a great benefact.}	Carmelite Friers —		
Cambridge —	Saint *Francis* –F	King *Edward* the first ——	{Friers minors *alias* Grey Friers}		
Cambridge —	Saint *Augustine* F	—— ——	Augustine Friers —		
Cambridge —	Saint *Dominic*–F	—— ——	Dominican Friers –		
Cambridge —	St. *Radegund*–N	—— ——	Blacke Nunnes –		
Cambridge —	— —P	—— ——	Canons —		
Ely Cath. Church	{Saint *Peter* S. *Etheldred*} M	*Ethelbert* K. of *Kent*, first founder 607. by the aduice of Saint *Augustine*. *Ethelred* daughter of *Anneas* K. of the *East-Angels*, widow of *Tambert* K. of *Sussex*, after maried to *Egfrid* K. of *Northumb.* being diuorced from hir husband came to *Ely*, & by the motion of *Wilfrid* A.B.Y. & the help of *Alnulfe* her brother K. of *East-Angels*. an. 677. repaired the Monast. & brought in Nuns, which was after destroyed by *Ingar* and *Hubba* pagans 890. *Etheluald* B. *Winchester* purchased all the Isle of *Ely* of K. *Edgar*, repaired the Monastery, & appointed an Abbot and Monkes, 970. After, when as the yeerly reuenue of the house came to 1400 pounds, K. *H.* 1. at the earnest suite of *Richard* last Abbot, conuerted the Abbey into an Episcopall Sea, taking *Cambridgeshire* from the iurisdiction of *Lme*. and allotting it to this Sea, appointing *Hervey* B. *Bangor* first B. 1109. 10. *H.* 1. *Geffrey Ridall* B. *Ely*, bestowed great cost in the building of the new work of his Cath. Church toward the west, and vpon the steeple, which he built almost to the Battlements, *temp. H.* 2. *Hugh Norwald* B. *Ely* built the Presbytery & a steeple of wood towards the Galery at the west end of the Church, which worke he finished *temp. Hen.* 3. in 17. yeeres, with the charge of 1350 l. 18. s. 8. d. *Iohn Hotham* B. *Ely* 2. *E.* 2. reedified the steeple called the Lantern, a peece of worke both for cost and workemanship singular, at the charges of 2406 l. 16. s. 11. d. he finished the Presbytery, at the charges of 2034. l. 12. s. 8. d. ob. q. so that he spent vpon the Church 4441. l. 9. s. 7. d. ob. q. *Simon Mountacute* B. *Ely temp. Ed.* 3. built the Chappell of our Lady on the North side of the Church. *Iohn Wimbish* a Monk of *Ely* finished it. *William Grey* B. *Ely*, *tem. H.* 6. repaired the west steeple. *Nicholas West* B. *Ely*, *tem. H.* 8. built an elegant Chappell at the Southeast end of the Presbytery. K. *H.* 8. in stead of the monks, placed	Blacke Monkes —	l. 1301	s. 8	d. 2	ob. 0	q 0	Godwin.
			A Deane ---Prebends a Grammer Schoole for the maintenance of 24. Schollers						
	Saint *Iohn* S. *Mary Mag* H	*Thomas* Bishop of *Ely* ——	— —	25	5	3	ob	q	
Anglesey —	— —P	*Richard de Clare* ——	{Canons Regular Augustines}	149	18	6	ob	0	
Barnewell —	{St. *Andrew* Saint *Giles*} P	Sir *Paine Peuerell* Knight, Standard-bearer to *Robert* Duke of *Normandy* in the holy Land, *temp. H.* 1. *Thomas Peche* *Thomas Picot* {Benefactors ——	Blacke Canons —	351	15	4	0	0	Leland.
Chotteris —	{St. *Mary* annexed to *Ely* by K. *Hen.* 1.}	*Alfwena* wife to *Alwin* Alderman of *England*, & founder of *Ramsey* Abbey, and *Ednothus* her brother Abbot of *Ramsey*, 971.	Blacke Nunnes —	112	3	6	0	q	Leland.
Denuy —	Saint *Clare* —N	*Mary* daughter of *Guy de Chastillon*, Earle of Saint *Paul*, widow of *Aimer de valence*, Earle of *Pembroke* 1341. Sir *Ph. Tilney* Knight Sir *Io. Inglethorpe* Kt. *Iohn Browne* *Walter Godard* {benef. *tẽp. R.* 2. ——	Nunnes —	218	0	1	ob	0	Leland.
Saint *Edmund* —	Saint *Edmund*–P	King *Canutus*, *circa* 1026. ——	White Canons —	16	16	0	0	0	Leland.
Elleſly —	— —N	—— ——	Nunnes —	-	-	-	-	-	Fordham

	Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Tyme.	Order.	Value. l.	s.	d.	ob.	q.
Leland.	Fordham —	— —P	*Robert de Fordham*, and - - - - *Camesik* Knight (Leland,) *alijs Henry Deu* or *Dewe*	Gilbertines —	46	3	0	o	o
Leland.	Ikelington —	— —N	*Ambery de Vere* Earle of *Oxford* —	Nuns Benedictines	80	1	10	ob	o
	Marmound —	— —P	— —	Canone —					
Leland.	Mullicourt —	— —P	Appropriated to *Ely* by King *Hen.* 1. —	- - - - - - -	-	-	-	-	-
Leland.	Swaffham Bolebec	— —N	-,- - - *de Bolebec* —	Blacke Nunnes —	46	10	8	o	o
	Shengay —	*Preceptoria* —	*Sybill*, daughter of *Roger de Mountgomery* Earle of *Salop.* widdow of *Robert Fitzhamon*, *temp. Hen.* 1.	Knights Templers after Hoſpitaliers of S^t *Iohn* of *Ieruſ.*	175	4	6	o	o
	Spinney —	S^t *Mary* S^t *Croſſe* -P	Appropriated to *Ely* by King *Hen.* 1. —	— —					
	Swaneſay —	— —P	*Alane de la Zouch*, brother to the Vicount of *Roham* in little *Britaine*, in the tyme of King *Iohn* —	Blacke Canons —					
	Thorney —	S^t *Mary* S^t *Butolph* M	*Sexwolf* a deuout man for Heremites, King *Edgar* founded it a new for Monkes, at the inſtance of *Ethelwald* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, 969.	Monkes Benedict.	500	2	5	o	o
Leland.	Water-beche —	Saint *Clare* —N	*Dioniſia de Monchenſay*, Lady of *Auſty*, in the time of *Ed.* the firſt. *Mary de S^t Paul* Counteſſe of *Pembr.* tranſlated it to *Denny* 1341. the 16. *Edward* the third.	Nunnes Minorites of the order of Saint *Clare* —	-	-	-	-	-

	l.	d.	s.	ob.	q.
The ſum totall of the valuations of this County beſides many others vnualued at the ſuppreſſion amounteth to	3032	10	1	b	o

CARLIOL.

Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Tyme.	Order.	Value. l.	s.	d.	ob.	q.
Apelby in Weſtmorland	— —F	Lord *Veſey*, Lord *Percy*, and Lord *Clifford*, A.D. 1281.	White Friers —					
Armethwait in Cumberland —	— —N	King *William the Conqueror*, an. regni 21.	Nunnes —	0018	18	08	00	o
Carliol in Cumberland	Saint *Mary* —P	Domini Regis Progenitor —	— —	0482	08	01	00	o
Holme Coltreyn in Cumberland —	Saint *Mary* —M	*Dauid* King of *Scots*, and *Henry* Earle of *Huntington* his ſonne —	— —	0535	03	07	ob	q.
Lauercoſt in Cumberland	Saint *Mary Magdalene* P	*Robert de Vaulx* Lord of *Gilleſland* —	— —	0079	19	00	00	o
Sharpe in Weſtmorland	— —M	*Thomas* the ſonne of *Goſpatrick*, ſonne of *Orms* —	— —	0166	10	06	ob	o

	l.	d.	s.	ob.	q.
The ſum totall of the valuations of this County beſides many others vnualued at the ſuppreſſion amounteth to	1282	19	11	o	b.

CHES-SHIRE.

Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Tyme.	Order.	Value. l.	s.	d.	ob.	q
Cheſter Biſhop-	S^t *Iohn Eccl.* Cath. Church	King *Henry* the eight. —	Secular Canons —					
Cheſter — —	Saint *Mary* —F	*Tho. Stadham* Gent. A.D. 1279. 8 *E.* 1.	Carmelite Fryers —					
Cheſter —	Saint *Francis* — F	King *Iohn* —	Franciſcan Fryers —					
Cheſter —	— —F	— —	Dominican Fryers-					
Cheſter —	S^t *Mary* —M	The Kings Anceſtors —	Blacke Canons —	0099	16	02	00	o
Cheſter —	*Beata Maria* -N	— —	Nunnes —					
Cheſter —	Saint *Iohn*—C *Baptiſt*, alij H	The Kings Anceſtors —	— —	0013	07	10	00	o

Cheſter

Places.	Dedications,	Founders, Benefactors, and Tyme.	Order.	Value.	
Chester	S. Wereburg — M	Leofricus, E. of Mercia and Leicester, for Nunnes, circa 1047. Hugh Lupus, the first of the Norman bloud that was Earle of Chester, and Ermentrande his wife, brought in Monkes, A.D. 1094. 8 W.R.	Blacke Monkes	0173 17 07 ob 0	
Brickehead	Saint Iames — M	Fundator Comitis Derbiæ Anteceſſor	Blacke Canons	0102 16 12 00 0	
Bunbury, alias Boniface Bury	— — C	Sir Hugh Calueley Knight, and the Egertons, A.D. 1388. 12 R. 2.	Prieſts	- - - - -	
Combermere	— — M	Will. de Malbedeng. 1134. 35 H. 1.	White Monkes	0258 06 06 00 0	Leland.
Macleſfield	— — C	Thomas Sauage first Biſhop of Lond. afterward Archbiſhop of Yorke, 1508 24 H. 7.	— —		
Norton	Saint Mary — N	Will. Fitz-Nigell a Norman, temp. W.R.	Nunnes	0258 11 08 00 0	
Stanlaw	— —	Iohn (alijs) Roger Lacy, Conſtable of Cheſter, but after, by reaſon of the inundation of waters, tranſlated to Whalley, A.D. 1173. 20 H. 2.	Monkes		
Valle Regalis	— — M	King Edward the first	— —	0540 06 02 0 00	
Ilbre	— — P	—	Monkes	- - - - -	Leland.

The ſum totall, &c. 1447 2 9 b 0

CORNWALL.

Places.	Dedications.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. l.	s.	d.	ob.	q.	
Saint Anthony	Saint Anthony M	—	Blacke Monkes of the Angels.	-	-	-	-	-	
Bodmin	Saint Petrok — M	King Adelſtan, 936. after a nobleman called Algarus, with helpe of Williams Warewelte Biſhop of Exceſter, 25 H. 1. King Iohn a great Benefactor	Blacke Canons, after Grey Friers	0289	11	11	00	0	Leland.
Bonury	Saint Petrorſi — M	King Athelſtan	Blacke Canons						
Stante Cruci	— — P	—	Blacke Monkes						
Crantocke	— — C	—	— —	0089	15	08	00	0	
Glaſſoney	Saint Thomas — C	Walter Broneſcome, Biſhop of Exceſter, A.D. 1288. 7 E. 1.	— —	0205	10	06	00	0	
Saint Germane	St Germane — M	King Ethelſtan founded it for an Epiſcopall Sea. King Edward the Confeſſor tranſlated the Sea to Exceſter — Bartholmew of Exceſter, Biſhop of Exceſter, inſtituted Canons, tem. H. 2	Canons regular Auguſtines	0243	08	00	00	0	Leland.
Helſton	S. Iohn Baptiſt — P	—	— —	0014	07	02	ob	0	
Launceſton	Saint Stephen — M	One of the Weſt Saxon Kings — William Wareneſt, Biſhop of Exceſter, inſtituted Canons, tem. William Cõq. Reynold Earle of Cornwall, a Benefactor, A.D. 1150. 16 Stephen	Blacke Canons Auguſtines	0392	11	02	00	q.	Leland.
St Mary de val.	Saint Mary — M	—	Blacke Monkes of the Angels						
St Michael of the Mount	Saint Michael — M	William, Earle of Moriton and Cornwall, temp. William Rufus.	Blacke Monkes of the Angels						
St Michael de magno monte	— — M	—	Black Monkes						
Sully Iland	S. Nicholas — M	—	Black Monkes						
Saint Siriace	S. Syriac — M	—	Black Monkes						
Talearne	S. Andrew — M	—	Blacke Monkes of the Angels.						
Trury	S. Dominic — F	—	Dominican Fryers						
Tiwardreth	Saint Andrew — P	Sir Robert Fitzwilliams, Knight — Iohn Dynant, who married a coheire of Fitzwilliams, a Benefactor, and after ſolde the right of the patronage to King Richard the first.	Monkes Chinnos.	0151	16	01	00	0	Leland.

l. s. d. ob. q.

The ſumme totall of the valuations of this County, beſides many others vnualued at the ſuppreſſion, amounteth to 1387 0 6 b q.

CVMBERLAND.

Places.	Dedications.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. l.	s.	d.	ob.	q.
Dacre	— — M	—	— —					
Armethwait	— — N	King William, Conqueror, 1067. 2 Regni.	Nunnes	18	18	8	0	0
Carlile	Saint Mary — P	Walter, a Normã Prieſt, tem. Will. Ruf. King Henry 1. a great Benefactor	Canons	482	8	1	0	0

Carlile

	Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. l.	s.	d.	ob.	q.
Godwin.	Carlile —	Biſhopricke –	K. *Henry* 1. 1133. 34. *H.* 1. conuerted the ſaid Priory into a Biſhoprick, and made *Adelwald* his Confeſ. the firſt B.	- - - -	.	.	.	.	
Leland.	Holme Cuttreui	Saint *Mary* –M	*Dauid* King of *Scots* circa 1135. *Hen.* E. *Nottingha* his ſon *Alane* ſonne of *Waltheof* benefact.	Monkes —	535	3	7	0	0
Leland.	Grayſtoke —	— —C	*Rafe* Baron of *Grayſtocke* 1382. 6. *Rich.* 2.	— —	.	.	.	.	
	Lauercroft —	S. *Mary Magd.* —	*Robt de Vaulx* Baron of *Gilleſland*, tẽp. *R.* 1.	— —	19	79	0	0	0
	Saint Bees –	— —Cell	*Bega* a Noblewoman of *Ireland*	— —	149	19	6	0	0
	Streneſhall –	— —P	*Bega* a Noblewoman of *Ireland*	— —					
	Wetherall a cel to S^t. *Maryes* Monaſtery in Yorke	— —Cel	—	— —					
				The ſum totall, &c.	1166	8	10	0	0

DARBY-SHIRE.

	Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Tyme.	Order.	Value. l.	s.	d.	ob.	q.
	Derby —	*Omniũ Sanctorum Eccl. Collegiat.* C	— —	— —	0038	14	00	00	0
	Iuxta Derby —	S. *Mary* in the medows M	— —	— —	0018	06	02	00	0
	Derby —	Saint *Mary* –P	— —	Blacke Monks —					
	Derby —	Saint *Iames* Cell	The Kings Anceſtors —	Blacke Canons —					
	Derby —	Saint *Mary* –N	The Kings Anceſtors —	Nunnes —					
	Derby —	— —H	*Elizabeth* Counteſſe of *Shrewsbury* tẽ. Reg. *Eliz.*	8. poore men 4. poore women					
Leland.	Bello-Capite –	Saint *Thomas*-M	*Robert* ſon of *Ranulph* Baron of *Alfreton*, *temp. H.* 2. a Canon there	— —	157	10	2(Lel.)	134	
	Bredſhall or Briſſoll Park	— M	Foundator Anceſtors *Ioannis Diricke*, *alias Dutbik* Armigeri	— —	0010	17	09	00	0
	Bred in the Peak	— M	Sir *Robert Duin* Knight —	— —					
	Cheſterfield –	S^t. *Mary* S^t. *Croſſe* –C	— —	— —	0019	00	00	00	0
	Dela —	Saint *Mary* –M	*William Fitz Ralfe* Anceſtor to S^r. *Gernaſe Kingſton*	— —	0144	12	00	00	0
	Darley —	Saint *Mary* –M	*Hugh Dimm* a Blackſmith of *Derby* —	Blacke Canons Aug.	0258	14	00	00	0
	Fauerwell —	Saint *Mary* –N	— —	Blacke Nunnes —					
	Greiſley —	Saint *George* –M	*William de Greiſley* ſonne of *Negall de Greiſley temp. H.* 1.	Blacke Canons Auguſtines	0039	13	08	00	0
	Pollewerke –	Saint *Edith* –N	— —	Blacke Nunnes —					
	Rapingdon *alias* Repton	Saint *Mary* M	*Ranulphe* Earle of *Cheſter*, and *Andrew de Valence*, Earle of *Pembroke*. ounded firſt by one of the Kings of *Mercia*.	Blacke Canons Auguſtines	0167	18	02	00	0
	Yeuelay or Iuelay & Barrow	— —P	— —	— —	0107	03	08	00	0
	Yeueley or Iueley & Barrow	Preceptoria –	— —	Knights Tẽplers of Hoſpitaliers of S. *Iohn* of *Ieruſalẽ*.	0093	03	04	ob	0
				ſum totall, &c.	1055.	12.	11.	ob.	0

DEVON-SHIRE.

	Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Tyme.	Order.	Value. l.	s.	d.	ob.	q.
Leland.	Exceſter —	Saint *Iames* —M	— —	Blacke Monks —					
Leland	Exceſter —	S^t. *Nicholas* P a Cel to Battle Abbey	King *William* the Conquerour —	Blacke Monkes *Benedictines*	1054	12	00	00	0
	Exceſter —	S^t. *Iohn Baptiſt* P	*Gilbert* & *Iohn Long* brothers, ſons of *Iohn Long*, Merchants of *Exceſter*	Franciſcan Friers —	0102	12	09	00	0
	Exceſter —	Saint *Nicholas* H	— —	— —	0147	12	00	00	0
	Barnſtable —	S^t *Mary Magd.* P	*Iabel de Tornes* ſon of *Aibred. temp. H.* 1. —	Monkes Chuniacs —	0129	15	03	00	2/3
	Berdleſten —	— —P	— —	Blacke Canons —					
	Buckland —	Saint *Mary* S^t. *Benedict* M	*Amice*, wife of *Baldwin* Earle of *Deuonſhire*, An. Do. 1275. 4. King *Ed.* 1. *Iſabell* daughter & coheire of *Amice*, wife of *William de Fortibus* Earle of *Albemerd*, a benefactor	Ciſtertians —	0241	16	09	ob	1/2
	Buckfaſt —	Saint *Mary* —P	*Ethelward*, ſonne of *William Pomeroy* —	Monkes Ciſtertians					
Leland	Canonleigh —	Saint *Mary* M	*Walter Clavell* firſt inſtituted Canons Regular *Maude*, wife of *Richard de Clare* Earle of *Glouceſter*, inſtituted Nunnes, *temp. Hen.* 1.	Nunnes Auguſtine –	0102	15	03	00	0
	Cline —	S^t *Mary Mag.* M	*Almar* Earle of *Cornwall* —	Blacke Canons —					
	Cornworthy —	— —N	— —	Nunnes —	0063	03	10	00	0
	Cowike —	Saint *Andrew* P	*Thomas* Earle of *Deuonſhire* —	— —					
	Crediton —	Saint *Croſſe* —C	— —	— —	0140	14	05	00	0
	Cuich —	Saint *Andrew* –M	— —	Blacke Monkes —					
	Dunkiſwell —	— —M	*William* Lord *Bruer* the yonger —	White Monkes Ciſtertians	0298	11	10	00	0

Ford

Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. l. s. d. ob. q.	
Exceſter —	Saint *Peter* Episcopall Sea. —	King *Etheldred*, ſon of King *Ethelwolfe*, firſt founder of the Monaſtery, an. 868. King *Athelſtan* enlarged it, an. 932. and brought in Benedictine Monks. King *Edward* the *Confeſſor* tranſlated the Monkes to *Weſtminſter*, and remoued the Epiſcopall Sea from Crediton to *Exceſter*. *Leofricus* the firſt Biſhop began the firſt foundation of the Cathedrall Church, *temp. Ed. Confeſ.* *William Warewelt* the third Biſhop of *Exon.* began the foundation of the Quier, 1112. 13. *H.* 1. *William Bruer*, B. of *Exon.* of the priuy Counſell to K. *H.* 3. created a Deane 24. Prebends, *temp.* K. *H.* 3. *Peter Quuill* built the body of the Church to the weſt end, 1284. 13. *E.* the firſt, and inſtituted a Sub-deane, and ſinging men, and gaue land and liuings to the Church. *Iohn Grandſon* B. of *Exon.* enlarged the length of the Church by two arches, and vaulted ouer all the roofe of the Church, anno 1340. 15. *Ed.* 3. *Edmund Lacy*, beganne to build the Chapterhouſe. A.D. 1450. 29. *H.* 6. *George Neuill*, B. *Exon.* finiſhed the Chapterhouſe, *temp.* K. *H.* 6. *Peter Courtney*, B. *Exon.* built the North Tower, and gaue a goodly Bell, called *Peters* Bell. The Deane and Chapter built the Cloiſters.			
Ford —	Saint *Mary* —M	*Richard de Albert*, or *de Briomo*, Baron of *Okehampton*, (Leland) *alias Adeliza*, daughter of *Baldwin* of *Okehampton*, An. D. 1140. 6. King *Stephen*	Monkes Ciſtertians	0381 10 06 ob 0	Leland.
Frethelſtoke —	Saint *Gregory* –P	Sir *Robert Beauchamp* Knight —	Canons —	0127 03 04 0 ½	Leland.
Hartland —	S. *Nectan* the Martyr —M	*William Bruer* firſt founder, *temp. H.* 3. *Githa* Earle *Goodwins* wife. *Richardus Pictauienſis*, Archideac. *Galfredus de Dinan*, and *Oliuer* his brother, benefactors.	Blacke Canons Auguſtines	0306 13 02 00 ½	Godwin.
Saint *Michael* de Mounte	— —P	— —	Blacke Monks Malmſ. —		
Molery —	Saint *Gregory* M	— —	Blacke Monkes —		
Newenham —	— —M	*Regnald Mohun*, Earle of *Dunſter*, 1246. 31. *Hen.* 3.	Monkes Bernardines	0231 14 04 00 0	
Othery —	Saint *Mary*—C	*Iohn Grandiſon* Biſhop of *Exceſter*, *temp. Ed.* 3.	A Warden, 8 Prebends, 10 Vicars, A Mr of Muſicke, A Mr of Grãmer, 2 Prieſts, 8 Secundares, 8 Choriſters, 2 Clarkes to cary Holy-water.	0303 02 00 00 00	Leland.
Pilton a Cell to Malmesb.	S. *Mary* the Virgin P	King *Athelſtan* —	Blacke Monkes Benedictines	0056 12 08 00 0	
Plimouth —	Saint *Francis* –F	— —	Franciſcan Friers —		
Pliupton —	Saint *Peter* Saint *Paul*	One of the *Weſt-Saxon* Kings, — *William Wareweſt*, Biſhop of *Exceſt.* brought in Canons, *temp. Hen.* 1. *Baldwin de Redners* E. of *Deuon. temp. Hen.* 3. a ſpeciall benefactor.	Blacke Canons Auguſtines	0912 12 08 ob ½	Leland.
Polleſtoo —	S[t] *Katherine* –N	*William Bruer* B. *Exceſter*, *temp. H.* 3. —	Blacke Nunnes Benedictines —	0170 02 03 00 ½	
Sion —	— —M	— —	— —		
Sorre —	— —M	*William Bruer*, 1214. 16. *Iohn* —	— —		
Tauyſtocke —	S[t] *Mary* S[t] *Burion* M	*Ordolph*, ſonne of *Ordgare* Earle of *Deuonſhire*, A.D. 961. *Leuing* Biſhop of *Worceſter* a ſpeciall benefactor, *temp. Ed. Confeſ.* —	Blacke Monkes Benedictines	0902 05 07 ob ½	Leland.
Torre —	Saint *Sauiour*–M	*William de Bruer*, *temp.* K. *Hen.* 3. —	White Canons Premonſtratenſes	0396 00 11 00 0	
Tottenes —	S. *Mari Aliens* P	*Roger Newatte* (Leland) *alias Neweman* –	Blacke Monkes Benedictines —	0124 10 02 ob 0	
		The ſumme totall of the valuations of this County, beſides many others vnualued at the ſuppreſſion, amounteth to		5394 2 6 0 ½	

DORSET-SHIRE.

	Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Tyme.	Order.	Value. l. s. d. ob. q
	Dorſet —	Saint *Francis* —F	The Anceſtors of Sir *John Chidiok* Knight	Franciſcan Friers —	
Leland	Sherburne —	Saint *Mary*—M	*Inos* King of the *Weſt-Saxons*, diuided the Biſhopricke of *Wincheſter*, and gaue the moity thereof to *Adelmus*, and appointed the Sea to be at *Sherburne* An. Do. 704. *Suning*, another Sea tranſlated to it by *Hermannus* B. *Ethelredi Regis*, after that by the ſaid *Hermannus* tranſlated to *Salisbury*, left for a retiring place to them, *temp. Gulielmi Conqueſtoris*, the Church where the Biſhops Seat was, became a Monaſtery founded by King *Ethelred*, *circa* 370. *Robert Neuill* B. of *Salisbury* a great benefactor, *temp H.6.*	Blacke Monkes / Benedictines —	0682 14 07 ob q
Leland.	Abbottesbury —	Saint *Peter*—M	*Orking* Steward of the houſehold to *Canutus* King of *Denmarke* and *England*, & *Tola* his wife, *circa* 1026. Benefactors. *Thomas de Leude*, *Eleonor* his wife, *Humfrey Stafford* Knight, called with the ſiluer hand, *Iohn Matreners* Knight, *John Cary* Knight, *Walter Clopton* Knight, *Tho. Straungewaies* Knight.	Monkes Benedict.	0485 03 05 ob q
Leland.	Bindon —	Saint *Mary*—M	*Maude de Arundell* Counteſſe of *Salisbury*, after married to S. *William de Newburrowe* ——	White Monkes / Ciſtertians	0229 02 01 ob 0
	Bridport —	—— —P	—— ——	— —	0006 00 00 00 0
	Bridport —	S. *Iohn Baptiſt*-H	—— ——	— —	0008 06 01 00 0
	Cameſtrum —	S. *Mary Mag.* N	—— ——	White Nunnes —	- - - - - -
Leland	Cerne —	Saint *Peter* / St. *Adelwold* M	*Ailmer* Earle of *Cornwall*, *circa* 970. (Leland) *Auguſtine the* Engliſh Apoſtle (Cambd.) *Agelwaldus* a rich man, *alias* King *Canutus* a great benefactor	Blacke Monkes —	0623 13 02 ob q
Leland	Cranborne a Cel to Teukeſbury	—— —M	*Aelward* Earle of *Glouceſter*, A.D. 930. *Robert Fitzhamimon* E. of *Glouceſter*, appropriated it to *Teukesbury* —	— —	— — —
	Saint *Iohn Baptiſt*	— —M	—— ——	— —	0051 10 04 00 q
	Kalendarum —	— —D	—— ——	— —	0010 18 08 00 0
	St. *Mary Magd*	— —D	—— ——	— —	0021 11 03 00 0
	St *Mary alias le Gaunts*	— —H	—— ——	— —	0112 09 09 00 0
	Melcombe —	Saint *Domenick* F	—— ——	Dominican Friers —	- - - - - -
	Midleton, *alias* Milton —	Saint *Mary* / St *Saniour* M	King *Athelſton*, 896. / *Ethelward* Duke, a ſpeciall Benefact.	Blacke Monkes —	0720 04 01 00 9
	Shafton —	— —	—— ——	— —	1329 01 03 00 0
Leland	Shaftesbury —	S. *Edward* the Martyr N	*Ethelbald* / *Albrithe* / *Ethelrede* all ſucceſſiuely Kings of England, and ſonnes of *Ethelwolfe* K. of England, *Alfride* (Leland) —— *Elfgiua* wife to *Edmund* King *Aelfrids* nephewes ſonne. ——	Blacke Monkes / Benedictines	- - - - - -
Leland	Tarent —	— —Cell	*Richard Poer*, B. of *Salisbury H.*?. / Sir *Robert Roos* Kt a ſpeciall benefact.	Virgins Votaries —	0239 11 10 00 0
	Warham —	Saint *Peter* / S. *Adelwold*	—— ——	— —	- - - - - -
Leland.	Winburn Minſt. —	—N	*Cuthburga* ſiſter to *Inas* King of the *Weſt-Saxons*, and wife to the King of *Northumberland*, after her deuorce from her husband, founded it for Nunnes A.D. 720. —— *Edward* King of England brought in ſecular Canons, *Thomas Brembre* firſt Deane made it a Colledge for a - - - *Margaret* Counteſſe of *Richmond*, mother to King *Henry* the 7. founded a Grammer Schoole. —— Deane *Hornby* a great benefactor.	Deane / 4 Prebendes / 3 Vicars / 4 Secundares / 5 Choriſters	- - - - - -
	Horton a Cell to Sherburne	— —P	*Orgar* Earle of *Deuonſhire*, tranſlated after to *Sherburne*, by *Roger*, Biſhoppe there, *temp. H.* 1. ——	— —	

The ſum totall of the valuations of this County, beſides many others vnualued at the ſuppreſſion, amounteth to 4520. 6. 9. 0 0

DVRHAM

DVRHAM DIOCES.

Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Tyme.	Order.	Value. l.	s.	d.	ob.	q.	
		Oswald K. of *Northumberland* instituted a Bishops Sea at *Lindisfanne*, 634. Bishop *Aldwin* translated the Sea to *Durham*, began the foundation of the Cathedrall Church, and died. 1017. *Walter* Bishop of *Durham*, thrusting forth secular Clarkes, brought in Monkes, *temp. William Conq.*							
Durham —	S. *Cuthbert* Cath. church M	*William de Kairlip*, B. began a new the foundation of the Cath. Church, *temp. William Conq.* Bishop *Flambard*, for the most part finished it *temp VV. Rufus.* Bishop *Pudsey* built the Galilee at the west end of the Church. Bishop *Fernham*, 1142. *temp. Hen.* 3. vaulted ouer the roofe of the Church B. *Skirlaw*, founded the Cloister *tē. R.* 2. B. *Langlye*, *temp. Hen.* 6. finished the Galilee begun by B. *Pudsey.*	Blacke Monkes —	1615	14	10	ob	0	Godwin
Durhā in Oxonia	— C	*Fundator Domini Regis Progeniter* —	— —	0115	04	04	0	0	
Chester in the street	— C	*Anthony Beke* B. *Durham*, and Patriarke of *Ierusalem*, *temp. E.* 1. —	A Deane 7 Prebendes	-	-	-	-		Godwin.
Egleston —	— M	*Canon* Earle of *Britaine* and *Richmund* *Ralph de Molton* a benefactor —	— —	-	-	-	-	-	
Finchcale —	— Cella	*Hugh Pudsey*, B. *Durham*, *alias R.* brother to *Hugh Pudsey* —	— —	0146	19	02	0	0	Godwin
Allerton —	— H	*Hugh Pudsey* B. *Durham*, *temp. R.* 1. —	— —	-	-	-	-	-	Godwin.
Ankeland —	— C	*Anthony Beke* B. *Durham*, *temp. E.* 1. —	— —	-	-	-	-	-	
Gateshead —	S^t *Edmund* —	— —	— —	0109	04	04	0	0	
Gretham —	— H	*Robert Stichell*, B. *Durham*, *temp. H.* 3. —	— —	0097	06	03	b	0	
Hartlepoole —	— M	*Hieu* a religious Woman —	— —						
Iarrow *olim* Girwy	— Cella	Abbot *Ceolfrid*, in the 16. yeere of K. *Ecfride*, Anteceſſor Episcop. *Dunelm.*	— —	0040	07	08	0	0	
Keprey —	Saint *Giles* — H	*Raynulfe Hambard* B. *Durham*, *temp. H.* 1.	— —	0167	02	11	0	0	Godwin.
Lancheſter —	— C	*Anthony Bec.* B. of *Durham*; *temp. E.* 1.	Deanes Prebendes —						
Letham —	— Cella	— —	— —	0053	15	10	0	0	
Monkes Weremouth	S. *Peter* S. *Paul* M	*Benedictus Biscop* —	Monkes —						
Nesham —	— N	*Fundator Domini Dakers Anteceſſor* —	Nunnes Benedictines	0026	09	09	0	0	
Sherborne —	— H	*Hugh Pudsey* B. and E. of *Northumberland*, *temp. H.* 1. —	— —	0135	07	0	0	0	
Stanedrope —	— C	The Ancestors of the L. *Neuill* —	— —	0126	05	10	0	0	
Stamford —	— Cella	— —	— —	0036	17	0	0	0	
VVarmouth —	— Cella	— —	— —	0026	00	00	0	0	
			Sum totall, &c.	2696.	15.	0.	0.	0	

ESSEX.

Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Tyme.	Order.	Value. l.	s.	d.	ob.	q.	
Colcheſter —	S. *John Baptiſt* — M	*Eudo* Sewer to K. *Hen.* 1. 1096. 10. *W. Ruf.*	Benedictine Monkes	0008	01	08	0	0	
Colcheſter —	Saint *Bodulph* — P	*Eynulfus* a religious man —	Canons Auguſtines	0113	12	08	0	0	Leland.
Colcheſter —	Saint *Crosse* — F	— —	Crowched Friers —	0007	07	08	0	0	
Colcheſter —	S. *Mary Mag.* H	*Eudo* Sewer to King *Henry* the first —	Leprous People —						
Barking —	S. *Mary* S. *Eadburg* M	*Erkenwald* Bishop of *London* 680. —	Blacke Nunnes —	1084	06	02	b	q.	Leland.
Barking —	— H	The Ancestors of *Sibel de Felton* Abbesse of *Barking*	— —						
Bierdon —	— P	— —	— —	0031	05	01	b	0	
Bileigh —	S. *Mary* — M	*Robert Mantell* a Norman, *aliis Robert de Moruile*, after by *Harney de Monte*, *Mereneiano*	Premonstr. —	0196	06	05	0	0	
Blackamore —	S. *Laurence* — M	*Iordan de Samford* —	— —	0085	04	07	0	0	
Brendwood —	S. *Tho.* Chapthe Mar. pell	*Isabell* Conntesse of *Bedford* —	— —						
Chelinsford —	Saint *Dominic* F	*Malcolme* King of *Scots* —	Dominican Friers —	0009	06	05	0	0	
Chiche —	Saint *Peter* Saint *Paul* Saint *Osith* M	*Richard Beauers* B. of *Lond.* 1120. 20. *H.* 1	Blacke Canons Aug.	0758	05	08	0	0	
Coggeshall —	Saint *Mary* — M	King *Stephen*, Nephew to *William* the Conqueror, in the 7. of his raign, 1141	Ciſtercian Monks *aliis* Cluniackes —	0298	08	00	0	0	
Dunmowe —	S. *Mary* — N	*Iuga* a Noble Lady, 1111. 12. *H.* 1. L. *Fitzwald* a speciall benefactor	Blacke Nunnes —	0173	02	04	0	0	Leland.
Earles — colne	S. *Mary* — P	*Alberius de Vere* —	Blacke Monks of Abbingdon	0175	14	08	b	q.	
Ginge-atteston	Saint *Margret* P	— —	Blacke Canons —						
Halstide —	— C	*Robert Bourchier* —	— —	0023	16	05	b	0	
Hatfield Peuerell, a cell to Saint Albans	— P	S^r *William Peuerell* K^t *tem. VVillia Conf.* The daughter of *Ingelriais*, wife of Sir *VVilliam Peuerell* —	Blacke Monkes —	0083	19	07	0	0	
Hatfield *Regis* —	— P	*R. Aubery de Vere*, E. of *Oxford*, *temp. H.* 3.	Black Monks Bened.	0157	03	02	b	0	Leland Cambd

Hedeningham

	Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. l. s. d. ob. q.
Leland	Heueningham Caſtle	— —N	*Anbere de Vere* and *Lucy* his wife, *aliis* *Io. Hawkwood* Kt. *Io. Newenton*, and *Iohn Oliuer* Eſquiers.	Nunnes —	0029 12 10 0 0
	Horkiſlegh a Cel to the ford Com. Norff.	— —P	The Anceſtors of Sir *Roger wentworth* —	— —	0027 07 11 0 0
	Ilford —	— —H	— —	— —	0016 13 4 0 0
	Leez —	— —P	Sir *Ralph Gernon* Knight —	Blacke Monkes Aug.	0141 14 8 0 0
Godwin.	Leſtingen —	— —M	*Cedda* B. *Lond.* about 660. —	— —	- - - - -
	Malden —	S. *Mary* —F	*Richard de Grauesend* B. of *Lond.* and. *Rich.* de *Iſalhã* Prieſt, A. 1292. 21. *E.* 1	Carmelites or white Friers	0026 0 8 0 0
	Mercy —	S. *Helen* P *Alien.*	*Roger Fitz-Randulph* —	— —	- - - - -
	Newporte —	— —H	— —	— —	0023 10 8 0 0
	Saint Oſithe —	— —M	*Rich. Beauveis* B. of *Lond.* 1120. 20. *H.* 1.	Canons Regular —	0758 05 8 0 0
Leland	Plecy —	— —C	*Thomas* of *Woodſtocke* Duke of *Gloſter*, *temp. E.* 3. —	— —	0139 3 10 0 0
	Pritwell a cell to Lewis	Saint *Mary* —P	*Robert Swaine de Eſſex* and *Emme* his wife	Blacke Monkes —	0194 14 3 b 0
	Staneſgate —	— —P	The predeceſſors of the Prior of *Lewis* —	Blacke Monkes —	0043 8 6 0 0
	Sopwicke —	Saint *Mary* —P	— —	Blacke Monkes —	- - - - -
	Hatfield —	— —P	— —	Black Monks S. Albã.	- - - - - -
	Stradford Langthorne	Saint *Mary* —M	*William Mountfichet* Knight, After King *Richard* 2. *reg.* 20.	White Monkes —	0573 15 6 b q
	Thoby —	— —P	*Michael de Capra* Kt. the Anceſtors of *Io. Mentony*, *Fitzherbert*, *Iernim.*	— —	0075 06 10 b 0
	Tiptree —	— —M	The Anceſtors of *Anthony Darcy* —		0022 16 4 0 0
	Tiltie —	Saint *Mary* —M	*Maurice Engliſh* ſometimes Earle of *Eſſex*, *aliis Maurice* the ſonne of *Gilbert* —	White Monkes Ciſt.	0177 9 4 0 0
	Tremhale, *aliꝫ* Trenchale	— —P	— —	— —	0070 19 3 b 0
	Walden parua–	Saint *Iames* —M	*Geffrey de Mandeuile*, E. of *Eſſex*, 1136. 2. *Steph.* *Humfredi de Bohũ* Com. *Eſſex* ben.	Blacke Monkes —	0406 15 11 0 0
			King *Harold* the laſt, *circa* 1038. — Benefactors. King *Edward Confeſſor* King *Henry* the ſecond *Simon de brett* *Simon* his ſonne *Robert de Valoins*		
Leland	VValtham —	Saint *Croſſe* —M	*Io.* ſonne to *Alwerd Deleuerton* *Geffrey de Scales* *Iulian* daughter of *Geffrey de Sudecampes* *Sampſon* her ſonne *Iohn* B. *Saliſbury* *Iohn* B. *London.*	Blacke Can. Aug. —	1079 12 1 0 0
				Sum totall, &c.	7013 8. 6. 0. 0.

GLOVCESTER-SHIRE.

	Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Tyme.	Order.	Value l. s. d. ob. q
Godwin	Glouceſter —	Saint *Peter* a Cath. church M	*Oſrick* King of *Northumberland* firſt founded a Numery *cer.* 700. *Aldred* A. Yorke, & B. *Worceſt.* repaired it; 1060. King *Canutus* brought in Secular Canons, King *VVilliam Conq.* brought in Monkes, K. *Henry* the 8. made it an Epiſcopall Sea, inſtituted a Deane and ſix prebends	Blacke Monks Benedictines	1550 04 05 b 0
	Iuxta Glouceſter	S. *Oſwald* —P	*Egelſleda* daughter to King *Elfred* 910. —	Black Canons, *aliꝫ* Friers Preachers	0090 10 2 b 0
	Glouceſter —	S. *Bartholomew* H	— —	— —	0044 07 2 b 0
	Glouceſter —	S. *Bartholomew* H	— —	— —	0025 11 2 ● 0
	Glouceſter —	Saint *Mary* —F	Queene *Ealenor*, wife to K. *Edward* the firſt, Sir *Iohn Giffard*, and Sir *Thomas Berkley* Knights. *E.* 1.	Carmelites or white Friers	
	Glouceſter —	— —P	King *Athelſtan* —	Blacke Canons Aug.	
	Barkley —	— —N	— —	Nunnes —	
	Bromfield —	— —P	— —	Canons —	0078 19 4 0 0
Leland.	Cirenceſter —	Saint *Mary* —M	One of the Saxon Kings — King *Henry* the firſt repaired it *Rumbald* a Prieſt a great benefactor	Blacke Canons —	1051 07 1 b 0
	Cirenceſter —	Saint *Iohn* S. *Laurence* H	An Abbot of Cirenceſter —	— —	
	Direherſt —	— —M	King *Etheldred*, *circa* 870. — King *Edw. Confeſſ.* repaired it after the Daniſh ruines King *Edward* made it a Cell to Saint *Dennys* in *France*	Balcke Monkes —	
	Flaxely in the Forreſt of Deã	— —M	*Roger* Earle of *Hereford*, *H.* 2. —	Ciſtertians —	0112 3 1 0 0
	Hailes —	— —M	*Richard* Earle of *Cornwall*, and King of *Romans*, 1246. 31. *H.* 3. —	Ciſtertians —	0357 7 7 b 0
	Kingeſwood. —	Saint *Mary* —M	*Roger de Barkleis* of *Dureſley* tranſlated the Monaſtery of Tudbury to *Kingeſwood.*	Ciſtertians —	0254 5 10 0 0

Places.	Dedications.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order	Value. l.	s.	d.	ob.	b	
Lanthonie neer Glouceſtr	Saint *Mary* —P	*Miles* Earle of *Hereford, temp.* K. *Stephen*	Blacke Canons Auguſtines	0748	19	11	b	o	
Lanthonie *parua* in the Marches of Wales	—— —P	—— ——	—— ——	0112	o	5	o	o	
Minchinghãpton	—— —N	—— ——	Nunnes ——						
Newetton —	—— —M	—— ——	Blacke Monkes —						
Quinnington —	—— —H	—— ——	—— ——	0137	7	1	b	o	
Stanley —	*Leonard* —M	*Geffrey Mandeuill* Earle of *Eſſex* K. *H.*2 time, a benefactor ——	—— ——	0126	o	8	o	o	
Stow —	— —H	*Almare* Earle of *Corniwall* ——	—— ——	0025	14	8	o	o	
Tedbury —	S. *Mary* —M	*Reginald de Veleric*, tranſlated after to *Kingeſwood* by *Rog. Berkley* ——	Ciſtercians ——	-	-	-	-	-	Leland.
Teuxbury —	S^t *Mary* —M	*Odo* and *Dodo* Earles of *Mercia*, firſt founded it at *Cranburne*, after remoued by *Robert Fitzhamon* to *Teuxbury*, A.D.717. made firſt a Priory, after an Abbey, A.D.1102. King *Hen.*1. and *Robert* Conſull his baſe ſon eſpeciall benefactors	Benedictine Monks	1598	1	3	o	o	Leland.
Weſtbury —	—— —C	For *Richard Drake* of *Yorke*, and *Edmund* Earle of *Rutland*, K. *Ed.* gaue them the Hoſpitall of S. *Laurence* by *Briſtow* *William Canninges* Knight Citizen of *Briſtow*, a great benefactor ——	Deane Canons	0232	14	o	o	o	Godwin.
Winchelcombe	Saint *Mary*—M	*Kenulph* King of *Mercia*, 789. ——	Black Monkes ——	0756	11	9	o	o	
			Sum totall	7302	5	10	b	o	

HAMP-SHIRE.

Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. l.	s.	d.	ob.	b	
Wincheſter Epiſcopall Sea	S. *Peter* S. *Swithin* —M	*Lucius* the firſt Chriſtian King, of *Britaine*, A.D.189. *Kenelwalch* King of the *VVeſt-Saxons*, repaired it. King *Egbert*, King *Alfred*, King *Edgar*, and S. *Edward*, benefactors *VVilliam VVickham* B. *VVinch.* founded halfe the Cathedrall Church from the quier to the weſt end, *temp. R.*2. *Thomas Langton* B. *Winch.* founded the Chappell of our Lady on the ſouth ſide of the Church, *temp. H.*7. Biſhop *Fox* vualted the quier, Church and Presbytery, and glazed all the windowes, *temp. H.*3.	Benedictine Monkes	1507	17	2	o	¾	Godwin
Wincheſter —	S. *Mary* S. *Edburg* —N	*Alſwida*, wife of King *Ailfred* King *Edward* the firſt repaired it	Blacke Nunnes —	0179	7	2	o	o	
Wincheſter —	Saint *Mary* —F	*Peter* of *Wincheſter*, Parſon of Saint *Helens* in *Wincheſter*, A.D.1278. ——	Carmelite Friers —						
Wincheſter —	Saint *Auguſtine* F	—— ——	Auguſtine Friers —						
Wincheſter —	Saint *Francis* — F	King *Henry* the third ——	Franciſcan Fryers —						
Wincheſter —	S. *Dominic* —F	*Peter de la Rochis* B. *Wineh. temp.* King *Iohn*	Dominican Fryers —						
Wincheſter —	S^t *Elizabeth*—F	*Iohn de Pontiſſara* B. *Winch. temp. E.*1. —	—— ——	0112	17	4	b	o	Leland.
Iuxta Wincheſt.	Saint *Mary*—C	*William Wickham*; Biſhop of *Winch.* 1393. 17. *Rich.*2. ——	A Warden 10 Fellowes 70 Children 16 Choriſters 3 Clarkes 1 Schoolmaſter 1 Vuſher 10 Schollers ſtrangers.	0639	8	7	o	o	
Iuxta Wincheſt.	Saint *Croſſe*—H	*Henry de Blois* B. of *Winch*, brother to K. *Stephen*, 1132. 33. *H.*1. —— *Henry Beauford* Card. B. *Winch.* gaue lands to it, to the value of 158.l.13.s. 4.d *tem. H.*6. And the Hoſpitall of S^t *Iohn de Foderingbridge* was giuen vnto it, the ancient cuſtome of this houſe by the firſt foundation was, to dine euery day 100. poor, if ſo many came	A Maſter 2 Chaplaines 35 poore men 3 women - - -Choriſters	0184	4	2	o	o	Ieland. Godwin.
Iuxta South-hãpton, *Letely alias Leto loco*	S^t *Edward* S^t *Mary* —M	*Henry* the third, and *Peter de Rupibus* —	Auguſtine Friers —	0160	2	9	b	o	
iuxta Southamp.	Saint *Dennis* —P	King *Richard* the firſt, 1179. 26. *H.*2. —	Blacke Canons——	0091	9	o	o	o	
Southampton —	Saint *Mary* —F	King *Henry* the ſeuenth ——	Franciſcan Fryers —	-	-	-	-	-	Stow.
Southampton —	S. *Mary Mag.* H	Confirmed by Pope *Alex.* 1179. 26. *H.*2.	—— ——	0016	16	2	b	o	
Apple-durwel in the Iſle of VVeight	—— —P	*Nicholas Spenſer*, and *Margery* his wife —	—— ——						
Baddeſley —	Preceptoria —	—— ——	Knights Templers after Hoſpitaliers of S. *Iohn* of *Ieruſ.*	0118	16	7	o	o	

	Places.	Dedications.	Founders, Benefactors, and Tyme.	Order.	Value. l.	s.	d.	ob.	q.
	Bello loco —	— —M	King *John* ——	Ciſtercian Monkes —	0428	6	8	o	o
	Bromere —	Stᵉ *Trinity* Stᵉ *Mary* Stᵉ *Michael* —P	*Baldwin* Earle of *Riuers* and *Deuonſhire* —	Blacke Canons —	0200	5	1	b	o
Leland.	Chritwynhams *ſiue* Chriſt Church of Twynham	— —P	One of the *Weſt-Saxon* Kings founded a Caſtle and a Collegiate Church. *Baldwin de Riners* founded the Priore, *temp. William Rufus* *Ranulfe Flambard* B. *Durham*, repaired it, *temp. Hen.* 1. *Richard de Riuers* E. of *Deuonſhire* a benefactor 1161. 8. *Hen.* 2. *Iſabell de Fortibus*, Counteſſe of *Deuon.* and *Albemarle* a great benefactor, *temp. Hen.* 3.	Black can. Auguſtin	544	6	o	o	o
	Caresbrock in the Iſle of Wight —	S. *Mary Mag.* P	—— ——	Blacke Monkes —					
	Deretford in the Iſle of Wight. —	S. *Elizabeth* —P	King *Edward* the third ——						
Leland.	Godſhill in the Iſle of Wight	— —C	*John Worſley* ——	A Colledge AGrãmer School					
	Hamele —	Saint *Andrew* P	—— ——	Grey Monkes —					
	Hide —	Stᵉ *Peter* Stᵉ *Paul* Stᵉ *Grimball* —M	King *Alfride* firſt founder K. *Edward* ſenior his ſon finiſhed it, *circ.* 924. Repaired after by the Monks themſelues.	Blacke Monks Benedictines	865	1	6	b	q.
	Mottisfount —	Saint *Trinity* —P	*Ranulfe Flambard* B. *Durham* *Richard de Riuers* E. of *Deuon.* *William de Bruere* —— *tẽp. W. Ru.*	Blacke Canons or Auguſtines of Berton —	167	15	8	b	o
	Portſmouth —	— C H	*Peter de la Roche* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, *temp.* K. *Iohn* ——		33	19	0	5	o
	Quarrer in the Iſle of Wighs	S. *Mary Mag.* M	*Baldwine de Riuers* Earle of *Deuon.* & *Richard de Riuers* his ſonne —— 1132. 33. *H.* 1.	White Monkes Ciſtertians —	184	1	10	o	o
Leland.	Redford or Redbridge —	— —M	One of the *Weſt-Saxon* Kings ——	— —	-	-	-	-	-
Leland.	Romſey —	— —N	King *Edgar*, *circa* 968. Earle *Alwin* King *Iohn* benefactors ——	Blacke Nuns Bened.	528	8	10	b	o
Godwin.	Saleburne —	— —P	*Peter de la Roche* B. *Winch. temp.* K. *Iohn* —	Canons Regular —	-	-	-	-	-
Leland.	Southwyke —	Saint *Mary* —P	King *Henry* the firſt *William Pontlarg, ſiue Pont-le-arch*, and *William Danis, Normans*, *William de Ponteis* a benefactor ——	Canons Auguſtines —	314	17	10	b	o
	Lichfield —	Saint *Mary* —M	*Peter de la Roche*, B. *Winch. temp.* K. *Iohn* —	Ciſtercian Monks —	280	19	10	b	o
Leland.	Whorwell —	Saint *Croſſe* Saint *Peter* —N	King *Edgar* *alijs Alfrith* wife to K. *Edgar* ——	Nunnes Auguſtines —	403	12	10	o	o
Leland	Weynteney —	— —P	*Roger Colrith*, and *Thomas* his ſonne —	Nunnes —	59	1	o	o	o
		S. *Elizabeth* —C	—— ——	— —	112	17	4	b	o
		Saint *Croſſe* —H.	*Henry Blois*, brother to King *Stephen* —	— —	84	4	2	o	o
				Sum totall, &c.	7218.	17.	5.	o.	o.

HEREFORD-SHIRE.

	Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Tyme.	Order.	Value l.	s.	d.	ob.	q.
			An Epiſcopall Sea was eſtabliſhed, by *Milfrid* a petty King of that Country, at *Hereford*, 680. *Athelſtan* B. *Hereford*, beganne the foundation of the Cathedrall Church 1055. *Robert Lozing* Biſhop *Hereford*, began a new the foundation of the Cathedrall Church, after the faſhion of the Church of *Aith* in *Germany* 9. *William the Conqueror*. Biſhop *Reinelm*, *temp. Hen.* 1. was a great benefactor to the building, and founded the Colledge of Prieſts *Giles Brinſe*, Biſhop of *Hereford* built one of the ſteeples, *temp.* K. *Iohn*						
Godwin.	Hereford Epiſcopall Sea —	S. *Mary* *Epã* S. *Ethelbert* *tus.*		Secular Canons —	-	-	-	-	-
	Hereford —	Saint *Guthlak* F	*Henry de Pembrigge* ——	Franciſcan Friers —	121	3	3	b	o
Leland.	Hereford —	Stᵉ *Peter* Stᵉ *Paul* —P	*Iohn de Penbrigge* ——	Canons Auguſtines —	-	-	-	-	-
	Acornebury —	Stᵉ *Katherine* N	—— ——	White Nunnes —	705	7	5	b	o
	Barrone —	— —	—— ——	Blacke Monkes —					
	Clifford —	Saint *Mary* —P	—— ——	Blacke Monkes —	65	11	11	o	o

Dowre

Dedication.	Places.	Founders, Benefactors, and Tyme.	Order.	Value. l.	d.	s.	ob.	q.	
Dowre —	Saint *Mary* —M	*Robert* Baron of *Ewins, temp. H.1.* —	Cistercian Monkes —	118	0	2	0	0	
Flanesford —	— —M	*Richard Talbot* —	Canons Regular —	15	8	9	0	0	
Kilpec —	— —P	—	—						
Ledbury —	S[t] *Katherine* —H	*Iohn* Bishop *Hereford* —	—	22	15	0	0	0	
Lemster —	Saint *Iames* —P	*Merewald* King of *Mercia, circa* 656. King *Henry* the first. —	Blacke Monkes of Reading						
Limbroke —	— —N	—	White Nunnes —	23	17	8	0	0	
Wigmore —	Saint *Iames* —P	*Roger Mortimer*, 1247. 32. *Hen.* 3. *Alys Hugh Mortimer*, 1172. 19. *H.* 2.	Blacke Canons —	-	-	-	-	-	Leland.
Wormsly —	— —P	—	—	83	10	2	0	0	
			Sum totall, &c.	525.	4.	5.	0.	0	

HERTFORD-SHIRE.

Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. l.	s.	d.	ob.	q.	
Hertford a Cell to Saint Albans —	— Cell	*Ralph* Lord *Limsey* —	Blacke Monkes —	86	14	8	0	0	0	Leland.
Saint Albans —	S. *Alban* Mart. M	A Church built to the honour of Saint *Alban* an. 316. 10. yeeres after his passion. *Offa* King of *Mercia* founder of the Monastery an. 795. —	Blacke Nunnes Benedictines —	251	0	6	1	b	q	
Saint Albans —	S. *Mary* enle pred H	An Abboth of S. *Albans* —							
Iuxto S. Albans —	Saint *Iohan* — H	An Abbot of S. *Albans* —	Leprous people —	135	5	10	0	0	
Beluero a Cell to S. Albans —	S. *Mary* S. *Iohn Bap.* P	—	Blacke Monkes —	-	-	-	-	-	
Barden —	— —P	- - - - Bishop of *London* —	Blacke Can. Aug. —	46	16	1	b	0	Leland.
Bosco neer Flamsteed —	S. *Giles* —N	*Roger Tony* of *Flamsted* —	Nunnes —						Leland.
Burton —	S. *Mary* —P	—	Monkes —						
Binham, in Com. Norff. a Cell to Saint Albans. —	— —P	—		160	1	0	0	0	
Chesthunte —	— —N	Henry *Rex Anglia, Dominus Hibernia, Dux Norman. Aquitan. & Comes Anged. confirmed Sheft. rehunt Moniales totam terram Dom. ten. cum pertin. suis que Cannicis de Cathele, quos amoueri fecimus. At VVestm. 11. Aug. 24. Regni nostri* —	Nunnes —	27	6	8	0	0	
Chille —	— —N	—	Blacke Nunnes —						
Chiltree —	— —N	—	Blacke Nunnes —						
Hatefild, Penerel. in Com. Essex, a Cell to S. Albans —	S. *Mary* —P	Daughter of *Ingelricke*, and wife to *Penerell* in K. *William the Conq.* tyme —	Blacke Monkes S. Albans —	83	19	7	0	0	
Hichin —	S. *Mary* —F	King Edward the second — *Iohn Blomiull* *Adam Rouse* *Iohn Cobham* benefactors —	Charmelites or White Friers	-	4	9	4	0	0	
Langley Regis	S. *Dominic* —F	*Robert* son of *Roger Helle* Baron —	Preaching Friers —	150	14	8	0	0	
Langley, *vide* Leicestershire —	— —N	*Fundator Anteceſſor vxoris Franciſci Bigot Militis, & eiuſdem vxoris Sororũ*	Nunnes —						
Mersey —	S. *Helen.* Alien P	*Roger Fitz. Ranulph* —							
Mirdiall —	S. *Mary* —P	—	Blacke Canons —						
Monketon in Dioc. Saint Dauids, a Cell to S. Albans —	— —P	—	—	113	2	6	b	q	
New-bigging *infra* villam de Huchyn —	— —P	—	—	15	1	11	0	0	
Royston, *alias Crux Robaysia*	S. *Iohn Bap.* S. *Tho. Mar.* P	*Euſtach de Marc* K[t]. Lord of Nucles *Radulph. de Ranceſter* *Robert de Tiptoſt* benefactors	Canons —	106	3	1	0	0	Leland.
Royston —	S. *Iohn* S. *Iames* —H	—	—	5	6	10	0	0	
Roweney —	A free Chappel or Hospitall	—	—	13	10	9	0	0	
Sopwel *iuxta* S. Albans —	S. *Mary* —M	*Geffrey* Abbot of S. *Albans* —	Blacke Nunnes —	68	8	0	0	0	
Thele —	— —C	*VVilliam Grey* B. *London temp. H.* 6. —	A Master 4 Chaplaines —	-	-	-	-		Godwin.
Tynmouth in Com. North. a Cel to S. Albãs	— —P	*Fundator Anteceſſor Ducis Norfolciæ* —	—	511	4	1	b	0	
Ware —	— —F	- - - - L. *VVake* —	Friers —						
Wimondley —	— —P	*Richard Argenton* —	Canons —	37	10	6	b	0	
			Sum totall, &c.	4076.	3.	10.	0.	0	

HVNTIN-

HVNTINGTON-SHIRE.

	Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Tyme.	Order.	Value. l.	s.	d.	ob.	q.
	Huntington	Saint *Mary* — P	*Maude* the Empreſſe, Daughter of King *Henry* the firſt. *Euſtachius Louetot, temp.* K. *Stephen.*	Blacke Canons Auguſtines	232	0	0	b	0
	Huntington	S. *Iohn Baptiſt* — H	*David*, Earle of *Huntington*, Lord of *Connington, temp. H.* 2.	—	6	7	8	ø	0
	Hinching-broke	Saint *Mary* — N	King *William Conqueror*, in place of *Elteſly*, by him ſuppreſſed.	Nunnes	19	9	2	0	0
Godwin.	Coſtor	— — N	*Kinneberge*, daughter of *Penda*, King of *Mercia*, wife of *Alfrid*, King of *Northumberland*, which was after deſtroyed by the Danes, 1010.	—	-	-	-	-	-
	St *Neot*, a Cell to *Becco* in *Normandy*	— — P	Earle *Ælfric*. *Roiſia de Claraſter*, wife of *Richard*, Earle *Clare*, reedified it, 1113, 14 *H.* 1	Blacke Monkes	256	1	3	b	0
Leland	Ramſey	Saint *Mary* / St *Benedict* — M	Earle *Aylwine*, called *Hathe Koning*, and Coſin to King *Edgar*, 969. Benefactors. *Walſene*, wife of *Alfein*. *Elſwoldus*, brother to *Alwin*. *Brithwold*, Alderman, *Leofwin*, Biſhop of *Dorceſter*. *Oſwald*, Biſhop of *Worceſter*. *Linid*, a Widow.	Blacke Monkes / Benedictines	1983 (*Camd.* 7000 pound)	15	03	00	q
Leland.	Saltry	Saint *Mary* — M	*Simon* 2. *de* St *Liz.* Earle of *Huntington, temp. H.* 1. The Kings of Scots. The Earles of *Huntington.* (Benef.)	Ciſtertians Monkes	199	11	8	0	0
Leland.	Stoneley	Saint *Mary* — P	*William de Mandeuile*, E. of *Eſſex.* Bigrame.	Blacke Canons Auguſtines / Blacke Monkes Benedictines	46	0	5	b	0
	Saint *Iues*, a Cel to Ramſey	— — P	Earle *Adelmus*, in the raigne of K. *Edmund Ironſide*, 1017.						

ſum totall, &c. } 2743. 5. 6. b. q.

KENT.

	Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. l.	s.	d.	ob.	q.
Godwin.	Canterbury Archiepiſcopall Sea	St *Trinity* — P	Faithfull beleeuing Romans. *Ethelbert* King of *Kent*, 600. conſecrated by Saint *Auguſtine*. *Lanfranke* and *William Corboil* Arch-B. a new began the foundation of the Cathedrall Church. *Tho. Arundel*, Arch-B. built the Weſt Spire Steep. & furniſht it with 5 bels. *Earnulfe* B. *Rocheſter*, and *Eardulfe*, Prior. (Benefac.)	Blacke Monks	2489	4	9	0	0
Stow.	Canterbury	Saint *Francis* — F	King *Henry* the ſeventh.	Franciſcan Fryers	-	-	-	-	-
	Canterbury	Saint *Iohn* — H	*Lanfranke* Arch-B. *Cant. temp. Will. Conq.*	Poore Prieſts	10	13	08	b	0
	Iuxta Canterbury, St *Auguſtine*	Saint *Peter* / Saint *Paul* — M	*Ethelbert* King of *Kent*, 602. King *Edward* the ſecond, a benefact.	Benedictine Monkes	1412	4	7	b	q
	Iuxta Canterb.	Saint *Gregory* — P	*Lanfrank* Arch. B. *Cant. temp. Will. Conq.*	Blacke Canons Auguſtines	166	4	5	b	0
Leland.	*Iuxta* Canterb.	S. *Sepulchers* — N	*William Calnile* Citizen of *Canterbury.*	Blacke Nunnes	38	19	7	b	0
	Iuxta Canterb.	S. *Lawrence* — H	—	—	31	7	10	0	0
	Canterbury, *extra Muros*	Saint *Iames* — H	—	—	32	11	1	b	q
	Aileford	Saint *Mary* — F	*Richard*, L. *Grey*, of *Codnor*, 1240. 25 *H.* 3.	Carmelites, or white Fryers					
	Beigham	Saint *Mary* — P	Sir *Robert de Thornham*, Knight, *aliis* the Anceſtors of *Thomas Sacuile.*	VVhite Canons	152	19	4	b	0
	Aſhford	— — C	Sir *Robert Fogge*, Knight.	Prieſts					
	Bilſington	Saint *Mary* — P	*Ioh. Manuſel*, Treaſurer of the Church of *Yorke*, and Prouoſt of *Beuerleyes* for King *Henry* the third, and *Elenor* his wife.	Blacke Canons	81	1	6	00	0
	Bradgate	— — C	*Robert de Bradgate, Tho. Ioſelme cleric.* and *Iohn* at a vies.	—	-	-	-	-	-
	Bradeſoke	S. *Radegunde* — M	*Hugh* the firſt Abbot.	VVhite Canons Premonſtratenſes	142	8	09	0	00
Leland.	Boxley	S. *Mary* — M	*VVilliam de Ipres*, a Flemming, Earle of *Kent*, 1145. 11 *Stephen.* King *Richard* the firſt	Ciſtertian Monks brought frō Clareual in Burgund.	218	19	10	0	0
Godwin	Chetham	S. *Bartholmew* — H	*Gundulfe*, B. *Rocheſter, temp. VVill. Rufus.*	—	-	-	-	-	-
	Cobham	— — C	*Iohn Baron Cobham.*	—	128	1	9	b	0
Leland	Combewell	Saint *Mary Magdaline.* — M	*Robert de Thornham*, Knight.	Blacke Canons Auguſtines	80	17	5	0	q

Dertford

Places.	Dedications.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. l. s. d. ob. q	
Dertford —	— N	King *Edward* the third, 1355. 30 *E.3.* —	Nunnes —	400 8 0 0 0	
Danuton —	— N	—	Blacke Nunnes —		Leland.
Douer —	Saint Mary, S. Martin — P	*VVhitred* King of *Kent*, 6[illegible]. King *Henry* the first reedified it. —	Black Monkes —	232 1 5 b 0	
Douer *Domus Dei* —	— H	King *Henry* the third. —	Knights Templers —	159 18 6 b q	
Eastbridge —	— — H	King *Henry* the first gaue for *VVilliam* his Father, *quicquid Robertus Drus dederat Ecclesiæ de Estebureh, & fratribus ibidem Regularibus.* —	Canons Regular —	23 18 9 b q	
Elslit —	— — N	*Domneua*, a Noblewoman of the Saxons, 590 —	Nunnes —		
Feuersham —	Saint Sauiour M	King *Stephen* and *Maud* his wife, A. D. 1147. 13 *Stephen* —	Blacke Monkes Cluniacenses —	286 12 6 b 0	
Folkestone —	S. Eanswide N	*Eanswide*, daughter to *Eadbald* King of *Kent*. *VVilliam de Abrinca*, a Norman. *Roger Segraue*, & *Iulian* his wife benef. *John*, Baron *Clinton*. —	Blacke Nunnes —	63 0 7 0 0	Leland.
Greenewich —	Saint *Dominic* Alien F	King *Edward* the third, 1376, 51 *E.3* *Iohn Norbury* Knight, Benefactor —	Fryers Minors —		
Greenewich —	— F	King *Henry* the seuenth —	Obseruant Fryers —		
Greenewich —	— C	*VVilliam Lambard* —	Queen *Elizabeths* poore people —		
Harbaldowne —	— H	*Lanfranc*, Arch-B. *Cant. temp. VV. C.* Alijs *Ioh. Stratford*, A. B. *Cant. tem. E.3*	— —	109 7 2 0 0	
Heyham —	— N	—	Blacke Nunnes —		
Horton, a Cel to Lewis —	Saint *Iohn* Euangelist — P	*Robert de Vere*, Lord Chamberlaine of *Egland*. *Adelina*, daughter of *Hugh de Mõtfort*	Blacke Monkes Cluniacenses —	111 16 7 b 0	Leland.
Langdon —	S[t] *Thomas* Martyr — M	Sir *William Aberfield*, Knight. —	White Canons Premonstrate —	56 6 9 0 0	Leland.
Leedes —	S[t] *Nicholas* — P	*Robert de Crenecuer* —	Blacke Canons, Augustines	362 7 7 0 0	
Lesnes vpon Thames —	S[t] *August.* alijs S. *Tho. Martyr* — P	*Richard de Lucy*, Lord Chiefe Iustice of *England*, 1179. 26 *H.2* —	Blacke Canons	186 9 0 0 0	
Hithe —	S[t] *Bartholmew* H	*Hamon*, B. *Rocheſter*, *temp. E.3* —	10 Poore men:	- - - - -	Godwin
Lewsham —	— P Alien	Saint *Iohn Norbury*, Knight —	Blacke Monkes		
Maidstone —	All Saints — C	*Boniface* of *Sauoy* Arch-B. *Cant. temp. H.3*	— —	159 7 10 0 0	
Maidstone —	— — C	*Will. Courtney*, Arch-B. *Cant.* 1395, 19 *R.2*	— —	139 7 6 0 0	Cambden.
Malenden —	— — H	*Hugh de Burgh* Knight. —	— —		Leland.
Malling —	S[t] *Mary* — N	*Gundulph* B. *Rocheſter*, *temp. W. Rufus* —	Blacke Nunnes —	245 10 2 b 0	
Minster in Tẽnet	— — N	*Domneua* a noblewoman of the Saxons, 596. who had the Land of *Egbert*, third King of *Kent*. —	Nunnes —	- - - - - -	Cambden.
Mottingden —	S. *Crosse* M	Sir *Robert de Rokesley* Knight. —	— —	60 13 0 b 0	Leland.
Newenden —	S[t] *Mary* F	Sir *Tho. Albuger* Knight, 1241, 26 *H.3*	Carmelite Fryers —		
Northgate —	S[t] *Iohn* H	—	— —	91 16 8 b 0	
West Peckham —	*Præceptoria* —	*Iohn Culpeper*, Iustice of the Common Place, 1408, 10 *H.4* —	Hospitaliers of Saint *Iohn* of Ierusalem	63 6 8 0 0	
Reculuer —	— — M	*Bassa*, an English Saxon —			
Rocheſter Episcopall Sea —	Saint *Andrew* M	*Ethelbert* King of *Kent*, 604 — *Gundulph* B. *Rocheſter*, a Norman, built a new the Cathedrall Church, A. D. 1080, *temp. W. Rufus* — *Earnulfus* B. *Rocheſter*, a great Benef.	Blacke Cannons Augustines —	486 11 5 0 0	Godwin. Leland.
Rocheſter —	S. *Bartholmew* H	- - - - - - - - - - King *Henry* the third confirmed it, and *Edward* the 3. discharged them of all Taxes, Tallages, &c. —	Leprous people		
Rumney —	— P Alien	—			
Sandwich —	S. *Mary* — F	*Henry Cowfield*, an Alman, 1272, 57 *H.3*	Carmelite Friers —		
Sandwich —	S. *Thomas* — H	*Thomas Raling*, Clerke — *Williams Swanne*, Clerke *Iohn Goddard* *Richard Long*. —	— —	52 19 10 b 0	
Stroude —	S. *Andrew* — H	*Gilbert de Glanuile*, B. *Rocheſt. temp. H.2*	— —	87 3 3 b 0	
Swingfield —	*Præceptoria*	—			
Shepey Minster	S. *Sexburg* — N	*Sexburga*, wife to *Excombert*, King of *Kent*, or *East-Angles*, 710 *Will.* Arch-B. *Cant.* a speciall Benefa.	Nunnes —	129 7 10 b 0	
Shepey —	Saint *Mary* P	*William de la Poole*, Earle After Duke of *Suffolke*, *temp. H.6* —			
Tunbridge —	Saint *Mary Magdalme* P	*Richard de Clare*, Earle of *Glouceſter*	Blacke Canons —	169 10 3 0 0	
VVingham —	— C	*Iohn Peckham*, Arch-B. *Cant. temp. E.1*	Canons	84 0 0 0 0	Leland.
VVye —	— C	*Iohn Kemp*, Arch-B. *Cant. temp. H.6*	Priests	93 2 0 b 0	Godwin
VVestwood	— P	*Richard Lucy*, Chiefe Iustice of *England*, *temp. H.2* *Godfry Lucy* his sonne, Bishop of *Winchester*, a great Benefactor. —	— —	- - - - - -	Godwin.
— —	Saint *Mary* Saint *Swythin*	Sir *Iohn Segraue*.	— —		
			Sum totall	8840 18 7 b q	

Lanca-

LANCA-SHIRE.

	Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. l.	s.	d.	ob.	q.
	Lancaſter —	Saint *Mary* — P	*Iohn* Earle of *Mortaigne*, & confirmed by him when he was King of *Englād.*	Monkes —					
	Lancaſter —	A Cell —	*Roger* of *Peitliers*	Monkes Aliens —					
	Burſtough —	—— — P	—— ——	Canons —	129	1	0	o	o
	Calder ——	—— —	The Anceſters of *Copeland.*	—— ——					
	Carthmel —	—— — P	*William Marſhall* the elder, Earle of *Pembroke* for K. *H.* 2. 1188, 35 *H.* 2 —		113	19	7	o	o
	Cokerſand — M	— — M	*Randulph de Meſchines* —	Monkes Cluniacks —	228	5	4	b	o
	Coniſhed —	— — P	The Anceſters of *William Pennington.*	—— —	124	2	1	o	o
Leland.	Fourneſſe . —	Saint *Mary* — M	*Stephen* Earle of *Bullen*, after King of *England*, 1127, 28 *H.* 1, tranſlated hither from *Tulket* in *Aundernes.* *Will. de Mawbray*, a ſpeciall Benefact.	Ciſtercian Monkes —	966	7	1	o	o
	Holland —	— — P	*Robert Holland*, and *Maud* his wife — Alijs the Anceſters of the E. of *Derby.*	——	61	3	4	o	o
	Horneby a Cell to Crokeſdē cō. Lei.	Cell —	The Anceſtors of the Lord of *Monteagle.*	— —					
	Ieruaux —	—— — M	—— ——	—— —					
Cambden.	Mancheſter —	—— — C	*Thomas* Lord *Delaware*, after a Prieſt. Alijs *Greſly*, Anceſt. to the L. *Delaw.*	Prieſts —	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Penwortham —	—— M	—— ——	—— ——	114	16	9	o	o
Leland	Whalley —	—— M	The Anceſtors of the *Lacies*, Earles of *Lincolne*, tranſlated hither from *Stanlow* in Cheſhire, 1206, 7 *E.* 1. —	Ciſtercian Monkes —	551	4	6	o	o
				The ſum totall, &c.	2288	19	8	b	o

LEICESTER-SHIRE.

	Places.	Dedications.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. l.	s.	d.	ob.	q.
Godwin	Leiceſter —	Epiſcopall Sea —	*Ethelbald*, alijs *Ethelred* King of *Mercia*, 737. *alijs* 679. *Wilfrid*, B. *Leiceſter*, 792. —	—— —	-	-	-	-	-	-
Leland	Leiceſter —	Saint *Mary* — M	*Robert Boſſue*, Earle of *Leiceſter*, 1143, 9 *Stephen.* — Benefactors K. *Henry* the fourth. *Ernald de Bois* 1. *Henry* D. of *Lancaſt.* *Er. de Bois* 2. 3. 4 *Randulph* E. of *Cheſter* *Ankitell Malory.* *William Auenell.* *Reſe Turuile.* *Simon Eſlop* A.B. *Can.* *Tho. Lathbury.* *Reginall Baſſet.* *Tho. Erdington.* *Hugh de Arden.* *Robert Colley.* *Margaret de Quincy.* *William Aſton.* *Roger de Quincy.* ——	Blacke Canons Aug.	1062	o	4	b	q
Leland	Leiceſter ——	Saint *Mary* the Great — C	*Henry* Earle of *Lancaſter* *Henry* D. of *Lancaſter* his ſon — *tem. E.* 2	A Deane. 12 Prebends - - - Choriſters:	800	o	o	o	o
	Leiceſter —	S. *Mary* the leſſe —	*Robert Boſſue*, Earle of Leiceſter, *tem. H.* 1	A Maſter 7 Fellowes.					
Leland.	*Iuxta* Leiceſter Caſtle —	Saint *Mary* - H	*Henry* Earle of Lancaſter, *Henry* D. of Lancaſter his ſon. *tē. E.* 2,	4 Chaplaines 2 Clerkes 50 Poore men 5 Poore women.	23	12	11	o	o
Leland. Stow.	Bredō, a Cel to S. Oſwald	Saint *Mary* S^t *Hardulfe* — P	*Rob. de Ferrers* E. of Nottinghā, *tē. H.* 2 *Will. de Ferrers* E. of Derby, a benef.	Canons Regular —	25	8	1	o	o
Leland.	Bradley ——	— P	*Robert Bundy.* - - - - L. *Scrope*, Benefactor.	Blacke Canons Auguſtines	20	15	7	o	o
	Burton Lazers —	—— H	- - - - L. *Mowbrey* — A generall contributiō *circa tem. W.C.*	Firſt leprous, after Canōs ſecular	265	10	2	o	q
	Canwell —	—— M	The Anceſtors of the Lord *Lizle.*	—— ——	25	10	3	o	o
Leland.	Croxton ——	S. *Iohn* Euang. M	Sir *Andrew Lutterel*, Knight. - - - - *De Chaueney*, a benefactor.	VVhite Canons Premonſtratenſes	458	19	11	b	q
	Caſtle Doningtō	S^t *Iohn Bapt.* H	—— ——	—— ——	3	13	4	o	o
	Cumbe ——	Saint *Mary* M	—— ——	VVhite Monkes —					
	Cale ——	—— P	—— ——	Blacke Canons —					
Leland	Dalby ſurles Waldes	A Commādary.	*Robert* Earle of Leiceſter. ——	Templers knights after Hoſpitaliers of S^t *Ioh.* of Ieruſ.	231	7	10	o	o
Stow.	Gerendon ——	—— M	*Rob. Buſſue* E. of Leiceſt. 1169, 15 *H.* 2 *Andomere de Valence*, Earle of *Pembroke*, and *Mary* his wife. bene.	Ciſtertian Monkes —	186	15	2	b	o
Camb.	Gracedien -	Saint *Trinity* - N	*Roiſia*, wife of *Bertram de verdon*, *circa, temp. R* 1. Sir *Will. Waſtnies* Knight, a benefact.	Nunnes -	101	8	2	b	o
	Hether ——	Commandary	*Geffrey de Greſeley.* ——	Knights Templers after Hoſpitaliers of S. *Ioh.* of Ieruſ.					
	Gerewerdon —	Saint *Mary* — M	—— ——	White Monkes —					
Record	Hinkley, belonging to the Houſe of *Lira* in Normandy	— P Alien	*Robert* Earle of Leiceſter. *Henry* E. of Lancaſt. *tem. E.* 1, a bene.	Canons —					

Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Tyme.	Order.	Value					
Kirkly Bellers —	— —P	*Roger de Bellere*, & *Anice* his wife, *tē. H.2.*		178	7	10	0	q.	
Launda —	—— M	*Richard Basset* of *Welden* ——	Blacke Can Aug. —	510	16	5	b	q.	
Langley —	Saint *Mary* —N	Sir *William Pantulfe* K^t, & *Burga* his wife	Nunnes ——	34	6	2	0	0	Record.
Leicester new Bedehouse	— —H	*Thomas Wigston* Merchant of the Staple, *temp. H.7.* ——							
Litterworth —	Saint *Iohn* —H	*Nicolas de Verdon*, and *Roisia* his wife —	—— ——	26	9	5	0	0	Leland.
Owston —	Saint *Andrew* M	Sir *Robert Grimbald* K^t, *circa temp. E.3.* —	Black Canon. Aug. —	173	18	9	0	q.	Leland.
Noui-Operis —	— —C	—— ——	—— ——	595	7	4	0	0	
Noseley —	S. *Mary* —C	*Anketine de Martinall*, Archdeacon of *Leic. temp. H.3.* Alijs *Roger de Martinall*, Bishop of *Salisbury, temp. E.2.*	A VVarden and Priestes						
Kodeley —	Commendary —	—— ——	Templers, after Hospitaliers of S. *Iohn of Ierusalem*						
Stane ——	—— —N	—— ——	Blacke Nunnes —						
Sapcote —	— —C	*Simon Basset*, Baron of *Sapcote, temp. H.3.*	VVarden & Priests—						Record.
Vluescroft —	— —P	*Roger Quincy*, Earle of *Winton* ——	— ——	101	3	10	b	0	
VVerewerdon—	— —M	—— ——	Blacke Canons ——						
	Saint *Vrsula*—H	—— ——	— —	8	0	0	0	0	
Leicester —	Saint *Francis* —P	—— ——	Franciscan Fryers—						
			The sum totall, &c.	4833.	11.	9.	b.	0	

LINCOLNE-SHIRE.

Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value.					
				l.	s.	d.	ob.	q.	
Lincolne Episcopall Sea	S. *Mary* —M	K. *William Conq.* translated hither the Sea from Dorchester. B. *Remigius* began the foundation of the Cathedrall Church, and added 21 Prebendes, *temp. William Conq.* *Robert Bluett*, B. *Lincolne*, added 21 Prebends, *temp. W. Rufus* *Alexander*, B. *Linc.* repaired the church after the beginning thereof, and increased the number of the Prebends, *temp. H.1.* *Hugh*, B. *Linc. temp. H.2.* began againe the new foundation of the Cathedrall Church *Iohn Summell* Bishop *Linc.* founded the Chappell of S. *Mary Magd. temp. E.3.* *William Alnewick*, B. *Linc.* made the porch, & the west windowes, *tem. H.6*	Secular Canons —	1533	0	0	0	0	Godwin.
Lincolne —	S. *Mary* ——F	M. *Odo de Kilkenny* a *Scot*, 1269 ——	Carmelite Friers —						
Lincolne —	S. *Augustine* —F	—— ——	Friers Eremites —						
Lincolne —	Saint *Francis* —F	*Iohn Pickering* of *Stampwike* ——	Friers Minors —						
Iuxta Lincolne—	S. *Katharine* —P	*Robert de Chesney* B. *Linc. temp. H.2.* ——	Gilbertines —	270	1	3	0	0	
Alunigham —	Saint *Mary* —P	*Anthony de Bek* B. *Durham*, and Patriarch of Ierusalem, *temp. E.1* ----- *Darcy* Benefactor	white Canons, & Nuns Gilbertines	141	15	0	0	0	
Balwat^e Aquilæ	— —	—— ——	—— ——	124	2	0	0	0	
Beluoir a Cell to S. Albans	Saint *Mary* —P	*Baptus de Beluoir*, Alys *Radulphus de Totneo* ——	Blacke Monks of S. Albons	129	17	6	0	0	Leland.
Berlinges —	—— —M	*Radulphus de Haya* ——	VVhite Canons —	307	16	6	0	0	
Biham —	—— —M	*Willia* E. of *Albemerle*, 1147. 13. *Steph.* translated after to valle Dei Abbey							
Bolington —	Saint *Mary*—M	—— ——	white Canons, & Nuns Gilbertines	187	7	9	0	0	
Boston —	— —M	Saint *Botolph* in the Saxons time ——	—— ——						
Boston —	Saint *Mary* —F	Sir ----- *de Orby* Knight, 1300. 29 *E.1*	Carmelite Friers —						
Boston *iuxta* Mare	Saint *Mary*—P	*Thomas Morley*, Knight *Iohn Bacon* Esquier *Iohn Hagon* *Thomas Heke de Shinham* *Iohn Hird* of *Boston* ——							
Boston —	—— 3 Frieries	----- *de Tilney*	—— ——						
Boston —	Saint *Mary* —C	—— —— ——	—— ——	24	0	0	0	0	
Boston —	*Corpus Christi*— C	—— —— ——	— ——	32	0	0	0	0	
Boston —	Saint *Peter* —C	—— —— ——	— —	10	13	4	0	0	
Bradney —	S. *Oswald* —M	One of the Kings of *Mercia* —— *Remigius* B. *Linc. tē. W. Conq.* *Gilbert de Gaunt* E. of *Linc.* & benef. *William* his son 1115. 16 *H.1*	Benedictine Monkes	429	7	0	0	0	
Bourne —	—— —P	*Baldwine* sonne of *Gilbert* ——	Blacke Can. August.						
Briggerd —	—— —P	—— ——	—— ——	101	0	0	0	0	
Cateley or Catlin	Saint *Mary*—M	*Iohn Spaule* Esquier ——	Gilbertines —	38	13	8	0	0	
Crowland —	S. *Guthlacke* —M	*Ethelbald* King of *Mercia*, 716. Abbot *Ingulfe* a Norman built the Fabricke a new it was finished at the beneuolence of the whole Land, giuen vpon pardon for their sinnes. ——	Benedictine Monkes	1217	5	11	0	0	
Elsham —	— —P	*Walter de Amondeuile* Alijs *William Dine* ——	Blacke Can. August.	83	17	10	0	0	Leland.
Epworth in the Isle of Axholme	A Conuentuall house M	*Tho. Mowbray* E. of *Nottingham*, *tem. R.2*	Carthusians —	290	14	7	b	q.	
Fosse —	— —N	—— ——	Nunnes —	8	5	4	0	0	

	Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Tyme.	Order.	Value. l.	s.	d.	ob.	q.
	Friſetun —	—P	*Maritius Alane*, Baron of *Burton Crowne* –	Blacke Monkes —					
	Glamford bridge *in parochia de Wrawby*	— —H	*William Tirwhitt* —						
Leland.	Goikwell —	— —N	*William de Altaripa ſeue Dawtrey* —	Nunnes —	19	18	6	o	o
	Deping —	— —M	— —	— —					
	Greenfield —	Saint *Mary* –N	*Dudon de Grouesby* —	Blacke Nunnes —	79	15	1	o	o
	Grimesby —	S. *Leonard* — N	*Robert Groſſeteſt* B. *Linc. temp. H.* 3. Sir *Thomas Heſterton* Knight —	Blacke Nunnes —	12	3	7	o	o
	Grimesby —	S. *Auſtine* S. *Tholoſſe* —P	The Kings Anceſtors —	Blacke Canons —					
Leland	Hagneby —	— —M	*Herbert* ſon of *Alard de Orreby* & Anne his wife. —	VVhite Canons —	98	7	4	o	o
Leland.	Hauerholme —	Saint *Mary* —M	*Alexander* B. *Lincolne, temp. H.* 1. —	white Can. Nunnes Gilbert.	88	5	5	o	o
Leland	Hennings — N	— —P	*Ranulfe Euermowe* —	Nunnes Ciſtertians –	58	13	4	o	o
Leland	Humſton, *alias* Humberſton	S. *Mary* S. *Peter* M	*Roſe* ſonne of *Drago* —	Benedictine Monkes	42	11	3	o	o
	Irford —	— —M	— —	— —	14	13	4	b	o
	Kirkſted —	S. *Mary* —M	*Hugh* ſonne of *Eudo de Britoy* —	Ciſtercian Monkes –	338	13	11	b	q.
Lland	Kime —	— —M	Sir *Philip de Kime* Knight Sir *Simon de Kime* his ſonne Knight	Blacke Canons Auguſtines	138	4	9	o	o
	Letherſtoke —	— —	*Iohn Gifford* Clarke —	— —					
Leland.	S. Leonard *iuxta* Stamford	— —P	— —	— —	30	o	o	o	o
Leland. Leland.	Leyburnd —	Saint *Mary* — M	*Robert Fitz-Gilbert* —	Nunnes Auguſtines–	57	13	5	o	q.
	Louthparke —	Saint *Mary* –M	*Alexander* B. *Lincolne temp. H.* 1. —	VVhite Monkes —	169	5	6	b	o
	Hirſt in the Iſle of Axholme	— —	*Thomas Mowbray* E. of Nottinghã, *tẽ. R.* 2	— —	7	11	8	o	o
Leland.	Markeby —	— —P	*Roſe* ſonne of *Gilbert* —	— —	163	17	6	o	o
Leland.	Newbowe —	— —M	*Richard Malbyſe* —	VVhite Canons —	115	11	8	o	o
	Newhouſe —	Saint *Martiall* P	*Peter de Ganlia* —	White Canons the firſt houſe of the order of Premonſtratenſes in *England*					
	Non- Ormesby	— —P	—	Gilbertines —	98	o	o	o	o
	Mewſom —	— —P	*Peter de Galſa* —	VVhite Canons —	114	1	4	b	o
	Newſted *iuxta* Stamſford	— —M	*William de Albany* —	Canons Regular Auguſtines	42	1	3	o	o
Leland	Newſted *iuxta* Axholme	— —P	—	— —	55	11	8	o	o
	Noton or Nocton-Park	Saint *Mary* *Magdaline* M	*Robert D' Arcie* —	Blacke Canons —	52	19	2	b	o
	Non-Cotton —	Saint *Mary* —P	*Alane de Munsels* —	Gilbertines —	46	17	7	o	o
	Oxeneyes —	— P	— —	Blacke Canons —					
	Rauceſton —	S. *Auguſtine* —C	— —	— —					
Leland.	Reuesby —	Saint *Laurence* M	*William de Romare* Earle of *Linc. circa* 1146. 12 *Steph.* *Auice* his wife, and *William* his ſonne benefactors	Ciſtercians —	349	4	10	o	o
	Sempringham –	Saint *Gilbert* –M	S. *Gilbert* Lord of that place, & beginner of that Order, 1148. 14 *Steph.* —	white Can. & Nunnes Gilbert. Gilbertines —	359	12	7	o	o
	Sexley —	Saint *Mary* P	— —		170	8	9	o	o
	Spalding —	S. *Mary* S. *Nicolas* M	*Ino Talbois*, Comes *Andegauenſis*, *William de Romara* *Lucy* Counteſſe of Cheſter and *Linc.*	Andegauenſis, Monachi	878	18	3	o	o
	Iuxta Stamford	Saint *Michael* M	— —	Blacke Monkes —	72	18	10	b	o
	Stamford —	S. *Mary* S. *Nicolas* M	— —	Blacke Monkes —	65	19	9	o	o
	Stamford —	S. *Mary* —F	King *Edward* the third — *William Browne*, Cittizen there. —	Carmelite Friers —					
	Stamford —	— H	—						
	Stamford —	— —H	*William* L. Burghley, Lord *Treaſurer* of *England, temp. Elizabeth* Regina—						
Leland	Staynsfield —	— — P	*Henry* ſon of *Henry de Percy*. confirmed by King *Iohn* for his father *Henry* the ſecond —	Black Nuns Bened.	112	5	o	o	o
Leland.	Stikeſwould —	S. *Mary* —M	*Lucy* Counteſſe of *Cheſter* and *Linc.* & her two ſons, *Will. de Romare* E. of *Linc.* and *Ranulf* E. of *Cheſt. temp. H.* 1.	Gilbertines —	163	1	2	b	o
Leland.	Swineſhed in Holland	St *Mary* —M	Sir *Robert Greiſley* Knight, and *Alberic* his ſonne, *temp.* King *Steph* —	Ciſtercian Monks—	175	19	10	o	o
	Sixhil —	— —P	— —	Gilbertines —	170	8	9	o	o
	Tatteſhall —	— —C	Sir *Ralfe Cromwel* Knight, and *Maude* his wife, *temp. H.* 6. —	— —	348	5	11	b	q.
Leland.	Stowe —	— —N	*Godiua* wife of *Leafrick*, E. of *Leiceſter* *Remigius* Biſhop of *Lincolne* *temp. W. Conq.* a benefactor	Nunnes —	-	-	-	-	-
	Temple-Bruer –	Preceptoria —	— —	Templers, after Hoſpitaliers of S. *Iohn* of *Ieruſalem*–	184	6	8	o	o
	Thorncholme –	— —P	*Iohn de Malherbe* —	Blacke Canons Aug.	155	19	6	b	o
Leland.	Thornton —	— M	*Will. the Croſſe*, E. of *Albemerle, temp. H.* 2.–	Blacke Canons Aug.	730	17	2	b	o
	Torington —	Saint *Mary* — P	*William de Arundell* —	Blacke Canons —					
	Torkeſey —	— — P	King *Iohn* —	Blacke Canons —	27	2	8	o	o
	Tupholme —	Saint *Mary* — M	*Reynulph de Neuill*, Baron of *Raby* —	White Canons Premonſtratenſ.	119	2	8	o	o

Valli

Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Tyme.	Order.	Value. l.	s.	d.	ob.	q	
Valle Dei alias Vandy	Saint *Mary* —M	*Gilbert de Gaunt*, Earle *Linc. temp.* King *Steph*, at the request of Pope *Eugenius* the third, and Saint *Bernard* Abbot of *Clareoall*	Cistertian Monkes –	177	15	7	b	q_2	Leland.
VVellowe —	—— —M	King *Iohn* *Rafe*, son of *Drago* a speciall benefact.	Canons Regular Aug.	152	7	4	o	o	Leland.
Vrford —	—— —N	*Ralfe de Albany* ——	Nunnes ——	14	o	o	o	o	Leland.
VVilloughton –	*Præceptoria* —	—— ——	Templers ——	174	11	1	b	o	
	Saint *Peter* Saint *Paul* M	—— ——	—— ——	197	17	5	o	q_2	
	All *Saintes* —H	—— ——	—— ——	18	16	o	B	q_2	
			Sum totall, &c.	11664.	12.	o.	b.	q_2.	

MIDDLESEX.

Places.	Dedications.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. l.	s.	d.	ob.	q.	
Episcopall Sea and Cathed. Church	Saint *Paul* ——	*Ethelbert* King of *Kent*, *circa* 604. —— *Kenred* King of *Mercia* K. *Edward*, son of K. *Alfred* King *Athelstan* Bishop *Erkenwald* benefact. *Maurice* B. *London*, began the foundation of the new fabricke, which now standeth, *temp.* K. *William Rufus* *Richard Beamis* B. *London*, *tem. Hen.* 1. purchased whole streets and much housing, all which hee pulled downe leauing the place for a Church-yard, and inclosed it with a strong wall *Richard Fitzneale* B. *London*, *temp. R.* 1. bestowed much vpon building the Church and other houses *Eustatius de Fomeonberge*, B. *London* a great benefactor to his Church, *temp. H.* 3. Bishop *Baldok*, *temp. Ed.* 2. gaue 100. markes toward the building of our Ladies Chappell at the East end of the Church. Bishop *Fitz. Iames tem. H.* 8 bestowed much in repairing the Church	Secular Canons —						Leland. God win.
Holmes Coll. in S. *Pauls* church	—— —C	*Roger Holmes* Chancellor & Prebend of *Pauls*, 1400. 2 *H.* 4. ——	—— ——						Stow.
Iesus Coll. in S. *Pauls* church	*Iesus* —C	King *Henry* 6. 1458. 37 *H.* 6. K. *Henry* 7. & K. *Henry* 8. confirmed it	A Master 2 Wardens - - -Priestes	-	-	-	-	-	Stow.
Petty Can. in S. *Pauls* church	Saint *Anne* —C	K. *Richard* the 2. in honour of Queen *Anne* his wife, 1393. 17 *R.* 2. ——	Petty Canons ——	-	-	-	-	-	Stow.
Iuxta Ludgate –	Saint *Dominic* –F	K. *Edward* the first, & Q. *Eleanor* his wife *Robert Kilwardby* A.B.C. The Citizens of *London* 1276. 5 *E.* 1.	Dominican or Blacke Friers	104	15	4	o	o	
Iuxta Algate —	Saint *Trinity* -P	Queene *Maude*, wife to King *Henry* the first, 1108. 9 *H.* 1. Benefactors. *Rafe Fitzalgold* *Wismarole Deneresh* *Orgar le Prude* *Edw. Hapcornhill* *Algar* *Hugh Fitzwulgar* *Secusinus* *Alwin* *Blackstan* *Robert* *Wiso* sonnes of *Leostan* the Goldsmith.	Blacke Canons Regular	-	-	-	-	-	Stow.
Iuxta Alderfgate	Saint *Martin* –C	*Ingelricus* and *Edw.* his brother 1056. King *William the Conq.* confirmed it	—— ——						
Guild Hall —	—— Chappell	*Peter Stamberey* *Adam Fraunceis* *Henry de - - -* *Will. de Bramton* Chaplains. 1299. 28 *Edw.* 1.	4 Chaplaines ——	12	18	9	o	o	
Barking Chapp.	Saint *Mary* —C	King *Richard* the first —— King *Edward* the first a benefactor *Iohn Tiptof* E. of *Worcester*, made it a Fraternity K. *Richard* the third reedified it, and made it a Colledge of Priestes ——	—— ——	-	-	-	-	-	Leland.

	Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. l.	s.	d.	ob.	q.
Stow.	Barking Church	—— —H	*Robert Denton* Chaplain, 1369. 44. *E.* 3.	Prieſtes Frantick men	-	-	-	-	-
Stow.	In Breadſtreet –	S. *Auguſtine* —F	*Humfrey Bohum*, Earle of *Hereford* & *Eſſex*, 1253. 38. *H.* 3. *Reginold* Lord *Cobham* *Humfrey Bohum*, E. of *Eſſex* benefact.	Auguſtine Friers —	57	0	4	0	0
Stow.	In Biſhopſgate ſtreet	Saint *Hellen* N	*William Baſing* Deane of *Paules*, 1. *H.* 3 *Will. Baſing* Sheriffe of *Lond.* a benef.	Blacke Nunnes —	376	6	0	0	0
	In Cheapſide —	S. *Tho.* of Acon H	*Thomas Fitz-thebald de Heily*, and *Agnes* his wife, ſiſter to *Thomas Becket* Archbiſhop of *Cant.* *temp. Hen.* 2.	Blacke Can. Aug. —	277	3	4	0	0
	In Gayſpur lane, Elſing Spittle	Saint *Mary* —P	*William Elſing* Citizē of *Lond.* 1329. 3. *E.* 3	Canons Regular —	239	13	11	b	0
	In Hertſtreete –	—— —F	*Roſe Hoſier* *VVilliam Sabernes* 1298. 27. *Ed.* 1.	Crouchet Friers —	52	13	2	0	0
Stow.	Hermitage in the wall *iuxta* Creplegate	S. *Iaunns* Herm.	An Abbot of *Gerendon* in Com. *Leiceſt.* —	—— ——	-	-	-	-	-
Stow.	*Iuxta* Newgate–	Saint *Francis* —F	*Iohn Ewin* Citizen of *London*, 1. K. *Iohn* *Iohn Ioyner* Cittizen built the quier, 10. *Hen.* 3. *Henry Walleis* built the body of the Church *William Potter* Alderman, made the Chapterhouſe *Gregory Bokeſley*, made the Dorfar *Bartholmew de Caſtell* built the dining Hall *Peter de Holyland*, built the Lodging roomes *Benis Bond* Herald at Armes built the Library Queene *Margaret*, wife to King *Edward* the firſt, beganne a new the quier of their Church 1306. to the building whereof in her life time ſhee gaue 2100. markes by her will *Iohn* Earle of *Britaine* and *Richmond*, built the body of the Church, at the charges of 300. pounds, and gaue rich Iewels and ornaments to the vſe of the ſame. *Mary de Saint Paule*, Counteſſe of *Pembroke* gaue 70 pounds *Gilbert de Clare*, Earle of *Glouceſter*, gaue 20 pounds, and 20 beames of timber out of his Forreſt *Eleanor* Lady *Spenſer*, & *Elizabeth de Burgh* Counteſſe of *Olſer* gaue great ſums toward the worke *Robert* Lord *Liſle*, who afterward became a Frier there, 300 pounds *Arnold de Telines*, 100 pound *Bartholmew de Almanie*, 50 pounds Queene *Iſabell*, wife to K. *Edward* 2. gaue 70 pounds Queene *Philippe*, wife to K. *Edward* 3. gaue 62 pounds Diuers perſons gaue ſums of money towards the making of the windowes *Margaret Segrane* Dutcheſſe of *Norf.* made the ſellers in the Quier, at the charges of 350 markes *Richard Whittingham* Knight, and Maior of *London*. and D. *Tho. Winchelſea* a Frier there, in 1429. built the Library, to the charges of 556 pounds *William Tailor*, Tailor to K. *E.* 3. made the watercourſe, conduit, and head thereof, the roofing, ſeeling and painting of the quier at diuers mens charges. This worke was finiſhed within the ſpace of 21, yeeres 1327. 2. *Edward* 3. The Church containes in length 300, bredth 89, height 64 feete It was conſecrated in 1325. King *Henry* 8. gaue it to the Citty, calling it by the name o *Chriſt Church*. f——	Franciſcan Friers —	32	19	10	0	0

Saint

Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Tyme.	Order.	Value l.	s.	d.	ob.	q.	
Saint *Laurence* Poultneyes Church	*Iesus Corpus Christi* C	*Thomas Cole*, first founder for a master and Chaplaines in *Iesus* Chappell, *Iohn Poultney* Kt and Maior of *London*, 10. *E.* 3. converted the Cappel of *Iesus* and all the Church of S. *Laurence* into a Colledge	A Master 7 Priestes	79	17	11	o	o	
In Leaden Hall	S. *Trinity* —H	*William Rouse*, *Iohn Risby*, *Thomas Asshby* Priests, 1466. 7. *Ed.* 4.	60 Priestes —						
In Lothbury	— —	- - - - - - A.D. 1257. 41. *H.* 3. —	Fratres de Sacra —						
S. Michaels Church in Crooked lane	— —C	Sir *William Walworth* Knight, Maior of *London*, *temp. R.* 2. —	A Master 9 Priestes						
In threed Needle street a Cel to S. Anthony of Viena	S. *Anthony* Cell	King *Henry* the third Cittizens of *London* King *Henry* the sixt a great benefact. King *Edward* the 4. annexed it to the Colledge of *Windsor* *Iohn Tate* Maior of *London*, beganne a new to build it, in A. D. 1499. and finished it in 1501. *William Campion*, Sheriffe of *London* a benefactor.	A Master 2 Priestes A Schoolemaster 12 poore folkes	55	6	8	o	o	Stow.
Papey —	S. *Charity* S. *Io. Euang.* H	*William Oliuer*, *William Barneby*, *Iohn Stafford* Priestes 1430. 9. *H.* 6.	A Master 2 VVardens - - - Priestes - - - Chaplaines men and women	-	-	-	-	-	Stow.
S. *Peters* church in Cornhill	S. *Peter* Broth.	King *Henry* 4, 1402, 4 *Hen.* 4 —	Brotherhood —						
Whittington Colledge	— —C	Sr *Richard Whittington* Knight 4. times Maior of *London* 1424. 3, *H.* 6 —	A Master 4 Fellowes Mrs of Arts 2 Clarkes 4 Choristers	20	1	10	o	q	Leland.
Iuxta Whittington Coll.	— —H	Sr *Richard Whittington* Knight. *temp. H.* 6	— —	—			—		Stow.
In Candlewicke street	— —C	— —	— —	—			—		
			Sum totall, &c.	1308	17	1	b	q	

LONDON without the Walles, in the Suburbes.

Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value l.	s.	d.	ob.	q.	
Westminster —	Saint *Peter* — M	*Seabert*, King of the East-Saxons, *circa* 604. *Dunston*, Arch-B. *Cant.* King *Edward* the Confessor. Benef. *Simon Langham*, Ar. B. *Cant.* K. *Henry* 3. new built it, in the space of 50 yeeres, begun 1220, 5 *H.* 3, finished 1285. 14 *E.* 1: King *Henry* 7. Anno 1502, began the sumptuous new Chappell, at the charges of 14000 pound. King *Henry* 8. at the suppression, in the place of the Monkes, appointed a Deane, and Prebends. Afterward the said King *Henry* 8. in 1541, made it a Bishopricke, *Thomas Thirlby* being made the first and last Bishop thereof. After whom succeeded the Dean and Prebends, which continue to this present. —	Benedictine Monkes-	3977	6	4	b	q	Stow.
Westminster —	Saint *Stephen* —C	King *Stephen*. King *Edward* the third. —	Secular Canons —	1085	10	5	o	o	
Westminster —	Saint *Iames* — H	The Citizens of *London* long before the Conquest. —	14 Leprous Maides —	100	o	o	o	o	
Westminster, *Iuxta* Charing-Crosse, a Cel to our Lady of Rounciuall in Nauarre —	Saint *Mary* Cell-	Suppressed by K. *Henry* 5. among the Priories aliens. K. *Edward* 4. reedified it, 1474, 15 *E.* 4	— —						
Westminst. S. Giles in the Fields —	Saint *Giles* —H	Queene *Maude*, wife to King *Henry* 1 1117. 17 *H.* 1. —	— —						
Westminster the Sanoy —	Saint *Iohn Bap.* H	*Peter* of *Sauoy*, vncle to Q. *Eleanor*, wife to K. *H.* 3, first built there a goodly house, which after came to the House of *Lancaster*. King *Henry* 7, 1509, made it an Hosp. Queene *Mary* repaired it, and gaue much Lands therto. 1556. 4 Q. *Mary*	— —	529	15	7	b	o	

	Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Tyme.	Order.	Value. l.	s.	d.	ob.	q.
	Weſtminſter in Tote-hill ſtreete	— — H	*Anne*, Lady *Dacres*, Daughter to Sir *Rich. Sackvile* Knight, and wife vnto *Giles*, Lord *Dacres* of the South, *tem. Elizabeth Regina*.	20 VVomen. 20 Children.	100	0	0	0	0
Stow.	*Extra* Alderſgate	— — H	Suppreſſed by King *Henry* the fifth, amongſt Priories aliens.	Cluniacks	-	-	-	-	-
Stow.	*Extra* Alderſg. in S. Botolphes Church	S. *Fabian* S. *Sebaſtia* H	Firſt founded in 1377. 51 *E.* 3 — King *Henry* the fourth confirmed it. *Ioane Aſtley* Nurſe, to King *Henry* 6. by the licence of *Robert Cawod* *Thomas Smith*. K. *H.* 6, founded it for a brotherh.	A Maſter 2 VVardens Brothers Siſters.	30	0	0	0	0
	Ankerake neer S. Bartholm. in Smithfield	— —	*Katherine*, wife to *William Hardell*, 1226. 11 *Henry* 3.						
Stow.	*Extra* Algate	S. *Clare* —N	*Edmund* Earle of Lancaſter, Leice. & Derby, brother to *E.* 1. and *Blanch* his wife, Q. of *Nauarre*. 1292. 21 *E.* 1	Nunnes Minorites	418	8	5	0	0
Stow.	Bethelem *Extra* Biſhopſgate	Saint *Mary* —H	*Simon Fitz-Mary*, Sheriffe of *London*, 1246, 31 *H.* 3. *Steph Iennings*, Mayor of *Lond.* a ben. King *Henry* 8. at the ſuppreſſion gaue this Hoſpitall to the City, 1546.	Canons	-	-	-	-	-
	Charter-Houſe in S. Iohns ſtr.	Saint *Mary* — M	Sir *Walter Manny* of *Cambrey* Knight, one of the Founders of the Garter. 1371. 46 *E.* 3.	Carthuſians	736	2	7	0	0
Stow.	Clerken-VVell	Saint *Mary* — N	*Iurden Briſſet* Baron, the ſon of *Ralph*, and *Muriel* his wife, 1100. 1 *H.* 1 —	Blacke Nunnes	282	16	5	0	0
Stow.	*Extra* Creeple-gate	— — N	Suppreſſed by K. *Henry* 5. amongſt the Priories aliens.	Cluniacks	-	-	-	-	-
	Extra Creeple in Saint Giles Church	S. *Mary* S^t *Giles* Broth	Queene *Maude*, wife to K. *Henry* 1 *Ioh. Belancer* repaired it, 1360. 35 *E.* 3	A Brotherhood					
	Extra Biſhopſga.	Saint *Mary* — P	*Walter Brune*, and *Roiſe* his VVife, 1197. 9 *R.* 1	Canons Regular	557	14	10	b	0
	In Fleetſtreete the new Temple.	Saint *Mary* — T	Founded by the Knights, Templers, *temp. H.* 2, whoſe order began 1118. 19 *H.* 1. *Heroclius* Patriarke of Ieruſalem, conſecrated it, 1185, 32 *H.* 2. This order was put downe by parliamẽt, *temp. E.* 1, and their Lands giuen to the Hoſpitaliers of Saint *Iohn* of *Ieruſalem*.	Knights Templers					
			Richard, Lord *Grey* of *Codnor*, 1241. 26 *H.* 3 King *Edward* the 1. gaue them great Lands. *Hugh Courtney*, Earle of *Deuon*. 1350. 24 *E.* 3, new built it.						
Stow.	In Fleet-ſtreete-	S. *Mary* — F	Sir *Robert Knowles*, a Norfolk Knight, built the waſt part of the Church, *temp. R.* 2 *Robert Marſhall* B. of Hereford, built the Quier, Presbytery, and Steeple, *temp. H.* 4 *Iohn Lusken* Mayor of *London*, a great Benefactor.	Carmelites or white Friers	63	11	4	0	0
	Haliwell —	S. *Iohn Baptiſt* — N	One of the Biſhops of *London*. *Stephen de Grauesend*, Biſhop of *Londõ*, 1318, a benefactor. Sir *Tho. Louell*, Knight of the Garter new built, *temp. H.* 7	Blacke Nunnes —	347	1	3	0	0
Stow.	In Holborne —	Saint *Mary* — T	Founded by the Knights Templers themſelues, ruinated 1184, 31 *H.* 2 —	Knights Templers —	-	-	-	-	-
Stow.	In Holborne —	— — H	Suppreſſed by K. *Henry* 5. amongſt the Priories aliens.	Cluniack Monkes —	-	-	-	-	-
Leland.	In Saint Iohns ſtreete	Saint *Iohn* — P	*Iurden Briſet*, and *Murial* his wife, 1100. *temp. Henry* the firſt. *Heraclius* Patriarke of *Ieruſalem*, conſecrated it in 1185. 32 *H.* 2. Sir *Thomas Pockerey* Prior, repaired it, in 1504. 20 *H.* 7 *Iudas Maccabeus*, and *Ioſes Hircanus* firſt Founders of the Order at *Ieruſalem*, and of the Hoſpitall for the vſe of Souldiers maimed by the Infidels. *Raimundus de Podio*, made the Statutes for the Order.	Hoſpitaliers of the Order of S^t *Ioh.* of Ieruſalem.	2385	19	8	0	0
	In VVeſt-Smithfield —	S. *Bartholmew* — M	King *Henry* the firſt, *Alius Rahere* a Prior, and Minion to King *Henry* the firſt, 1102. 3 *H.* 1.	Blacke Canons Reg.	757	8	4	b	q
	In Weſt-Smithfield —	S. *Bartholmew* — H	*Rahere*, Minion to K. *H.* 1, 1102, 3 *H.* 1 The laſt Prior P. *Balton*, a great benef. King *Henry* the 8. gaue this Hoſpital to the Citizens.	Blacke Canons —	305	6	7	0	0
	EaſtSmithfield new Abbey —	Saint *Mary de Gratia* —	King *Edward* the third, 1359. 34 *E.* 3 —	Ciſtercian Monkes —	602	11	10	b	0

Neere

Places.	Dedications.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. l.	s.	d.	ob.	q.	
Neer the Tower	St *Katherine* — H	Queene *Maud*, wife to King *Stephen*. Queene *Eleonor*, wife to King *Edward* the first, reedified it. *Thomas Bekinton*, B. Bath and Welles, *temp. H. 6.* a great Benefactor. —	A VVarden, 3 Chaplaines, 3 Sisters, 18 Poore women, 6 Poore Clerkes.	315	14	2	0	0	
In White-Crosse street-reete-	Saint *Giles* — H	King *Henry* the fifth. —	Of the French Order.						
			The sum totall, &c.	12595	8	0	0	0	

MIDDLE-SEX.

Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. l.	s.	d.	ob.	q.	
Iuxta Brainford-	*Ecclesia sanctorũ Angelorum* — F	*John Sommerset*, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the Kings Chaplaine. —	— —	-	-	-	-	-	
Hownslow —	— *Domus*	—	Captiues —	80	15	0	b	0	
Kilbourne —	Saint *Mary* — N	—	Blacke Nunnes —	86	7	6	0	0	
Langlye —	— —	The Earle of *Derby*.	— —						
Okeburne —	— P Alien	—	— —						
Stanes —	— — P	*Ralph de Stafford*.	— —						
Bromley —	Saint *Leonard*-M	King *Henry* the second. *William* Bishop of *London*. Sir *Ralph Rosseline* Knight, gaue them that Mannor.	Nunnes, *alijs* White Monkes--	121	16	0	0	0	
Sion —	St *Saviour* S. *Mary*, S *Bridget* of Sion — M	King *Henry* the fift, 1413. 2 *H.5.* —	Nunnes Priests } Augusti.	1944	11	8	0	q	Leland.
Vxbridge —	Saint *Mary* — M	*Hugh Rowse*. —							
Vxbridge —	S. *Margaret* Chap. of ease	*Robert Oliuer*, *Thomas Mandin*, *John Palmer*, *John Barford* of Vxbridge, 1447. 16 *H.6.* —	— —	7	13	4	0	0	
			Sum totall, &c.	2241	3	6	b	q	

NORFOLKE.

Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. l.	s.	d.	ob.	q.	
Norwich Episcopall Sea produced from the Abbey of Fescamp in Normandy.	Saint *Trinity* — M	*Sigebert*, King of the East-Saxons, instituted an Episcopall Sea at *Dunwich*, appointing *Fœlix* the Burgundian the first Bishop, *circ.* 640. which Sea was after diuided into two places, *viz.* at *Dunwich* and *Elmeham*, afterwards it came to bee seated at *Elmeham* alone. Bishop *Axfastus* translated the Sea to *Thetford*. *William Herbert de Losing*, first Bishop of *Norwich*, translated his Sea from *Thetford* to *Norwich*, and founded a Monastery and Cathedrall Church, his Palace, and diuers Parish Churches, *temp.* K. *H.* 1. *John* of *Oxford*, Bishop of *Norwich*, finished the worke begun by his predecessor *William Herbert de Losing*, *temp.* King *Iohn*. *Walter de Suffield*, B. *Norwich*, founded the Chappell of our *Lady* in the Cathedrall Church, *temp. Henry* the third. Bishop *Middleton* repaired the Church, *temp. E.* 1. Bishop *Salmon* built a Chappel at the West end of the Church, and instituted there foure Priests. He built the great Hall, and a Chappell in the Bishops Pallace, *temp. E.* 1. Bishop *Percy* gaue 400 marke towards the repairing of the Church, and leuied a greater summe of the Clergy for the same purpose, *temp. Edward* 3. Bishop *Wakering* founded the Cloysters, *temp. H.* 5. —	Benedictine Monkes-	1061	14	3	b	0	Godwin.
Norwich —	Saint *Mary* — F	*Philip Cowgate* Mayor of *Norwich*, 1268. 53 *H.* 3. —	Carmelite Fryers —						
Norwich —	Saint *Francis* — F	*Iohn de Hastingford*. —	Franciscan Friers —						
Norwich —	Saint *Dominick*-F	—	Dominican Friers —						
Norwich —	Saint *August.* — F	One of the Bishops of *Norwich*. —	Augustine Fryers —						
Norwich —	Saint *Giles* — H	*Walter de Suffield*, alias *Calthorpe*, Bishop of *Norwich*, *temp. H.* 3. —	A Master, 3 Priestes, 12 Poor Women	90	12	00	00	0	Leland.

Aldby

	Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Tyme.	Order.	Value. l.	s.	d.	b	q.
Leland	Aldby a Cell to the Monaſtery of Norwich.	— —	*Agnes de Beauſoe.*	— —	-	-	-	-	-
	Attilburgh —	S. *Croſſe* — C	Sir *Robert Mortimer* Knight —	— —	21	16	0	b	o
Leland	Beeſton —	— — P	The Lady *Creſſy* —	— —	50	6	4	b	q
Leland.	Binham a Cell to S. *Albans* —	— — P	*Robert de Valoins* —	— —	160	1	0	0	0
Leland	Blackburgh —	— — N	*Roger Salies*, and *Muriall* his wife —	Nunnes —	76	3	9	b	o
	Blakeney —	S. *Mary* — F	*Robert*, Lord *Roſſe*; Sir *Robert Bacon* Knight; Sir *Iohn Bret* Knight — 1321. 15 *E.2.*	Carmelite Fryers —					
Leland.	Bukenham —	S. *Iames* — P	*William de Albeny* —	Blacke Canons —	131	11	0	0	0
Leland	Norwich —	S. *Paul* — H	*Eberard* ſecond B. Norwich, *temp. H.1* —	— —	-	-	-	-	-
	Bromhall in Windſor Foreſt —	— — P	*Edward* the blacke Prince —	— —					
	Bromholme —	S. *Sepulcher* — P	*G. de Glanuile* —	Cluniack Monkes —	144	19	0	b	q
	Bromholme —	S. *Andrew* — P	*William de Ganuile* —	Benedictine Monkes					
	Brunham —	S. *Mary* — F	Sir *Ralph Hampnall*; Sir *William Calthrope* — 1241. 26 *H.3.*	White Fryers —	2	5	4	0	0
	Budham —	S. *Mary* — P	— —	Blacke Canons —					
	Carew —	S. *Mary* — N	King *Stephen* —	Blacke Nunnes —	84	12	1	b	q
	Carbroke —	S. *Ioh.* Ieruſalē — P	— —	Hoſpitaliers of Saint *Iohn* of Ieruſalem. —	65	2	9	b	0
	Caſtle-acre, a Cell to Lewis Abbey —	S. *Mary* — M	*William*, Earle *Warrein*; Benefactors: *Hameline Plantaginet.*, *Robert de la Haye.*, *Robert Freuileer*, *Roger* the Sew; *Roger Coney.*, *Robert Harny*, *Ralph Beaufoe*, *Fred. Crapeuile*	Cluniack Monkes —	324	17	5	b	q
	Crabehouſe —	— — N	— —	Nunnes Auguſtines —	31	16	7	0	0
	Flytham, a Cel to Walſinghā..	— — N	— —	Nunnes —	62	10	6	b	0
Leland.	Hempton, *alias* Falkindinham —	Saint *Mary* St *Stephen* — P.	*Roger de S. Martin*, alijs *Richard Ward*, Canon there. —	Blacke Canons Aug.	39	0	9	0	0
	Heringby —	— — C	— —	— —	23	6	5	0	0
	Hilderlands —	— — H	— —	— —	0	14	0	0	0
Leland	Horſham —	Saint *Faith* — P	*Walter Fitzroger* Knight, *aliis Robert Fitzwalter.* —	Monks Benedictines	193	2	3	b	0
	Hulme —	S. *Benedict* — M	*Canutus* the Dane, King of *England*, *circa* 1026. after K. *Edw.* the Confeſſor	Benedictine Monkes	677	9	8	0	q
	Falkenham —	— — P	— —	— —					
Leland.	Hikling —	— — P	*Theobald de valentia.* —	Blacke Canons —	137	0	1	b	q
Leland.	Rockesford —	— — M	*Will. Cheney* Kt, *John Cheney*, *Heruey Bilet* — Found. — *Anne Cheney*, *Micha. Bilet*, *Anne Verdun.* — Benef.	Blacke Canons —	153	7	1	0	0
Leland.	Langley —	— — M	*Fundator anteceſſor vxoris Franciſci Pigot Militis, & eiuſdem vxoris Sororum.* Vide Hertf. and Leiceſter.	Nnunes —	128	19	9	b	0
	Saint *Mary* in the fields, *iuxta* Norwich —	S. *Mary* — C	*Iohn Browne* Prieſt —	A Deane; Prebends					
	Marmound —	— — N	— —	White Nunnes Gilb.	13	6	1	b	0
Leland.	Markham Barbara —	S *Barbara* — N	*Hugh*, Earle of Arundel, and the Counteſſe of Warren his wife. —	Ciſtercian Nunnes —	42	4	7	b	q
Leland.	Penteney and Wormegay —	S. *Mary Mag.* M	*Robert de vaulx*, Aliis *Robart*, Lord of *Belnoir*, And *Reginald de Warren.* —	Blacke Canons —	215	18	8	0	0
Leland	Ruſhworth —	S. *Iohn* the Euangeliſt — C	*Edmund Gunnile*, Parſō of Ruſhworth, *temp. E.3.*; Sir *Robert Wingfield* Knight, and *Anne* his wife, heire generall to *Edmund Gunnile.* Benefactors. —	— —	85	15	0	b	0
	Linne —	S. *Mary* — F	- - - Lord *Bardolfe*; - - - Lord *Scales*; St *Iohn de Wigenhall* Kt. — 1269. 54 *H.3*	Carmelite Fryers —	1	15	8	0	0
	Linne —	S. *Dominick* — F	*Thomas Godney.* —	Blacke Friers —					
	Linne —	S. *Francis* — F	*Thomas de Pelleſham* —	Franciſcan Fryers —					
Leland.	Linne, a Cell to the Abbey of Norwich —	— — P	*Herbert*, Biſhop of Norwich, *temp. H.1* —	— —	—	—	—		
	Linne —	S. *Iohn* — H	— —	— —	7	6	11	0	0
	Maſſingham a Cell to Weſtacre —	— — P	— —						
	Raueningham —	Saint *Mary* — C	Sir *Iohn de Norwich* Knight, *temp. E.3* —	A Maſter; 8 Prieſts —					
	S. *Olaue* —	Saint *Olaue* — P	*Roger Fitzosbert.*; - - - *Geruegan* benefactor. —						
Leland.	Shouldham —	Saint *Mary* St *Croſſe* — P	*Geffrey Fitzpiers*, E. of Eſſex, *temp.* K. *Iohn.*	White Canōs Gilbert. White Nuns —	171	6	8	0	0
	Thetford —	St *Trinity* — F	*Arfaſt*, Biſhop of *Elmeham*, made it an Epiſcopall Sea, *temp. Edw. Conf.*; *Henry* Duke of Lancaſter, made it a Friery, *temp. Edw. 3.* —	Fryers Preachers —					

Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Tyme.	Order.	Value.	
				l. s. d. ob. q	
Thetford —	S. *Augustine* —F	*Iohn of Gaunt* Duke of *Lanc. temp. Rich.2.*	Augustine Friers —		
Thetford —	S. *Sepulcher* —F	- - - - - Earle *Warren* —	Blacke Friers —		
Thetford —	S. *Mary* / S. *Iohn* P	*Iohn* Earle *Warren* / Alijs *Roger Bigod* Earle of Norfolke	Blacke Canons —	49 18 1 0 0	Ieland.
Thetford —	S. *Gregory* —N	An Abbot of *Bury* —	Blacke Nuns Bened.	50 9 8 0 0	Ieland.
Thetford —	Saint *Andrew* M	*Hugh Bigot*, Steward to King *H.1.* and *Adeline* his wife —	Blacke Monkes / Clunicenses	418 6 3 b 0	
Thetford —	Saint *Mary* —C	— —	A Master / - - -Fellowes	169 0 7 0 0	
Thetford —	S. *Mary Mag.* / S. *Io. Baptist*	*Iohn VVarren* Earle of *Surrey* —	— —		
Tomeston —	— —C	*Thomas de Shardelow*, and *Iohn* his brother, 1348. 23 *Edw.3.* —	A Master / 2 Fellowes / 6 Chaplaines	52 15 7 b 0	Leland.
Walburne —	— —P	*Ralfe Mingwarin* —	— —	28 7 2 0 0	Leland.
Walsingham —	Saint *Mary* —M	Sir *Ralfe Fanorcheffe* Knight — Benefactors: *Gilbert de Clare*, Earle of *Glouceſter*; *Edmond* Earle of *March*; *Eliz. de Burgo*, Counteſſe *Ulſter*; - - - Lord *Morley* Marſhal of *Ireland*	Canons Regulat —	446 14 4 b 0	Leland.
Wendling —	— —M	*William de VVendling* Priest, —	White Can. Premóſt.	55 18 4 b q	
Weſtacre —	S. *Mary* / *All Saints* P	*Ralfe Toney* Knight, Benefactors: *Roger de Toney* / *Ralfe de Toney* ſonnes of *Ralfe*; *Oſmund de Stutvile*; *VVilliam* ſonne of *Stangrime*; *Thomas de Ingleſharpe*; *Robert de Scales*; *Tugkill* the Merchant; *Ioldewine* ſonne of *Eudo de Nirford*; *Godfrey de Quatremerth*; *John Grey* of *Norburgh* Knight; *Geffrey* ſonne of *Walter* of *Marham*; *William* ſonne of *Simon de Roudham*	Blacke Can. Auguſt.	308 19 11 b q	Leland.
Weſt-dereham —	—M	*Hubert Walter*, A.B. *Cant. temp.* King *Iohn*	VVhite Canons —	252 12 11 b 0	Godwin
VVimondham	Saint *Mary* —M	*William Dobigny* Earle of *Arundell*, Butler to King *Henry* the first —	Blacke Monkes of Saint *Albans* / Blacke Canons de Martiall	72 5 4 0 0	
Witham —	*Winewald* —P	— —			
VVeybridge or Wexbridge	S. *Margaret* —P	*Robert Oliuer*, *Thomas Munday*, *John Palmar*, *John Barford* —	— —	7 83 4 0 0	
Wrongey a cel to Pereney	— Cell	— —	— —		
Yarmouth —	— Cell	*William Herbert* of *Lozing* firſt B. *Norwich*, *temp H.1.* —	— —		Leland
Yarmouth —	Saint *Mary* —F	King *Edward* the firſt, 1278. 7 *E.1.* —	Carmelite Friers —		
Yarmouth —	Saint *Dominick* F	*Thomas Eaſtolfe*, *Geffrey Pilgrim* —	Dominican Friers —		
Yarmouth —	Saint *Francis* —F	Sir *William Gerbrigge* Knight, —	Franciſcan Friers —		
Iuxta Yarmouth in Caſtret-leg	S. *Iohn Baptiſt* —C	*Robert de Caſtre*, *Iohn Faſtolfe* Eſquier, Father to Sir *John Faſtolfe* —	— —		
Yngham —	S. *Mary* / S. *Trinity* P	Sir *William Staferton* Knight —	Saint *Trinity* and redeemed captiues, *Alias* Blacke Monkes of Saint *Albans*	74 2 7 b 0	Leland.
— —	— —F	— —	Friers Preachers —	18 0 0 0	
— —	— —F	— —	Auguſtine Friers —	1 4 6 0 0	
			Sum totall,	£6128. 7. 2. 0. q.	

NORTHAMPTON-SHIRE.

Places.	Dedications.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value	
				l. s. d. ob. q.	
Northampton —	Saint *Iames* —M	— —	Blacke Canons —	213 17 2 b 0	
Northampton —	S. *Mary* / S. *Andrew* P	*Simon de Sancto Licio*, firſt Earle of *Northampton*, *temp. H.1.* —	Blacke Monkes —	334 13 7 0 0	
Northampton —	S. *Mary de pratis*, or *de laprey* N	*Simon de Saint Liz*, ſecond Earle of *Northampton*, *temp.* King *Steph.*	Nunnes —	119 9 7 0 q	
Northampton —	Saint *Francis* F	— —	Franciſcan Friers —	6 17 4 0 0	
Northampton —	Saint *Mary* —F	*Simon Mountfort* Knights, 1271. *Thomas Chitwood.* 56 *H.3.*	Carmelite Friers —	10 10 0 0 0	
Northampton —	Saint *Dominick* F	— —	Blacke Friers —	5 7 10 0 0	
Northampton —	Saint *Mary* —N	— —	Blacke Nunnes —		
Northampton —	S. *Auguſtine* —F	*Iohn de Longauile*, 1322. 16 *E.2.* —	Auguſtine Friers —		
Aſhby —	Saint *Mary* —P	— —	Canons —	127 19 0 0 0	
Catesby —	S. *Mary* / S. *Thomas* N	— —	Gilbertines / Ciſtercian Nuns	145 0 6 0 0	
Chacombe —	Saint *Peter* / Saint *Paule* P	*Hugh de Anaf* Knight *Item. W. Conq.*; Alijs Sir *Hugh de Awreſey* *Alias* 1185.; and *William Knowles* 32 *H.2.*	Blacke Can. Auguſt.	93 6 3 b 0	
Cotherſtoke —	— —C	*Iohn Gifford* Clerke, 1347. 22. *Edw.3.* —	— —		
Dauentrey —	S. *Auguſtine* —P	*Hugh de Faleſley* Knight —	Blacke Monkes / Clunicenſes	236 7 6 0 0	Cambd.

	Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Tyme.	Order.	Value. l.	s.	d.	ob.	q.
	Finiſhed the Church of S. *Maries* of the Caſtle of Hyniell	S. *Mary* the Virgin M	*Richard Engaigne*		62	16	0	0	0
Leland	Foderinghey	S. *Mary* All Saints C	*Edmond* of *Langhley* D. of *Yorke*, 3ē. *E.* 3. King *Henry* 4. and Queene *Ioane* his wife 13. *H.* 4. King *Henry* the 5. *Edw.* Duke of *Yorke*, 1415. 2. *H.* 5 Benef.	A Maſter 12 Chaplaines 8 Clarkes 13 Choriſters	419	11	10	b	0
	Gare	S. *Mary Mag.* N		Blacke Nunnes					
	Higham ferrars	— C	*Henry Chicheley*, Arch-B. of *Canterbury temp. Hen.* 6.		156	2	7	b	0
	Brackley	— C	The Lord *Zouches*						
	Ittelingburgh	— C	*John de la Poole*	A Deane 6. Clarkes	64	12	10	b	0
	Iuxta Kingſthorpe	Saint *David* — H			24	6	0	0	0
Leland.	Peterborough	Saint *Peter* — M	*Panda* *Wolfer* *Ethelbred* ſucceſſiuely Kings of *Mercia*, and brothers, beganne 54ē. finiſhed 633. Benefactors. *Ernulfus* Biſhop of *Rocheſter* King *Edgar* *Adulfus* Chancellor to King *Edgar* *Ethelwold* Biſhop of *Wincheſter* King *Henry* the 8. made it an Epiſcopall Sea, inſtituted a Biſhop, a Deane, and 6. Prebendes	Benedictine Monkes	1972	7	0	b	q
	Pipewell	Saint *Mary* — M	*William Botevilley* *Robert Botevilley* *Randolph* E. of *Cheſter* benef. *temp. H.* 2.	Ciſtercian Monkes	347	8	0	b	0
	Rothewell	S. *Iohn Baptiſt* — N		Nunnes	10	10	4	0	0
	Saint Dauid	S^t *Trinity* Saint *Mary* P		Blacke Canons					
	Sewesby or Sewardeſley	S. *Mary Magdelen* N		Blacke Nunnes	18	11	2	0	0
	Stanford	— N		Nunnes					
Leland.	Sulby	Saint *Mary* — M	Sir *William de Wodevile* K^t tem. K. *Step.* Sir *Robert Ramſey* Knight, benefact.	White Can. (Lel.) *Aliis* Black Mon.	305	8	5	b	0
	Towceſter	— C	*William* ponne D. of Divinity, and Perſon of Towceſter, *temp. H.* 5.		19	6	8	0	0
Cambd.	VVedon	— N	*Werburge* daughter of *Wolfer* K. of *Mercia*		-	-	-	-	-
	Withorpe	— M		Blacke Monkes					
		S. *Leonard* — H			10	0	0	0	0
		S. *Iohn* — H			25	6	2	b	q
		All-Saints — C			1	19	4	0	0
		S. *Michael* — P		Blacke Monkes					
				Sum totall, &c.	4731.	15.	6.	0.	q

NOTTINGHAM-SHIRE.

	Places.	Dedications.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. l.	s.	d.	ob.	q.
	Nottingham	Saint *Mary* — F	*Reginald* L. *Grey* of *Wilton* Sir *Iohn Sherley* Knight, 1276. 5 *E.* 1.	White Friers					
	Nottingham	Saint *Francis* — F	King *Henry* the third	Franciſcan Fryers					
	Nottingham	— H	*Iohn Plomtree*						
Leland.	Beauvale	— P	*Iohn de Cantilupe* *Nicholas de Cantelupe* Confirmed by *E.* 3. 1344. 19 *E.* 3 *Edward Baliall* K. of *Scots* Sir *William de Albroke* K^t benefactors	Carthuſian Mon. *Aliis* Ciſtercians	227	8	0	e	0
	Bawtree	— H			6	6	8	0	0
	Bingham	S. *Mary* — C	*Edward Baliall* K. of *Scots* *William de Albroke* K^t benefactors		40	11	0	0	0
	Blithe	Saint *Mary* — P	*Roger Buſly* *Fouke de Liſieurs*	Blacke Monkes	116	8	2	b	q
	Blithe	— H			8	14	0	0	0
	Brodham	— P	*Agnes*, wife of *Peter de Golfa*	Nunnes	16	5	2	0	0
	Clifton	— C			20	2	6	0	0
	Felley	S. *Mary* — M	The Anceſtors of Sir *Iohn Chough* *Iohn Talbot* E. of *Shrewesbury*	Blacke Monkes	61	4	8	0	0
	Lenton	S. *Trinity* — P	*VVilliam Peverell* Earle of *Nottingham* baſe ſonne of King *VVilliam* the *Conq.* *Adeline* his wife	Cluniac Monkes	417	19	3	e	0
	In Mariſco apud Capell. Sancti Thomæ Ebor	— Cell			63	6	8	0	0
	Matterſey		The Anceſtors of *Edw. Tirland*		61	17	7	0	0
	New Steed, or *Nouo-loco* in Shirwood	Saint *Mary* — P	King *Henry* the ſecond	White Canons *Premonſtratenſ.*	219	18	8	b	e
	Rufford	— M	- - - - L. *Beaumont*	Ciſtercian Monkes	254	6	8	0	e
	Shelford	— P	*Ralph Hanſelin* & *H. Norris* Anteceſſor		151	14	1	0	e
Leland	Southwell	— C	*Paulinus*, firſt Arch-B. *Yorke*, *circa* 635. *Tho* Arch-B. *Yorke*, 3ē. *H.* 1. *Tho. Rotheram* A.B. *T.* 3ē. *H.* 7. benefa.		39	5	6	b	0

Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Tyme.	Order.	Value l.	s.	d.	ob.	q.
Thurgarton —	Saint *Peter* — P	S[t] *Ralfe D'eincourt*, & confirmed *per Regē*	Blacke Canons —	359	15	10	0	0
Wallingwells —	— —N	- -L. *Fitz-Hugh*, Ancest. to the L. *Dacres*	Nunnes —	87	11	6	0	0
VVelbeck —	Saint *Iames* —P	*Thomas de Cokeney* —	VVhite Canons Promonstratens.	298	4	8	0	0
VVorkesope —	S. *Mary* of Radford M	*William* Lord *Louetoft*, and the Ancestors of the E. of *Shrewsbury*	Blacke Canons —	302	6	10	0	0
			Sum totall, &c.	2763.	7.	7.	b.	q.

NORTHVMBERLAND.

Places.	Dedications.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value l.	s.	d.	ob.	q.	
Alba launda or Blaunche land —	— M	The Ancestors of the E. of *Westmorlād* King *Iohn* confirmed it, 1214. 16 *Iohn*. *Iohn de Torington*, a benefactor —	Cistercian Monkes -	44	9	1	b	0	
Alnewicke —	Saint *Mary* —F	*Iohn* L. *Vesey* (*Antecessor Comitis Northumbriæ*) first bringer in of this Order, comming out of the holy Land. A D. 1240. 25 *Hen.* 3. —	Carmelite or VVhite Fryers	194	7	0	0	0	
Barwicke —	S[t] *Mary* —F	Sir *Iohn Grey* Knight, 1270. 55 *H.* 3. —	White Fryers —						
Brekenbourne -	— —P	*William de Bartram* the elder, Father to *Roger de Bartram*, *temp.* K. *Iohn*.	— —	77	0	0	0	0	
Frameland, Feren-Eland or Flaueland	— Cell	— —	— —	12	17	8	0	0	
Hexham —	— P	The Ancestors of one of the A. B. of *Yorke*	— —	138	1	9	0	0	
Holiscombe —	— —N	— —	Nunnes -	15	10	8	0	0	
Holy Iland —	— Cell	— —	— —	60	5	0	0	0	
Lambley —	— —N	- - - -L. *Luey* —	Nunnes —						
Newcastle —	S. *Bartholmew* N	King *Henry* the first —	Nunnes —	37	4	2	0	0	
Newcastle —	Saint *Francis* —F	— —	Gray Friers —						
Newcastle —	S. *Mary* —F	King *Edward* the first —	VVhite Friers —						
Newcastle —	S. *Mary Mag.* H	King *Henry* the first —	Nunnes —	9	11	4	0	0	
New-Monastery, *alias* New-Minster	— —M	*Raynulfe de Morley* —	— —	140	10	4	0	0	
Oningham a cell to Hexhā	— Cell	— —	— —	13	4	8	0	0	
Tinmouth a Cell to Saint Albans in Hertfordshire	— —N	*Robert de Mowbrey* Earle of *Northumberland*, *temp. Willielmi Conq.* Alijs *Tosti* Earle of *Yorke*, brother to King *Herold*.	Nunnes —	511	4	1	b	0	Leland.
		The totall sum of the valuations of this County, besides many others vnvalued at the suppressions of their Monasteries, is		1254.	5.	10l	01	0	

Colledges	Founders	Students	An. Dō.	Benefactors	Guiftes	Kings Raignes.	Residents	
1 Vniuersity Coll.	*Elfred* K. of the *West-Saxons*, for the ſtudy of Diuinity, Philoſophy, & the other Arts, laid the foundation of *Oxford*: Vniuerſity, and of that Colledge that beareth name, A.D.872. Which being deſtroyed by the *Danes* deſolations, was reſtored by *William* B. of *Durham*, who inſtituted therein —	A Maſter 3 Fellowes A Bible-Clarke	1217	*Walter Skirlow*, Arch-Deacon of *Durham* —	3 Fellowſhips.	K. *Hen.* 4.	A Maſter 8 Fellowes A Bible-clarke Seruants, Commoners, and other Students, to the number of	69.
				Henry Percy E. of *Northumb.* —	3 Fellowſhips.			
				R. Dudley E. of *Leiceſter* —	1 Exhibitions each 20: pounds per annum —			
				Iohn Friſtone —	2 Exhibitiōs 20. pounds in all per annum —			
				Gunſley —	2 Exhibitions —			
				Mr. Payne —	1 Exhibition 8. pounds —			
2 Baliol Coll.	*Iohn Baliol*, and *Dervorguilla* his wife, parents to *Iohn Baliol* King of *Scots* built this Colledg bearing their name, and inſtituted —	A Maſter 10 Fellowes 11 Schollers	1263	*Philip Somervill* *Margt* his wife. *Ella de Longſpee* Counteſſe of *Salisbury* — *Richard de Humſingore* — L. *Will. Felton* — *Hugh de Vienna* Knight —	- - - - -		A Maſter 12 Fellowes. 13 Schollers. 4 Exhibitioners. Seruants, Commoners &c.	136.
				Iohn Bell, B. of *Worceſter* —	2 Exhibitions of 3. pounds per annum —	Q. *Ma.*		
				Will. Hammond of *Gilford*, Eſq. —	1500. pounds —	Q. *Eliz.*		
				Peter Blundill of *Tiuerton* —	1 Fellowſhip —	K. *Iames*		
					1 Schollerſhip —			
				L. *Eliz. Periā* of the County *Buck.*	1 Fellowſhip —	K. *Iames*		
					2 Schollerſhips —			
				Thomas Tiſdale of *Glympton*, *Com. Oxon.* Eſq. gaue —	5000. l. for the eſtabliſhing of 7 Fellowſhips 6 Schollers.	K. *Iames*		
				Mary Dumch —	1 Exhibitiō 10. l.	K. *Iames.*		
				Ioh. Browne —	1 Exhibition 2. l. 18. s. —	K. *Iames*		
3 Merton Coll.	*Walter de Merton* firſt L. Chancellor of *England* to K *H.* 3. and *E.* 1. and afterwards B. of *Rocheſter*, foūded this Coll. at *Maldō* in *Surrey*, anno 1264. afterwards hee tranſlated it into *Oxford*, and therin ordained —	A Warden Fellowes no certaine number.	1274	*I. Williot*, D. of diuinity, Fellow of *Merton* Coll. Chancellor of *Ex.* founded —	12 Schollerſhips called Poſtmaſters.	K. *Ed.* 3.	A VVarden 21 Fellowes 13 Schollers Seruants, &c.	79.
				Iohn Chambers Fell. of *Merton* Coll. and *Eton*, founded —	2. Poſtmaſters places.	K. *Iames*		
				Thomas Ieſope Fell. of *Merton* Coll. D. of Phyſ. gaue —	20 pounds per annum to mend their diet. —	K. *Iames*		
4 Exceſter Coll.	*Walter Stapledon* B. of *Exceſter*, L. Treaſurer of *England*, foūded *Exceſter* Coll. by the name of *Stapledon*-Hall, in which hee inſtituted —	A Rector 13 Fellowes whereof the Rector is alwaies one, the Chaplain another, A Bible-clerke.	1316	*Edmund Stafford* B. of *Exceſter* added —	2 Fellowſhips —	K. *H.* 4.	A Rector 23 Fellowes A Bible-clarke 2 Penſioners Seruants, Commoners &c. other Students to the number of —	200.
				Sir *William Peter* addded —	8 Fellowſhips —	Q. *Eliz.*		
				Mr *Iohn Periam*, Alderman of the Citty of *Exceſter* gaue —	560. pounds which was imployed in a pyle of building —	K. *Iames*		
				Sir *Iohn Ackland*, a *Deuonſhire* Kt. gaue —	800. pounds with which was built a new Hall 16. poundyeerly for euer to maintaine two Penſioners —	K. *Iames*		

Oriall

Colledges	Founders	Students	An. Dō.	Benefactors	Guiftes	Kings Raignes	Residents
5 Oriall Coll.	King *Edward* the second (as saith the Record) founded this Colledge, and instituted —— *Adam Browne*, Almner to the said King, a speciall Benefactor (if not Founder) and first Prouost	A Prouost 10 Fellows	1327	*John Franke* gaue	4 Fellowships —		A Prouost 18 Fellowes A Bible-clarke 12 Exhibitioners Seruants Comminers, &c. 105
				John Carpenter B. of *Worcester*, gaue ——	1 Fellowship —		
				William Smith Bishop of *Lincolne*, gaue ——	1 Fellowship —		
				Richard Dudley Doctor of Diuinity, and Canon of *Salisbury*, gaue ——	Land for the maintenance of 2 Fellows & exhibitioners built the lodgings —		
				Anthony Blincow, Doctor of Law, and late Prouost gaue by testament ——	The remainder of his estate 200 pounds to build new the forepart of the Coll.	K. *Iames*	
				Edward the third gaue vnto the said Colledge —	The Hospitall of S. *Bartholmews* neer *Oxford* with land for the maintenance of 8 poor men, to be gouerned by the Prouost and Fellowes ——	K. *Edw.*	
				K. *Iames* granted to the said Colledge ——	A new Corporation ——	K. *Iames*	
6 Queens Coll.	*Robert Eglesfield*, Chaplain to Qu. *Philippa Ed.* 3. his wife, vpon his owne ground foūded this Coll. giuing it the name of Queens Hall. Commending the patronage thereof to his Lady the Qu. & to the Queens of *England* successiuely. His proiect was to institute a Prouost and 12 Fellowes, with reference to Christ & his 12 Apostles, and to erect 70 scholler places (with reference to the 70 Disciples) to bee as it were the seed-plot for the fellowes, whom he would haue called to meat by the soūd of a trumpet, & to sit on the one side of the table in scarlet, & oppose the schollers euery meal time. But being cut off from his intent by death, he left setled onely ——	A Prouost 12 Fellowes with liberty to augment their number as their reuenewes increased. Schollers	1340	King *Edward* 3. at the motion of his Queen *Philippa*, gaue —	The Hospitall of S. *Iulian* in the towne of *Southampton*, cōmonly called Gods-house — The aduowsen of the Rectory of *Bletchenden*, neer *Oxford* —	K. *Ed.* 3.	A Prouost 14 Fellowes 7 Schollers 2 Chaplains 2 Clarkes Seruants Comminers and others. 160.
				K. *Ed.* 4. gaue to this Colledge —	The Priory of *Sherburne* in *Hampshire*, by adioyning it to Gods-house —	K. *Ed.* 4.	
				Robert Langton Clerke —	Built the lower part of the Chappel very fairely, where hee lyeth interred		
				Thomas Langton, sometime Prouost B. of *Winchester*, and designed to be Arch B. —	A good benefa.		
				Christopher Banibrigge sometime Prouost, afterward Arch-B. of *Yorke* —	A good benef.		
				Edmund Grindall Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* gaue maintenance for ——	1 Fellow 2 Schollers to be chosen from S. *Bees* in *Cumberland* ——		
				William Feliplace Esquier ——	A good benef.		
				Qu. *Elizabeth* —	A new Corporat	Qu. *Eli.*	
				H. Robinson sometime Prouost —			
				Henry Agray Prouost —	Land and plate	K. *Iames*	
7 New Coll.	*William Wickham* Bishop of *Winchester*, founded this Colledge, dedicating it vnto S. *Mary* the Virgin, & therein ordained ——	A Warden 70 Fellowes 70 Schollers 10 Chaplains 1 Organist 16 Choristers 3 Clarkes 1 Sexton	1379	- - - - - - - - - -			A Warden 70 Fellowes 70 Schollers 10 Chaplains 1 Organist 16 Choristers 3 Clarkes 1 Sexton Seruants, &c. 135.

Colledges	Founders	Students	An. Dō.	Benefactors	Guiftes	Kings Raignes	Residents
8 Lincolne Coll.	*Richard Fleming*, Biſhop of *Lincolne*, laid the foundation of *Lincol.* Colledge, appointing in the ſame —	A Rector 7 Fellowes 2 Chaplains	1420	*John Forreſt* Dean of *Well.*	gaue 5. pounds per annum, built the Chappell Library Hall Kitchin	K. *Hen.* 6	A Rector 14 Fellowes 2 Chaplains 4 Schollers Seruants, Comminers, &c. — 72
				Thomas Belinton B. *Bath-&-Wells.* gaue —	200. l. to build the Rectors lodging.	K. *Ed.* 4.	
				Iohn Southam, Arch-Deacon *Oxon* gaue —	Money & Books	K. *Hen.* 6	
				William Finderne Eſquier, gaue —	A good farme & ſum of mony	K. *Hen.* 6	
				Henry Bowford Card. B. of *Wincheſter*, gaue —	100. Markes —	K. *Hen.* 5	
				Iohn Bucktot, gaue —	The manner of litter Policott in Buckinghamſh.		
				Iohn Crosby treaſurer of *Lincolne* gaue —	100. Markes —		
	Thomas Rotherã, B. of *Lincolne*, a ſecond founder finiſhed this Colledge, appropriated thereto the Perſonage of *Twidford* and *Long-Combe*, added —	5 Fellowes	1479	*Walter Batt* gaue —	A houſe —		
				Edward Darby —	3 Fellowſhips —	K. *Hen.* 8	
				William Dagnill Maior of *Oxon*, gaue —	6. l. 13. s. 4. d. per annum —	K. *Hen.* 8	
				William B *Lincoln* gaue —	the manners of Elſton Chalgraue		
				Edmund Audley —	400. pounds —	Q. *Eli.*	
				Ioan Trapps —	4 Schollerſhips —		
				Richard Kilby late Rector, gaue	200. pounds in bookes, &c. —	K. *Iames*	
9 All-Souls Coll.	*Henry Chichley* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, founded this Colledge, vnto the honour & name of the Soules of the faithfull deceaſed. Indowing the ſame with diuers Manners and Rectories. Inſtituted —	A VVarden 40 Fellows Chaplains Clarkes Choriſters without number	1437	*Reginald Poole* Cardinall Sir *William Peter* Fellow & priuy Councellour to 4 Princes, *H.* 8. *E.* 6. *M.* *E.*	- - - - - - -		A VVarden 40 Fellowes 2 Chaplains 3 Clerks 6 Choriſters Seruants others, — 65
10 Magdelen Coll.	*William Wayneflet*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, founded this ſtately Colledge, and dedicated it vnto S. *Mary Magdalen.* Therein inſtituted —	A Preſident 40 Fellowes 30 Deni-fell. 4 Chaplains 7 Clarkes 16 Choriſters	1459	- - - - - - - - - - -			A Preſident 40 Fellowes 30 Demies 4 Chaplains 8 Clarkes 16 Choriſters 3 Readers 2 Grammer-Schoolmaſters Seruants Comminers. &c. — 151

Braſen-

Colledges	Founders	Students	An. Dō.	Benefactors	Guiftes	Kings Raigns	Residents.	
11 Brasen Nose Coll.	*William Smith* B. of *Lincolne*, first laid the foundation of *Brasennose* Colledge. *Richard Sutton* of *Cheshire*, finished the buildings: and both of them therein appointed —	A Principall. 12 Fellowes.	1513.	*William Clifton.* —	1 Fellowship.	K. *Hen.* 8	A principall. 20 Fellowes. Schollers, Seruants, Commu. &c. to the nnmber of	182
				William Porter. —	1 Fellowship.	K. *Hen.* 8		
				Iohn Elton, alias *Baker.* —	1 Fellowship.	K *Hen.* 8		
				Humfrey Ogle. —	2 Schollerships.	K *Hen.* 8		
				Edward Darby. —	1 Fellowship.	K. *Hen.* 8		
				Iohn Williamson. —	2 Fellowships.	K. *Hen.* 8		
				Brian Higden. —	1 Fellowship.	K. *Edw.* 6		
				Iohn Claymond. —	6 Schollerships.	K. *Hen.* 8		
				Alexander Nouel, Deane of *Pauls.*	13 Schollerships.	Q. *Eliz.*		
				Ioyce Franklin widow, gaue —	1 Fellowship. 4 Schollerships. Additions to the former	Q. *Eliz.*		
				Richard Harper Iustice of the Cōmon Pleas. —	A good benefac.	Q. *Eliz*		
				Iohn Port Knight gaue maintenāce for a —	Philoſoph. Lect. Rhetori Lecture &c.	Q. *Eliz*		
				L. *Mordent* gaue.	3 Schollerships. 4 Almesmen.	Q. *Eliz.*		
				Doct. *Barneston*, gaue an —	Hebrew Lect.	K. *Iames*		
				George Palin gaue	4 Exhibitions.	K. *Iames*		
				Annexed to Brasen nose, are —	Kings Hall. Blacke Hall. White Hall.			
12 Corp° Christi Colledge.	*Richard Foxe*, L. priuy Seale to K. *Henry* 7. Bishop of *Winchester*, and Godfather to K. *Hen.* 8. founded this Colledge of *Corpus Christi*, giuing Lands therto to maintaine	A President. 29 Fellowes 20 Schollers 2 Chaplains. 2 Clerkes. 2 Choristers	1516	*Hugh Oldham* Bishop of *Exceester*, bestowed —	Many buildings.	K. *Hen.* 8	A President. 20 Fellowes. 20 Schollers. 2 Chaplaines. 6 Clerkes. 2 Choristers. Seruants, and Communers, &c.	61.
				Master *Claimond*, first President —	- - - -	K. *Hen.* 8		
				William Frost —	1 Fellowship.	K. *Hen.* 8		
				Master *Moredent*	- - - - -			
				Sir *Rainolds* —	100 choyce Bks.			
				Sir *George Saintpol.* —	100 pound.	K. *Iames*		
13 Christs-Church	*Thomas Wolsey* Cardinall, Arch-Bishop of *Yorke*, with the suppression of forty Monasteries, vpon the old foundation of S^t *Fridswicke*, began the magnificent and large fabricke of Christs-Church, finished only the Hal and Kitchin. King *Henry* the eight established this Church, ordaining it to bee the Cathedral of his new erected Episcopall Sea, and therein instituted —	A Deane. 8 Canons: 60 Students 8 Chaplains 8 Choristers 8 Singing-men. 1 Organist. A Free-sch. for Scholers whose reuenewes were afterward by a visitation in Q. *Maries* time, cōuerted to the maintenance of 40 Students more, which made vp the number of Studēts 100. The 3 publike professors to bee paid frō the Churches reuenew.	1546	Annexed to Chr.	*Canterbury* Coll. founded by *Simō Islip*, A.B. *Cant.* *Peckwaters* Inne, an Almes-house for 24 poor folks	K. *Hen.* 8	A Deane. 8 Canons. 100 Students. 8 Chaplaines. 8 Choristers. 8 Singing-men. 1 Organist. 24 Almes-men. Seruants, Communers, &c.	224.
				Osbo Nicholson —	augmented their Library.	K *Iames*		

Colledges	Founders	Students	An. Dō.	Benefactors	Guiftes	Kings Raignes	Residents.
14 Trinity Col.	*Thomas Hatfield*, Bishop of *Durham*, foūded this House, and gaue it the name of *Durham* Colled. indowing it with maintenance for	8 Monkes. 7 Clerkes.	1518	*Robert Walworth*, Prior of *Durham* gaue to this —	Great Lands.		
	Sir *Thomas Pope*, after the suppression of the former foundation, restored it; and dedicated the Colledge to the holy Trinity, and endowed it with maintenance for	A President 12 Fellowes 12 Schollers	1556	The Lady *Paulet*, wife to Sir *Thomas Pope*, the founder, gaue —	A pension of 100 pound *per annum*.	Q. *Ma.*	A President. 12 Fellowes. 12 Schollers. Seruants, Comminers, &c. — 123.
	Henry Chicheley A. B. of *Canterbury*, among other his buildings laid the foundation of this fabricke, and called it *Bernards* Colledge.	- - - - -	1437				
15 S. Iohns Coll.	After its suppression by K. *Hen.* 8. it was in a dream (*vt traditur*) shewed vnto Sir *Tho. Woite* Knight, Merchant Taylor of *London*, and thereupon was by him new built to the honour of S. *Iohn Baptist*, & endowed with maintenance for	A President. 50 Fellowes. Schollers. 3 Chaplaines. 4 Clerkes. 6 Choristers. 4 Singingmen.	1557	The Company of the Merchant-Taylors in general, and diuers of them in particular haue beene from time to time very beneficiall, more especially Sir *William Crauen* Knight, Merchant Taylor and Alderman of *London*, gaue —	Toward the building of the Library, and furnishing it with 100 Bookes. For the perpetuall patronage of Greeke, 300 *l.* Toward the purchase of *Bagley*, 100 *l.* Many Bookes to the Library, with promise of more A faire paire of Organs to the Chappell. 20 pound *per annū* for the maintenance of an Organist; and is at this present vpon the purchase of land to maintaine a full quier.	K. *James.*	A President. 50 Fellowes. Schollers. 1 Chaplaine. 1 Clerke. Seruants, Comminers, other Students. — 123.
				Sir *William Paddy* Knight, Doctor of Physick, sometime Communer of this Colledge, hath already giuen —			
				Sundry others haue bestowed —	Sums of money, to the building and repairing other parts of the Colledge.		
16 Iesus Coll.	Queene *Elizabeth*, founded this Colledge, and ordained therein —	A Principall 8 Fellowes 8 Schollers	1562	*Hugh Price* D. of Laws, gaue —	600. pounds in buildings	Q. *El.*	A Principall 16 Fellowes 16 Schollers Seruants Comminers other Studentt. — 105
				Herbert Westphaling, B. of *Hereford* —	20. pounds per annum.		
				Henry Rouland, B. of *Bangor* —	20. pounds per annum		
				Owen Wood —	- - - - -		
				Griffith Loyd D. of the Lawes —	15. pounds per annum		
				Griffith Powell, late Principall —	20. Markes per annum	K. *Ia.*	
				Sir *Eubule Thilwall* the present Principall —	A Chappell and much building 8 Fellowships 8 Schollerships		
17 Wadham Coll.	*Nicholas Wadham* of *Somerset-shire*, and *Dorothy* his wife, sister to *Iohn* L. *Peter*, founded this Colledge, and endowed it with maintenance, for —	A VVarden 15 Fellowes 15 Schollers 2 Chaplains 2 Clarkes	1613	*Philip Bisse*, Doctor of Diuinity, Arch-Deacō of *Taunton*, gaue to this Colledge library,	His Study of bookes, which were of a very great value.	K. *Iames*	A VVarden 15 Fellowes 15 Schollers 2 Chaplains 2 Clarkes Seruants Com. &c. — 129

Bead-

Colledges	Founders	Students	An. Dñ.	Benefactors	Guifts	Kings Raignes	Residents.	
1 Broad-gate Hall.	Broadgate Hall, was in the tenure of the Prior and Couent of Saint *Fridiswicke*, and had vnder it two or three Hals, *viz.* Nun-Hall, Mync-Hall, &c. The Monastery, to which it had reference, was restored by *Adolfrid.* ——		1004.				A Principall. The full number of Students residents.	107.
2 Glou-ceſter Hall.	*Iohn, L. Gifford* of *Brimfield*, first built this Hal for the Monkes of *Glouceſter* to study in: After it was augmented by the Monasteries of the Order of Saint *Benedict*, for their Benedictine Monks; and lastly conuerted to a House for Schollers, by Sir *Thomas White*, the founder of Saint *Iohn Baptists* Colledge. —						A Principall. The full number of Students residents, are	52.
3 Edmunds Hall.	*Edmund* Arch-B. of *Canterbury*, canonized and called Saint, built for Students a Hall, which to this day beareth his name. —						A Principall. The full number of Students resident, are	44
4 S. Albons Hall.	The Abbots of Saint *Albons*, to maintaine their Monks to study, built this Hall.						A Principall. The full number of Students resident, are	55
5 Hart-Hall.	*Walter Stapledon* Bishop of *Exeeſt.* founded this hall for Students. —		1316				A Principall. The full number of Students resident, are	85
6 Turlokes Inne, New-Inne.	New-Inne, in the tenure of New-Colledge, it was heretofore called Turlokes-Inne. ——						A Principall. The full number of residents.	10
7 St Mary Hall.	King *Edward* the second founded this Hal, and dedicated it vnto St *Mary*. ——		1327				A Principall. The full number of Residents, are	85
8 Magdelen Hal.	*William Wainflet*, B. of *Winchester*, and founder of *Magdelen* Coll. was also founder of this Hall, bearing the same name, ——		1459				A principall. The full number of Refidents, are	298

The totall number of Students of all degrees in this Vniuersity, hauing names in euery particular Colledge, with the Magistrates and daily Officers thereunto belonging, are 2850. besides diuers young Schollers that are relieued therein, which haue no names in any Colledge, as aforesaid.

THE

THE DIVINITY SCHOOLE AND LIBERARIE.

THE DIVINITY Schoole and LIBERARY, a moſt Magnificent and Stately building, was founded in the raigne of King *Edward* the fourth, as appeareth by his Armes and Supporters, *viz.* a Greyhound and a Bull, grauen in ſtone on the top of the vaults, in euery partition in the nether Roome, now ſeruing for the Diuinity Schoole. The worke was done at the coſt and charges of diuers perſons Spirituall and Temporall: And as it ſhould ſeeme by the Armes of moſt of them, both cut in Stone in the roofe of the Vault, as alſo in the Windowes, there was an intention and generall contribution for this worke, long before it was begun, for that many of thoſe Benefactors whoſe Armes are there ſet vp, were dead long before the Fabrick was taken in hand. It was well furniſhed with Bookes, *Richard Angeruil* dyed long before this Library was built, and therefore is not to be named as a Benefactor. *Humfrey* Duke of *Glouceſter*, who gaue 129 choyce Bookes, all of them Manuſcripts, which he procured out of *Italy*. It continued in good eſtate vntill the wauering and vncertaine time of King *Edward* the ſixt, when ſome ill-diſpoſed, out of their priuate auarice enuying the Common good, deſtroyed the Liberary, conuerting thoſe Bookes to their owne priuate vſe. But lately, in the raigne of our Soueraigne King *Iames*, this wrong and ſacriledge hath been ſupplied by that worthy *Mæcenas* and *Ptolomey* of our times, Sir *Thomas Bodley* Knight, who hath beſtowed many thouſand pounds, not onely in getting the choyſeſt Authors and Bookes in all Chriſtendome, and from the remoteſt parts in the World; but alſo in making *An.* 1611. a new Croſſe-building anſwerable to the magnificy of the former worke, finiſhed *Anno* 1613. and a faire new Gallery ouer the building of the Schooles. So that now it is one of the chiefeſt Libraries in the World, for vſe, ſtore of Bookes, and magnificence.

BENEFACTORS.

King *Henry* the 6.
King *Edward* the 4.
Henry Chichley, A.B. *Cant.*
Thomas Bourcher, A.B. *Cant.*
George Neuill, A.B. *Yorke.*
William Grey, B. of *London.*
William Wicham, B. *Wincheſt.*
Henry Beaufort, B. *Winch.*
William Waniflet, B. *Wincheſt.*
Iohn Bokingham, B. *Lincolne*,
Marmaduke Lumbley, B. *L.*
Richard Beauchamp, B. *Sal.*
Walter Hart, B. *Nor.*
Iohn Low, B. *Rocheſter.*
The Abbot of S. *Edmunds-bury.*
The Abbot of S. *Albans.*
The Abbot of *Glouceſter.*
Edward, Prince of *Wales.*
Iohn, Duke of *Norfolke.*
Iohn, Duke of *Sommerſet.*
William de la Pole, D. *Som.*
Rich. Beauchamp, E. *War.*
Ruh. VVooduil, E. *Riuers.*
Henry 7. and *Elizabeth* his wife.
Humfrey, D. of *Glouceſter.*
Lady Margaret, Counteſſe of *Rich.*
Iohn Kemp, A. B. *Cant.*
Thomas Kemp, B. *London:*
Richard Leitchfield, A. Deacon *Mid.*
Cardinall Wolſey, A. B. of *Yorke*,
King *Henry* the 8.
King *Edward* the 6.
Queene *Mary.*
Queene *Elizabeth.*
King *Iames.*
Sir *Th. Bodley.*
Sir *H. Sauill.*
Sir *Williams Sidly.*
Doctor *White.*
Maſter *Cambden:*
Lord *Pagit.*
Lord *Dauers,*

Common Schooles.

Queene *Mary* was the firſt Foundreſſe of the Common Schooles, which being pulled downe, 1613. are now in a more magnificent manner new built, partly at the charge of the Vniuerſity it ſelfe, and partly by the Contributions of other well diſpoſed Benefactors. Ordered by the care of Sir *Iohn Bennet*, finiſhed about 1616.

OXFORD-SHIRE.

Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Tyme.	Order.	Value. l.	s.	d.	ob.	q.	
Oxford	Episcopall Sea —	King *Henry* the 8. —	A Deane, 8 Prebends, 100 Schollers. —						
Oxford —	S. *Frideswick* — P	*Frideswid*, daughter of *Algar*, by the helpe of *Didan*, E. of *Oxon*. King *Ethelred* repaired it. *Rog.* Bishop of *Salisbury*, brought in Canons, 11 *H.* 1. and a speciall Benef.	Nunnes, after blacke Canons —	224	4	8	0	0	Leland.
Oxford —	S. *Crosse* — F	*Richard Carey*. —	Crouched Fryers —						
Oxford —	S. *Francis* — F	King *Henry* the 1. —	Grey Fryers —						
Oxford —	S. *Augustine* — F	King *Henry* the 3. —	Augustine Fryers —						
Oxford —	S. *Mary* — F	King *Edward* the 2. 1308. 2 *E.* 2. —	Carmelite Fryers —						
Oxford —	S. *Dominic* — F	— —	Blacke Fryers —						
Iuxta Oxford Osney —	Saint *Mary* — M	*Robert*, sonne of *Nigell D'oiley*, a Norman, 1129. 30 *H.* 1 —	Blacke Canons —	755	18	6	b	o	
Oxford —	S. *Iohn* — H	King *Henry* 3. 1233. 18 *H.* 3. —	— — —	-	-	-	-	-	Leland.
Iuxta Oxford Rewley —	— — M	*Edmund*, Earle of *Cornwall*, *temp. E.* 1 —	Ciſtertian Bened. *Ls.* Monks	174	3	0	0	0	Leland.
Banbury —	Saint *Mary* — C	— —	— —	48	6	0	0	0	
Banbury —	S. *Iohn* — H	— —	— —	15	1	10	b	0	
Brockley —	Saint *Mary* — P	— —	Blacke Canons —	-	-	-	-		
Bruerne —	S. *Mary* — M	*Nicholas Basset*. —	White Mõks Bernar.	124	10	10	0	0	Leland.
Burcester —	S. *Eadburg* —	*Gilbert Basset*, and *Egeline Courtney* his wife, *temp. K. H.* 2. *L. Strange* a benef.	Blacke Canons Aug.	167	2	10	0	0	
Burford —	— P	— —	— —	13	6	6	0	0	
Chipping Norto	— —	— —	— —	7	14	0	0	0	
Clattercold —	S. *Leonard* — M	— —	— —	34	19	11	0	0	
Cogges —	— — P	— —	Blacke Monkes —	—		—		—	
Dorcheſter —	— — M	*Birinus* the Apoſtle of the *West-Saxons* An. 635 — After *Nich. Humercumbe*, heire of *William Humercumbe*. —	Blacke Canons Aug.	219	12	0	0	0	
Ewelme —	— — H	*William de la Pole*, D. of *Suffolke*, *temp. H.* 6	— —	20	0	0	0	0	
Eynsham —	S. *Mary* — M	*Ethelmer*, E. of *Cornwall*, King *Ethelred* confirmed it, 1005 — *Robert Blunt* B. *Lincolne*, a benefactor —	Benedictine Monkes	421	16	1	0	0	
Godstow —	S. *Mary* — N	*Ide*, a rich widow King *Iohn* repaired it. —	Black Nunnes —	319	18	8	0	0	
Goring —	Saint *Mary* — N	— —	Black Nunnes —	60	5	5	0	0	
Lidmore, *alias* Littlemore —	— — N	The Kings Anceſtors —	Black Nunnes —	33	6	8	0	0	
Norton —	— — P	The Kings Anceſtors *Reginald*, E. of *Boloigne*, gaue 108½ acres to it — *Rich. Sergeaux*, a benefactor —	Blacke Canons —						
Sawcombe —	S. *Mary* — P	— —	Black Canons —	—		—		—	
Stodeley —	S. *Mary* — N	*Peter Corbuchon* *William de Cantelupe* —	Nunnes —	102	6	7	b	0	
Tame —	S. *Mary* — M	*Alexander* B. *Lincolne*, *temp. H.* 1 —	White Monkes —	256	13	7	b	0	
Wroxton —	S. *Mary* — P	*Michael Bilet* for *Hervey Bylet* his father, confirmed by King *Iohn* —	Black Canons Aug. —	78	14	3	0	0	
			Sum totall, &c.	3078	1	6	0	0	

RICHMVND-SHIRE.

Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Tyme.	Order.	Value. l.	s.	d.	b.	q.	
Richmund —	Saint *Agatha* — M	*Realdus*, Constable of *Richmund*, and *Gracian* his wife. *Fundator Antecessor Dom. Scroope*, 1152. 18 *Stephen* —	— —	288	16	2	0	0	
Richmund —	S. *Nicholas* — H	— —	— —	10	0	0	0	0	
Couerham, *alias* Somerham —	— — M	First founded at *Swainsey* by *Helwisia*, Daughter of *Ralph Glanvil*, wife to *Ralph* Lord of *Midleham*, but remoued after to *Couerham*, by *Randph* L. *Midleham*, 1182. 29 *H.* 2 —	White Canons Premonſtratenſes	207	14	8	0	0	Leland.
Cander —	— — M	— —	— —	64	3	9	0	0	
Ellerton —	Saint *Mary* — M	*Willam Fitz-piers*. —	Nunnes —	15	14	8	0	0	
Furneſſe —	Saint *Mary* — M	First *Stephen* Earle of *Bolleyn*, A. D. 1127. After *William de Mowbray* gaue Lands to it, which Lands hee had of *Richard Morvill*, and *Amie* his wife. King *Henry* the first confirmed it —	White Monkes —	966	7	10	0	0	
Fountaines —	Saint *Mary* — M	*Thurstan*, A B. of *Yorke*, 1132. 33 *H.* 1 *Io. de Cautio*, Abbot there, a great ben.	White Monkes Bernardines —	1173	0	7	b	0	Leland.
Gilling —	— — N	— —	Nunnes —						
Ieruall —	Saint *Mary* — M	*Stephen*, E. of *Britaine* and *Richmund*, *temp.* K. *H.* 2 —	White Monkes Ciſtercians —	455	10	5	0	0	
Iuxta Kendall —	— — H	— —	— —	6	4	3	0	0	
Iuxta Knaresburgh —	Saint *Robert* — P	*Richard* King of *Romans*, and Earle of *Cornwall*, 1218. 3 *H.* 3 —	St Trinity and Captiues —	35	10	11	0	0	Leland.
Maryke —	— — N	- - - - *Aske* —	Nunnes —	64	16	9	0	0	

	Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Tyme.	Order.	Value l.	s.	d.	ob.	q.
Stow.	Middleham, or Bernards Caſt.	— —C	*Richard* Duke of *Glouceſter*, after King *Richard* 3.	— —	-	-	-	-	-
	Nun-Munketon	— —N	The Anceſtors of Sir *William Gaſcoigne*,	Nunnes —	85	14	8	o	c
	Ribleſton Comendary	— —	—	— —	207	9	7	o	o
Leland	Rippon *Eccleſ. Collegiat.*	— —C	*Henry Bathe* Arch-B. of *Yorke* —	— —	35	3	8	o	o
	Rippon —	S. *Mary Magd.* M	*Wilfride* Arch-B. of *Yorke, circa* 690. *Odo* Arch-B. *Cant.* a benefactor	— —	24	o	7	o	o
	Rippon —	S. *Iohn Baptiſt* H	— —	— —	10	14	4	o	o
	Seton —	— —N	The Anceſtors of *Henry Kirkeby* —	Nunnes —	13	17	4	o	o
	Welles —	S. *Michael* —H	*Ralph* Lord *Neuill*, 1367. 42 *E.* 3. —	— —	20	17	11	o	o
				The ſum totall, &c.	3585.	18.	1.	b.	o

RVTLAND-SHIRE.

	Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. l.	s.	d.	ob.	q.
	Okehame vnder the cuſtody of the Priory of S. Anne Carthuſians by Couentree	S. *Iohn Euang.* H	*William Dalby* of *Exton* —	2 Chaplaines 12 poore, each 30 s. yeerly					
Leland.	Brook a Cel to Killingworth	Saint *Mary* the Virgin P	*Walkeline de Ferrers* Baron of *Okeham*, *temp. Hen.* 1. —	Blacke Can. Aug. —	43	13	4	o	o

SHROP-SHIRE.

	Places	Dedications	Founders, Benefactors, and Time	Order	Value l.	s.	d.	ob.	q.
	Shrewsbury —	S. *Peter* S. *Paul* S. *Melb.* M	*Roger* Earle of *Montgomery* 1081. the 16. of K. *William the Conquerour*	Blacke Monkes —	615	4	3	b	o
	Shrewsbury —	S. *Mary* S. *Chadd.* C	— —	— —	14	14	4	o	o
	Shrewsbury —	S. *Mary* —C	— —	— —	13	1	8	o	o
	Shrewsbury —	Saint *Auguſtine* F	- - - - Lord *Stafford* —	Auguſtine Friers —					
	Shrewsbury —	Saint *Mary* —F	- - - - *de Ienouile* —	Carmelite Friers —					
	Shrewsbury —	Saint *Francis* F	*Geffrey* Lord *Powis* —	Franciſcan Friers —					
	Shrewsbury —	Saint *Dominic* F	- - - - - *de Charleton* —	— —					
	Alberbury giuen to *Allſoules* Colledge in *Oxford* by King *Hen.* 6.	Alien P	The Kings Anceſtors —	— —					
	Battlefield —	S. *Mary Magd.* C	King *Henry* the fourth —	— —	54	1	8	o	o
	Bildewas —	S. *Mary* —M	*Roger* Biſhop of *Cheſter* —	Bernardine Monkes	129	6	10	o	o
	Brewood —	— —M	— —	— —	31	1	4	o	o
	Bridgenorth —	Saint *Francis* F	*Iohn Talbot* Earle of *Shrewesbury* Coſen and Heire to *Ralph Strange*	Grey Friers —	4	o	o	o	o
	Brumfield —	— —M	— —	Blacke Monkes —					
	Chirbury —	— —P	— —	— —	87	7	4	o	o
Leland.	Hales Owen —	— —M	*Peter de la Roche* B. *Winch. temp.* K. *Iohn* King *Iohn* a benefactor —	— —	337	15	6	b	o
Leland.	Haughmond —	S. *Mary* S. *Iohn Euã.* M	*William Fitz-Alane* *Edmund* E. of *Arundell* a benef. 18. *E.* 3.	Black Can. (Lel) *Aliis* white Can.	294	12	9	o	o
	Ludlowe —	Saint *Mary* —F	Sir *Laurence Ludlowe* K^t 1349. 24 *Edw.* 3.	VVhite Friers —					
	Ludlowe —	Saint *Auguſtine* F	- - - - - - - - - *Edmund de Pontibus*, ſiue *Bridgeman*, a benefactor	Auguſtine Friers —					
	Ludlowe —	Saint *Iohn* —H	— —	— —	17	3	3	o	o
Leland.	Lyleſhall —	— —M	- - - - *de Beaumeis* - - - - Lord *Zouch* benefactor	Blacke Canons —	327	10	o	o	o
	Stone —	Saint *Michael* P	—	Blacke Monkes —					
Leland	Tonge —	S. *Bartholmew* C	*Iſabell* wife of Sir *Foulke Pembridge* K^t, Sir *Richard Vernon* Knight repaired it	— —	22	8	1	o	o
	VVenlocke —	Saint *Milburge* P	*Leofrick* E. of *Mercia*, *per* Holinſhead *Roger* Earle of *Mountgomery* & *Salop*, 1081. 16 *William Conq.* (*per* Fabian.)	Blacke Monkes	434	o	1	o	o
	Womebridge —	— —P	— —	— —	72	15	8	o	o
	VVygmore —	—M	*Hugo de Mortuo-mary*, An. Dom. 1172.	VVhite Canons —	302	12	3	b	o
				Sum totall, &c.	2757.	14.	6.	b.	o

STAFFORD

STAFFORD-SHIRE.

Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Tyme.	Order.	Value. l. s. d. ob. q.	
		Osvy King of *Northumberland*, made it an Episcopall Sea, 656. Pope *Adrian* the 4. made it an Arch-Bishops Sea, which title continued not long after. *Iaruman* B. *Lichfield* laid the foundation of the Cathedrall Church, 666. *Roger Chuton* B. *Liehfield temp. H.* 1. built a great part of the Church, increased the number of the Prebendes, fenced the towne of *Lichfield* with a ditch, and bestowed much vpon the Castle. *Walter Langton* B. *Lichfield, temp. Edw.* the 1. beganne the foundation of our Ladies Chappell, and left order with his Executors for the finishing the same: he compassed the Cloister with a stone wall, and bestowed a sumptuous shrine vpon S. *Chadd* his predecessor, at the charge of 2000. pounds, hee ditched and walled all the Cathedrall Church round about, made one gate of great strength at the west-end of the Close, and another on the South-part, hee built the great bridge beyond the vineyarde, 1310. 4. *Edw.* the 2. hee gaue his owne Pallace to the Vicars for their dwelling, and built a new for himselfe at the east end of the Close: hee built & reedified the Castles of *Eccleshall*, *Shutburrowe* and *Heywood*, and his Pallace in the *Strand* in *Lond.* He bestowed much money and plate vpon his Church, and procured thereto many Charters and priuiledges from the King			
Lichfield Cath. Church	S. *Chadde* —		Grey Friers & lately Canons	- - - - - - -	God win
Lichfield —	S. *Iohn Baptist* P	*Roger* B. of *Couentree* and *Lichfield* —	—		
Lichfield —	Saint *Francis* F	*Alexander de Gauensby* Bishop of *Lichfield, temp. Hen.* the 3. —	Franciscan Fryers —	- - - - - -	Godwin.
Lichfield —	S. *Iohn* H	*William Smith* B. *Lichfield, temp. Hen.* the 8.	A Master, 2 Priestes, 10 poore men	8 15 0 0 0	Godwin
Stafford —	Saint *Mary* —F	— —	Grey Fryers —	35 13 10 0 0	
Stafford —	Saint *Augustine*	- - - - Lord *Stafford* —	Augustine Friers —		
Iuxta Stafford *S. Thomas*	S. *Thomas* Mart.	*Richard Peche*, Bishop of *Lichfield*, *temp. Hen.* the 3. *Iohn Burghull*, B. *Lichfield*, *temp. Rich.* 2. *Ralph* Earle of *Stafford*, *temp. Edw.* 3. — benefact.	Blacke Can. August.	141 13 2 0 0	Godwin.
Brewoode —	— —N	— —	Blacke Nunnes —	11 1 6 0 0	
Briuerne —	S. *Mary* —P	— —	Blacke Monkes —		
Bruerne —	Saint *Leonard* N	— —	VVhite Nunnes —		
Burton vpon Trent	S. *Mary* S. *Mudwin* M	*Vlfricke Sprot* Earle of *Mercia, temp.* King *Etheldred, circa* 1004.	Blacke Monkes —	356 16 3 b 0	
Calwick —	— —P	— —	Blacke Canons —		
Stafford —	S. *Mary* —C	— —	Blacke Nunnes —		
Catton —	— —N	— —	Blacke Nunnes —		
Chetwood —	— —P	*Iohn Chetwood Chidlet* *T. Couell* *William Gardiner*, Person of *Somerton* *Iohn*, Parson of *Godington* —			
Croxden —	S. *Mary* —— P	*Bertram de Verdon*, sonne of *Norman de Verdon*, 1176. 23. *H.* 2. —	Bernardine Monkes	103 6 7 ● 0	Stow.
Delacres —	— —M	*Ranulph* the third of that name Earle of *Chester*, 1220. 5. *H.* 3. —	White Monkes —	243 3 6 0 0	
Dudley a Cell to Wenlocke Priory	— — Cell	*Iohn*, son and heire to *Iohn* Lord *Dudley*	Blacke Monkes —		
Faireweld —	Saint *Mary* --N	— —	Blacke Nunnes —		
Ferburge —	— —H	— —	— —	50 0 0 ● 0	
Hulton —	— —M	The Ancestors of the Lord *Audley* —	— —	76 14 10 b 0	
Gnowshall —	— C	— —	— —	—	—
Lappele —	S. *Remige* —P	— —	Blacke Monkes —		
Meriuall —	— —	— —	— —	199 14 10 0 0	
Penkrich —	— —C	— —	— —	—	—

	Places.	Dedications.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value l.	s.	d.	ob.	q.
	Raunton —	— —P	----Noell de Ellenhall; Sr Robert Knighley Kt temp. E. 2. benef.	— —	90	2	10	b	o
Leland.	Rouceſter —	— —P	Rich. Bacun nephew to Ranulfe E. of Cheſt.	Canons —	111	13	7	o	o
Leland.	Stone a Cell to Kenelworth Com. Warr.	S. Mary, S. Wolpha. Cel	Leofred Earle of Mercia; Robert de Stafford, a great benefactor an. 1260. 45. H. 3. brought it from the ſubiection of Kenelworth.; Enſam a great benefactor.	Blacke Canons —	819	14	11	o	o
	Tamworth —	S. Edith —N	Edith daughter to King Edgar, tranſlated to Poleſworth Com. VVarr. by Richard Marmion	Nunnes —					
	Tamworth —	— —C	----Lord Marmion	— —					
	iuxta Tamworth	Saint Iames —H	— —	— —	3	6	8	o	o
	Sanwell —	— Cell	— —	— —					
	Tetnall —	— —C	— —	— —					
	Trentham —	S. Mary, All Saints P	Ranulph Earle of Cheſter —	Blacke Canons Aug.	106	3	10	o	o
	Tricingham --	— —M	Saint Werburge —	— —					
Regiſt.	Turbury —	S. Mary —P	Henry de Ferrers a Nobleman of Normandy, 1088. 3 William Rufus Benefactors; Theobaldus de Verdon.; Alueredus de Sonluey; Henry de Rolleſton.; Robert de Albeney.; William Fitzherbert; Thomas de Pery; Rafe de Boſchuile; Henry de Touke; William de Meiſham; Thomas de Cotuile; William de Ipſtones; Rafe de Boſco; Robert de Fungiambe; William de Mountgomery; Henry de Bracleſford; Hugh Okener; William Burton of Falde iuxta Tutbury; Standard-bearer to King Hen. the 6.; Henry de Kinneſton. —	Blacke Monkes Benedictines	244	16	8	o	o
	White ladies —	— —N	— —	VVhite Nunnes —					
	Wollerhamptō	— —M	Herbert Walter Arch-B. Cant. temp. K: Iohn						
	Wollerhamptō	— —C	Clement Laſon, Chaplaine; William Waterfall; William Dudley, a preben: a benefact.	Deane Prebendes					

Sum totall, 1902. 17. 13. b. o

SOMMERSET-SHIRE.

	Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Tyme.	Order.	Value. l.	s.	d.	ob.	q.
Godwin	Bathe Epiſcopall Sea	Saint Peter, S. Paul M	King Ofricke, firſt founder for Nuns, 679. (Cambd.); Offa King of Mercia brought in Secular Canons, 775.; Elfegus Arch-B. Cant. repaired it, an. 1010.; Iohn de Villula B. Welles, temp. K. William Rufus, remoued his Sea from Welles to Bathe, calling himſelfe Biſhop of Bathe: which Citty he bought of the King for 500. Markes, and repaired this Monaſtery for the receipt of his new Epiſcopall Sea; but it was conſumed by fier. 1087.; Robert B. of Bath his ſucceſſor, temp. K. Steph. reedified the ſame after the ſpoiling thereof by fire, and was finiſhed by the ſucceeding Biſhops.; Oliuer King, Biſhoppe of Bath, pulled downe the old Church, and beganne the foundation of a faire and ſumptuous building, but at his death, left it vnperfect.; Hadrian de Caſello his ſucceſſor, and William Bird laſt Prior there endeuoured to finiſh it, which as yet is not fully ended.; King Edgar, Edwin, Ethelred, & VVolſtan, benefactors.	Blacke Monkes	695	6	1	b	o
	Bathe —	Saint John —H	Reginald Fitz-Ioceline Biſhop Bathe, temp. Hen. 2.	— —	22	16	9	b	o

VVells

Places.	Dedications.		Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. l. s. d. ob. q.	
Welles Episcopall Sea	S. *Andrew* S. *Io. Bapt.*	M	*Inas* King of the *West-Saxons*, *circa* 704. built a Church and Colledge. *Kinewolph* King of the *West-Saxons*, gaue it great Lands and possions, an. 766. King *Edward* senior made it an Episcopall Sea. *Robert* Bishop of *Bath* and *Welles*, *temp.* K. *Steph.* first ordained the title of Bishop of *Bath* and *Welles*, pulled downe a great part of the Church and new built it, ordained many offices in his Church: ordained more Prepends and Canons, and gaue lands to the maintenance of them. *Ioceline de Welles*, Bishop of *Bath* and *Welles*, pulled downe the west end of the Church, and built it anew from the foundation, 1239. Hee built a stately Chappell in his Pallace at *Welles*, and another at Onkey, hee purchased much Lands and large possessions, and gaue them to his Church. *Rafe de Shrewsbury* Bishop of *Bath* and *Welles*, gaue great Lands and large possessions to his Sea, hee built much, both in the Church, and Pallace and diuers edifices thereunto belonging, *temp.* *Edward* the third. *Iohn Harewest* Bishop of *Bath* and *Welles*, built the South-west Tower, gaue 100. pounds for glazing the west-windowes, and 2. great belles, *temp.* *Ed.* 3. Bishop *Bubwith*, built the Library ouer the Cloisters, & a faire Chappell, and purchased Lands for his Church, *temp.* *H.* 4. Bishop *Bekington*, built the East-side of the *Cloisters*, and was a great benefactor to his Church, in mony, plate, and vestments. Bishoppe *Stillington* built the goodly Ladie Chappell, *temp.* *Edward* the fourth.	Secular Canons	41 3 0 b q	Godwin.
Welles	——	—C	*Robert Ergham* B. *Bathe* and *Welles*, tē. *R.* 2.	—	—	Godwin
Welles	S. *Iohn*	H	*Iocelin de Welles* B. *Bathe*, &c. first fouder	—	—	Godwin.
Welles	——	—H	*Hugh* Bishop of *Lincolne* tēp. K. *Iohn* *Nicholas Bubwith* Bishop, *temp.* *Hen.* 4.	24 poore	—	
Bristowe Episcopall Sea	S. *Augustine*	M	King *Henry* the second. *Robert Fitzharding*, sonne of *Harding* King of *Denmarke*. King *Henry* the 8. in our time made it an Episcopal Sea, appointing a Bishop, a Deane and six Prebendes	Blacke Canons Augustines, *alijs* Victorines	767 13 3 0 0	
Bristowe a Cel to Teukesbury	Saint *Iames*	P	*Robert Consull* Earle of *Gloucester*, base sonne to King *Henry* the first.	Benedictine Monkes		
Bristowe	Saint *Mary*	—F	King *Edward* the first, 1267. 52 *Hen.* 3.	White Friers	—	
Bristowe	S. *Iohn Euang.*	H	*Henry de Gaunt* priest, brother to Sir *Maurice de Gaunt*, founded a Colledg *Thomas Carre*, a wealthy Citizen of *Bristowe* conuerted it to an Hospitall	Blacke Canons after Orphanes	140 0 0 0 0	Leland.
Athelme	S. *Peter* S. *Athelwin*	M	King *Athelstone*, an. 888.	Blacke Monkes	209 3 0 0 ½	
Barlinck	——	—P	*William Saye* ——	Blacke Canons Aug.	98 14 8 b 0	Leland.
Brewe	S. *Mary* S. *Edwin*	N	—— ——	Blacke Nunnes	—	
Bridgewater	S. *Francis*	F	—— ——	Grey Fryers	120 19 1 b 0	
Bridgewater	Saint *Iohn*	H	*William Brewer* iunior, *temp.* King *Iohn* ----- Earle *March* ----- Lord *Zouch* ----- Lord *Daubney* Benefact.			
Buckland	——	—P	*Amy* Countesse of *Deuonshire* ——	Hospitaliers of Saint *Iohn* of *Ierusalem*.	123 7 4 b 0	
Bruton	Saint *Mary*	—M	*Almare* E. of *Cornwall*, before the *Conq.* *William Mohuns* Earle of *Sommerset* brought in Canons	Canons Benedictines	480 17 1 0 0	Leland.
Cadbury	S. *Michaell*	C	*Elizabeth Botreaux*, and hir sonne *VVilliam Botreaux*	A Rector 7 Chapplaines 4 Clarkes		
Cliue	——	—M	*VVilliams de Romare*, E. of *Lincol.* (Lel.) *VVill. de Romare*, Cosin to the Earle *Lincolne*, (Cambd.)	Bernardines (Lel) white Moks (Cād	155 9 5 0 ½	Leland.
Cannington	Saint *Mary*	N	*Robert Courcy* —	Blacke Nunnes —	39 15 8 0 0	Leland.

	Places.	Dedications.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. l.	s.	d.	ob.	q.
	Dunkeſwell –	—P	*William Brewer, iunior* —	— —					
	Dunſter —	—P	*John de Mohun de Dunſter* —	— —	37	4	8	●	o
Leland.	Fareley a Cell to Lewis	S. *Mary Magd* P	*Humfrey de Bohun, temp.* King *Stephen* *Maude* the Empreſſe a benefactor	Cluniacke Monkes	100	o	o	o	o
Cambd.	Glaſtonbury –	*Chriſt* Saint *Mary* Saint *Peter* Saint *Paul*	*Ioſeph of Aramathia* *Dene* Biſhop of Saint *Danids* 12. *Northerne* men K. *Inas* King of the *Weſt-Saxons*, 708. *Dunſtō* changd the Monks into Bened.	Blacke Monkes Benedictines	3508	13	4	b	½
	Henton –	— —M	*William Lonſpee* E. of *Salisbury* temp. *Ella* Counteſſe of *Salisbury* *Hen.* 3.	Carthuſians –	262	12	o	o	o
	Keniſham —	Saint *Mary* –M	*William* Earle of *Glouceſter temp.* K. *Hen.* 2.	Blacke Canons –	450	3	6	o	o
Leland.	Montacute –	Saint *Peter* Saint *Paul* M	*William* E. *Moriton*, halfe brother to the *Conqueror* by the mothers ſide, *tē. H.* 1	Benedict. (Lel.) *Aliis* Cluniac.	524	11	8	b	o
	Moundroy –	— —C	— —	— —	11	18	8	●	o
	Muchelney –	Saint *Peter* —M	*Inas* K. of the *Weſt-Saxons*, 740. (Lel) King *Athelſtan*, 896. (Cambd.)	Blacke Monkes —	498	16	3	o	q
	Minchinbarrow	— –P	— —	— —	29	6	8	b	o
	Stoke vnder Hamden	Saint *Andrew* C	----- *de Gourney* —	Blacke Monkes —					
Leland.	Taunton –	Saint *Peter* Saint *Paul* N	*William Gifford* Biſhops of *Wincheſter*, *Hen. de Blois* *temp. Hen.* 1.	Blacke Nunnes Canons (Leland)	438	9	10	o	o
	Temple-Combe	Commendary –	— —	K. Tēplers, after Hoſpitaliers of S. *Iohn* of *Ieruſalem*	107	16	11	b	o
	Weſtbury —	— –C	*Iohn Carpenter* B. *Worceſter, temp. H.* 6. *William Cannings* Kt, cittizen and Maior of *Briſtowe*, a benefactor	— —					
	Worſpring –	— –P	— —	— —	110	18	4	b	q
Leland.	Witham –	S. *Mary* S. *Io. Bapt.* *All Saints* Saint *Katherine* H	King *Henry* the ſecond (Leland) King *Henry* the third (Cambden)	Nunnes firſt, after the firſt houſe of Carthuſians	227	1	8	●	o
			— —	— —	21	15	8	o	o
	Yeueley, or Iuell	— —	*Iohn Woburne*, petty Canon of *Pauls.* *Richard Hewett*	— —					
				Sum totall, &c.	9324	17	2	o	o

SVFFOLKE.

	Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Tyme.	Order.	Value. l.	s.	d.	ob.	q
	Ipſwich –	Saint *Peter* Saint *Paul* M	*Thomas de Lucy*, and *Alice* his wife firſt founded, after *Thomas Wolſey* Cardinall, and Arch-Biſhop of *Yorke*, *temp. H.* 8.	Blacke Canons –	88	6	10	o	o
Leland	Ipſwich –	Saint *Trinity* P	*Norman Gaſtrode*, & *Iohn de Oxenford.* —	Blacke Canons –	88	6	9	o	o
	Ipſwich –	S^t *Mary* —F	The L. *Bardolfe* Sir *Geffrey de Hadley* 1279. 8. *Edw.* 1. Sir *Robert Norton*	White Friers —					
	Ipſwich –	Saint *Dominick* F	- - - - - - - - - *Iohn Hares* a benefactor —	Blacke Fryers. –					
	Ipſwich –	Saint *Francis* –F	*Robert Tilbot* —	Grey Fryers. –					
	Ipſwich –	Saint *Auguſtine* F	*Henry de Manesby* *Henry Redred* *Henry de Landham* —	Auguſtine Friers –					
	Bliburgh –	— P	King *Henry* the firſt *Richard Beaueis* Biſhop of *London* —	Blacke Canons —	48	8	9	o	o
Leland.	Briſet –	Saint *Leonard* P	- - - - Duke of *Clarence* —	Blacke Canons —	-	-	-	-	-
	Bungey –	— —N	*Roger de Glanuile* & *Gundreda* his wife *Aliis* the Anceſtors of *Thomas* of *Brotherton* Earle of *Norfolke*	Nunnes —	62	2	1	o	o
	Bruſhyerd –	— —M	— —	— —	56	2	1	01	o
	Butley –	Saint *Mary* —P	*Ralph de Glanuile* —	Blacke Can. Auguſt.	318	17	2	b	q
Leland.	Campſey –	S. *Mary* the Virgin M	*Ione* *Agnes* *de Valence*, ſiſters —	Nunnes –	182	9	5	●	o
	Clare, or Stoke	S. *Iohn Baptiſt* -P	*Henry* Earle of *Eſſex*, and *Iſabell* his wife	Blacke Monkes *aliis* Aug. Friers					
Cambd.	Cnoberſburge or Burgh-Caſt.	— —	*Furſey* a *Scott* *Sebert* K. of the *Eaſt-Angles circa* 640.	— —	-	-	-	-	-
	Deuſton –	— C	— —	— —	22	8	9	o	½
	Dodnaſh –	S. *Mary* —M	The Anceſtors of the Duke of *Norfolke*	— —	42	18	8	b	o
	Dunwich ſometime an Epiſcopall Sea	— —	*Felix* the *Burgundian* that reduced the *Eaſt-Angles* againe vnto the Chriſtian faith, 630.	— —					
Leland.	S. Edmunds Bury	Saint *Edmund* M	*Canutus* K. of *Engl.* & *Denmark*, *circa* 1020	Blacke Monkes —	2336	16	o	●	o
	S. Edwards place, *ſive* Edwardſtowe	Saint *Edward* M	*Peter* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, *temp.* King *Iohn*	— —					
	Eye –	S. *Peter* —M	*Robert Malet* Lord of *Eye* —	Blacke Monkes —	184	9	7	b	½
Leland.	Flixſton –	— —N	*Margery* wife of *Bartholmew de Creke* –	Nunnes Auguſtines	23	4	1	b	½
	Hernigfleet –	Saint *Olaues* M	*Roger Fitzosbert*, the ſonne of *Osbert* —	Canons Regular –	49	11	7	o	o
	Hoxon –	— —M	— —	— —					
	Leiſton –	S. *Mary* —P	*Ralfe de Glanuile* Sir *Robert de Vfford* — —	White Canons Premonſtratenſ.	181	17	1	b	o
	Letheringham	— —P	— —	— —	26	18	5	o	o
	Liteburch –	S. *Mary* — P	— —	Blacke Canons —					
	Mettingham –	S. *Mary* —C	Sir *Iohn de Norwich* Knight Vice-Admirall, Lord of *Mettingham*	— —	202	7	5	b	o
	Rafford –	Saint *Mary* –M	*Robert* Biſhop, or Earle of *Lincolne* —	— —					
	Ratisford –	Saint *Iohn* —H	— —	— —	53	10	o	o	o

Places.	Dedications.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value l.	s.	d.	ob.	q.	
Redlingfield –	Saint *Mary* –N	*Manasses* of *Guinsues* ——	Blacke Nunnes –	81	2	5	b	o	
Rumbuth –	Saint *Michaell* P	—— ——	Blacke Monkes –						
Snapes —	Saint *Mary* —P	*William Martell* ——	Blacke Monkes of Rochester	99	1	11	b	o	
Stoke Clare —	— –C	- - - - - - *Mortimer* Earle of *March*	Deane, - - - - Prebendes, 8 Priestes, 5. Choristers, 4 Secular clerkes	324	4	1	b	o	Leland.
Sudbury –	S. *Bartholmew* P	*Simon de Sudbury* A.B.*Cant.* *John de Chertsey* *tem.R.2.*	Blacke Monkes of *Westminster*	122	18	3	o	o	
Sibbeton —	Saint *Mary* —M	*William Cheney* (Cambd.) - - - - - L. *Dacres* (Leland) ——	Cistercian Monkes	250	15	7	b	o	Leland.
Trewe –	— —P	*John de Boiuile* Knight ——	—— ——	-	-	-	-	-	Leland.
VValton –	Saint *Felix* —P	—— ——	Blacke Monkes of Rochester	-	-	-	-	-	
Wangsford —	Saint *Mary* P	*Dondo Ansered* of France sewer to the K.	Cluniack Monkes –	30	9	5	o	o	Leland.
Wingsefield –	— —C	—— ——	— —	69	14	5	o	o	
Woodbridge—	Saint *Mary* –M	- - - - *Rousse* - - - - *Hansard* ——	— —	50	3	5	b	o	Leland.
VVikes —	— —	The Kings Ancestors ——	— —	92	12	3	b	o	
	S. *Benedict* –M	—— ——	— —						
Ikesworth, or Ixworth	— –P	*Gilbert Blunde.* ——	— —	180	9	5	o	o	
			Sum totall,	£5390.	7.	9.	o.	o	

SVRREY.

Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Tyme.	Order.	Value. l.	s.	d.	ob.	q.	
Bermondsey —	S. *Saviour* — M	*Alwin Child*, cittizen of *London* 1081. 16. *Will. Conq.* K. *William Rufus* built the new Church and gaue lands vnto it. Pope *Boniface* the 9, made it an Abby *Robert Bloet* B. of *Lincolne*, a speciall benefactor, *temp. William Rufus* ——	Cluniack Monkes —	548	2	5	b	½	Stow.
Chertsey —	S. *Peter* –M	*Frithwald* a petty Regent of *Surry* 666. Benefactors: King *Edgar* *Ethelwald*, Bishop of *Winchester* *Peter de la Roche*, B. of *VVinchester* *Thomas Okham* *John Rotherwicke* *Gualter de Eaton* *Gualter de Chanham*	—— —	744	18	6	b	½	Leland.
Guilford –	Saint *Crosse* —F	—— ——	Crouched Friers —						
Guilford –	Saint *Dominick* F	—— ——	Blacke Friers –						
Lingfield —	— — C	*Reginald de Cobham* Knight *VVilliam Cromen* *John Arderne* *John Bayhall* ——	—— —	75	0	0	0	0	
Merton —	Saint *Mary* –P	King *Henry* the first, 1117. 18. *H.* 1. Benefactors. *Gilbert* Vicont of *Surr.* *Fararimsius de Boloaia* *VVilliam de Dammartin* *Eustace* Earle of *Boloigne* *Paine de Beauchampe* *Stephen* Earle of *Moriton* and *Boloine* *Roger de Wancy* *Ralfe de Kaymes* *William Testard* *Robert* sonne of *Brient.*	Blacke Canons Aug.	1039	5	3	o	o	Leland.
Newarke, vel de Nouo loco	S. *Mary* S. *Tho.* Mar P	—— ——	— —	258	11	11	b	o	
Reigate –	Saint *Crosse* –F	*William de Warren* first Earle of *Surry* *John de Mowbrey* ——	Crouched Friers —	78	16	8	o	o	
Shene –	S. *John de Bethleem* P	King *Henry* the fift ——	Carthusian Monkes –	962	11	6	o	o	Leland.
Southwarke —	*Sancta Maria Virginis de Overey* M	*Mary* a Noblewoman a *Saxon* for Nuns *Swithe*, a Noblewoman, a *Saxon* brought in Priests. *Will. de Pontlarck*, & *Will. Dansey Norman* K^n^ brought in Can. Regul. 7. *H.* 1 *Will. Giffard* B. *Winchester*, built the body of the Church, *temp. Hen.* 1. King *Stephen* *Peter de la Roch.* B. *Winch.* benef. *John Gower* the famous poet	Blacke Canons —	656	10	0	b	o	Stow.
Southwarke —	S. *Thomas* –H	*Rich.* Prior of *Bermondsey*, 1213. 15 K. *Io.* *Peter de la Roche* B. *Winch.* founded it anew for secular Can. 1215. 17. K. *Io.* The Cittizens of *Lond.* 1552. purchased it of K. *E.* 6. & made it an Hospital	— —	266	17	11	o	o	

	Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Tyme.	Order.	Value. l.	s.	d.	ob.	q
Leland.	Tanridge —	— —P	*Odo de Merton* —	Blacke Can. Auguſt.	78	16	10	b	q
	Wauerley —	Saint *Mary*—M	*William Giffard* B, *Wincheſt. temp. H.* 1. *Nic de Ely*, a great benef. *temp. Ed.* 1.	Ciſtertian Monkes	174	8	3	b	o
				Sum totall, &c.	4883.	14.	6.	b.	q.

SVSSEX.

	Places.	Dedications.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. l.	s.	d.	ob.	q
Godwin.	Chicheſter Epiſcopall Sea	Saint *Trinity* P	*Edilwalch* K. of *Suſſex*, firſt founder of the Epiſcopall Sea at *Sekſey*, 681. B. *Stigand* Chaplaine to the *Conqueror*, tranſlated his Sea to *Chicheſter*. *Ralfe* B. *Chicheſter*, with the helpe of K. *H.* 1. built the Cathedrall Church from the ground. B. *Soffridus*, *temp.* K. *Rich.* 1. repaired the Church and Pallace, hauing been conſumed with fire. B. *Neuell*, *temp. H.* 3. built much in his owne Church. built a great houſe in *London*, now an Inne of Court, called *Lincolnes Inne*, hee built the Chappell of Saint *Michaell* without the Eaſtgate. B. *Clippinge*, *temp. Hen.* 3. gaue the Mannour of *Drungwik* to his Church. Biſhop *Gilbert de S^o. Leofardo* built the Chappell of Saint *Mary* from the ground, *temp Edw.* 1. Biſhop *Langton* built a coſtly ſouth-window in the Church. Biſhop *Reade temp. Ed.* 3. built the Caſtle of *Amberley* from the ground. B. *Molins* a great benefactor, *tem. H.* 6 B. *Sherborne*, *temp. Hen.* 8 beſtowed much money in beautifying his Church, and increaſed the number of Monſters belonging thereunto, he alſo founded a Grammer ſchoole at *Rolleſton*, Com. *Staff.* where he was borne, and gaue lands thereto.	Secular Canons —	—	—	—	—
	Chicheſter —	Saint *Peter* —M	—	Grey Friers —					
	Chicheſter —	— —N	—	— —					
	Chicheſter —	— —F	—	Dominican Friers—					
	Iuxta Chicheſter	S. *Mary Mag.* S. *Iames* H	—	Leprous people —	4	3	9	o	o
	Iuxta Chicheſter	S. *Mary* —H	—	Poore people —	11	11	6	b	o
Leland.	Arundell —	— —C	*Richard* Earle of *Arundell* —	— —	-	-	-	-	-
	Arundell —	S. *Nicholas* —P	*Richard* Earle of *Arundell* —	Blacke Monkes —	168	o	7	b	o
	Arundell —	Saint *Trinity* H	*Thomas* E. of *Arundell*, & *Beatrix* his wife	Almes-men —	42	3	8	o	o
	Acceale —	Saint *Peter* M	—	Blacke Monkes —					
	Battle —	Saint *Martin* M	K. *William the Conq.* 1066. 1 *William Conq.*	Blacke Monkes —	987	o	11	b	q
	Bidlington —	S. *Mary Mag.* H	— —	— —	1	o	o	o	o
	Boſeham —	— —M	*Dicul* a *Scottiſh* Monke.	— —					
	Boxgraue —	Saint *Mary* —P	*Iohn William* (Leland) S. *Iohn*, alijs *Robert de la Haye*	Blacke Monkes Benedictines	145	10	2	b	o
	Durſford —	S. *Iohn Baptiſt* M	—	White Canons —	108	13	9	o	o
Leland	Eaſt-bourne —	— —N	*Iohn de Bohun de Midherſt.* —	Nunnes —	47	3	o	o	o
Leland	Haſtings —	Saint *Trinity*—P	*Walter Briſel* Knight Leland) Alijs *Iohn Pelham* Knight	Blacke Canons —	57	19	o	o	o
	Lewis —	S. *Pancrace* —	*William de Warren* firſt Earle of *Surry* and *Gundreda* his wife.	Blacke Monkes Cluniacenſes	1091	9	6	o	q
	Lullminſter —	S. *Mary Magd.* N	—	Blacke Nunnes —					
Leland.	Michelham —	S. *Mary Mag.* P	*Gilbert de Aquila* —	Blacke Canons Auguſtines	191	19	3	o	o
	Ockham —	Saint *Lawrence* P	— —	White Canons —					
	Ramſted —	S. *Mary Mag.* N	—	Blacke Nunnes —					
	Roberts bridge	Saint *Mary*—M	*Alfred de Saint Martin*, *temp.* K. *Hen.* 2.	Ciſtercian Monkes	232	9	8	o	o
	Rupperar —	S. *Mary Mag.* N	—	Blacke Nunnes —	39	13	7	o	o
Godwin.	Selſey Epiſcopall Sea	— —M	*Edilwalch* K. *Suſſex*, 681. (Godwin) Alijs King *Cadwell* K. *Weſt-Saxons*	— —	-	-	-	-	-
Leland.	Shulbred —	— —P	Sir *Ralph Ardent* Knight. —	Blacke Can. Auguſt.	79	15	6	o	o
	South-malling —	— —C	*Cadwell* K. of the *Weſt-Saxons*, 680. —	— —	45	12	5	b	q
	Stenniges —	S. *Mary Mag.* Cel	—	Secular Canons —					
	Hardham —	— —P	- - - - - *Goring* —	Blacke Canons —					
	Shoreham —	S. *Mary* —F	King *Edward* the ſecond - - - - Lord *Mombray*	VVhite Friers —					
Leland.	Torting —	S. *Mary Mag.* P	*Hawis de Corbet* —	Blacke Canons —	101	4	1	o	o
	Winchelſea —	— —F	King *Edward* the ſecond —	Friers Preachers					
	- - - - -	Saint *Mary* —M	*William de Buckingham*, confirmed by King *Edward*	— —					
				Sum totall, &c.	3355.	10.	7.	o	q

WARWICKE-SHIRE.

Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. l. s. d. b. q.	
VVarwicke –	St. *Sepulchers* P	*Richard Nevill* E. of *Warwicke, temp. H.6.*	—— ——	49 13 6 0 0	
VVarwicke –	—— P	*Peter de Mountfort* ——	Blacke Canons –		
Warwicke –	—— —F	—— ——	Friers Preachers –	4 18 6 0 0	
Warwicke –	— —C	—— ——	—— ——	247 13 0 b 0	
Warwicke –	Saint *Michaell* H	—— ——	—— ——	10 1 10 0 0	
Warwicke –	S *Iohn Baptist* H	*Thomas de Beauchamp* Earle of *Warwicke, temp. Edw.* 3.	—— ——	19 3 7 0 0	
Warwicke Hanging-gate Chantery	— —	*Tho. de Beauchamp* E. of *Warwick, tem. E.* 3	—— ——		
VVarwicke –	Saint *Iohn* –H	*Thomas Beauchamp* ——	—— ——		
VVarwicke –	Saint *George* –	*Robert de Deneby*, *William Russell*, *Hugh Cooke* — for the good estate of King *Richard* 2. Queen *Anne*, *Edw.* Prince of *Wales*, *Michaell de la Poole*, and all their bretheren & sisters.	A Fraternity —		
Couentrey –	Saint *Mary* —P	K. *Canutus* first founder for Nunnes, *Leafrick* Earle of *Mercia*, founded it anew 1043.	Blacke Monkes —	- - - - - -	Cambd.
Couentrey –	S. *Anne* —P	*Iohn de Northbury* a Carthusian Prior.	Carthusian Monkes	251 5 9 0 0	
Couentrey –	S[t] *Mary* —F	Sir *Iohn de Poultney*, Maior of *London*, Knight, 1342. 17 *Edw.* 3.	Carmelite Friers –	7 13 4 0 0	
Couentrey Bablake	—— C	—— ——	—— ——	45 6 8 0 0	
Couentrey –	S[t]. *Iohn Baptist* H	—— ——	—— ——	83 3 3 0 0	
Alcetter, or Alnecester	S[t]. *Iohn Baptist* P	----Lord *Beauchampe* of *Powicke* —	Blacke Monkes —	101 14 0 0 0	
Auecuter a Cell to Maluerne Prior in *VVorcestershire*	— —P	—— ——	—— ——	34 8 0 0 0	
Aulcote –	— —	*William Burdet* Knight, *temp. Henry* 2.	Nunnes —	34 8 0 0 0	Record.
Astley –	— —C	*Thomas* Lord *Astley*, *temp.* King *Edw.* 3.	A Deane, Canon Reguler	39 10 6 0 0	
Atherston –	S. *Augustine*—F	*Ralfe* Lord *Basset* of *Drayton*, Alijs *Iohn de Wellesburgh* Com. *Leic.*	Augustine Friers –	1 10 2 0 0	
Balshall –	Commendary	*Roger Mowbrey* ——	Templers, after Hospitaliers of S. *Iohn* of *Ierusalem*		
Berdeslege –	S. *Mary* ——M	—— ——	VVhite Monkes –		
Combe –	Saint *Mary* –M	----L. *Mowbrey*, ----L. *Camvile*, ----L. *Astley* — *Alii* benefact[on], & the Kings Ancestors originall founders, and in many of the Abbots Seales is the three Lions of *England*, with a labell of fiue pointes.	Cistercian Monkes –	343 0 9 0 0	
Erdbury –	S. *Mary* ——P	---- Lord *Sudley* ——	Canons Regular —	122 8 6 0 0	
Guyescliffe –	S. *Margaret* C	*Rich. de Beauchamp* E. *Warwicke, temp. H.6.*	Priestes —		
Henwood –	S. *Margaret* N	*Cethelbarnd De la Launde.* ——	Nunnes —	21 2 0 b 0	
Kenelworth –	—— P	*Geffrey de Clinton* L. Chamberlain to K. *H.* 1	Blacke Canons ——	643 14 9 b 0	
Knolle –	Saint *Anne* C	*Walter Cooke*, Can. of *Liebf.* *Adam Cooke* — by the licēce of Pope *Boniface* 9. 1397 21. *R.* 2.	Fraternity ——	18 5 6 0 0	Regist.
Kingswood –	—— —N	—— ——	Blacke Nunnes ——	- - - - -	
Marstocke –	S. *Mary*, S. *Michaell* P	*William de Clinton* Earle of *Huntington*, 1342. 17. *Edw.* 3.	Blacke Canons, Augustines	129 11 8 b 0	Regist.
Murenall –	Saint *Mary*—M	*Robert de Ferrers*, 1100. 1. *Hen.* 1. ——	Cistercians, *Alii* Carthusians	303 10 0 0 0	
Non-Eaton –	S. *Mary* —N	*Amice*, wife to *Robert Bossue* Earle of *Leicester, temp. Hen.* 2 *Edith* daughter to King *Edgar* founded it at *Tamworth*	Nunnes ——	290 15 0 b 0	
Polesworth –	Saint *Mary*, Saint *Edith* N	*Robert Marmion*, and *Milicent* his wife translated it to *Polesworth, temp. H.* 1.	Blacke Nunnes —	23 8 6 0 0	
Pinley –	— —N	—— ——	Nunnes ——	27 14 7 0 0	
Stoneley –	—— —M	*Maude* the Empresse, King *Henry* the second, *Philippe Bassett*, *Ralfe Bassett* — Benefactors	Cistercian Monkes –	578 2 5 0 0	
Stratford vpon Auon	—— —C	*Iohn de Stratford* Arch-B. *Canterbury*, *temp. Edw.* 3.	—— ——	123 11 9 0 0	
Studeley –	— —P	—— ——	Blacke Canons —	181 3 6 0 0	

Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Tyme.	Order.	Value l.	s.	d.	ob.	q
Thellesford –	—— ——	- - - *Luey* Knight / Alijs - - - *de Charlewte* ——	Poore Folkes / Pilgrimes	23	10	0	0	0
Wroxhall –	God and S. *Leonard* N	*Hugh de Hatton* / King *Iohn* a great benefactor ——	Blacke Nuns –	78	10	1	b	0
Wotton wawni	—— ——	The Counteſſe of *Stafford*. —	—— ——					
			Sum totall, &c.	3839.	3.	0.	0.	0

WESTMORLAND.

	Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. l.	s.	d.	ob.	q
Leland	Appleby –	Saint *Mary* –F	- - - L. *Veſcy* / - - - L. *Percy* / - - - L. *Clifford* 1281. 10 *E.* 1.	Carmelite, or white Friers	—				—
	Sharpe –	— –M	*Thomas* the ſonne of *Goſpatricke*, ſonne of *Ormus*. —	– –	166	10	6	b	0

WILT-SHIRE.

	Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Tyme.	Order.	Value.
			Inas King of the *Weſt-Saxons*, diuided the Biſhopricke of *Wincheſter*, one part remaining to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* as it is at this day, of the other part hee ordained a new Biſhoppe, whoſe Sea was at *Shirburne*, making *Addelme* the firſt Biſhoppe, Anno Dom. 705. Biſhop *Herman*, by the commandement of *William* the *Conquerour* tranſlated his Sea to *Saliſbury* and began the new foundation of a Cathedrall Church.		
	Salisbury Epiſcopall Sea	Saint *Peter* –	Biſhop *Oſmund*, 1092. 6. *VVilliam Rufus*, finiſhed the Church and added to the ſame a very faire Library. Biſhop *Pore*, beganne the foundation of this Elegant & ſumptuous Church now ſtanding, which after thirtie yeeres trauaile was not fully perfected: as alſo his Succeſſor B. *Bingham*, who after twenty yeeres ſpace, yet did not fully finiſh it. Biſhop *Yorke* his Succeſſor fully finiſhed the ſame, and was conſecrated by his ſucceſſour Biſhop *Bridport*, 30. Septem. 1258. 43. *Henry* the third.	Secular Canons —	
	Salisbury –	S. *Nicolas* –C	—— ——	A Warden / 4 Fellowes / 2 Chaplaines	
	Salisbury –	—— —F	King *Edward* the firſt / *Robert Kilwarby* Arch-Biſhop *Cant.*	Blacke Friers –	
	Salisbury –	S. *Edith* –C	—— ——	— —	
	Salisbury —	Saint *Francis* –F	—— ——	Grey Friers —	
Godwin.	*Iuxta* Salisbury	Saint *Michaell* H	*Richard Pore* B *Salisbury*, 1382. *temp. H.* 3.	— —	25 2 2 0 0
Leland.	Salisbury —	Saint *Edmund* C	— —	— —	- - - - -
	Ambresbury —	— —N	*Alfritha* wife to King *Edgar*, 979. / King *Edgar* / King *Ethelred* benefact. / Q. *Eleonor* wife to K. *H.* 3.	Nunnes –	558 10 2 0 0
	Auſty –	— —H	—— ——	—— ——	81 8 5 b 0
	Bradneſtoke —	Saint *Mary* —P	*Walter* eldeſt ſon of *Walter de Eureux* Earle of *Roſmare in Normandy* / *Patrik* / *Will. Logſpere* Earles of *Salisb.* benef.	Blacke Monkes –	270 10 8 0 0
	Bromhore, or Bromere	S. *Mary* / S. *Michaell* P	*Baldwine* Earle of *Riuers* and *Deuonſhire*,	Blacke Canons —	
	Brioptune —	S. *Mary Magd* P	—— ——	Black Canons –	
	Colne —	—— —H	—— ——	—— ——	2 2 8 0 0
	Crakelade —	— —H	—— ——	—— ——	4 10 7 b 0
	Edoros —	— —P	King *Henry* the ſecond / King *Henry* the third —— ——	Blacke Canons –	133 0 7 b 0
	Edington –	*All Saints* —P	*William de Edington* B. of *Wincheſter*, 25. *E.* 3. 1350. ——	Bon-homes –	521 12 5 b 0
	Eſton —	Saint *Trinity* –P	—— ——	—— ——	55 14 4 0 0
Leland.	Farley Monks / Cel to Lewis	S. *Mary Magd.* P	*Humfrey de Bohun* Earle of *Hereford.* / *Maude* the Empreſſe a benefactor.	Cluniack Monkes –	217 0 4 b 0
	Fiſhart —	—— —F	*Mary* Counteſſe of *Norfolke*, *temp. Edw.* 3.	Friers Preachers –	
	Grekelade —	— —H	— —	—— ——	4 10 7 b 0
	Heytesbury —	— —C	*Robert* Lord *Hungerford*, and / *Margaret* his wife, *temp. Hen.* 4.	—— ——	

Places.	Dedications.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. l. s. d. ob. q.	
Henton —	— — N	*Ella* Countesse of *Salisbury*, *temp. H.3* —	Nunnes —		
Kynton —	S. *Mary* / S. *Mich.* P	— —	Nunnes —	38 3 10 0 0	
Lacocke —	Saint *Mary* / S. *Barnard* N	*Ella* Countesse of *Salisbury*, 1232.17 *H.3*	Nunnes Aug. —	203 12 3 b 0	
Malmesbury —	Saint *Adeline* - M	*Maidulfe*, a Irish Scot, *circa* 648. *Adelme* his Scholler. King *Athelstan.* King *Edgar.* King *Iohn.* Benefactors. —	Benedictine Monkes	803 17 7 0 0	Leland.
Middleton —	— — P	King *Athelstone.* —	— —		
Marleburgh —	S. *Margaret* — P	*Edmund*, Earle of *Cornwall*, *temp. E.1* —	Canons —	38 19 3 0 0	
Marleburgh —	S. *Mary* — F	*Iohn Goodwin.* / *William Ranisbeth* 1316. 10 *E.2* —	VVhite Fryers —		
Iuxta Marleburgh —	S. *Iohn Baptist* - H	— —	— —	6 18 4 0 0	
Maiden Bradely	— P	*Manasses Basset* alijs *Bisset*, *temp. H.2* / *Hubert* B. *Salisbury*, a benefactor. —	Canons Regular —	197 18 8 0 0	Leland.
Maiden Bradely	— — H	One of the inheritrices of *Manass. Basset*	Leprous people —		
Stanley —	S. *Mary* — M	— —	Cistercian Monkes —	222 19 4 0 0	
Wilton —	— — M	King *Alfred*, *circa* 882. King *Eldred.* King *Edward Seiner.* King *Athelstan.* King *Edmund.* King *William Conquerour.* Benefactors			
Wilton —	Saint *Mary* / S. *Edith* — N	*Egbert* King of *England*, 773. (Lel.) King *Edgar.* (Camd.) *Alijs Wealstin*, E. of *Ellandune*, or *Wilton* *Alijs Edith*, wife to S^t *Edward.* —	Black Nunnes —	652 11 5 a q	
Iuxta VVilton —	S. *Giles* — H	— —	— —	5 13 4 0 0	
Iuy Church —	— — P	King *Henry* the second. *Rob. Blunston*, Canon of *Salisb.* / *Robert Hungerford*, Knight. — benefact.	Blacke Canons Aug. —		
VVest-church —	— — P	— —	— —		
			Sum totall, &c.	4044 17 1 b q	

WORCESTER-SHIRE.

Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors and Tyme.	Order.	Value. l. s. d. ob. q.	
Worcester Episcopall Sea —	S^t *Mary* / S. *Wolstan* / S. *Katherine* M	*Ethelred* King of *Mercia*, first founder of the Episcopall Sea. Anno Domini 67. *Sexwolph*, Bishop of *Mercia.* An. Domini 680. Bishop *Egwin* built the Cathedrall Church and Monastery, Anno Domini 700. Bishop *Oswald* brought in Monkes, *A. D.* 990. King *Edgar* repaired it, and gaue diuers Liberties thereunto. Bishop *Wolstan* 1090. *William Rufus*, built a new the Cathedrall Church from the very ground, and made the number of the Monkes 50. Bishop *Pagham*, *temp. Henry* 2. gaue Lands to his Sea. Bishop *Releyes* gaue Lands to his Church, *temp. H.3.* Bishop *Gifford*, *temp. Edward* the first, bestowed much mony in beautifying his Church. Bishop *Cobham*, *temp. Edward* the 2. vaulted ouer the most part of the Church. Bishop *Wakefield*, *temp. Richard* the 2. built the North-Porch, and enlarged the Church by two Arches. Bishop *Carpenter*, *temp. H.6.* a benefactor. King *Henry* the 8. in stead of Monks, instituted a Deane & Prebends, and also a Grammer Schoole. —	Blacke Monkes —	1386 12 10 b q	Godwin
Worcester —	— — F	— —	Grey Fryers. —		
Worcester —	— — F	*William de Beauchampe.* —	Blacke Fryers. —		
Worcester —	S. *Wolstan* — H	— —	— —	63 18 10 0 0	
Alcester —	— — Cell	— —	— —	75 7 0 0 q	
Bordesley —	Saint *Mary* — P	*Wallerane de Beaumont*, Earle of *Worcester*, *temp. H.2.* (Glouer) *Maud* the Empresse. King *Henry* the second. *Alijs.* —	Cistercian Monkes —		
Bredon —	S. *Peter* — M	*Eanwolfe* King of *Mercia*, 748. *Offa* King of *Mercia*, a benefactor. —			
Brodesley —	Saint *Mary* — M	— —	VVhite Monkes —	392 8 6 0 0	
Cokehill —	— — N	— —	VVhite Nunnes —	34 15 11 ? 0	

Eluece-

	Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Tyme.	Order.	Value. l.	s.	d.	ob.	q.
	Elueceçeſter —	—— —P	—— ——	Blacke Canons —					
	Euesham —	{S. *Mary* / S. *Eadburg* } M	{*Egwin* Biſhop of *Worceſter* / *Kenred* King of *Mercia* / King *Offa* benefactor } 700.	Blacke Monkes —	1268	9	9	o	o
	Fladbury —	— —M	—— ——	—— ——					
Godwin	Kemeſey —	S. *Andrew* —C	*Alwin* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, 868. ——	—— ——	-	-	-	-	-
	Haleſowen —	—— M	{*Peter de Rupibus* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, / *Alis* King *Iohn* } ——	—— ——	282	13	4	o	o
Ieland. Godwin.	Maluerne Maior	Saint *Mary*—P	{*Alwin* a Monke, 1083. 18 K. *Will. Conq.* Benefactors / King *Henry* the firſt / King *Edward* the firſt / *Gilbert de Clare* Earle of *Glouceſter* / *Oſberne de Pontibus* / *Richard de Pontibus* }	Blacke Monkes —	375	o	6	b	q
	Maluerne Minor	Saint *Giles* —	{*Ioceline* and *Edred*, two brothers, and both religious men there / *William de Blois* Biſhoppe of *Wincheſter*, a benefactor, 1171. *temp. Hen.* 3. }	Blacke Monkes —	101	10	9	o	o
	Penwortham —	—— ——	The Kings Anceſters. ——	—— ——	99	5	3	o	o
	Perſhore —	{S. *Mary* / S. *Edburge* } M	{*Egilward* Earle of *Dorſet*, *temp.* K. *Edgar* / King *Oſwald* } ——	Blacke Monkes —	666	13	0	o	o
	Weſtwood —	—— —N	—— ——	Blacke Nunnes —	78	8	o	o	o
	Whiſton *iuxta* VVorceſter	—P	—— ——	—— ——	56	3	7	o	o
	- - - - - - -	Saint *Oſwald* H	—— ——	—— ——	13	14	4	o	o
				Sum totall, &c.	4896.	1.	8.	b.	q.

YORKE-SHIRE.

	Places.	Dedications.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value l.	s.	d.	ob.	q.
Godwin.	Yorke Arch-Biſhops Sea	Saint *Peter* —	*Edwin* King of *Northumberland*, firſt made it an Epiſcopall Sea, and built a Cath. Church, 627. *Oſwald* King of *Northumberland* finiſhed it. Pope *Honorius* made it a Metropolitan Sea. B. *Egbert* erected a famous Library at Yorke, 750. *Thomas* Arch-B. Yorke began anew the foundation of the Cath. Church *temp.* K. *William Rufus*. Biſhop *Roger*, *temp. Henry* the ſecond built a new the Quier of the Cathedrall Church, and the Vaultes of the ſame decayed with fier, and the Pallace, and the Chappell of Saint *Sepulcher* on the North ſide of the Cathed. Church, and gaue much lands to his Church. *John Romane*, *temp. Edward* the firſt, built the Croſſe Iſle on the North-ſide of the Church, and a goodly ſteeple in the middle of the Church. Arch-Biſhop *Melton* finiſhed the VVeſt part of the body of the Church with the expences of 700. markes, *temp. Ed.* 2. Biſhop *Zouch*, *temp. Edward* the third, beganne the foundation of a new Chappell on the ſouth-ſide of the Church. Biſhop *Thareſby*, *temp. Edward* the third, beganne to build a new the Quier of the Cathedrall Church, hee beſtowed great coſt in beautifying the Lady Chappell with images and pictures. ----*de Percy* {Benefa&. the one giuing the Stones, the other the wood towards the finiſhing of the Cathedrall Church. ----*de Vaueſour*	— —— - - - - - -					
	Yorke *extra muros*	Saint *Mary*—M	{King *William Rufus*, after / *Alane* Earle of Little *Britaine* (in *Armorica*) and of *Richmound* } ——	Blacke Monkes —	2085	1	5	b	q

Places	Dedications	Founders, Benefactors, and Time	Order	Value l.	s.	d.	ob.	q.	
Yorke —	S. *Trinity* —	A House of Canons destroyed by K. *W. Conq.* *Robert Paynell* repaired it for Monks.	Blacke Monkes —	196	17	2	0	0	
Yorke —	Saint *Mary* — F	- - - - Lord *Vescy.* - - - - Lord *Percy.* 1255. 40 *H.*3.	White Fryers —						
Yorke —	Saint *August.* — F	- - - - Lord *Scroope.*	Augustine Fryers —						
Yorke —	Saint *Peter* S. *Leonard.* H	King *William Rufus* dedicated it to St *Peter.* King *Stephen* founded it a new, dedicting it to S. *Leonard.* *John Roman*, Arch-B. of *Yorke*, built the body of the Church, *temp. E.*1 —	A Master. 12 Brethren 4 Secular Priests. 8 Sisters 30 Choristers 2 Schoolemasters 206 Beadmen 6 Seruitors.	362	11	1	b	o	Leland.
Iuxta Yorke —	S. *Andrew* — P	— —	— —	57	5	9	o	o	
Nun Appleton —	— — N	The Ancestors of the Earle of *Northumberland.* —	Nunnes —	83	5	9	o	o	
Arden —	— — N	The Kings Ancestors. —	Nunnes —	13	7	4	o	o	
Athington —	— — N	The Ancestors of *Hew Arthington.* —	Nunnes —	19	o	o	o	o	
Bamburgh, a Cell to Saint *Oswald* —	— — Cell	King *Henry* the first. —	— —	124	15	7	o	o	
Barton or Burtō	Saint *Mary* — M	*Adam Swenston.* —	Blacke Monkes —						
Saint *Bees* in Northumberl.	— — Cell	The Kings Ancestors. —	— —	149	19	6	o	o	
Bella-Launda, vulgo Bilaund.	Saint *Mary* — M	*Acarius*, first Founder, after *Robert* (Leland) *Roger de Mowbrey* and *Gunnora* his Mother, founded the Church at *Hode*, and after remoued it to *Biland*, 1138. 4 *Stephen.* —	Cistercian Monkes —	295	5	4	o	o	
Beuerley Commandery —	Saint *Mary* —	— —	Templers first, after Hospitaliers of Saint *Iohn* of Ieruſalem. —	164	10	o	o	o	
Beuerley —	S. *Iohn* — C	*Iohn de Beuerley*, Arch-B. *Yorke*, *cir.* 700 King *Athelstan* restored it, 929. *Alfricus Puttock.* *Kinsius.* *Aldredus.* Arch-Bishops of *Yorke*, Benefact.	Monkes Canons. —	109	8	8	b	o	Leland.
Beuerley —	— — F	*Iohn de Hightmede.* —	Fryers Minors —						
Beuerley —	— — F	*William Liketon*, *Henry Wighton*, Sir *Iohn Hotham* Knight, repaired it. 1287. 16 *E.* 1. —	Augustine Fryers —						
Bawtre —	— — H	— —	— —	6	6	8	o	o	Leland.
Bolton in Craven —	S. *Iuis* — F	- - - - Earle of *Albemarle.* Aliis - - - L. *Grey* of *Codnor.* —	Carmelite Fryers —	102	9	3	o	o	
Bowtham —	— — H	King *Athelstan.* —	— —	9	6	8	o	o	
Bridlington —	Saint *Mary* — M	*Walter de Gaunt.* *Iordan Paganell.* about the Conquerors time. —	Canons Regular —	682	13	9	o	o	
Datedale —	— — N	*Antecessor Radulphi Euers militis.* —	Nunnes —	21	19	4	o	o	
Doncaster —	Saint *Mary* — F	*Iohn* Duke of *Lancaster.* *Iohn Nighbroder.* 1350. 25 *E.*3.	V White Fryers —						
Drax —	— — P	Sir *William Paniell* Knight, Ancestor to Sir *Marmaduke Constable.* —	Canons —	121	18	3	b	o	
Ellerton —	S. *Mary* — N	*William Fitz-Piers*, and the Ancestors of — *William Aselby.* *William Thurresby* *Ralph Spencer.*	Nunnes —	78	o	10	o	o	
Essehoult —	— — N	The Ancestors of *Christopher Ward.* —	Nunnes —	19	o	o	o	o	
North Ferreby —	— — P	The Ancestors of the Earle of *Cumberland.*	— —	95	11	7	b	o	
Fossegate —	— — H	— —	— —	6	13	4	o	o	
Gromount, or Grosmount —	— — P	*Peter de Mawley*, Ancestor of *Francis Bigot* and *George Saluaine.*	— —	14	2	8	o	o	
Guisburgh —	— — M	*Robert de Brus*, 1119. 10 *H.*1: —	— —	712	6	6	o	o	
Hagulstal —	— — C	*Thomas* Arch B. of *Yorke*, *temp. H.*2. —	Canons Regular —						Godwin
Haltemprice —	— — M	*Thomas Holland* Earle of *Kent*, alias The Ancestors of the D. of *Richmond.*	— —	178	o	10	o	o	
Hampall. —	— — N	The Ancestors of *Gernais Clifton* —	Nunnes —	85	6	11	o	o	
Handale, or Grundale —	— — N	The Ancestors of the Earle of *Northumberland.* —	Nunnes —	20	7	8	o	o	
Helagh-Parke —	— — P	The Ancestors of the Earle of *Northumberland.* —	— —	86	5	9	o	o	
Heningburgh —	— — C	— —	— —	36	o	7	o	o	
Hull, *iuxta* —	S. *Michael* — M	*William de la Poole*, and *Katherine* his wife, 1377. 1 *Richard.* —	Carthusian Monkes —	231	17	3	o	o	
Hull —	S. *Augustine* — F	*Galfride de Huthom*, 1330. 5 *E.*3. —	Augustine Fryers —						
Hull —	S. *Mary* — F	King *Edward* the first. Sir *Robert Oughtred* Knight. *Richard de la Poole*, 13 *E.*1.	Carmelite, or white Friers —						
Hull —	Saint *Trinity* — H	— —	— —	10	o	o	o	o	
Hurst in the Isle of Axholme	— —	*Mowbray* Earle of *Nottingham.* —	— —	7	11	8	o	o	
Keldon —	— — N	The Ancestors of the Earle of *Westmorland*	Nunnes —	29	6	1	o	o	
Non Keling —	— — N	The Kings Ancestors. —	Nunnes —	50	17	2	o	o	
Kirkham —	— — P	*Walter Espec.* 1122. 23 *H.*1. —	Canons Augustines —	300	15	6	o	o	Kirkleys

	Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Tyme.	Order.	Value l.	s.	d.	ob.	q
	Kirkleys —	— N	—	Nunnes —	20	7	8	o	o
	Kirkſtall —	Saint *Mary* — M	*Henry Lacy* the firſt, 1147. 13 *Stephen.* —	Ciſtercian Monkes —	512	13	4	o	o
	Iuxta Lincolne —	S. *Mary Mag.* Cell —	—	— —	26	1	3	o	o
	Meaux, or Melſa —	Saint *Mary* — M	*William* the groſſe Earle of *Albemarle* 1150. 16 King *Stephen.* —	Cam. Clu. *alias* Ciſter. Mõks.	445	10	5	o	o
	Merton —	— — P	*Katherine de Brawmere.* —	— —	183	2	4	o	o
	Mollesby —	— — N	The Kings Anceſtors, *Alias* The Earle of *Salisbury.* —	Nunnes —	32	6	2	o	o
	Mountgrace —	— — M	*Thomas Holland*, D. of *Surrey*, E. of *Kent*, and Lord of *Wake.* 1401. *Iohn Ingleby*, Eſquier. — 3 *H.4.*	— —	382	5	11	b	o
	Munke Burton —	S. *Mary Mag.* M	*Adam Fitz-Owen.* —	Monkes —	323	8	2	o	o
	Nether Aulcaſter —	S. *Mary* S. *Ioh. Bapt.* C	*Robert*, Earle of *Leiceſter.* —	— —	27	13	4	o	o
	Newburgh —	— — P	*Robert de Mowbrey*, 1127. 28 *H.1* —	Blacke Canons Auguſtines	457	13	5	o	o
	Newland Cõmandary —	S. *Mary* —	—	Firſt Templers, after Hoſpitaliers of S. *Ioh.* of Ieruſ.	129	14	11	b	o
	Newton —	— — H	— —	— —	21	o	2	o	o
	North Allerton —	S. *Mary* — F	King *Edward* the third. 1354. *Thomas Hatfield*, B. *Durham.* 29 *Ed.3.*	White Friers —					
	North Aluerton —	Saint *Iames* — H	— —	— —	56	2	2	o	o
	Noſtell —	Saint *Oſwald* — M	*Robert Lacy* Earle of *Lincolne.* A Confeſſor to King *H.1.* repaired it	Canons —	606	9	3	o	o
	Nunuerholme —	— — N	The Anceſtors of the Lord *Dacres.* —	Nunnes —	10	3	3	o	o
	Ould Maulton —	— — M	*Euſtace Fitz-Iohn* with one eye, *temp. K. Stephen.* —	— —	257	7	o	o	o
	Howden —	— — C	— —	— —					
	Pontefract —	S. *Iohn Euang.* — M	*John Lacy* Earle of *Lincolne*, *temp. H.3.* —	Cluniack Monkes —	472	16	10	b	o
	Pontefract —	Saint *Trinity* — H	Sir *Robert Knowles* Knight, and *Conſtance* his wife. —	Poore People —	182	13	7	o	o
	Iuxta Richmond	S. *Martin*, Cell —	The Kings Anceſtors. —	— —	47	16	o	o	o
	Rippon —	— — M	*Wilfride* Biſhop of *Yorke*, 700. *Odo* Arch-B. *Cant.* repaired it, 930 —						
Leland.	Riuaulx —	S. *Mary* — M	*Walter Eſpec*, & *Dalina* his wife, 1132. 33 *Hen.* 1.	Cluniack Monkes —	-	-	-	-	-
	Roſedale —	— — P	The Kings Anceſtors. —	— —	41	13	8	o	o
Leland.	Rotheram —	Saint *Ieſus* — C	*Tho. Rotheram* Arch-B. *Yorke*, *temp. H.7* —	1 Preſident. 5 Prieſts. 10 Choriſters. 3 School maſters. Grãmer Writing Muſick.	58	5	9	b	q
Leland.	Rupe, alias Roche —	Saint *Mary* — M	*Richard* ſonne of *Turgis.* *Richard de Bulli.* —	— —	271	19	4	o	o
	Rithall, or Ridal	— — M	— —	— —	351	14	6	o	o
	Salley —	S. *Mary* — M	*William*, ſonne of *Henry de Percy.* —	VVhite Monkes —	221	15	8	o	o
	Scarburrow —	Saint *Mary* — F	King *Edward* the ſecond, 1319. —	VVhite Fryers —					
	Scarburrow —	— — F	Sir *Adam Sage*, Knight. —	Preaching Fryers —					
	Scarburrow —	— — F	*Henry Percy*, Earle of *Northumberland.* —	Blacke Friers —					
	Selby —	S. *German* — M	King *William Conquerour*, 1078. —	Benedictine Monks —	819	2	6	o	o
	Sempringham —	S. *Gilbert*, S. *Mary* Wottõ M	S[t] *Gilbert* the beginner of the order — *Agnes de Cheſter.* —	Gilbertines —	66	13	4	o	o
	Smithywait, or Semingthwait.	— — N	The Anceſtors of the Earle of *Northumberland.* —	Nunnes —	62	6	o	o	o
	Stoke Kirke —	— Cell	— —	— —	8	o	o	o	o
	Sutton —	— — C	— —	— —	13	18	8	o	o
	Swinhey —	— — N	The Anceſtors of Sir *Iohn Melton* Knight	Nunnes —	134	6	9	b	o
	Thyrkehead, or Thikenhead	— — N	The Anceſtors of *Iohn Aske.* —	Nunnes —	23	12	2	o	o
	Tickhill —	S. *Auguſtine* — F	*Iohn Clarell* Deane of *Paules* —	Auguſtine Friers —					
	Warter —	S. *Iames* — P	*Geffrey Trusbut* Knight *William Ros* of *Hamlake* *temp. H.1.*	Blacke Canons Auguſtines	221	3	10	o	o
	Watton —	— — M	*Euſtace Fitz-Iohn* with one eye, *temp.* King *Stephen.*	Canons Gilbertins Nunnes	453	7	8	o	o
	VVhitby —	S. *Peter* S. *Hilda* M	Saint *Hilda*, 664. *Oſwin* King of *Northumberland*, and *Edelfleda* his daughter, benefactors *William* (Cambd.) *Serlo de Percy* reedified it (after the deſtruction thereof made by the *Danes*) *circa tem. H.1.*	Benedictine Monkes	505	9	1	o	o
	VVoderhall —	S. *Trinity* Cell.	— —	— —	128	5	3	b	o
	VVoodkirka Cell to Saint Oſwald	— Cell	— — — — Earle *Warrein* —	— —	47	o	4	o	o
	VVicham —	— — M	The Kings Anceſtors	VVhit Monks and Nunnes Gilbert	25	17	6	o	o
Leland.	VVilberfoſſe —	S. *Mary* — N	*Alane*, ſon of *Elias de Cotton* *Alane* his ſonne a benefactor —	Nunnes —	28	8	8	o	o
	Yeddingham —	— — N	The Anceſtors of the Lord *Latimer* —	Nunnes —	26	6	8	o	o
		S. *Clement* — N	— —	Nunnes —	55	11	11	o	o
		S. *Sepulcher* — M	— —	— —	11	18	4	o	o
		S. *Nicholas* — H	— —	— —	29	1	4	o	o

Places.	Dedications.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value l.	s.	d.	ob.	q	
S. Johns Mount Commendary	S. Mary —	—	—	102	13	10	0	o	
S. Sepulch. Chap.	S. Sepulh. Chap.	—	—	138	19	2	b	o	
			Sum totall, &c.	14611.	3.	5.	b.	o	

In S. Asaph DIOCES.

Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. l.	s.	d.	b.	q.	
Basingworke in Flintshire	— —M	King *Henry* 2. *Ran. Higd. lib.* 7. *cap.* 22. —	Cistercian Monkes —	157	15	2	o	q	Leland.
Aber-conway in Carnaruansh.	Saint *Mary* —M	*Lleoline*, the Great Prince of *North-wales*, *tem. H.* 3. —	Cistercian Monkes —	179	10	10	o	o	Leland.
Howston Cō-mandery	S. *Mary* —	—	Templers first, after Hospital. of S. *Iohn* of Ieruſalem	160	14	10	o	o	
Lanlugen, or Wanligan in Mountgom. sh.	— —N	—	Nunnes —	22	13	8	o	o	
Strata Marcella, or Strat-marghill in Mountgom. sh.	— —M	*Owen* ſonne of *Griffin*, Prince of *Powis* *Wenneowin* his ſonne confirmed it, 1202. 4 *Iohn*. —	Cistercian Monkes —	73	7	6	o	o	Leland.
Vale of Saint Crosse in Denbigh-shire	S. *Mary* —M	*Madoc* ſon of *Griffith*, Prince of *Powis*, *temp. E.* 1. —	Cistercian Monkes —	214	3	5	o	o	Leland.
Saint *Asaph* Episcopall Sea	— —	*Kentigurne* Biſhop of *Glaskowe* in *Scotland*, founded a Monaſtery, 560. wherein were 660 Monkes. — *Malgo* a Britiſh King, at the ſame time made it an Epiſcopall Sea: B. *Howell de Edwenell*, B. *Llewelino*, B. *Redman*, B. *Dauid ap Owin*, Io. *Fitz-Alan* Earle of *Arundell*, *Griffith Vaughā*, Lord of *Yale*, eſpeciall Benefactors —	— —	-	-	-	-	-	Godwin
			Sum totall, &c.	808.	5.	5.	o	q	

Bangor DIOCES.

Places	Dedications	Founders, Benefactors, and Time	Order	Value l.	s.	d.	ob.	q.	
Bangor Episcopall Sea	Saint *Daniel* — M	A famous Monaſtery in the *Saxons* time, made an Epiſcopall Sea about the Conqueſt time. *Owen Glendour*, that famous Rebell, *temp. Hen.* 4. burnt downe the Cathedrall Church, which the ſucceeding Biſhops indeuoured to reſtore. *Henry Dene* Biſhop, ſpent very much in repaire of it, *temp. Hen.* 7. B. *Skewington*, *temp. Hen.* 8. built all the Cathedrall Church from the Quier downe-ward, with a foure-ſquare Tower Steeple, —	— —	-	-	-	-	-	Godwin.
Bangor —	— — F	—	Black Friers —						
Bradeſey in Caernaruan-sh.	Saint *Mary* —M	—	— —	58	6	2	b	o	
Beaumaris in Angleſey	Saint *Francis* - F	—	Grey Friers —						
Bithkilhert —	— —M	—	— —	69	3	8	o	o	
Caſtr. Cubij —	— —C	—	— —	24	o	o	o	o	
Holy head in Angleſey	— —C	—	— —						
Kinner in Merioneth ſhire	Saint *Mary* —M	*Lewelin*, ſonne of *Gerwas*. —	— —	58	15	4	o	o	
Lanuais —	Saint *Mary* — F	*Lewelin* Prince of *Wales*, Kings of *England* Benefactors. —	Dominican Friers -	-	-	-	-		Leland.
Penmou —	— -P	—	— —	40	17	9	b	o	
Siriolis —	— —M	—	— —	47	15	3	o	o	
			Sum totall, &c.	298.	18.	3.	o.	o	

Saint

Saint Dauids DIOCES.

	Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. l. s. d. ob. q.
			Lucius King of *Britaine*, being baptized, cauſed the Temples of the falſe Gods to be dedicated to the ſeruice of the true GOD, and appointed 28 Biſhoprickes, whereof three were Arch-biſhopricks, one of which three was ſeated at *Caerlegion* vpon *Vske*, 180. At this *Caerlegion*, *temp.* K. *Arthur* ſate *Dubritius* Biſhop there, who dyed Anno 522. Saint *Dauid* ſucceeded him, and tranſlated his Sea from *Caerlegion* vnto S. *Dauids*, by the conſent of King *Arthur*, to whom he was vncle, and they continued their Archiepiſcopall dignity almoſt till K. *Henry* 1. his time, about which time they loſt their Title of Arch-B. and ſubmitted themſelues to the Sea of *Canterbury*. Biſhop *Peter* new built the Cathedrall Church, *temp.* K. *Iohn*. B. *Gower*, *temp.* E. 3. built the Biſhops Palace. B. *Vaughan*, *temp.* H. 8. built the Chappell of S. *Trinity*.		
Godwin	Saint *Dauids* Epiſcopal Sea.	S. *Andrewes*, S. *Dauids*		—	- - - -
	Saint *Dauids*	— — C	*Adam de Houghton*, Biſh. of S. *Dauids*, *temp. Edward* 3.		
	Iuxta S. Dauids	Saint *Mary* C	*Iohn* Duke of *Lancaſter*, *temp. R.* 2.		
Godwin.	Aberguilly in Caermarthenſhire	— — C	*Thomas Beke*, Biſhop of Saint *Dauids*, *temp.* E. 1		42 0 0 0 0
Leland.	Alba-laũda in Carmarden-ſh.	— — M	*Rheſe* ſon of *Theodore*, Prince of *South-wales*, *temp.* William Conqueror.	Ciſtercian Monkes	153 17 2 0 0
	Brechon	S. *Euang.* — P			134 11 4 0 0
	Cardigan, a Cell to Chertſey	— — Cell			13 4 9 0 0
Leland.	Caermarden in Carmarden-ſh.	— — P		Grey Fryers, Canõs Aug. (Leland	174 0 8 0 0
	Combe-hyre	— — M			24 19 4 0 0
	Iuxta S. *Dauids* in Pembrokeſhire.	S. *Mary* — C	*Iohn* Duke of *Lancaſter*.		106 3 6 0 0
	Denbigh	S. *Mary* — F	*Iohn de Sumimore*, 1399. 23 *Ri*2.	Carmelite Friers	
Leland.	S. Dogmaels in Pembroke-ſh.	Saint *Martin-M*	*Martin de Tours*, L. of *Kemis*, *tem.* H. 1 *William de Valence*, Earle of *Pembrook*, repaired it, *temp.* H. 3	Monkes of S. Martin.	68 1 6 0 0
	Heuerfordweſt in Pembrokeſhire	— — P			135 6 1 0 0
	Kidwelly in Carmardenſh. a Cell to Sherburne	— —			29 10 0 0 0
	Landewybreuy	— — C	*Thomas Beke*, B. S. *Dauids*, *temp.* E. 1		
	Lanlere in Catmarden-ſhire	— — M			57 5 4 0 0
Leland.	Monketon, a Cell to S. *Albans*	— — P			113 2 6 b q
	Newport	— — F		Auguſtine Fryers	
Leland.	Pulla in Caldey Iſland a Cel to S. Dogmaell	— — P		Monks Benedict. of the order of S. *Martin of Turin*	52 2 5 0 0
Leland.	Slebach in Pẽbroke-ſhire a Commendary	— —	*Wizo* *Walter* brothers	Firſt Templers, after Hoſpitaliers of S. *Io.* of *Ieruſal.*	184 10 11 b 0
	Stratflorida or Stratflower in Cardiganſhire	— — M	*Rheſe*, ſonne of *Theodore* Prince of *South-Wales*, *temp.* King *William Conq.* Alijs *Griffith ap Refe* and *Meredith*.	Ciſtercians (Lel.) Cluniac. (Cambd	122 6 8 0 0
	Swanſey Gardianatus	— —			20 0 0 0 0
	Pembroke a cel to S. Albans	— Cell	*Humfrey* Duke of *Glouceſter*, *temp.* K. H. 6.	— —	
Leland.	Talley	S. *Mary* S. *Iohn Bap.* M	*Reſtus*	VVhite Canons Premonſtratenſ.	153 1 4 0 0
	Tiron	— —	*Robert Martin*, *temp.* H. 1.		

Sum totall, &c. 1584. 3. 7. 0. 2.

Landaffe

LANDAFFE DIOCES.

Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Tyme.	Order.	Value l. s. d. ob. q	
		Lucius, first Christian King of the *Britaines*, 180. *Germanus* and *Lupus*, two French Bishops, about 520. appointed *Dubricius* Bishop of this Sea. Bishop *Vrban* built a new the Cathedrall Church, *circa* 1120. 21 *H.*1. *Henry* Bishop of *Landaffe*, added 14 Prebends.			
Landaffe Episcopall Sea	Saint *Telean*		—	—	
Abergeuenny in Monmouthshire	— — P	*John de Hastings*, Earle of *Pembrooke*, *temp. E.*3	Bened. Monkes —	59 4 0 0 0	Leland.
Breknoke a cel to Battel Abby	S. *John Euang.* F	*Bernard de Newmarch*, *temp. H.*1. *Miles*, *Roger*, Earles of *Hereford*, Benefac. K. *Henry* 8. conuerted the Fryery into a Colledge of Prebends, incorporating 14 Prebends therein.	Blacke Fryers —	- - - -	Leland.
Caerdiffe	S. *Francis* — F	—	Franciscan Friers —		
Cardiffe	— — F	—	Blacke Fryers —		
Chepstow in Monmouth-sh.	— — M	—	Benedict. Monkes	32 4 0 0 0	
Gracediew in Monmouth-sh.	Saint *Mary* — M	—	— —	19 4 4 0 0	
Goldcliffe, in Monmouth-sh.	— — P	- - - *de Chaundois.*	— —		
S. Kinmercy, with a Chapp.	— — P	—	— —	8 4 8 0 0	
Lantarnam in Monmouth-sh.	— — M	—	Cistercian Monkes —	71 3 2 0 0	
Malps by Newport, neere the Riuer of Vske	— — Cell	—	— —	14 9 11 0 0	
Monmouth	S. *Katherine* S. *Florence* P	—	Benedictine Monks	56 1 11 0 0	
Morgā in Glamorgan-shire.	— — M	*William* Earle of *Gloucester*, *temp. H.*2 —	Cistercian Monkes —	188 14 0 0 0	
Nith in Glamorgan-shire.	Saint *Mary* — M	*Richard de Grennile.* —	Cistercian Monkes —	150 4 9 0 0	
Lanthony in Monmouth-sh.	— — P	*Miles* Constable of *Gloucester*, and Earle of *Hereford*, 1137.3 *Steph.* (Camd.) *Walter Lacy.* (Leland)	— —	- - - - - -	Leland.
Cair Vske in Monmouth-sh.	— — N	—	Benedict. Nunnes —	69 9 8 b 0	
Tinterna in Mōmouth-sh.	— — M	*Walter* sonne of *Richard*, Earle of *Oge*, brother of *Gilbert*, Earle of *Pembroke*.	Cistercian Monkes —		
Wenny, a Cell to Glouceester.	— — P	—	— —	256 11 6 b 0	
			Sum totall, &c.	925 12 0 0 0	

The whole totall sum of all the values contained in this Catalogue of *England*, besides the two Vniuersities, and diuers Monasteries vnualued at the suppression, amounteth to 182895 pound, 8 shillings, 9 pence, ob. q. And of *Wales* 3616 l. 19 s. 3 d. ob. o. which maketh in all 186512 pound, 8 s. 1 d. o. q.

The Totall Number and Value of these, and all the Promotions Spirituall, *certified at the taxation in King* Henry *the eight his time of the first Fruits and Tenthes*, are by the Record, as followeth.

Promotions.	Number particular.	Number totall.	Value totall.
Archbishoprickes and Bishoprickes	21.		
Deaneries	11.		
Archdeaconeries	60.		
Dignities and Prebends in Cathedrall Churches	394.	12474. l.	320180. l. 10. s.
Benefices	8803.		
Religious Houses	605.		
Hospitals	110.		
Colledges	96.		
Chauntries and free Chappels	2374.		

Taken from the possession of the Clergy by *Henry* the eight, and conuerted to temporall vses out of the former summe, 161100. l. 9. s. 7. d. q. Since in this precedent Table, wee haue laid to the Readers view a great part of this Kings ill, the waste of so much of Gods reuenew (howsoeuer abused) let him not holde it in curiosity, out of season, since it may in Charity fall well in sequence by setting downe the Churches either erected, or restored by him, or by him (which is the now state of our Clergy) continued, to redeeme his memory, blemished by the former error from the vulgar aspersion of sacrilegious impiety.

This King after the dissolution of the Religious houses, erected these sixe Bishopricks, to witte, *Westminster*, *Chester*, *Peterborough*, *Oxford*, *Bristoll*, and *Glouceſter*, whereof the fiue last are in *esse*, and at the same time he erected also these Cathedrall Churches hereafter mentioned, wher ein hee founded a Deane, and the number of Prebends following, viz.

Canterbury:

Canterbury.	12	Glouceſter.	6
Wincheſter.	12	Briſtoll.	6
Worceſter.	10	Carliol.	4
Cheſter.	6	Durham.	12
Peterborough.	6	Rocheſter.	6
Oxford	6	Norwich.	6
Ely.	8		

The yeerely value of which Cathedrall Churches ſo newly by him erected, with the Collegiats of *Windſor*, *Weſtminſter*, and *Wolnerhampton*, ouer and beſides the Petti-Cannons, & other inferiour Miniſters; amounteth by eſtimation to 5942.l. 8.s. 2.d.

The Promotions Eccleſiaſticall, which for the moſt part, except a little pared, hee preſerued entire, are in a generall eſtimate by the Shires, wherein they ſtand in the enſuing Table expreſſed.

The Preſent Number and Value of the Spirituall Promotions in England and Wales.

Counties.	*Promotions*	*Value.*	*Counties.*	*Promotions.*	*Value.*
Barkeſhire	139	2053 06 00 ob 0	Lancaſhire	30	0789 10 01 00 0
Bedfordſhire	116	1506 05 05 00 0	Leiceſterſhire	199	2564 14 08 00 0
Buckinghamſhire	172	2236 02 06 00 q	Lincolneſhire	638	6129 01 04 ob 0
Cambridgeſhire	151	1902 18 07 ob 0	The City of *London*	96	3365 00 10 ob 0
The Town of *Callis*, & the Merchants thereof	26	0590 06 10 00 0	Middleſex	58	1074 19 06 ob 0
Cheſhire	68	1776 12 00 ob 0	Norffolke	678	6505 15 10 ob 0
Cornwall	161	2706 16 02 00 0	Northamptonſhire	281	3884 08 11 ob 0
Cumberland & Weſtm.	63	1022 06 06 ob q	Nottinghamſhire	168	1640 07 09 ob 0
Darby	106	1017 11 10 ob 0	Oxfordſhire	164	1917 17 07 ob 0
Deuonſhire	394	7466 01 04 00 0	Rutlandſhire	52	0548 00 10 00 0
Dorſetſhire	248	3077 05 08 ob q	The Archdeaconery of Richmund	105	1841 11 08 ob q
The Biſhopricke of *Durham* in the County of *Northumberland*	118	2332 07 05 ob 0	Shropſhire	190	1530 05 10 ob 0
			Staffordſhire	134	0884 03 11 00 0
			Southamptonſhire	158	3749 06 07 ob 0
Eſſex	378	5347 06 11 00 q	Sommerſetſhire	385	4910 13 07 00 q
Yorkeſhire	440	4974 00 00 ob 0	Suffolke	428	4811 08 00 00 0
Gloſterſhire	288	3296 06 04 ob q	Surrey	113	1701 08 09 00 q
Huntingtonſhire	79	1097 02 06 00 q	Suſſex	322	3069 16 04 00 0
Hartfordſhire	120	1837 16 00 ob 0	Warwickſhire	158	1732 18 10 ob q
Herefordſhire	160	1364 19 02 ob q	Worceſterſhire	153	2035 14 00 ob 0
Kent	335	3974 13 00 ob q	Wiltſhire	305	3505 02 09 ob q

Number totall of the benefices in *England* 8327	Value totall of the Benefices in *England* 107772.l. 12.s. 11.

The ſeuerall Dioces of Wales.	*Promotions.*	*Value.*
The Biſhopricke of Saint *Aſſaph*	312	1536 18 07 ob
The Biſhopricke of *Bangor*	104	1225 05 08 00 0
The Biſhopricke of *Landaffe*	166	1204 11 10 ob 0
The Biſhopricke of Saint *Danids*	323	2531 12 09 00 0

Number totall of the Benefices in *Wales*. 905.	Value totall of the Benefices in *Wales*, 6498.l. 9.s. 11.

Number totall of all the benefices both in *England* and *Wales*, 9232.	Value totall of all the Benefices both in *England* and *Wales*, 114271.l. 2.s. 10.d.

The value of theſe inferiour Promotions in England, which haue cure of Soules, I haue *ſuited into ſeuerall Proportions as they are rated in Record, and diſtinguiſhed the Vicaradges* from Parſonages in the Table following.

Liuings vnder tenne pound.	4543	Perſonages	
		Vicarages	
Liuings of tenne pound, and vnder twenty Markes.	1445	Perſonages	905
		Vicarages	540
Liuings of twenty Markes, and vnder twenty pound	1624	Perſonages	1134
		Vicarages	0490
Liuings of twenty pound, and vnder twenty ſixe pound.	0524	Perſonages	0414
		Vicarages	0179
Liuings of twenty ſixe pound, and vnder thirty pound.	0206	Perſonages	0163
		Vicarages	0043
Liuings of thirty pound, and vnder forty pound.	0248	Perſonages	0188
		Vicarages	0060
Liuings of forty pound, and vpwards.	0144	Perſonages	0115
		Vicarages	0029

To preuent any miſtaking in the Reader, I haue thought it not vnfit to conclude this Table with the diſcouery of my meaning by certaine letters before vſed, viz.

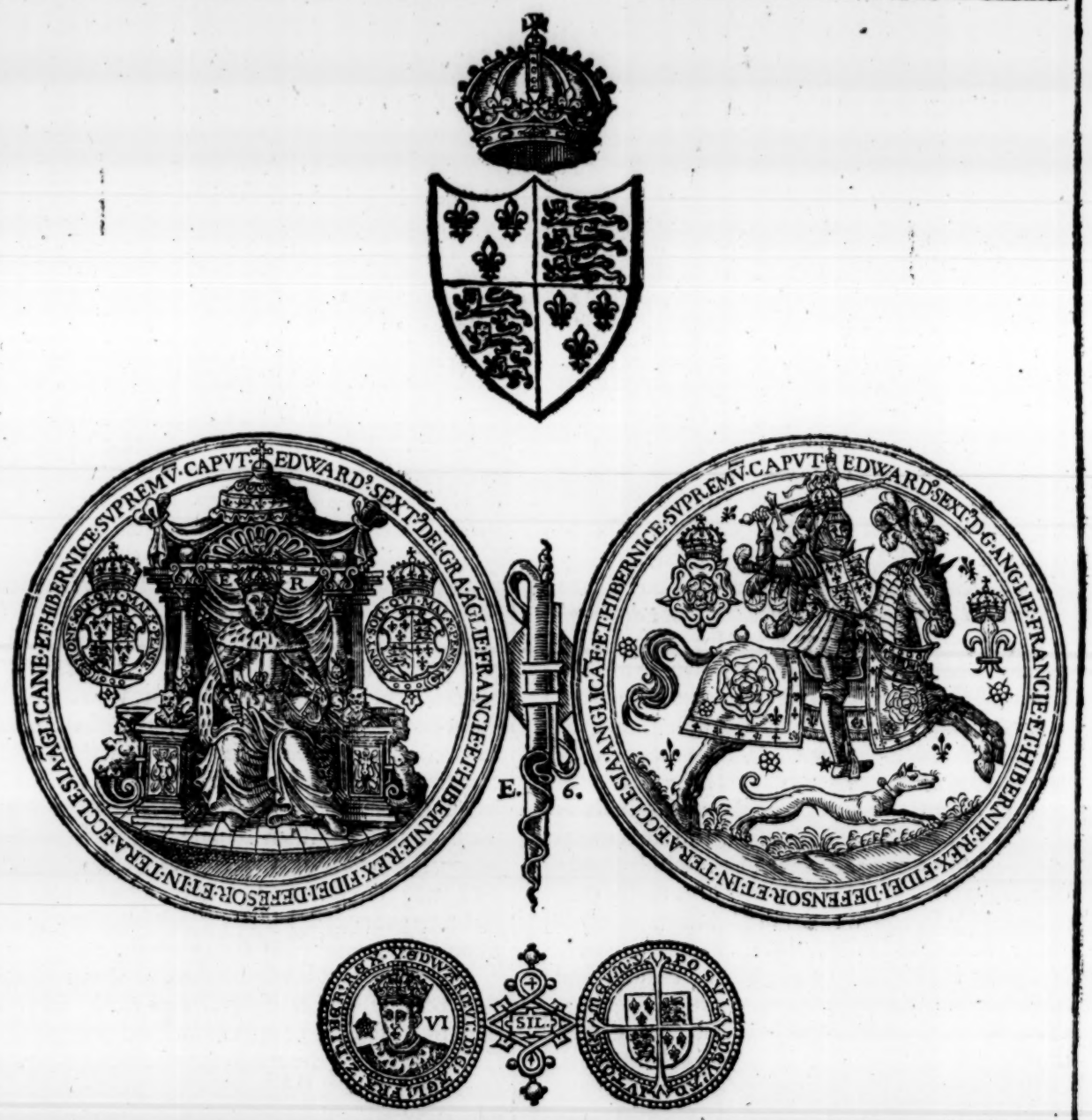
M.	Monaſtery.	F.	Fryery.	C.	Colledge.
P.	Priory.	N.	Nunnery.	H.	Hoſpital.

EDVVARD

Edward VI.

EDVVARD THE SIXT OF THAT NAME, KING OF ENGLAND, FRANCE AND IRELAND, DEFENDER OF THE FAITH, &c. THE FIFTIE NINTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISH, HIS LIFE, ACTS, AND DEATH.

Monarch 59



CHAPTER XXII.

A.D. 1547.

EDWARD the sixt of that Name, and onely sonne liuing vnto King *Henry* the eight, was borne at his Mannor of *Hampton-Court* in Middlesex, the twelfth of *October*, and yeere of saluation, 1537. and sixe dayes after being the eighteenth of the same moneth, he was created Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall*, and Earle of *Chester*: his birth was ioyfull vnto the King and Commons; but the death of his Mother, the vertuous Queene *Iane*, brought immediate sorrow vnto both, whose wombe was cut (as some haue affirmed) to the sauing of his, but losse of her owne life, vpon whose death these elegant verses were writ;

R. Graston.

Edward created Prince of Wales, presently after his birth.

Phœnix Iana iacet nato Phœnice, dolendum
Sæcula Phœnices nulla tulisse duas.

Here lies the Phenix, Lady Iane,
whose death a Phenix bare,
O griefe, two Phenixs at one time,
together neuer were.

Alluding to the Creſt of her Father a Phœnix, in flames within a Crowne.

(2) Nine yeeres and odde moneths hee was vertuously trained vp in the life of his Father, and at his death appointed the first of his heires, and for want of Issue (if it so chanced) *Mary*, and shee failing, *Elizabeth* to succeed in his Throne: for as *Henry* with *Salomon* was blame-worthy for women, so left he but one sonne and two daughters, as the other in Scripture is said to haue done: *Salomon* had *Rehoboam* a foole, and vnfortunate, his daughters, but obscure, and both of them Subiects; but *Henry*

By his will dated the 30. of [illegible] ber. An. D. 15[illegible]

Salomon and *Henry* compared in their sinnes, & in their Issue.

was more happy in *Edward* his ſonne, who proued another young *Salomon* himſelfe, and his ſiſters both Soueraignes of an Imperiall Crowne.

An.D.1546. (3) He beganne his raigne the twenty eight of *Ianuary*, in the yeere of *Chriſt Ieſus* 1546. and the laſt of that moneth was proclaimed King of *England*, *France* and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith; and ſupreme Gouernour of theſe Churches, with other his rightful Titles to his Imperiall Stiles belonging. And on the twentieth of *February* following, being Shroue-Sunday, was Crowned at *Weſtminſter* with all due Solemnities.

Iohn Stow.

The Duke of *Hereford* made Protector by Parliament.

(4) His Counſellours were appointed by his ſicke Father as we haue ſaid, and Protector ouer his Minority and Realmes (by conſent of the Nobles) was ordained his Vncle *Edward* Lord *Seymer*, Earle of *Hereford* and Duke of *Sommerſet*, brother vnto Queene *Iane*, who thereupon gaue the young King the Order of Knight-hood, and the King immediately did the like vnto the Lord *Mayor* of *London*.

2 *Chron.* 34. (5) His firſt buſineſſe was to eſtabliſh Gods ſeruice, who had eſtabliſhed him in the Throne, and as another *Ioſiah* in godly zeale, deſtroyed Idolatry, by pulling downe Images in *England*, as that King in *Iudah* did the Altars of *Baalim*; ſought the Saluation of his Subiects, by ſending forth Preachers to inſtruct the people, as *Ioſiah* did the *Leuites*, the teachers of *Iſrael* vnto their charges: brought the Bible in a knowne language to be read in the Church, as hee did the Arke into the Temple of the Lord; commanded the ancient and true vſe of the Sacrament in both kinds, as *Ioſiah* commanded the Paſſeouer both to be kild and celebrated in *Ieruſalem*, and in all things proued another *Ioſiah* indeed.

Ioſiah and King *Edward* compared.
2 *Chron.* 35.

Statutes *Ed.6.* An.1. (6) And as *Edward* was buſied in ſetting forth Gods glory, ſo the Protector and Councell were carefull for the State of the Realme, and eſpecially for their Kings marriage with *Mary* the yong Queen of *Scotland*, vnto which a Parliament at *Edenburgh* had conſented in Anno 1543. and for confirmation thereof, had ſent into *England*, *William* Earle of *Glancarn*, *Sir George Dowglas*, *Sir William Hamilton*, and *Sir Iames Leirmound*, Scotiſh Knights, Ambaſſadors, vnto King *Henry* deceaſed, betwixt whom the contracts were ſealed interchangeably as we haue ſaid.

Iohn Leſlie. B. R.

Hall. Grafton.

(7) And now by the Counſell of *England* was thought moſt fit to be ſought after, and conſummated, for the wealth and peace of the whole Iland: wherefore they publiſhed their deſires to that end, in an Epiſtle ſent to the Scotiſh Nobility, directed vnto them by the Lord *Protector*; wherein they were remembred of the many incurſions, roades, and ſpoiles, committed and done, vpon either Kingdome through their continual hoſtilities, and warres: ſhewing likewiſe the neereneſſe of language, lineaments, and conditions of the Nations; inhabiting the ſame Iland, and therefore a moſt ſure token (as they tooke it) to be deſcended from one and the ſame Originall; vrging Gods prouidence, that had taken away all the Male-Princes of *Scotland*, leauing them only one daughter; and in *England*, onely one ſonne vnto King *Henry* among his many wiues. Their Princes themſelues for yeeres, qualities, and magnificence, fitly ordained to contract the vnion of Peace: alleaging that *England* ſought neither the preheminence, nor the conqueſt of *Scotland*, but rather deſired an equality both in State and gouernment; and to that end offered to take the name of *Britaines*, indifferent to both, though diſhonorable to themſelues, in bereauing their Nation of the glory atchieued, in many of their victories. Theſe notwithſtanding, the Scotiſh perſiſted, to beſtow their young Queene another way.

Th Engliſh deſire the marriage ith *Scotland.*

An Epiſtle ſent vnto the Nobility of *Scotland.*

The ancient name *Britaine*, indifferent to Engliſh and Scotiſh.

The Protector goeth into *Scotland.*

(8) Whereupon the Protector in perſon, vndertooke an expedition into *Scotland*, accompanied with the Earle of *Warwicke*, the Lords *Dacres*, and *Grey* of *Wilton*, many Knights, and a moſt warlike army of Souldiers. *Edward* Lord *Clinton*, Admirall of the Fleete was appointed to Sea, and Sir *William Woodhouſe* made his Vice-admirall: theſe meeting at *Barwicke*, ſet forth into *Scotland*, declaring by ſound of Trumpet the cauſe of their comming, with proffers of peace to all ſuch of that Nation, as would aduance the marriage betwixt their two Princes, according to Couenants already concluded vpon.

The *Engliſh* made Proclamation in *Scotland.*

(9) The Gouernour of *Scotland* hearing newes of many Caſtles ſurrender and ſurpriſe, and feares daily encreaſing by augmented reports, commanded his Heraulds with all poſſible diligence, to paſſe through all the parts of the Realme, and the *Fire-Croſſe* to be borne whereſoeuer they came; a Cuſtome indeed anciently vſed in greateſt extremity, and onely then after this manner, two fire-Brands ſet a Croſſe, were carried vpon the point of a ſpeare, with Proclamation of the eminent danger, calling for aide, aſſigning the time and place, when and whither they were to reſort: yet there be that ſay, It was a painted red Croſſe ſet vp for certaine dayes in the Field of that *Barony*, whereunto the aide ſhould come: and thoſe that refuſed, being aboue ſixteene, and vnder ſixty were accounted traitours, and their Land confiſcated to the King. This ancient muſter the Gouernour commanded, appointing them a day to be at * *Muſſelbrut*, in defence of their liberties and young Princes life: which preſently ſtrucke ſuch regard to their hearts, that thither they ſtroue who ſhould be firſt, and pitched their Standards euen in the face of the Enemy.

Iohn Leſlie.

The manner of the fire-Croſſe.

Wil. Patten.

* *Muskleburgh.* The hoſts meete at *Muskleburgh.*

(10) Many warlike enterpriſes were attempted betwixt them, many priſoners taken, and ſtout Souldiers ſlaine, vpon the *Scots* part the Lord *Hume* by a fall from his horſe loſt his life, and his ſonne with one *Maxwell* and ſixe other Gentlemen taken priſoners. Of the Engliſh were hurt *Henry Vane*, and *Barteuill*, a French-man: *Bulmer*, *Gower*, and *Crouch*, three Captaines of the light horſemen were taken priſoners: all which ſo happened before the day of great Battell.

Enterpriſes done before the great battel was fought

(11) Whileſt theſe things proceeded, and either part played vpon the aduantage, Earle *Huntly* of *Scotland*, ſent a Herauld and Trumpet vnto *Englands* Protector, with proffers of Combate, either twenty to twenty, ten to ten, or in ſingle fight themſelues man to man, which ſurely was honorable, the *Scots* hauing aduantage for number, and charitable for the ſauing of Chriſtian bloud: but their perſons vnequall in regard of his place; that demand was denied, and proffers made for the battel: which happened euen the next day following, being the tenth of September, and the laſt of the weeke.

Earle *Huntly* his ſtout challenge.

(12) The place where the *Engliſh* lay encamped, was vpon the Bankes of *Edenbrough Frith*, wherein their Ships floted to further the Land ſeruice, and their men ſeeking the aduantage of a hill, called *Pinkinclenche*, haſted thitherward betimes in the morning; the *Scotiſh* thinking they had fled to their ſhips, made the like haſt to impeach their March, their Army they diuided into three Battels, the Vantgard whereof was led by the Earle of *Angus*, the reregard by the valiant Earle *Huntley*, and in the great Battell, was the Gouernour with the Earle of *Argile*, and many other of the *Scotiſh* Nobility.

Biſhop *Roſſe.*

The Scots miſtake the Engliſh deſignes.

(13) Theſe eager of ſpoile, and filled with hope, haſted furiouſly forward, without all feare, or any good Order, and breath-leſſe, almoſt paſſed ouer the Riuer *Eske*, preuenting thereby the expectation of the enemy, but being within danger of ſhot, the *Engliſh Fleete* from the Roade let freely fly among a wing of the Iriſh-Archers, ſlaying many, with ſuch terror to the reſt, as hardly could they be gotten to goe forward, which indangered them more. The *Scotiſh Armie* thereupon remoued ſomewhat South-ward, ſeeking to get the higher ground, with aduantage both of Sunne and winde, the deſire whereof cauſed them little to regard the helpe of Horſe, but for haſte drew their great Ordinance thitherward onely by maine ſtrength of men.

A wing of the Iriſh ſore galled from the fleete.

Rich. Grafton.

(14) The

v. Patten.

The name of this feild is not agreed vpon, wee call it *Muskleburgh*: the Scots Seaton-field. *Faux-side, Brayfield: Vrieskfeeld Pallisford field.* &c. Master *Patten.*

(14) The Engliſh Captaines perceiuing what the Scotiſh intended, and that now no skirmiſh but a Battell muſt be vndergone, fell to Conſultation, as they ſate mounted in their ſaddles, where with ſuch reſolutions they departed aſunder, that *Iohn* Earle of *Warwicke*, Lord Marſhall of the field, deſired the Protector to be good vnto his wife and Children, if on his part things went not well with him. By this time the Armies were at point to ioyne battell, in the place called *Edmondſtone-edge*, neere vnto *Muſkelborough*, where the Maſter of the Engliſh Ordinance had mounted two Canons neere vnto the top of the hill. The Scotiſh came forward, faſter then an ordinary Marche, their Pikemen thicke ranged together, bearing broad Bucklers in their left hands.

English Captains ſlaine, and the Lord *Grey* hurt.

(15) At the firſt encounter Captain *Shelley* Lieutenant of the Band of *Bulleners*: Captaine *Ratliffe* brother to the Lord *Fitzwater*, with many Gentlemen of name and account, were ſlaine, and the Lord *Grey* of *Wilton* Generall of the Horſemen, dangerouſly hurt in the mouth with a Pike: and indeed ſuch was the fury of the Scots firſt encounter, that the Engliſh horſemen were forced backe, and in retiring ranne through, and bare downe a part of their owne foote-men, to their great hurt: when their Kings Standard (borne by Sir *Andrew Flammoch*) was laid faſt hold on by the Scotiſh, and had not that Knights ſtrength beene the more, and his Horſe the better, himſelfe had beene ſlaine, and the Standard loſt, which notwithſtanding was graſped ſo faſt, that the Scots bare away the Nether end of the ſtaffe to the burrell.

The Kings Standard in danger to be loſt.

(16) The Canons from the hill, played ſore vpon the *Scotiſh*, and ſo did the Ordinance out of the Engliſh Fleete, whoſe terrible noiſe and ſmoake, filled the Armies with furious Cries, and darkened the day as with the Clouds of night: The retreat of the Protectors Horſemen, diſordering their fellowes (as is ſaid) gaue ſignes vnto the *Scots* of a preſent victory, who now vpon a forward Courage diſranked themſelues for haſt, and fell vpon the disbanded *Engliſh*, who preſently by their leaders were brought into Array, and fiercely preſſed forward vpon the vantgard of the enemy, their aduantage the more, for that the *Scots* wanted ſhot to anſwere their violence: which cauſed them in haſte confuſedly to retire towards their great Battell; and thoſe miſdeeming the day had beene loſt, turned their backes and fled; the chaſe was followed almoſt fiue miles, wherein the Lord *Fleming* with ſundry men of note were ſlaine: *Biſhop Leſlie* recordeth nine by name, beſides ten thouſand of their ſouldiers that therein loſt their liues, and priſoners taken, about a thouſand perſons, the chiefe whereof was the Earle of *Huntly*, Chancellour of *Scotland*, the Lord *Yeſter*, *Hobby*, *Hamilton*, Captaine of *Dunbarre*, the Maſter of *Sanpoole*, the Lord *wimmes*, and a brother of the Earle of *Caſſils*: ſuch was the ſucceſſe of the Engliſh, and loſſe of the Scottiſh.

The battell of Muskleburgh.

The Scots diſcomfited.

The number of Scots ſlaine.

Holinſhed. p. 989.

(17) *Lieth* they ſacked and ſet on fire, tooke the Iland *Saint Colmes*, *Broughticrag*, *Rockesburgh*, *Humes* Caſtle, and others: ſo that many Gentlemen in *Tiuidall*, and the *Meres*, came to the Protector, and entred into termes and conditions of Peace. In the meane while by the working of the Gouernour, and Queene *Dowager*, the young Queene was ſuddenly conueyed from *Striueling*, vnto the *Ile*, and Abbey of *Michmahomo*, as to a place of more ſecurity, and ſhortly after into *France* to be married vnto the *Dolphine*, ſhee then being of age betwixt fiue and ſixe: whereat the Engliſh ſo ſtormed, as they determined and threatned the Conqueſt of *Scotland*. But God who is the diſpoſer of Kingdomes, and hath the hearts of Princes in his owne hand, in his vnſearchable decrees, ſaw it not time to vnite as yet, the whole *Iland* vnder one Crowne, to which end he ſuffered the *French* to aſſiſt the *Scots*, and *England* to be burthened with her owne ciuill broyles.

Queene *Mary* conueyed into *France.*

(18) For the Protector returned, and a Parliament at *London* aſſembled, all Colledges, Free-chappels, and Chanteries, were giuen to the King, wherein was repealed the Statute formerly made, and commonly called the *Sixe Articles*, which had beene the cauſe of many Martyrs deathes, in the dayes of King *Henry* his Father, as alſo other enacted by King *Richard* the ſecond, and *Henry* the fift, for the ſuppreſſion of Scriptures in Engliſh, and other points held, in their dayes accounted hereticall, at which time alſo iniunctions went forth to cleanſe the Church of all Images, and Commiſſioners ſent with authority to pull them downe, who firſt began at the Cathedrall Church of Saint *Paules* in *London*, and thence proceeded caſting downe thoſe Idols in all the Churches throughout *England* and *wales*. Whereof great ſtirres preſently happened, and in *Cornwall* the firſt.

The act of the ſixe articles repealed.

Images ſuppreſſed.

(19) For the Kings Commiſſion being put in practiſe, and theſe gay golden Images caſt downe, broken and burnt, their Prieſts accounted the Act ſacrilegious, and one of them as *Baals* for zeale, ſought to make his ſacrifice with bloud, but ſparing his owne, ſheathed his knife in the heart of Maſter *Body* a Commiſſioner, imployed about the ſame buſineſſe: which fact was ſo fauoured among the rurall Commons of *Cornwall*, and *Deuonſhire* (who euer gaue voice for the papall continuance) that in a rebellious manner they combined together againſt the King.

Body murthered by a Prieſt for pulling downe Images.

(20) Their chiefe Captaines were *Humfrey Arundell*, Gouernour of the Mount, with ſixe other Gentlemen of name, neither were the Prieſts backeward in ſo bad a worke, whereof *Robert Bocham*, and ſeauen others were the forwardeſt men; accompanied with no leſſe then ten thouſand tall Souldiers, who all ſought to vndoe thoſe points of Religion, which the King by law and act of Parliament had ordained to be obſerued: Whereupon they beſieged the City of *Exceſter*, and with many ſharpe aſſaults ſought the poſſeſſion thereof, twiſe firing the Gates, and leauing nothing vndone, that either wit or warre would afford to obtaine: for they brought the Citizens to ſuch diſtreſſe, that they forced them to mould vp branne for their bread, working it in Cloathes, for otherwiſe could they not bring it to incorporate together: their daintieſt fleſh was their owne horſes, and thoſe ſlaine were diſtributed aſwel to the poore as rich; for which their loyalty and moſt faithfull ſeruice King *Edward* did both highly eſteeme them, and richly reward them by confirmation of the Cities Charters, inlarging the liberties, augmenting the reuenewes, and giuing vnto the Citizens the mannor of *Exilond*, as the ſignet of his loue for their ſeruice to the Crowne, to be had in remembrance of their loyalty for euer. Meane while the Rebels robbed the Countrey, vnto whom all things was common that came vnto hand.

Iohn Fox in Acts and Monuments.

Commotion in *Cornwall.*

Exceſter in great diſtreſſe by the rebels.

King *Edwards* gift vnto *Exceſter.*

(21) The Rebels thus peſtering thoſe parts with their riotous attempts, looked and well hoped that others would haue ioyned to their aide, but therein deceiued, they laſtly fell to Conſultation what was to be done, and in fine concluded for the beſt policy to article with the King, which how to be ſet downe, bred likewiſe much trouble and diſturbance with their confuſed cries: for theſe rude and vnexperienced Councellors made their owne conceiued opinions the fundamentall matters for redreſſe, ſome would haue this, and other ſome that; but none would be gainſaid of his will or demand, holding his voice as worthy of hearing in this Court of aſſembly, as his body an aide to ſupport the Action, ſo that long it was ere they could light on their owne diſcontents, and longer ere they could agree what they would haue reformed, onely ſtill conſtant in variable vnconſtancy; for ſome would haue no Iuſtices, others no Gentlemen, Parkes muſt be Paſtures, and Incloſures muſt downe, the Prieſts euer pulling the Bel-rope to ring the Maſſe into *England*, and to towll *Cardinall Poole* from *Rome*, and with

The confuſions among the rebels.

The Clergy for the Pope.

much adoe, laſtly to little purpoſe Articles were agreed vpon, and ſent to the King, the Copy whereof was thus.

Articles of the Rebels.

Sacrament of Baptiſme.

(22) *Foraſmuch as man, except hee be borne of Water and the holy Ghoſt, cannot enter into the Kingdome of* GOD, *and foraſmuch as the gates of Heauen be not open without this bleſſed Sacrament of Baptiſme, therefore we will that our Curates ſhall miniſter this Sacrament at all times of neede, aſwell in the weeke dayes, as on the holy dayes.*

Confirmation.

Item, wee will haue our children confirmed of the Biſhops whenſoeuer wee ſhall within the Dioceſſe reſort vnto them.

Conſecration of the Lords Body.

Item, foraſmuch as wee conſtantly beleeue that after the Prieſt hath ſpoken the words of Conſecration being at Maſſe, there celebrating and conſecrating the ſame, there is very really the Body and Bloud of our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt, GOD *and Man, and that no ſubſtance of Bread and Wine remaineth after, but the very ſame Body that was borne of the Virgine Mary, and was giuen vpon the Croſſe for our Redemption: therefore we will haue Maſſe celebrated as it hath beene in times paſt, without any man communicating with the Prieſts, foraſmuch as many rudely preſuming vnworthily to receiue the ſame, put no difference betweene the Lords Body and other kinde of meate; ſome ſaying that it is bread before and after: ſome ſaying that it is profitable to no man except hee receiue it, with many other abuſed termes.*

Holinſhed.

Reſeruation of the Lords Body conſecrated.

Item, we will haue in our Churches reſeruation.

Holy Bread and Holy Water.

Item, wee will haue holy bread, and holy water in the remembrance of Chriſts precious Body and Bloud.

Item, wee will that our Prieſts ſhall ſing and ſay with an audible voyce, Gods ſeruice in the Quier of the Pariſh Churches, and not Gods ſeruice to be ſet forth like a Chriſtmaſſe play.

Prieſts not to be married.

Item, foraſmuch as Prieſts be men dedicated to GOD, *for miniſtring and celebrating the bleſſed Sacrament, and preaching of Gods Word, wee will that they ſhall liue chaſte without marriage, as Saint* Paul *did, being the elect and choſen veſſell of God: ſaying vnto all honeſt Prieſts, Be ye followers of mee.*

The ſixe Articles.

Item, wee will that the ſixe Articles which our Soueraigne Lord King Henry *the eight ſet forth in his later dayes, ſhall bee vſed, and ſo taken as they were at that time.*

Item, we pray God ſaue King Edward, *for we be his, both body and goods.*

(23) To theſe their Demands the King ſent an anſwere, therein pittying their ignorance, and blaming their folly, and therewithall his Generall pardon, to as many as would deſiſt whiles it was time. Firſt he reproued them, for their preſumptions, thus contumeliouſly to riſe againſt their dread Soueraigne, to the diſturbance of his loyall Subiects peace; whoſe ſimplicity they had notoriouſly abuſed, in vſing his name to draw them into action of Rebellion: and no leſſe likewiſe in the grounds of their demands. As in their firſt Article for Baptiſme, where it was well known the ſame was admitted as neceſſity required, or rather commanded by the Booke of Common Prayer, publiſhed by authority of Parliament, and as themſelues knew in preſent practiſe. But touching the Sacrament in their ſecond Article, how impudently they did belie the true receiuers thereof, was manifeſt, who make ſo much difference in that holy adminiſtration, that they account no profit in Common bread, beſides the nouriſhment of their naturall Bodies: but this bleſſed bread to be the food of their ſoules vnto eternall life. And as you are ſeduced in theſe (ſaith the admonition) ſo in confirmation alſo they carry your ſimplicities captiue, for the truth teacheth no otherwiſe then themſelues beleeue, namely, that a Child baptized, and dying before confirmation, is nethleſſe in ſtate of *Grace*, elſe are themſelues cauſers of their childrens damnation: ſo the ſeruice of *God* brought from an vnknowne tongue, cannot ſurely offend any reaſonable man, which is onely to make him vnderſtand that, which before he knew not, and to giue his conſent to thoſe prayers, wherof he hath moſt need, and giueth the neereſt touch to his owne feeling conſcience, for *God* requireth the heart onely which with an vnderſtanding ſeruice, wee muſt ſacrifice vnto him. But moſt of all (ſaith this good King) we maruell at your demand, for the ſixe Articles reſtored, to haue them in power as formerly hath beene. Doe you know what you aske, or in obtaining doe you know what you get? They were lawes indeed lately made, but quickly repented; too cruell for you, and too mercileſſe for vs; who would haue our Raigne written with milke, and not with bloud, and becauſe they were bloudy, wee tooke them away, with the ſame authority, by which they were made; leſt retaining them, our Sword ſhould be too often drawne, and rigour extended vpon our true and well-deſeruing ſubiects. We for our parts ſeeke no longer to liue, then to be a father vnto our people, and as *God* hath made vs your rightfull King, ſo hath he commanded you vnto obedience: by whoſe great Maieſty we ſweare, you ſhall feele the power of the ſame God in our ſword; which how mighty it is, no ſubiect knoweth: how puiſſant it is, no priuate man can iudge, and how mortall, no Engliſh heart can thinke: therefore embrace our mercy while it is offered, leſt the bloud ſpilt by your meanes cry vengeance from the Earth, and be heard in the eares of the Lord in Heauen.

The King anſwere and generall pardon.

Anſwere to the ſixe Articles.

The firſt Article anſwered.

King *Edwards* lawes written in milke and not in bloud.

The ſecond Article anſwered.

Spoken like a King.

The third Article anſwered.

(24) All this notwithſtanding, the Rebels perſiſted in their traiterous attempts: againſt whoſe ſeditions *Sir John Ruſſell* Lord *Priuy Seale*, was appointed Generall of the Kings Army, vnto whoſe aſſiſtance was ioyned the *Lord Grey of Wilton*, vnder whom ſerued a band of *Italians* intended againſt *Scotland*, theſe lay at *Briſtow*, attending the comming of the *Lord Generall*: who now was marched Weſtward to *Honiton*, where daily looking for more ſupply, thoſe which hee had, began to ſhrinke away, whereby the Rebels were emboldened to make towards him, and came as far as *Fenington-bridge* within three Miles of *Honiton*, and in a faire Meadow there ſpread their Colours. The Lord *Ruſſell*, though weake in compariſon of them, holding it more honour to aſſaile, then to be aſſaulted, made forward euen vnto the Bridge: at whoſe ſight the Enemies prepared themſelues to fight, and with a ſtrong guard maintained the Bridge, beſides which there was no paſſage ouer the Riuer, that held his courſe betwixt the two Armies.

Forces ſent againſt the rebels.

John Hooker in deſcription of *Exoniſter*.

The rebels make toward the Lord Generall.

(25) Great were the attempts the Lord Lieutenant gaue, and manfull was the reſiſtance that the Rebell made, yet laſtly the way was wonne, and followed vnto the battell of the diſloyals: where preſently beganne a moſt cruell fight, and a while was maintained to the loſſe of their bloud, but the falſe hearts failing, and the true ſubiects courage increaſing, the Corniſh immediately gaue backe and fled, whereat the Kings ſouldiers out of Order fell to the ſpoile, minding nothing leſſe then that which preſently enſued, for the Corniſhmen perceiuing their diſordered carriage, ſuddenly returned, and began a new fight, when the Lord *Ruſſell* likewiſe ordered a new his Army: theſe furiouſly ioyning, a ſharpe and cruell encounter enſued, with the loſſe of much bloud, and the liues of three hundred Rebels, who laſtly tooke to their heeles, and left the field: the chaſe a while followed, and the Souldiers ſcattered, a fearefull crie ſuddenly aroſe, that all the Commons were vp, which cauſed the Lord Generall to returne vnto *Honiton*: whether ſhortly came the Lord *Grey* of *Wilton*, hauing in pay *Spiniola* an Italian Captaine with three hundred ſhot.

The valiant attempt of the Lord *Ruſſell*.

The rebels put to flight.

The rebels returne and maintaine the fight.

And againe put to flight.

(26) The Lord *Ruſſels* forces augmented, his greateſt care was to releeue the City *Exceſter*, whither vpon the third of *Auguſt* he haſted from *Honiton* being a thouſand ſtrong; and paſſing ouer the Downes toward *Woodbury*, lodged his Campe that night neere to the Wind-Mill, whereof the Rebels hauing intelligence, raiſed themſelues from Saint

Their other obiections anſwered.

Mary

Mary Clift, and made amaine vnto the Downes, thinking to ſurpriſe the Lord Generall before hee was ready; but hee as vigilant as they were forward, encountred them againe in battell, and againe gaue them the ouerthrow with the loſſe of the moſt of their liues, the reſt eſcaping by flight, got vnto the Towne of Saint *Mary Clift*.

The Rebels againe ouerthrowne.

M. Fox in Act. and Mon.

(27) The newes whereof bruted, and the Papall ſide bruiſed by theſe three ouerthrowes, the Commons in whole troupes reſorted to their aide, and to make all ſure on their ſide (by the preſence and helpe of their conſecrated God) they brought into the field the Crucifixe vnder a Canopy, which in ſtead of an Altar was ſet in a carte, accompanied with Croſſes, and Candleſtickes, Banners, Holy-Bread, and holy-water, both to driue away Diuels, and to dull their enemies ſwords; which notwithſtanding they did not, neither could they deliuer themſelues in the day of deſtruction; for the Towne being fired, and the Armies met vpon Clift heath, a moſt cruell and bloudy battell was fought, wherein was ſlaine the whole rout of the Rebels, and all theſe trinkets caſt in the durt.

The Crucifixe brought in a cart into the field.

(28) The chiefe Captaines were taken and ſent vnto *London*, who were *Humfrey Arundell*, *winſland*, *Holwes*, and *Burie*, who there paid the Law with the loſſe of their liues. Many others were executed without iudgement, onely by Marſhall Law, as was *Boier* Maior of *Bodmin* in *Cornwall*, vnto whom Sir *Anthony Kingſton*, Prouoſt Marſhall ſent word he would viſite him at dinner, but before hee was ſet downe, commanded the Maior to cauſe a paire of Gallowes to be ſet vp; and the table taken away, he willed the ſaid Maior to accompany him to the place, and there preſently commanded *Boier* his Hoſt to the halter, and ſaw him hanged before he departed.

The Rebels againe ouerthrowne.

The Captaines of the Rebels executed.

The Maior of Bodmin hanged.

(29) At the ſame time, and neere the ſame place dwelled a Miller, who had beene a buſie doer in the Rebellion, but hee knowing the danger, willed his man to take the name of the maſter, if any enquired after him; whereupon the ſaid Sir *Anthony* came to the mill, and calling for the maſter, the man in his name preſented himſelfe, who ſtrait commanded him vnto the Gallowes, the ſeruant then ſeeing the danger of death, confeſſed hee was not the maſter, but the man: well, ſaid the Knight, thou canſt neuer doe thy maſter better ſeruice then to hang for him, and thereupon truſſed him vppe in the next tree.

A Millers man hanged for his maſter.

(30) As theſe things were in acting in the Weſt, ſo other commotions aroſe in other partes of the Land, though broched vnder another pretence, namely the laying open of incloſures, which the king by Proclamation had commanded to bee done, but many offenders bearing themſelues out with greatneſſe, ſlackened the execution, and the poorer preſuming vpon the Kings pleaſure, beganne to execute his commiſſion themſelues, and thoſe in many places at once, as in *Kent*, *Eſſex*, *Sommerſet*, *Buckingham*, *Northampton* and *Lincolne-ſhieres* they did.

Commotions for Incloſures.

A.D. 1549. Commotions in *Norfolke*.

(31) But moſt dangerous was that in *Norfolke*, whoſe Inhabitants following the examples of the reſt, held out much longer, and in more violent mauer. Their firſt attempt was at *Atilborough* againſt one *Greene* that had taken away part of their commons, next at *Wimonham*, where by the inſtigation of *Iohn Flowerdew* they caſt downe the fences of Incloſures, belonging to *Robert Ket* a Tanner in the ſame Towne; who to bee euen with *Flowerdew* brought them to *Hetherſet*, and ſet them on worke to pull downe both hedge and ditch of his paſture grounds incloſed: to which worke hee gaue ſuch deſperate incouragements, that theſe vnrulies preſently choſe him for their ringleader, who with them paſſed to *Bowthrope*, laying all leuel where they came.

Greene.

Iohn Flowerdew and *Robert Ket* the cauſers of the commotions.

Ket made Captaine of the Commotion.

(32) Their number encreaſing, and doings outragious, Sir *Edmund Windam* Knight, at that time high Shiriffe of the Shire, made proclamatiō among them in the Kings name to depart, which if they did not forthwith, hee pronounced them Traitors, but had not his Horſe beene ſwifter, hee had beene either taken or ſlaine, thereupon their terror began to be fearefull, & themſelues to be furniſhed with weapons, Armour and Artillery, daily brought them in abundance by the By-dwellers, beſides ſtore of victuals to maintaine their campe.

Sir *Edmund Windam* in danger.

(33) But now conſidering what dangers were open, if diſperſedly ſcattered they ſhould attend their bad worke, they held it beſt policy to draw to one place: and to fortifie themſelues together with further ſtrength; whereupon with full reſolution, *Monſhold* was thonght fitteſt neere vnto *Mount Surrey*, a place built by theſe Earles of that County, and vpon *S. Leonards* hill which hangeth ouer *Norwich*, they vnkenelled themſelues; beſides theſe of *Monſhold*, a leſſer rabble of them lay at *Riſing-chaſe* neere *Linne*, which were rowſed thence by the Gentlemen of thoſe parts: who firſt from *Watton*, then from *Thetford*, and next from *Brandon*, were forced to their litter at *Monſhold*.

Monſhold the place of the randeuow.

(34) Their parts were rigorous, or rather inhumane euen to their welwillers, for it is a knowne truth, that Sir *Roger Woodhouſe* in kinde courteſie bringing them two Carts laden with Beere, and another with victuals, was recompenced with the loſſe of all his Horſes, his owne apparell, and his body tugged, and torne, caſt into a ditch, whom laſtly with others was impriſoned by them in the houſe of *Mount Surrey*, and yet would they ſeeme very Religious, hauing one *Coniers* for their Chaplen, who deuoutly ſaid ſeruice vnto them both morning and euening.

The inhumanities of the Commotioners.

(35) To thoſe, the lewdly diſpoſed of *Suffolke* aſſembled, as alſo the ſcumme and dregs out of *Norwich*, adding ſtill fewell to their owne ſmoaky flames by fireing of Beacons, ringing of Bels, and what not, to ſet all in an vproare: ſome true and faithfull ſubiects they violently led away, and made them of their councell, namely *Thomas Cod* Maior of *Norwich*, *Robert Watſon* Preacher, and *Thomas Alderiche* Gentlemā, Sergeant *Catlyn*, & Sergeant *Gaudy*, whom they kept fettered, and compelled them to be attendant vpon *Kette*; who now tooke vpon him to bee the Kings Deputy, and to giue out warrants in his Maieſties name, by vertue of which, many of Worſhip and credit were fetched from their dwellings, brought before him, and violently caſt into priſon: their Rabble encreaſed to the number of ſixteene thouſand men.

Supplies of the Commotioners.

Many good ſubiects forced to attend vpon the Rebels.

(36) And that the ſhew of Iuſtice and piety was only the marke whereat theſe lawleſſe leuelled, they ordained a Tribunall ſeat in an old tree, whoſe Canopie was the Cope of Heauen: in this ſate the Tanner as a Chauncellor or chiefe Iudge, accompanied with his Councellors, aſſiſted by two choſen men out of euery hundred among them, hither aſſembled the complaints of the Campe, and hence had they commiſſion to fetch out of Ships both Ordinance, powder and ſhotte, and out of Gentlemens houſes all abilements of warre: and heere ſuch Raskals as had exceeded their commiſsion, had iudgement of impriſonment, ſo that this tree was termed, the Oake of Reformation, whence likewiſe ſometimes Sermons were deliuered to the people, and once by the Reuerent Doctor *Parker*, which had almoſt coſt him his life.

The tree of Reformation.

(37) To theſe the Kings generall Pardon was publikely pronounced by an Herald at Armes, but ſo farre off from embracing, as the Rebels from the height of the hill, ſhot at the City, which doing little harme, they remoued their Ordinance to the lower ground, and thence beganne to batter the walles, and without great reſiſtance entred the town, where they became Maſters of all the munitions, and empriſoned the Maior, and many other Citizens.

The Kings pardon contemned.

Norwich wonne by the Rebels.

(38) Theſe times thus troubleſome, the King ſought

Aide sent vnto *Norwich*.

Lord Marquesse enters *Norwich*.

The L. *Sheffield* slaine.

The L. Marquesse forced out of *Norwich*.

The Lord *Dudley* made generall against the Rebels of *Norfolke*.

The Earle entreth the City *Norwich*, and executeth 60. Rebels by Marshall law.

Alexander Newill.

The great Ordinance wonne by the Rebels.

sought to quiet, and to that end sent the L. *William Parr*, Marques of *Northampton*, with fifteen hundred horsemen vnto *Norwich*, accompanied with the Lords *Sheffeild*, and *Wentworth*, besides manie Knights; who at his first comming thither, summoned the City to yeeld; the Magistrates whereof as willingly obeyed, and repairing to his Standard, yeelded vp their Cities sword vnto him; declaring themselues true subiects to the King, though some of the baser sort had fauoured *Kets* doing, and with them immediately the Lord Marquesse entred the City, which the same night was assaulted by the Rebels, whom hee manfully resisted, and slew three hundred of their riotous rout.

(39) The next day following these bloud-hounds vnkennelled by troupes, and entring the City by the Hospitall, beganne a most cruell fight, wherein the Lord *Sheffield* by the fal of his horse into a ditch was butcherly slaine by a Butcher, as hee sought to recouer himselfe, and the rebels now fleshed with this their fortunate chance, followed the chase with such slaughter and cry, that they forced the Lord Marquesse to forsake the Citie, and therein tooke Sir *Thomas Cornwallis* prisoner, whom they straitly kept in durance till their last ouerthrow. *Norwich* they ransackt and set on fire, whose ashes as yet fill vppe their ruines, and more had been made, had not God quenched these flames by showers from Heauen.

(40) The Lord Marquesse returned, and the Rebels holding *Norwich*, it was more then time to looke to the maine chance; and therefore those forces that were gathered to inuade others, were now thought the fittest to secure our selues, ouer whom was appointed the Lord *Iohn Dudley*, the warlike Earle of *Warwicke*: hee comming to *Cambridge* prepared for the enemy, whither resorted the foresaide Lord Marquesse, the Lords *Willoughby*, *Powes*, and *Gray*, his sonnes *Ambrose* and *Robert*, with manie of the *Norfolke* men, and the twenty three of *August* shewed himselfe vpon the plaine before *Norwich*, whence to saue the effusion of bloud, hee sent *Norrey* and a Trumpet to summon the City, and to offer a generall pardon; which being againe refused, hee caused his Ordinance to bee planted against S. *Steuens* gate, and his Pioners to breake open the brasen gate, whereat manie made entry, and diuers were slaine.

(41) S. *Steuens* gate forced open by Canon shot, the Earle of *Warwicke* entred the City, and with small resistance came into the Market place, where threescore Rebels were incontinently executed by Marshall law. But the Earles carriages passing thorough the City, were surprised and taken by the enemy, wherein was great store of powder and shot, which with triumph they conuaied to their Campe, and tooke it a signe of further successe, their want consisting most in those prouisions, whereupon they manned the streets of that City, and slew very many of the Kings friends, but the showers of arrowes and shot from the Kings Subiects so rained amongst them, that they were forced backe to take shelter in *Monshold* their hole of refuge.

(42) The Earle of *Warwicke* thus mastring the City, shut all the Gates, them onely excepted that gaue way toward *Monshold*, and those hee planted with his great Artillery. The Rebels perceiuing what hee went about, suddainely made downe towards the Gate, and with great courage and confused cries, fell with such violence vpon their attendants, that they gaue backe and fled, leauing their Ordinance to the will of the Rebels, who presently disposed them amongst their owne, so that the Earle stopped likewise these passages, and imploied all his endeuour to defend the City, which notwithstanding he could not, the Rebels making incursions ouer the riuer from their well stored Campe: and setting the streetes in many places on fire, whose attempts so continued and prospered to euill, as some despairing of any good, councelled the Earle to bee gone. But so farre was hee from such staine of honour, that drawing forth his owne sword, commanded other to doe the like, and with an interchangeable kisse confirmed the resolution of his bold courage, a custome indeed vsed in greatest danger of warre. And thereupon determining another way to worke, sought to stop the passage from all conuoy of victuall; which the Rebels perceiuing, set fire on their Cabbins, and with ensignes displayed, entrenched themselues at the foote of the Hill, in the valley called *Dussin-dale*, partly vpon vaine Prophecies pronounced among them by certaine wizards, who gaue forth that *Hob*, *Dic*, and *Hic*, (meaning the Rustickes) with their Clubs should fill vp the valley of *Dussin dale* with the bodies of the dead.

The noble resolution of the Earle of *Warwick*

The vaine prophesie of the Rebels.

(43) The next day being the seauen and twentieth of *August*, the Lord Generall prepared for fight, hauing newly receiued a supply of fourteene hundred Lances. But before that *Mars* should trie his strength by sword, he sent vnto them a Generall pardon for all things that were past, which when they had againe vtterly reiected, he ranged his battels for fight. The Rebels likewise, set themselues in order, where in the fore-ranke all the Gentlemen whom they had taken Prisoners, were placed and coupled in Irons for starting away, so that their dangers were doubled, and themselues exposed to death aswell by their friends, as by their enemies.

The L. Generall offred the rebels a generall pardon.

(44) But before the charge could be giuen, one *Miles* a most skilfull Gunner amongst them made shot at the Kings Standard, and strucke the Bearer thereof in the thigh, and his horse through the shoulder, which so moued the Earle that he caused a whole volley of Artillery to bee discharged against them, when Captaine *Drury* with his owne band and the *Almanes*, thrust sore vpon them, and opened their Battell, whereby most of the Captiue-Gentlemen escaped away, vpon which brunt the Earles light horsemen came so valiantly on, that the Rebels gaue backe and fled: and with the formost *Robert Ket* their Captaine, vppon a swift horse galloped away, the Chase continued three miles and more, with the slaughter of three thousand and fiue hundred Rebels.

The Kings Standard struck.

The Rebels discomfited and many slaine.

(45) Their battell thus broken, and the most part fled: those notwithstanding that kept about the Ordinance, determined to die like men, and inclosing themselues among the Carts and Carriages, had the aduantage of a Trench and certaine stakes stucke against the horsemen, whereby they stoode more resolutely at defence. The Noble Earle pitying their case, and loath to loose so many braue men, sent *Norrey* King at Armes vnto them, with proffer of pardon if they would lay downe Armes, and returne to obedience, otherwise they well saw, there was no way but death: Their answere was, that they were free borne English men, who disdained all ignominious death, wherunto they said, they were appointed, and barrels of ropes brought into the field (as thy were informed) to strangle them, so that if they must needes die, they chose the manly deathes of Souldiers, not trusting the sugred promises for surprize, and then to be trussed vp like dogs.

The compassion of the L. Generall.

(46) Their answere returned, and compassion still working in the Lord Generals breast, euen when hee had set his whole Army against them both of horse and foote; and the signe of battell ready to haue been giuen, hee sent to them once more, to know if they would belieue and imbrace their pardon, if hee came in person to declare it to them himselfe; whereunto they answered, that they knew him to be honourable, and would from his mouth most thankefully receiue it: thereupon hee repayred vnto them, and causing againe their pardon to be read, confirmed the same with such effectuall words, as they all cast away their weapons, and with one voice cried, *God saue King Edward*.

The noble act and loue of the L. Generall.

The Rebels yeeld and receiue the Kings pardon.

(47) The

Robert Ket apprehended.

(47) The day following, *Ket* the Captaine of this ſedition, crept into a Barne of one M. *Riches* of *Swanington*, was by two of his ſeruants apprehended, & with 20. horſemen conueied to *Norwich*, where 9. of the chiefeſt Rebels had iudgement of death, and were all of them hanged vpon the Oake of Reformation, which not till then, had the true note of that name. *Ket* with his brother *William* were broght vnto *London*, and thence backe againe into *Norfolke*, where *William Ket* the younger was hanged vpon the high Steeple of *Windmondham*, and *Robert Ket* the Arch-Rebell in chaines vpon the caſtle of *Norwich*, whoſe Citizens annually ſolemnized the day of their deliuery with no leſſe ioy, then the Iewes did when they had eſcaped the ſword of wicked *Haman*.

The oake of Reformation is made the tree of Reformation indeed.

Ket and his brother executed.

Eſter 9.17.

(48) Theſe hazards ſet in the South, Weſt, and Eaſt, the North likewiſe among them would come in for a caſt, as forward and able to vndergoe rebellion, and their zeale as hote as any others, the occaſion conceiued, was the Papall Religion aboliſhed by Law, whoſe tottering toppe they meant to make ſteady by maine ſtrength of Armes, notwithſtanding the very foundations were ſo ſhrewdly vndermined. The place where this canker beganne was *Seimer* in the North-riding in *Yorkſhire* ſpreading it ſelfe further into the Eaſt-riding alſo, & the firſt broachers of this giddy heady wine, were perſons no better then *William Ombler* a Yeoman, *Thomas Dale* a Pariſh Clerke, and one *Steuenſon* the Poſt, imployed to blanch forth theſe buſineſſes betwixt them.

A.D. 1549. The Northerns moue rebellion.

Religion euer made the cauſe of Commotion.

Wil. Ombler. Th. Dale.

(49) Their pretences were faire, as to reſtore the Church her right, and to diſburden the land of all grieuances impoſed theſe ſtrings euer ſounding, that the Pope was the Man, that King *Edward* was an Intruder, if not a meere heretike, that the Church had the power of both the ſwords, which now vpon a blinde propheſie they preſuppoſed ſhould bee drawne againſt the King & his Nobles, whoſe times (as they beleeued) ſhould bee no more, but that the land ſhould bee ruled by foure Gouernoues, when the *Commons ſhould meete in a Parliament, aſſembled from the foure winds*, which they interpreted from foure Coaſts of *England*, whereof themſelues now made the laſt.

Vpon a blind propheſie the Northren Commotioners rely.

(50) Firſt therefore to raiſe men, and to bring all into confuſion, they fired their Beacons, whence the ſparkes of ſedition were carried amaine; for the rudeſt alwaies vnwilling to labour, and the fitteſt fewell to breake into flame, flocked together on heapes, each one hauing a Common-wealth in his head, and all of them diſliking the reformation of religion that the King had commanded. Among theſe the moſt ſeditious had euer a voice which drew conſent to forward the Action, and eſpecially to beare downe the rich, whereof they made their firſt aſſay vpon *White* a Gentleman, *Sauage* a Marchant, *Clopton* and *Berry*; whom they cruelly murthered, and diſpoiling them of their apparrell, left their naked bodies on the *Would* before *Seimer*, thence paſſing forward from Towne to Towne, tooke many away that were vnwilling to goe, and all to fullfill their perfidious propheſie.

The idle and rude euer the fitteſt to broach miſchiefe.

Raph. Holinſh. Chr.

(51) Their number now increaſed vnto three thouſand, the Country beganne to grow in great feare, eſpecially the Gentlemen, and the richer ſort, ſeeing their liues and ſubſtance thus thirſted for and ſought after: but preſently downe came the kings pardon with profers of life, which ſo willingly was imbraced, that *Ombler* and *Dale* were quite forſaken, & almoſt left alone, who with *Wright*, *Peacocke*, *Weatherell*, and *Battry* were worthily executed at *Yorke* vpon the one and twenty of September following.

The Kings pardon diſſolueth the Commotion.

Ombler & others executed. *Exactis iudicij, &c.*

(52) As the Commons by theſe tumultuous rebellions greatly diſquieted the peace of the land ſo the chiefeſt Lords did diſturbe the Court of the yong King, where the greateſt Counſellors through emulation and diſdaine, banded each againſt others, without reſpect of themſelues, or regard of their Soueraigne; whereof the Kings vncles, the Protector and Admirall are noted for the firſt, and with the firſt paid their offences with their liues: but both were the brethren of Queene *Iane* the Kings mother deceaſed, the elder Lord *Edward* Duke of *Somerſet* was Protector of his Perſon, Realmes and Dominions. And *Thomas* Lord *Seamer* Baron of *Sudley* the younger, high Admirall of *England*, both worthy perſons, had they known their own worths: for ſo long ſtood they in ſafety of life and true honor as the bounds of brotherhood and nature ſtood vnviolated betwixt them: but that once broken, their liues lay open to diſhonour and death.

Emulation among the priuy Councellors.

The Protector and his brother the Admirall at ods.

(53) The younger brother Lord *Thomas* had married Queen *Katharine Parre*, the laſt of the many wiues of King *Henry* the eight, who vndoubtedly bore himſelfe no meaner by that match, neither ſhe the ſtate or name of a Dowager Queen: though of her ſelfe a woman compleate with ſingular humility. And the Dutcheſſe of *Somerſet* matched with the greateſt Peere in the Land, held her State equall to her husbands degree: and for place and precedency, as report hath diuulged the lamentable tragedy of theſe two great Brethren beganne; which now in acting brought vpon the Stage at ocne their owne deſtructions, the Lands rebellions, and the griefes of the good young King, into a fatall and vnrecouerable ſickneſſe, whereof laſtly followed his death.

Strife betwixt women cauſed the deaths of their husbands.

(54) So ſubtile is the old ſerpent, and ſo ready euer to ſow tares among wheate, that he diſturbed religions proceedings with al theſe calamities almoſt at one time; firſt, ſetting matters of diſcord betwixt them, by ſcandalizing tongues, then iealouſies of ſuſpitions ſpiced with enuy; and laſtly hatred vnto death. Inſomuch that the Protector ſuffered his brother to be accuſed and condemned in Parliament of high Treaſon (whether true or falſe, God onely knoweth) and vnder his owne hand writing, committed his head to the axe: whereby one of the three twiſted cords of *Englands* ſtrength was cùt aſunder by that fatall and vnhappy ſtroake, and his owne now made looſe in the Cable prooued too weake by farre to hold faſt the Anchor, wherby the ſhippewracke of his owne life was ſhortly made.

The hurt of diſſentions.

M. Fox in Acts & Mon.

Lord *Thomas Seimer* attainted and beheaded.

(55) The Lord Admirals inditement was, that hee had purpoſed to deſtroy the young King, and to tranſlate the Crowne vnto himſelfe, as ſtandeth recorded in Statute made the third of this Kings raigne, for which the twenty of March he ſuffered death vpon the Tower-hill; which as many ſuppoſed that it was the Dutches of *Somerſets* doings: ſo the wiſer ſort feared, it would be the ruine of her husband the Duke, the experiment wherof had often been approued, and indeed was too fatally linked as it chanced in theſe two brethren.

K. Edward. L. Protector. H. Admirall. Eccleſ. 4.12.

The L. Admirals inditement.

Ex Stat. Record.

(56) For the Admirall being made away by order of law, the giddy Commons without either order, or law, roſe vp in their Inſurrections as hath been ſaid: And the Lords returned from their ſuppreſſions, beganne forthwith to enuy and article againſt the Protector, which they publiſhed by Proclamation againſt him, wherein hee was accuſed, 1. of euill gouerment: 2. the loſſe of the Kings Peeres in *France*: 3. to be ambitious in his buildings: 4. regardleſſe of the Counſellors: 5. a ſower of ſedition amongſt the Nobles: 6. dangerous to the King: 7. a ſcandalizer of the Councell: 8. and laſtly, that he was no leſſe then a Traitor. Againſt whom they deſired the aid of the Londoners to take from him the King; to all which ſeuenteene Counſellers ſubſcribe their names.

Articles againſt the L. Protector.

(57) Theſe Statiſts in conſultation daily at *London*, and the Protector reſiding ſtill with the King, intercourſe of letters were interchãgeably both ſent and receiued, whereof two, from either part one, and euen at one inſtant were ſent vnto the Lord Maior and

Letters from both parties writ vnto the Londoners.

and Citizens of *London*, requiring their aide in these their opposite quarrels, and surely in their assembly the tale of the Lords by the Recorder was so well tolde, as had not a graue * Citizen stept vp betimes, the common Councell had granted aid against their King, whose wisdome and loyalty, in regard my selfe a Citizen, would haue it recorded to his enerlasting memory, and an example and motiue for our obedient loue and duety toward our Soueraignes, I will insert as I finde them vttered and spoken.

* George Stradlon.

George Stradlon his Oration.

"(58) In this case (said hee) good it is to thinke "on things past, to auoide the danger of things to "come; for I remember a story written by *Fabian* "in his Chronicles of the warres betwixt the King "and his Barons, who euen then as our Lords doe "now, demanded aid of the Maior and Commons "of *London*, against their Soueraigne King *Henry* "the third, and that in a cause rightfull, and good "for the Common-weale, which was the execution "of certain wholesome lawes, somwhat derogating "from his princely prerogatiue, which hee would "not permit. The aide was granted, and quarrell "came vnto battell, wherein the Lords preuailed, "and tooke the King and his sonne prisoners. But "they againe restored to liberty, among other con-"ditions this was one, that the King should not "onely grant his free pardon to the Lords, but also "vnto the Citizens of *London*; which was done, yea "and the same confirmed by Parliament. But what "followed? was it forgotten? no surely, nor ne-"uer forgiuen during the Kings life: for the liber-"ties of the City were taken away, strangers appoin-"ted to be our heads and Gouernours, the Citi-"zens giuen away both body and goods, and from "one persecution to another, were most miserably "afflicted: such it is to enter the wrath of a Prince, "which (as *Salomon* saith) is death: Wherefore, for-"asmuch as this aide is required of the Kings Maie-"sty, whose voice (being our high Shepheard) we "ought to obey, rather then to hearken to the "Lords, whom neuertheless I wish not to be vt-"terly cast off; my councell is, that they with vs, "and wee with them, become humble Petitioners "vnto his Highnesse, that it would please him to "heare such complaints against the Lord Protector, "as may be iustly alleaged & prooued, and I doubt "not but this matter will be so pacified, that neither "shall the King, nor yet the Lordes haue cause to "seeke for further aide, neither we to offend any of "them both.

(59) These words well weighed, and the Councel dissolued, fiue hundred Londoners were prepared in a readinesse: for Sir *Philip Hobby* being sent from the Lords to the King, so deliuered their minds, that the Lord Protector was cõmanded out of presence, and the next day being the twelfth of October, the Lords of the Councell resorted to *Windsor*, where they so wrought with the King, as his vncle was deliuered into their hands, whom the same night they imprisoned in *Beauchamps* Tower in the same Castell, and the next day strongly attended, brought him to *London*, whence the streets were guarded onely by housholders', the Aldermen taking the charge of the busines, and so to the great griefe and wondering of the people, he was conueyed to the Tower, and there left.

Iohn Stow.

The L. Protector committed to the Tower.

(60) Whither shortly after the Lords themselues repaired, and charged the Protector with these 20. Articles as followeth:

M. Fox in Acts & Mon.

Articles drawne against the Lord Protector.

1 That at his entry into that waighty office, hee was expresly prohibited to doe any thing in State without the assent of the last Kings Executors.

2 That hee had contrariwise vpon his owne authority both subuerted lawes, and staied iustice, as well by letters, as commandement.

3 That he had deliuered diuers persons arrested and committed to prison for felony, man-slaughter, murther and treason, contrary to the lawes and statutes of the Realme.

4 That he had made Captaines and Lieutenants ouer waighty affaires vnder his owne Seale and Writing.

5 That hee had alone communicated with forraigne Ambassadors about most weighty State affaires.

6 That he had checked diuers of the Kings Priuy Councell, speaking for the good of the State, yea and threatned to displace them if they consented not to his mind.

7 That he had against law erected a Court of Requests in his owne house, whither were enforced diuers of the Kings Subiects to answere for their Free-holds.

8 That he had for money disposed Offices in the Kings gift, money, leases, and Wardes, and giuen presentations of Benefices, & Bishoprickes, yea and medled with sale of the Kings lands, which by office he could not, without consent of the Maior voice of the Councell.

9 That hee had commanded multiplication by Alcumistry, to the abuse of the Kings coine.

10 That against the King and Councels will, hee had set forth a Proclamatiõ against inclosures, which had caused dangerous insurrections in the Land, wherein diuers of the Kings liege Subiects haue been spoiled, and many a worthy man therein slaine.

11 That to the same end hee had giuen commission with Articles annexed concerning inclosures of Commons, high wayes, and decayed Cottages, giuing the Commissioners authority to heare and determine the same causes, contrary to the lawes and statutes of the Realme.

12 That he had suffered Rebels and Traitors to assemble, and lie in Campe and Armour, against the King, his Nobles and Gentlemen, without any speedy suppressing of them.

13 That by his gifts in money, with promises of Fees, rewards and seruices, hee had encouraged many of the said rebels.

14 That in fauour of them contrary to law, he had caused a Proclamation to bee made, that none of the said Rebels, or Traitors should be sued, or vexed for any of their offences committed in the said Rebellion.

15 That hee had liked well of these rebellions, and had said, that the couetousnesse of the Gentry gaue the occasion, affirming that it was better for the Commons to die, then to perish for lacke of liuing.

16 That hee had reported the Lords of the Parliament were loth to reform themselues for the reformation of Inclosures, and therefore the people had good cause to reforme the things themselues.

17 That vpon the report of the defaults and lackes of *Bulloigne*, nothing was there amended.

18 That the Forts of *Newhauen* and *Blackneſſe* standing in want of men and victuall, whereof hee was informed, were suffered notwithstanding still to want, to the great encouragement of the French, and dishonour of the English.

19 That he had vntruly published, that the Lords at *London* minded to destroy the King, which he instantly desired he would neuer forget, and to that end instigated many young Lords, wherby sedition and discord was made among the Nobles.

20 Lastly, that whereas the Lords assembled at *London*, onely to consult vpon a charitable communication to be had with the Protector for his misgouernment of the King and Realme, hee contrariwise sent letters of credence to many places and persons, that the said Lords were no lesse then high Traitors to the King, and great disturbers of the whole Realme.

All these accusations notwithstanding (the young King so labouring it) he was released from the Tower the sixt of February following vnto his free liberty, though not vnto his former authority, and so remained

The Protector released from the Tower.

remained vntouched for the ſpace of two yeeres and two dayes.

(61) Whileſt theſe his and other troubles were commencing in *England*, the Lord *Grey* of *Wilton* left Lieutenant of the North, remained in *Scotland*, where many feates of warre were vndergone, and many Forts fortified, and ſome taken, ſuch were *Lowden*, *Hadington*, and *Teſter*, at whoſe aſſault certaine opprobrious ſpeeches in moſt contemptuous manner were vttered by a *Scotiſh* man againſt King *Edward* of *England*, whereat the Lord *Grey* was ſo offended, as vpon compoſition for the deliuery of the Caſtell, all were let goe with life, onely that perſon excepted, and his name knowne to be *Newton*, was appointed to die for the ſame; but he denying the words, impoſed them vpon one *Hamilton*, a man valorous enough, and wrongfully touched, who denied the accuſation, and challenged *Newton* the combat, which he accepted, and in performance ſlew *Hamilton*, though more at diſaduantage, then for lacke either of courage or ſtrength: The victor was rewarded with a great chaine of gold, and the gowne that the Lord *Grey* ware at the preſent, though many maligned and accuſed him ſtill to be the vtterer of thoſe baſe words.

Pipin Fulwell.

A combate fought betweene two Scotiſhmen before the Lord *Grey*.

(62) The Engliſh keeping foot ſtill in *Scotland*, burnt *Dawketh* and *Muskelburgh*, and fortified *Hadington* both with munition and men, ſpoyling the Countrey, ſaith Biſhop *Leſlie*, all about *Edenburgh*, *Lowthian* and *Mers*: repayring of Forts, and placing of Garriſons, as if they meant there to remaine and abide: but their young Queene being conueyed into *France*, and the *Scots* aided with the aſſiſtance of the *French*, ſo quit themſelues, that they voided their Land of the *Engliſh*, and recouered of them all they had loſt. In which times of variable ſucceſſe, the King but a child, the Nobles at variances, and the combuſtuous Commons obedient to neither, the *French* ſought to recouer the holds that the *Engliſh* had in their Countrey, and firſt by ſtealth meant to ſurpriſe the fortreſſe of *Rulloignberg*, vnto which enterpriſe ſeuen thouſand were choſen, vnder the conduct of *Monſieur Chatillon*.

The Engliſh forced out of *Scotland*.

(63) Theſe ſecretly marching in the night with ladders and furniture meete for the enterprize, approched within a quarter of a mile vnto *Bulloignberg* fort, amongſt whom was an *Engliſh* Souldier diſcharged out of their pay, for that he had taken a *French* woman to wife. This *Carter*, for ſo was his name, got entertainment vnder *Chatillon*, and now vnderſtanding whereabout they went, haſtily made from his Company, and gaue the Alarum to his Countrimen within the Fort; where Sir *Nicholas Arnalt* Captaine of the Peece, cauſed him to be drawne vp betwixt two pikes to the height of the wall, vnto whom he declared the attempt in hand, and among them ſtood ſo valiantly in defence of the Fort, that he gaue many a wound, and receiued ſome himſelfe: by him and this meanes the Peece was quit from ſurpriſall, and the ſlaughter of the *French* ſo great, that fifteene Waggons went laden away with dead Corpes.

The French intend to ſurprize *Bulloigneberge*.

The good ſeruice of *Carter*, an Engliſh ſouldier.

A great ſlaughter of the *French*.

(64) This loſſe ſuſtained, and the *Engliſh* maſters in thoſe parts of their Maine, the *French* ſought to trie fortune for their Iſles in the Seas, namely, *Garneſey* and *Ierſey*, poſſeſt and ſubiect to King *Edwards* Crowne, their preparations were great, and their Marſhalliſts many; which notwithſtanding with ſuch loſſe were beaten backe from their bankes, as a thouſand men at Armes were ſlaine in the attempt, and the ſucceſſe ſo vnfortunate, as the *French* for feare of further diſcouragement, forbad the report, and made an inhibition, not to mention the expedition of that iourney.

The French aſſault the Iſles of *Garneſey* and *Ierſey*.

(65) Neuertheleſſe, the *French* King ceaſed not his deſired purpoſes, till hee had got by ſurrender *Hambletowne*, *Blackneſſe*, *Bulloignberg*, and the Towne of *Builoigne* it ſelfe, though bought at a deare rate, and deliuered with great griefe to the *Engliſh*; vnto ſuch a lamentable ſtate, and diſhonourable compoſition was the good *King Edward* brought, by the bandings of his great Councellors, and inſurrections of his vnruly Commons; after which calamities a great and mortall diſeaſe followed; namely the ſweating ſickneſſe, that raged extreamely through the Land, wherein dyed the two ſonnes of *Charles Brandon*, both of them Dukes of *Suffolke*, beſides an infinite number of men in their beſt ſtrengths, which followed onely *Engliſhmen* in forraine Countrey, no other people infected therewith, whereby they were both feared and ſhunned in all places where they came.

Bulloignberg vpõ compoſition deliuered to the French.

John Caius.

A.D.1550.

The ſweating ſickneſſe.

(66) And to fill vp the dolours of theſe dolefull times, the good Duke of *Sommerſet* was againe apprehended, euen when the leaſt ſuſpition was of any vndirect workings: for vpon his firſt releaſement, to linke a firme loue betwixt him and the potent Earle of *Warwicke*, his moſt malignant; a marriage was contracted betwixt the Lord *Liſle* his eldeſt ſonne and heire, and the Lady the Earles eldeſt daughter, which was ſolemnized with great ioy at *Sheene*, in preſence of the young King; this amity was outwardly carried with all faire ſhewes for a time, thogh inward hatred lay ſecretly hid, as by the ſequell incontinently appeared: for after a ſolemne creation of many Eſtates, wherein the Earle of *Warwicke* had his ſtyle raiſed to be Duke of *Northumberland*, (vnto whoſe rayes at that time moſt of the Courtiers caſt their eyes) the ſparkes of emulation began preſently to breake forth; where the ſimplicity of the one, gaue aduantage to the other, to compaſſe that which long had beene ſought.

A fained reconcilement.

John Stow.

(67) The Duke of *Sommerſet* not well aduiſed, and yeelding too much vnto Sycophant flatteries, was put in feare of ſome ſudden attempt intended againſt him, and therefore councelled to weare vnder his garment a coate of defence, which hee accordingly did, and being ſo armed, came vnto the Councell Table, ſuppoſing no man had knowne of any ſuch thing; but his boſome being opened, and the Armour perceiued, hee was forth-with apprehended, as intending the death of ſome Counſellor, and by *Northumberland* ſo vehemently taxed (who in Councell was euer the principall man) that he was forth-with attached, and ſent to the Tower, vpon the ſixteenth of *October*, with the Lord *Grey* of *Wilton*, *Sir Michael Stanhop*, *Sir Thomas Arundel*, *Sir Ralph Vane*, and *Sir Miles Partridge*, and the next day the Dutcheſſe his wife was likewiſe committed; all of them for ſuſpition of treaſon and felony; and he ſtanding ſo indited, vpon the * ſecond of *December* following, was arraigned at *Weſtminſter*, attended with the Axe of the Tower, Billes, Halberds, and Pollaxes a great number.

The Duke of *Sommerſet* priuily armed.

Rich. Graſton.

The Duke of *Sommerſet* ſent to the Tower.

Stow.

A.D.1551.

* *Stow* ſaith the firſt.

(68) His inditement was for treaſon and fellony, and the ſame vrged vnto extremity, with many amplifications, and bitter inuectiues, eſpecially that he had ſought and pretended the deaths of the Duke of *Northumberland*, the Lord Marqueſſe, and *Pembrooke*: where after many milde anſwers to theſe matters obiected, he put himſelfe to be tried by his Peeres, who acquitted him of treaſon, but found the inditement of felony: when preſently the Axe was commanded away, whereat the ſhout of the people ſhewed the great affection that was borne to the Duke: little miſtruſting that the ſentence of death was pronounced againſt him, or that the Kings Vncle ſhould die as a fellon; neither did the Statute intend any ſuch thing, as ſome are of opinion, but rather was purpoſely made for the ſuppreſſion of rebellions, and vnlawfull aſſemblies, wherein ſuch as ſhould ſeeke or procure the death of any Counſellor, ſhould be guilty as in caſe of felony. But ſuch was the pleaſure of the all ordering power, that he which knew no theft, ſhould die for that ſinne; ſo that neither himſelfe, nor his wiſeſt Councellors, demanded the benefit of his Clergy, which would haue ſaued his life, if it had beene required.

The Duke of *Sommerſets* inditement.

* Of *Winchcſter* *William Herbert*.

The Duke condemned of fellonie.

Rich. Graf. Iohn Stow. Holinſh.

(69) His ſentence thus pronounced, hee was againe ſent backe to the Tower, wherein he kept a very ſad Chriſtmas, yea, and that in the Court, inclined to little mirth, (the King lamenting the condemnation of his Vncle) had not ſome witty diſports broke off his paſſions, which how, and by whom they proceeded, let others report, and vs continue the Tragedy of this Duke; who vpon the two and twenty of *February* following, being Friday, was brought to the Scaffold vpon Tower-hill, by eight in the morning, where turning himſelfe towards the Eaſt, he ſpake to the people, as followeth.

The Duke of Sommerſets ſpeech at his death.

(70) *Dearely beloued friends, I am brought hither to ſuffer death, albeit I neuer offended againſt the King, neither in word nor deed, and haue alwayes beene as faithfull and true vnto this Realme, as any man hath beene: but foraſmuch as I am by law condemned to die, I doe acknowledge my ſelfe as well as others to bee ſubiect thereunto: wherefore to teſtifie mine obedience which I owe to the lawes, I am come hither to ſuffer death, whereunto I willingly offer my ſelfe, with moſt hearty thankes vnto God, that hath giuen mee this time of repentance, who might through ſudden death haue taken away my life, that I neither ſhould haue acknowledged him, nor my ſelfe.*

A great feare without any cauſe.

(71) Theſe words vttered, beſides others exhortatory, that the people would continue conſtant in the Goſpel, ſuddenly was heard a great noyſe, whereby the aſſembly was ſtrucke into great feare, ſome thinking that a ſtorme or tempeſt deſcended from aboue, ſome ſuppoſed that the barrels of Gunpowder in the Armory had taken fire, & were all blowne vp into the Ayre, others thought that they heard a noyſe of Horſes prepared to battell, ſome againe affirmed confidently, that it did thunder, and others thought verily it was an earth-quake, and that the ground moued: vnto ſuch confuſion and terrour were they preſently brought, which (ſaith *Stow*) was none other, but that certaine men from the *Hamlets* warned with weapon to guard the Tower-hill, came thither ſomewhat after the houre appointed, whoſe formoſt ſeeing the Priſoner on the Scaffold, beganne to runne forward themſelues, and call to their fellowes to come away: which word *away*, ſounding as an Eccho in the peoples eares, they thought that reſcue had come to the Duke to take him away: and ſeeing the Bil-men to make forward ſo faſt, beganne themſelues to ſhrinke backe from the hill, euery man ſeeking to ſaue one, and by this accident and confuſed cries, this feare among them fell and beganne: This ſtirre ſcarce ended, another enſued by the running of the people towards the Scaffold, who ſeeing Sir *Anthony Browne* riding thitherward, ſuppoſed a pardon had come from the King, ſo that a ſudden ſhout aroſe, *A pardon, a pardon, God ſaue the King*; by which it onely appeared in what loue hee was had, and how much his life was deſired of the *Commons*.

Iohn Stow in Annales.

The Duke entirely beloued of the Commons.

(72) The Duke whoſe minde being altogether prepared for death, was little moued either to hope or feare, and thereupon addreſſed his ſecond ſpeech to the people, and with no deiected countenance ſpake againe and ſaid: *Beloued friends there is no ſuch matter intended as you vainely hope and beleeue: It ſeemeth thus good to the Almighty, vnto whoſe ordinance it is meet that wee all be obedient, wherefore I pray you be quiet and without tumult, for I am quiet, and let vs ſo ioyne in prayer vnto the Lord, for the preſeruation of our Noble King, vnto whoſe Maieſty I wiſh continuall health, with all felicitie and abundance of proſperous ſucceſſe. Moreouer, I wiſh to his Councellors the grace and fauour of God, whereby they may rule all things vprightly with Iuſtice, vnto whom I exhort you all in the Lord, to ſhew your ſelues obedient, the which is alſo very neceſſarie for you, vnder paine of condemnation, and alſo moſt profitable for the preſeruation of the Kings Maieſtie.* And thereupon asking euery man forgiueneſſe, freely forgaue euery man againſt him, and deſiring the people to be quiet, leſt the fleſh ſhould be troubled, though his ſpirit was willing, hee meekely laide downe his head to the Axe, and receiued at one ſtroke his reſt by death.

The Dukes ſecond ſpeech vpon the Scaffold.

(73) Howſoeuer this Dukes cauſe was ballanced by law, and him taken away that ſtood betwixt ſome and their Sunne; yet was his death heauily diſgeſted by the people, that ſpake very bitterly againſt the Duke of *Northumberland*; but moſt eſpecially the young King ſore mourned, and ſoone miſſed the life of his Protector thus vnexpectedly taken away, who now depriued of both his Vncles, howſoeuer the times were paſſed with paſtimes, playes, and ſhewes, to driue away dumpes, yet euer the remembrances of them ſate ſo neere vnto his heart, that laſtly he fell ſicke of a Cough, which grieuouſly increaſing, ended with a conſumption of the lungs.

The Duke of *Sommerſet* ſoone miſt, and ſore lamented.

King *Edward* falleth ſicke.

(74) His ſickneſſe continuing with great doubt of his life, vpon purpoſe, ſaith *Grafton, to alter the ſucceſſion of the Crowne*, three mariages were in one day ſolemnized, whereof the firſt was betwixt the Lord *Guilford Dudley*, fourth ſonne to the Duke of *Northumberland*, and the Lady *Iane*, eldeſt daughter of *Henry* Duke of *Suffolke*: the ſecond was betwixt the Lord *Herbert*, ſonne and heire to *William* Earle of *Pembrook*, and the Lady *Katherine*, the yonger daughter of the ſaid Duke of *Suffolke*, and the third was betweene *Henry* Lord *Haſtings*, ſonne and heire of *Frances* Earle of *Huntington*, and *Katherine* the youngeſt daughter of the Duke of *Northumberland*, *which tending* (ſaith he) *to the diſheriſon of the rightfull heires, they proued nothing proſperous, for two of them were preſently made fruſtrate, the one by death, and the other by diuorce.*

Rich. Grafton.

Three mariages entended to reuert the ſucceſſion.

(75) The policy eſtabliſhed, and languiſhing ſickneſſe of the King gaue way vnto ſuch, as ſought the euerſion of the State, and alienation of the Crowne: In whoſe eye no head was ſeene fitter for that faire Diademe, then was *Guilfords* Bride, *Iane* the elder daughter of *Suffolke*, whoſe mother, Lady *Francis* then liuing, was the daughter of *Mary*, the *French* Queene, the younger ſiſter to King *Henry* the eight, vnto whom King *Edward* ouer-wrought in his weakneſſe, ordained his Crowne by Will, at the ſuggeſtions of ſuch Politiques, as meant to diſherite the two lawfull Princes, *Mary* and *Elizabeth*, and to impugne the Statute, in caſe prouided for the ſucceſſion of King *Henry* the eight his Children: vnto which Will (O griefe to heare) ſubſcribed all the Kings Councell, moſt of the Nobility, the reuerend Biſhops, and all the Iudges of the Land, one onely excepted, euen Sir *Iames Halles* Knight, a Iuſtice of the Common Pleas, vpright in iudgement, and a fauourer of the Goſpell, he, I ſay, neuer would write or conſent to the diſheriting of the Lady *Mary*.

Lady *Iane* made ſucceſſor by ſicke King *Edward*.

Vide Stat. in An. 35. de R. H. 8. M. Fox. in Act. & Mon.

Sir *Iames Halles* refuſed to ſubſcribe to K. *Edwards* Will.

(76) The King thus accompliſhing what his Statiſts had wrought, lay languiſhing in his faintneſſe: the end whereof could not be expected but onely by death, and now being worne almoſt to nothing (his laſt breath drawing to the limits of Nature) hee lift vp his eyes with a prepared heart, and prayed as followeth.

King *Edwards* Prayer.

Lord God deliuer mee out of this miſerable and wretched life, and take me among thy Choſen: howbeit not my will, but thy will be done; Lord I commit my ſpirit to thee: O Lord thou knoweſt how happy it were for me to be with thee: yet for thy Choſen ſake, if it be thy will, ſend me life and health, that I may truly ſerue thee: O my Lord bleſſe thy people, and ſaue thine inheritance: O Lord God ſaue thy Choſen people of England. *O my Lord God, defend this Realme from Papiſtrie, and maintaine thy true Religion, that I and my people may praiſe thy holy Name, for thy Sonne Ieſus Chriſts ſake.*

So turning his face, and ſeeing ſome by him, ſaid; *I thought you had not beene ſo nigh*: yes, ſaid Doctor *Owen*, *we heard you ſpeake to your ſelfe*; then ſaid the King, *I was praying to God: O I am faint, Lord haue mercy vpon me, and receiue my ſpirit*: and in ſo ſaying, gaue vp the Ghoſt, to the great loſſe of *England*, in whom they had conceiued moſt hopes.

(77) His vertues were rare and many, exceeding moſt

The vertues of King *Edward.*

The report of *Hieronymus Cardanus, ex Fox.*

His learning.

His Memory.

His Care.

His Mercy.

King *Edwards* zeale to Christs Gospell.

K. *Edwards* letter to Lady *Mary.*

moſt Princes; and vices ſo few, that none can be taxed with leſſe; very learned (according to his yeeres) he was in the Latine and Greek tongues, the *French*, *Spaniſh*, and *Italian*, yea (and ſaith *Hieronymus Cardanus*) *he was adorned with the skill of Logicke, naturall Philoſophie, and Muſicke, and for Aſtronomy* (ſaith he) *my ſelfe had experience, whom he learnedly oppoſed of the cauſe and courſe of Comets: for Humanity, he is the very Image of Morality, and in Princely graue Maieſty beſt beſeeming a King: briefly, he may well ſeeme to be a miracle in Nature: nor doe I ſpeake thus Rhetorically to amplifie things, or to make them more then truth is, for the truth is more then I doe vtter:* and in this hee was moſt admirable, that hee could tell and recite all the Ports, Hauens, and Creekes, not within his owne Realme onely, but alſo in *Scotland*, and likewiſe in *France*, what comming in there was, how the tide ſerued in euery of them, what burden of Shippe, and what winde beſt ſerued the comming in into them.

(78) Of all his Nobles, Gentry, Iuſtices, and Magiſtrates, hee tooke ſpeciall name of their Hoſpitality, and religious conuerſations, and that which is beſt accepted of a Prince, hee was very liberall, louing, mercifull, meeke, and gentle towards his people, and ſo farre from bloud, as he euer fauoured and ſpared as much as might be the life of man, yea, euen of Rebels, as we haue ſeene; neither was hee willing to put Heretikes to death, as in a certaine diſſertation had once with Maſter *Cheeke* it appeared: inſomuch that when *Ioan Butcher* ſhould bee burned for her hereſie, all the Councell could not moue him to ſet his hand to the warrant of her execution, vntill Doctor *Cranmer* his Godfather, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* laboured to induce him, vnto whom he ſaid, what my Lord, will you haue me to ſend her quicke to hell? and taking the pen, vſed this ſpeech: *I will lay all the charge hereof vpon Cranmer before God.* Then how his hand had beene gotten for his Vncles death, is to be admired.

(79) But his conſtancy vnto Chriſts Goſpell, with the abandoning of all ſuperſtition, was very admirable, one example among many wee will not let to declare. Lady *Mary* his ſiſter through the ſuit of *Charles* the Emperour, made great meanes to haue Maſſe ſaid in her Houſe, and that to be done without all preiudice of law: the greatneſſe of her perſon being the immediate ſucceſſor, and the might of the Emperour in amity with *England*, moued the Councell to giue their conſent to the ſuit; to forward which, *Cranmer* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, accompanied with *Ridley* Biſhop of *London*, were imployed from them to the King, who hearing their meſſage, gaue the replication ſo grounded vpon Scripture, as they gaue ouer to vrge more that way: but like Politicians alleaged the danger in breach of amity with the Emperour, to which the King anſwered, he would rather aduenture the hazard of his owne life, then to grant that which was not agreeable to the truth. The Biſhops yet vrged him with the bonds of nature, and ſubmiſſiuely ſaid, they would haue no nay: the King ſeeing himſelfe ſo importunated, burſt into weeping, and ſobbingly deſired them to be content, whereat the teares ſo abundantly burſt from their eyes, as they departed his preſence not able to ſpeake. And for a further teſtimony of this yong Kings zeale, reade if you pleaſe a letter ſent vnto his ſiſter the Princeſſe Lady *Mary*, out of the originall.

(80) *Right deare, and right entirely beloued ſiſter, we greet you well, and let you know that it grieueth vs much to perceiue no amendment in you of that, which wee for good cauſe, your ſoules health, our conſcience, and common tranquillity of our Realme haue ſo long deſired; aſſuring you, that our ſufferance hath more demonſtration of naturall loue, then contentation of our conſcience, and foreſight of our ſafety. Wherefore, although you giue vs occaſion aſmuch almoſt as in you is, to diminiſh our naturall loue; yet be we loath to feele it decay, and meane not to be ſo careleſſe of you as we be prouoked. And therefore meaning your weale, and therewith ioyning a care not to be found guilty in our owne conſcience to God, hauing cauſe to require forgiueneſſe, that wee haue ſo long for reſpect of loue towards you, omitted our bounden duty, we doe ſend at this preſent our right truſty, and right well beloued Councellor, the Lord* Rich, *our Chancellor of England, our truſty and right welbeloued Councellor, Sir* Anthony Wingfield *Knight, Comptroler of our Houſhold, and Sir* Will. Peter *Knight, one of our two principall Secretaries in meſſage to you touching the order of your houſe, willing you to giue them firm credite in thoſe things they ſhall ſay to you from vs, and doe there in our Name. Giuen vnder our Signet at the Caſtle of Windſor, the of in the fift yeere of our Raigne,* 1552.

(81) The fruites of which Religion, this godly King ſhewed by his workes of compaſſion towards the poore, and that eſpecially vpon the foundation of Chriſts Hoſpitall, the late ſuppreſſed place of the Grey-Fryers in *London*, vpon occaſion as followeth. It chanced the reuerend Biſhop Doctor *Ridley* to preach before his Maieſty at *Weſtminſter*, wherein hee Chriſtianlike exhorted the rich to be mercifull vnto the poore, and to that end amplified the words of the Text againſt the mercileſſe rich, and the negligence of ſuch as were in great place. The Sermon ended, and the King ſet to dinner, he ſent to the *Biſhop*, commanding him not to depart the Court, before hee knew his further pleaſure, and thereupon cauſing two Chaires to be ſet in the Gallery, all others auoided, he compelled the Biſhop to ſit downe by his ſide, and in no wiſe would admit him to be vncouered.

D. *Ridleyes* ſermon before King *Edward.*

(82) Where entring conference, he firſt gaue him hearty thankes for his Sermon, repeating vnto him the chiefe points thereof, and comming to his exhortation for the poore, he then told him that hee thought himſelfe firſt touched in the ſpeech; for ſaid he, *my Lord, you ſpeake to them in authority, whereof vnder God I am the chiefe, and muſt firſt make anſwere to him if I be negligent, and therefore I thinke you principally meant me: Gods commandement I know moſt expreſly inioyneth vs to haue compaſſion of his poore members, for whom we muſt make account; and truly my Lord, I am moſt willing to trauell that way, not doubting but that your long approued learning and wiſdome, whoſe zeale is ſuch as wiſheth them helpe; but that alſo you had conference with others what is beſt herein to be done, which I am alſo deſirous to know, and therefore I pray ſay freely your mind.*

The conference betwixt the King and Biſhop *Ridley.*

(83) The mouer vnto theſe pious conſiderations little looking for ſuch queſtions of the Prince, ſate a while ſilent, ouerioyed at his words, and laſtly, vnprepared of any preſent inſtructions, told the King that the Citizens of *London* were beſt able to direct the plot, whoſe great charity, and well ordered gouernement, beſides their daily charges, being ouerburdened with poore, had ſufficient experience, and if it would pleaſe his Maieſty to direct his letters vnto them himſelfe, he would be very ready to further this godly reſolution ſo far as his meanes might any wiſe extend: whereupon the King preſently commanded his letters to be writ, and would not ſuffer the Biſhop to depart before himſelfe had thereto ſet his hand and ſignet, deſiring him to deliuer the ſame to the Lord Maior, and with him to conferre about this buſineſſe, which hee wiſhed might be accompliſhed with all expedition.

King *Edwards* great care for the poore.

(84) The Biſhop as ready as the King was deſirous, poſted apace to the Lord Maior of *London*, where deliuering the letter, offered his aſſiſtance to forward the worke, and they together with ſome Aldermen, and twenty foure Commoners agreed vpon three degrees of the poore, and them diuided againe into nine.

King *Edwards* letter deliuered to the L. Maior.

(85) The Booke thus drawne, and preſented to the King, he thereupon deſired to be accounted the chiefe Founder of their reliefe, and forth-with gaue vnto the City S. *Bartholmewes* Hoſpitall by *Smithfield*, and the Grey-Fryers Church neere adioyning,

The Kings great liberality for the poore in *London.*

The Kings great liberality for the poore in *London*.

with all the reuenewes belonging therto; his princely house of *Bridewell*, anciently the Mansion of many English Kinges, wherein also their Courts of Iustice had been kept, and sumptuously new built by King *Henry* the eight for the receit of the Emperor, he gaue to the L. Maior and Citizens to be a house of correction for lewd and dissolute liuers, and to set on worke the idle and loitering vagabonds, whose maintenance with the new reedified Hospitall of S. *Thomas* in *Southwarke*, hee gaue seuen hundred Markes by yeere out of the rents of the Hospitall of Saint *Iohn Baptist* or *Sauoy*, with all the beds, bedding, and other furniture thereto belonging, whereby the poore thus distinguished, were by his godly furtherance thus prouided for.

THE
- *Poor by impotency*: Fatherles Children, Aged, Blind, Lame, Diseased persons, → *Christs hospital* / *S. Thom. Hospitall*
- *Poor by Casuality*: Wounded Souldiers, Decaied housholders, Visited & sick persõs, → *S. Thom. Hospitall*, *Christs hospital*
- *Poor thriftlesse*: Riotous spenders, Vagabond loiterers, Idle Strumpets. → *Bridewell.*

Regi. 7. Iune 6.

86) The Kings charitable gifts confirmed by Charter, and a Petition exhibited for liberty to take in *Mortmaine* of lands to a yeerely value without further licence, a place being left in the Patent to containe the summe, *King Edward* presently called for penne and inke, and with his owne hand filled vppe the space with these words, *foure thousand Markes by yeere*: which done, hee burst foorth and said; *Lord God I yeeld thee most heartie thankes, that thou hast giuen me life thus long to finish this worke to the glory of thy name*.

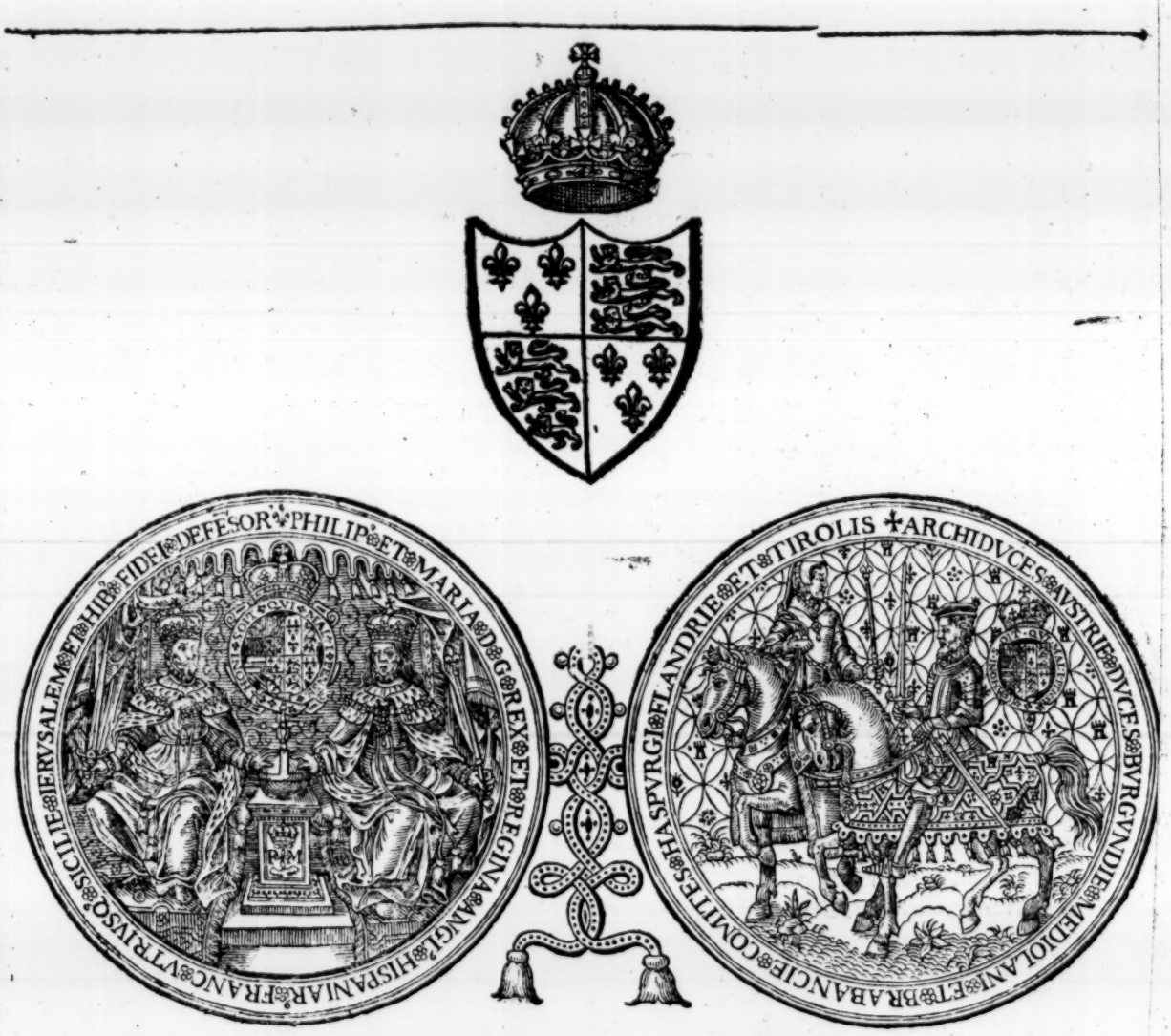
(87) Now as this godly King was carefull in redeeming the time, so likewise to take as it were an account of himselfe, hee kept a iournall booke or Record written with his owne hand, how all things proceeded with him, and with the State, euen from the first day of his raigne vnto his death: whose many vertues as they were inferior to none of his worthy Progenitors, and zeale little short to the best Kings of *Iudah*, so was hee soone mist of all his loyall Subiects, when the bosome of Gods Saints were opened to the persecutors swords.

(89) He died at *Greenwich* vpon Thursday the sixt day of Iuly, the yeere of Christ Iesus, one thousand fiue hundred fifty three, and the seuenteenth of his age, when he had raigned sixe yeeres fiue months, and nine daies, and was buried vpon the ninth of August following, in the Chappell of S. *Peters* Church at *Westminster*, neere vnto his Grandfather King *Henry* the seuenth.

Q. Mary.

MARIE QVEENE OF ENGLAND, FRANCE AND IRELAND, DEFENDER OF THE FAITH, &c. THE SIXTIETH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISH, HER RAIGNE, MARIAGE, ACTS, AND DEATH.

Monarch 60



CHAPTER XXIII.

KING *EDWARDS* life ended by his lingring diſeaſe, and the Stateſmen intending to eſtabliſh his will; for the ſpace of two dayes his death was kept ſecret, and much conſultation among the Nobility had of the buſineſſe; all of them affecting the election of *Iane*, leſt *Mary* ſhould vndoe what *Edward* had done; to ſupport which purpoſe, many proiects were caſt, and many opinions giuen how to proceed, yet all ioyntly light in this point, ***that London was the hand which muſt reach Iane the Crowne***: whoſe Citizens aſſiſtance if they might be got, the greateſt difficulty (as they held it) was halfe vndergone. And therefore to mould them for *Iane*, and to marre them for *Mary*, the Councell ſent for the L. Maior of *London*, ſixe Aldermen, and twelue Commoners Merchants.

Conſultation for the diſpoſing of the Crowne.

London the ſureſt ſtay in time of trouble.

(2) Theſe comming to the Court, were ſecretly certified of K. *Edward* his death, where his Will was declared, and Letters Patents ſhewed for the diſinheriting of his two ſiſters, and the raiſing of *Suffolkes* daughter vnto the Crowne; whoſe religion was ſo zealous, and vertues ſo many (as in truth no Princeſſe was poſſeſſed with more) were ſo well ſet forth by theſe graue Counſellors, that the Lord Maior & Citizens tooke their oathes for Lady *Iane*, vnto whoſe obedience they promiſed to ſecure the City.

The Lord Maior and Citizens ſworne to Lady *Iane*.

(3) Lady *Mary* at *Houeſdon* hearing theſe newes, preſently remoued to her Mannor of *Keningall* in *Norfolke*: from whence ſhee wrote her letters vnto the Lords of the Councell, wherein ſhee maruelleth that her brothers death ſhould ſo long be kept from her

Lady Mary writeth to the *Lords*.

her: that shee being the Princesse next in blood, ordained by act of Parliament, and *King Henries* Testament to succeede; her right enrowled in the Records, by the authority of her Father and brother; their owne knowledge and prescription to her most rightfull Titles; yet now in consultation to vndoe these prouisions both against God and naturall alleageance; shee could not but maruell, and rather would construe for some politicke consideration, and take them in the best part, then to possesse the least thought of any disloyalty in them; and therefore willed them vpon the receit of her letters to proclaime her Queene, and Gouernour of the Realme, in the City of *London*, and in other publike places, as in such cause appertaineth, with all due obseruances, as they tendred her displeasure and their owne safeties: this letter was signed at the Mannor of *Keningall* vnder her Signet the ninth of Iuly 1553.

The Lords answer to Lady *Maries* Letter.

(4) Vnto which letters the Lords foorthwith made answere; first signifying that by good warrant of ancient Lawes of the Land, besides the will of their last King, confirmed vnder his hand and broad Seale, in the presence of the most part of the Nobles, Counsellors, Iudges and other graue personages, assenting and subscribing to the same, that Lady *Iane* daughter to *Henry* Duke of *Suffolke* should bee inuested and succeede him in the Emperiall Crowne: vnto whom therefore, and vnto none other, they must giue their loyall subiection; where also they put her in minde of the vnlawfull marriage and diuorce of her mother, her owne illegitimation, vncapable of Crowne, or rule of Dominions; willing her further to desist from any such claime, & to submit her selfe vnto Queene *Iane* now her Soueraigne, so would they hold amity with her, else should shee prooue greeuous vnto them and her selfe, which letters were sent from the Tower of London the ninth of Iuly 1553. and subscribed by the hands of such as follow:

Thomas Canterbury, Archbishop.
Thomas Elie, Chauncellour.
William Winchester, Marquesse.
Iohn Bedford, Earle.
Henrie Suffolke, Duke.
Francis Shrewesbury, Earle.
Iohn Northumberland, Duke.
William Pembrooke; Earle.
Thomas Darcie Lord Chamberlaine.

Cobham.	*William Peter.*
Rich.	*William Cecill.*
Huntington.	*Iohn Clerke.*
Darcie.	*Iohn Mason.*
Cheyney	*Edward North.*
Iohn Gates.	*Robert Bowes.*

Mary remooued to *Fremingham* Castle.

M. Fox Act.

(5) These letters receiued, and the Lords mindes therein made known, shee forthwith remoued to *Fremingham* Castle, standing more safe from inuasion or easie accesse; vnto whom the *Suffolke* men were the first that resorted, offering their seruice vnto her rightfull cause, with condition they might still imbrace the Gospell in the same manner as King *Edward* had established it; to which shee condiscended, though afterwards wearing the Diademe, and petitioned vnto for promise, shee both punished the Writer, and answered their expectations, *That they should one day well know, they being but members should not direct her their Head.*

The Suffolke men the first that came to aide *Mary*.

Iane proclaimed Queene.

A.D. 1553. Iuly 10.

(6) The Lords at *London* to set their enterprise vpon foot, by proclamation made knowne in most parts of the City, the death of King *Edward*, and that by Will, hee had bequeathed his Crowne and Dominions, to the vertuous great Princesse, Lady *Iane*, daughter to *Henry* Duke of *Suffolke* (as wee haue said) and so was shee proclaimed by the name of Queene *Iane*, though many of the Commons wished it had beene Queene *Mary*; and for some words spoken to that purpose, one *Gilbert Pot* a seruant Vintner, vpon the Pillory lost both his eares. Vnto the aide of Lady *Mary* came the Earles of *Sussex*, *Bath*, and *Oxford*, the Lord *Wentworth*, Sir *Thomas Cornwallis*, Sir *Henry Iernyngham*, Sir *William Walgraue*, with diuers others of *Norfolke* and *Suffolke*, yea and the *Citizens* of *Norwich* themselues, hauing certaine knowledge of *King Edwards* death, forthwith proclaimed *Marie* for Queene, and presently sent her aide both of men and munition. The Lords then hearing of great preparations, meant by times to ouermatch her in power, and thereupon agreed that *Henry* Duke of *Suffolke* their new Queenes Father should with an Army repaire into *Norfolke*; which thing was so greeuous vnto Lady *Iane* his daughter, that with flouds of teares shee obtained his stay.

Rich. Grafton.

Many Noblemen come to aide *Mary*.

Mary proclaimed Queene first in Norwich Iuly 12.

(7) None then was held fitter to vndergoe this great businesse, then was the Duke of *Northumberland*, young *Gilfords* Father, (who besides his sonnes dignity, vnto whom this new Queene was wife) his valiant parts and sufficiency to marshall an Army in Field, had been often experienced in *Scotland*, & but lately among these people with whom he was now to deale. The Duke thus appointed, beganne as it should seeme, to mistrust the worst, and thereupon freely vttered his minde to the Lords; willing them to be carefull at home, as hee would bee venturous abroad, for their cause was common, and all for the Queene. Hee with his (hee said) went now to venture their bodies to the bloody strokes of warre, their Families and Children left to the dispose of others, whom as he told them; if they meant not faire play, hee could auoid as well as any: thus much and more spoken to the like purpose, one of the Lords replied, and said: Your Grace (as I iudge) doth cast this doubt ouer farre, for which of vs all, can wash our hands cleane of this businesse, therefore it behoueth vs to bee resolute, as much as it doth you: and among them *Arundel* wished that he might goe with him.

The Duke of *Northumberland* assigned Lord Lieutenant for Queene *Iane*.

The feare of the Duke of *Northumberland*.

(8) All things in a readinesse, and his commission confirmed vnder the broad Seale of *England*, vpon the 14. of Iuly the Duke with fiue hundred men, accompanied with the Lord *Grey*, and others, set foorth of *London*, and tooke his way through *Shorditch* where beholding the countenances of the people, he spake to the Lord *Grey* and said: *The people my Lord, praise still to see vs, but not one of them bids vs God speede:* the same day likewise Sir *Iohn Gates* went after the Duke, both of them making for New market, whither further supplies were promised to be sent.

Holinsh.

Many presse, but none pray for successe.

(9) In the meane time the Lord *Windsore*, Sir *Edmund Peckham*, Sir *Robert Drurie*, and Sir *Edward Hastings* raised the Commons of *Buckinghamshire*, proclaiming Queene *Marie* euer as they went, the like did Sir *Iohn Williams* of *Tame*, and Sir *Leonard Chamberlaine* in *Oxfordshire*, and so did Sir *Thomas Tresham* in the County of *Northampton*: these with many more made forward toward *Norfolke*, vnto whom many more ioined in the way: and as God and good hap brought it to passe, fiue tall Ships well manned that were appointed before *Yarmouth* to haue taken Lady *Mary* if shee had fled, were by foule weather driuen into the Hauen, where master *Iermingham* was raising for her, and taking a Boate to halle them, the Sea-souldiers demanded what he would haue, his answer was their Captaines, whereunto the Souldiers consented, threatning to throw them into the Sea, if they refused to serue Queene *Marie*: the Shippes thus gotten, and their number augmented, their terror grew fearefull to the Lords in the Tower: whose Tenants began then likewise to draw backe, and deny them their aide: so that certaine of them would faine haue been gone, if by any meanes they could haue escaped the Tower, which the Lord Treasurer assaied, but was brought backe againe about midnight.

The Lord *Windsor* Proclaimed Queene *Mary*.

Six Ships taken to serue Queene *Mary*.

The Lords in the Tower in great feare.

Iohn Stow.

(10) The

Fox Act. & Mon.

(10) The Duke of *Northumberland* in as great feare as any, tooke ſtill his ſtations according to his Commiſſion, ſending ſtill to the Lords for their promiſed ſupplies, betwixt whom were ſuch poſting of letters, ſuch ſpeeding to & fro, ſuch outward faire promiſes, ſuch inward priuy practiſes, ſuch talking of the Souldiers, and ſuch heart-burning of the people, as it was a world to ſee: and the rumour of Souldiers from all quarters daily reſorting vnto Queene *Marie*, made the turmoile much the more. To leaue therefore nothing vnaſſaied that might ſupport their new made Queene *Iane*, the Councell commanded Doctor *Ridley* Biſhop of *London*, to maintaine her cauſe in his Sermon made at *Pauls Croſſe*, which hee did vpon Sunday the ſixteenth of Iuly, but that neither working, nor the peoples affection drawne from the rightfull Succeſſor, the Lords fell from the Duke, who then was in *Buric*; and in *London* proclaimed Lady *Marie* Queene.

Great feares among the people.

The Biſhop of *London* defendeth *Ianes* Title in a Sermon.

Queene *Mary* Proclaimed in *London*. July. 19.

(11) This ſudden alteration brought many ſudden feares into the Dukes breaſt, whoſe onely way, as he well ſaw, was to follow the ſtreame, and now returning to *Cambridge*, his Souldiers began to turne in affection, moſt of them forſaking his company, a few onely excepted, whoſe perils were deepely engaged with his, where to ſhew his forwardneſſe for the aduancement of *Marie*, wanting both Trumpet and Herault at hand, himſelfe accompanied with the Maior, and the Marqueſſe of *Northampton*, in the Market place proclaimed her Queene: which done in token of ioy, hee threw hp his owne Cap. And thus the right reuerted to whom it belonged, wee will now addreſſe our ſtile to her dreadfull Raigne, wherein the Kingdomes ſtory may ſeeme to be writ rather with bloud then with inke, and the nurſing mother, (as Queenes by the Prophet are termed and called) to forget the naturall affection due to her Subiects, which in ſome ſort may bee compared to the children of her wombe.

The Duke of *Northumberlands* Souldiers forſake him.

The Duke himſelf Proclaimeth Queen *Mary*.

Eſai 49. 33.

(12) Yet were her beginnings both milde and gentle, pardoning all offenders in caſe of Lady *Iane*; excepting the Duke of *Northumberland*, the onely doer, and Sir *Iohn Gates*, Captaine of the Guard, who was in Armes againſt her; with ſome few others that worthily ſuffered for that offence. The Duke (as is ſaid) laying downe weapon, and himſelfe proclaiming *Queene Marie*, was neuertheleſſe arreſted with *Francis* Earle of *Huntington* in the Kings College at *Cambridge* by a Sergant at Armes, but letters being then ſent from the Counſel, that euery man ſhould be diſmiſſed without further trouble, the Duke among them was alſo releaſed.

The milde beginnings of Queene *Mary*.

Holinſh.

(13) The next morning *Henry Fitz-Alan* Earle of *Arundel*, came into *Cambridge* from the Queene, who entring his Chamber, the Duke at his feet fell vpon his knees, deſiring him for Gods loue to conſider his caſe, that had done nothing without warrant of him, and the Councell; my Lord, ſaid *Arundel*, I am ſent hither from the queene to arreſt you, and I, ſaid the Duke, obey your arreſt, yet I beſeech your Lordſhip to vſe mercy towards him whoſe Acts haue beene no more then was enioyned by commiſſion, that ſooner ſhould you haue ſought for, ſaid the Earle, and thereupon committed him to guard, and left him to the mercy of the Queene.

The Duke of *Northumberland* arreſted.

R. Graſton.

(14) The Duke then with his three ſonnes *Iohn Ambroſe* and *Henrie*, the Earle of *Huntington*, Sir *Andrew Dudley*, the two *Gates*, *Iohn* and *Henrie*, Sir *Thomas Palmer*, and Doctor *Sandes* were conueied towards *London*, and brought to the Tower, where the Lord *Gilford Dudley*, and the Lady *Iane* his wife, from the high Title of Soueraignety were made ſubiect to dejected Priſoners miſeries.

The Duke and others conueied to the Tower.

Queene *Mary* commeth to *London*.

(15) Queene *Marie* from *Fremingham* repaired towards *London*, being all the way ſaluted without any miſlikes, ſauing that many men feared the altering of Religion: at her entrance into the Tower were releaſed *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolke*, who had laine there from the laſt of King *Henrie* the eight, *Edward* Lord *Courtney*, whom ſhee forthwith aduanced Earle of *Deuonſhire*, *Cutbert Tunſtall* Biſhop of *Durham*, and *Stephen Gardiner* late Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, by her then made Lord Chancellor of *England*. From the Marſhal-ſea was freed *Edmund Bonner* Biſhop of *London*, and now againe reſtored by the deposing of Doctor *Ridley*, who for his Sermon lately made, was committed to the Tower; ſo likewiſe Doctor *Scorie* gaue place vnto *Daye*, in the Biſhoprike of *Chicheſter*, *Miles Couerdale* vnto *Weſe*, in the Biſhopricke of *Exceſter*, and *Iohn Hooper* vnto *Heath*, in the Biſhopricke of *Worceſter*; who forthwith was committed to the Fleet, and Archbiſhop *Cranmer*, into the Tower; ſo roughly ſhe began with the reformed Clergy, how milde ſoeuer her other proceedings were.

Priſoners releaſed the Tower.

M. Fox in *Acts & Mon.*

Biſhops remoued and others in their Sees placed.

(16) Againſt which men, as alſo againſt all printed books; which any wiſe pointed towards the diſgrace of the Papall See, (the teinture whereof had ſtuck in her owne breaſt euer ſince her infancie) Queene *Marie* ſet forth a proclamation; and ſo much was ſhe deuoted to that Sea of *Rome*, as being often mooued by King *Edward*, her brother, to imbrace the Goſpell according to Lawes in his time eſtabliſhed, with promiſe of her aduancement, by matching her in Marriage with *Don Lewis* the brother of *Portingall*, her anſwer was, ſhee had rather to forgoe all earthly preferments, and to loſe all her Lands, and other Liuings, then to change her receiued opinion of her ſure ſetled Religion.

Reported in a Letter of conference with her had by the Lord Chancellor and Secretary *Peters*.

(17) Her entrance thus ſtanding, and State nothing ſafe (as ſhee thought) whileſt the Duke of *Northumberland* (a Proteſtant) and other his Complices (for the moſt part in durance) were aliue; their arraignements were haſtened, and deaths not long after lingred, which they ſuffered vpon the Scaffold on Tower-hill, where the Duke hauing promiſe of life, if he would recant his profeſſion, Daſtard-like with *Peter*, forſooke his maſter, and exhorted the people to the Romiſh profeſſion: which his death Sermon afterwards by authority, came forth in Print. With him ſuffered Sir *Iohn Gates*, and Sir *Thomas Palmer* much more conſtant as appeared by their ſpeech.

The Duke of *Northumberland* beheaded, Auguſt. 22.

Sir *Iohn Gates* beheaded.

(18) The way (ſaith Maſter *Foxe*) thus made by bloud, Queene *Marie* paſſed through *London* vnto *Weſtminſter* to receiue the Crowne, which was ſolemnly ſet on her Head by *Gardiner* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, for that both the Archbiſhops were priſoners in the Tower: when a pardon was alſo publiſhed for many offences, which notwithſtanding were ſo followed by them in Commiſſion, as ſome were fined, ſome loſt their Fees, ſome caſt into Priſon, and ſome depriued of all their eſtates.

M. Fox Acts and Monuments.

An. D. 1554. Queene *Mary* crowned.

Tho. Cranmer Cant.

Rob. Holgate York

Holinſhed.

(19) The next that felt the calamities of thoſe times, were the Lady *Iane* and the Lord *Gilford Dudley* her Husband, both innocent perſons in that which their Fathers had done: Shee doubtleſſe was a Lady of admirable gifts both in learning, religion, and humane knowledge, as by her conference with *Feckenam*, letters to an Apoſtata, exhortation to her Siſter, and praiers by her made in moſt feeling manner, doe euidently appeare, and that ſhee was conſtrained to conſent to the things done, is manifeſt by a letter ſent to her father a little before her death: wherein, after a holy and dutifull exhortation vnto patience, ſhee vſeth this Speech. *My deare Father, (if I may without offence reioice in mine owne miſſe-haps, me ſeemes in this I may account my ſelfe bleſſed, that waſhing my hands with the innocencie of my fact, my guiltleſſe blood may crie before the Lord, mercie, mercie, to the innocent. And yet though I muſt acknowledge, that being conſtrained, and as you wot well enough, continuallie aſſailed, in taking vpon me, I ſeemed to conſent, and therein offended the Queene and her Lawes, yet doe I aſſuredly truſt that this mine offence towards God is much the leſſe, in that being in ſo roiall eſtate as I was,*

The vertues of Lady *Iane*.

Laurence Humfrey.

Lady *Iane* in her Letter ſent to her Father.

was, mine inforced honour neuer agreed with mine innocent heart.

Lady *Jane* and Lord *Guilford* condemned.

(20) Yet muſt the Law for ſo great an offence take place, for triall whereof this late titled Queen, and now miſerable Lady, was brought into *Guildhall* in *London*, where ſhee with the Lord *Guilford*, Archbiſhop *Cranmer*, and the Lord *Ambroſe Dudlie*, were arraigned and condemned. But *Cranmer* (as *Fox* ſaith) was acquit of Treaſon, and ſtood onely in the caſe of Doctrine, which then was accounted Hereſie, and ſo againe were returned to the Tower, for whom great lamentations were made, eſpecially for the good Lady *Iane*, whoſe ſtate the Queen her ſelfe ſo pittied, as that ſhee had the liberty of the Tower to walke in the Queens Garden, and on the Hill; and ſurely had not her Father after his firſt offence fallen into another, ſhee had been (as was thought) pardoned of life.

x Act. and Monuments.

Iohn Stow.

The Duke of *Suffolke* ſetteth himſelfe againſt Queene *Maries* matriage.

(21) His ſecond offence was, that whereas Queene *Marie* had a purpoſe to marry with the Spaniard, and to that end embraced the Sute of *Philip*, the ſonne of *Charles* the Emperour, many aſwell Nobles as others diſliked the Match, fearing not only the change of Religion, wherunto many of them ſtood very well affected, but euen of the Lands ſeruitude vnto ſtrangers, as was likely to happen, both in the Husband and Iſſue. To preuent which, this *Henrie* Duke of *Suffolke*, but lately pardoned of life, ſecretly departed vnto *Leiceſter* and *Warwickeſhires*, making Proclamations for the abandoning of Strangers, and inſtigated the people to withſtand the Queens marriage agreed vpon with *Philip*.

Hollinſh.

(22) Theſe ſtirres thus abroach, the Earle of *Huntington* was ſent into thoſe parts, who taking *Couentree* (which City *Suffolke* thought himſelfe ſure of) forelaid the Country in ſuch wiſe, as the Duke for his beſt refuge committed himſelfe to the truſt and ſecret keeping of a ſeruant of his, called *Vnderwood*, remaining in *Aſhley Parke*, who againſt the truſt repoſed, treacherouſly betraied him, and his brother *Iohn* Lord *Grey*, vnto the Earle; whence preſently by him they were conueyed Priſoners vnto the Tower of *London*, their other brother Lord *Thomas* eſcaping in the dead of the night, was preſently apprehended in the borders of *Wales*, and from thence was brought Priſoner to *London*.

Fox in Acts and Monuments.

Henry Duke of *Suffolke* and his brethren apprehended.

(23) This (I ſay) ſeemed to haſten the death of thoſe innocents, whom their Fathers had doubly brought into danger; for the Statiſts of thoſe times, knowing their Queen could haue no quiet whileſt theſe great oppoſites were reared againſt her, held it beſt policy to take them away; whereupon the twelft of February and firſt day of the weeke, Lord *Gilford Dudley* was had to the Scaffold vpon Tower Hill, and there with prayers and great pennancy ended his life: whoſe body all bloudy laid in a Cart together with the head wrapped in a cloth, was brought into the Chappell within the Tower, euen in the ſight of this ſorrowfull Lady, a ſpectacle more deadly then was the Ax of her death. And now her owne part next to be acted, the Stage of her Tragedy was raiſed vpon the greene, within the Tower, whereon being mounted, with a cherefull countenance, and a patient minde, theſe words with great conſtancy ſhe ſpake at that preſent.

The Lord *Guilford* beheaded *Rich. Graf.*

Lady *Iane* beheaded.

The ſpeech of Lady *Iane* at her death.

"(24) Good people, I am come to die, and by "Law I am condemned to the ſame, my offence a- "gainſt the Queens Highneſſe was onely in con- "ſent to the deuice of others, which now is deemed "Treaſon: yet it was neuer of my ſeeking, but by "counſell of thoſe who ſhould ſeeme to haue fur- "ther vnderſtanding of things then I, which knew "little of the Law, and much leſſe of Titles to the "Crowne. But touching the procurement and de- "ſire thereof by mee, or on my behalfe, I doe waſh "my hands in innocency thereof before God, and "the face of you all this day: *And therewith ſhee "wrung her hands, wherein ſhee had a Booke.* I pray you "all good Chriſtian people (ſaid ſhee) to beare "mee witneſſe that I die a true Chriſtian woman, "and that I looke to be ſaued by none other meanes "but onely by the mercy of God, in the blood of "his onely Sonne Ieſus Chriſt; and I confeſſe that "when I did know the word of God, I neglected the "ſame, and loued my ſelfe and the world, and there- "fore this plague and puniſhment is iuſtly and wor- "thily happened vpon me for my ſinnes, and yet I "thanke God of his goodneſſe, that hee hath giuen "me a time and reſpite to repent. And now good "people while I am aliue, I pray you aſſiſt me with "your prayers.

(25) Then kneeled ſhee downe, and ſaid in *Engliſh* the fifty one *Pſalme*: and againe ſtanding vp, gaue her Booke to Maſter *Bridges*, then Lieutenant of the Tower: then vntying her Gowne, the executioner offered to helpe, whom ſhee deſired to forbeare, and ſo turning to her two Gentlewomen, was diſrobed of that, and her other Attieres. This done, the Headſman kneeled downe, and askt her forgiueneſſe, vnto whom ſhee ſaid; *the Lord forgiue thee, and I doe:* and I pray thee diſpatch me quickly; and kneeling againe, ſaid, will you take it off before I lye downe? he anſwered, no Madam. Then ſhee tyed a Handkercher ouer her eyes, and feeling for the blocke, ſaid; where is it, where is it? Laſtly, laying her Necke vpon the ſame, ſtretched forth her body, and ſaide; *Lord Ieſus into thy hands I commend my ſpirit*; which was ſcarcely vttered, before ſhee receiued the fatall ſtroake of the Axe: and thus ended the life of this chaſte, innocent, and moſt vertuous Lady; whoſe caſe, through the ſeuerity of the Law adiudged accordingly, yet was her death much lamented of all, but moſt eſpecially grieuous vnto him that gaue the ſentence of the ſame, euen Iudge *Morgan*, who thereupon preſently fell madde, and in his rauings, continually cryed, take away the Lady *Iane* from me, and in that horror ſhortly ended his life. I will not auouch that ſhee was with childe at the day of her death, though it was ſo reported, but rather iudge a more Chriſtian-like proceeding againſt ſo great a perſon, though the time (as we well know) proued very bloudy.

Maſter Fox in Acts and Mon. pag. 1132.

(26) Eleuen dayes after her death, her Father *Henry Duke of Suffolke*, was executed vpon the Tower hill, euen the twenty three of *February*, where he moſt Chriſtianly made profeſſion of his Faith, and with great repentance of his fact, receiued the ſtroke of death; and the three and twenty of Aprill following, his brother the Lord *Thomas Grey* ſuffered death in the ſame place.

Henry Duke of *Suffolke* and L. *Thomas Grey* beheaded.

(27) That the intended marriage with *Philip* of *Spaine*, was the cauſe of their laſt inſurrection we haue ſaid; to perſwade which, how eloquently ſoeuer had beene deliuered by *Stephen Gardiner*, *Lord Chancellour*, vnto the Nobility in the Chamber of Preſence, ſetting forth the honour, the riches, and augmentation of Titles to the Crowne, and Kingdome of *England*: yet was it diſtaſtiue to moſt of their Stomackes, inſomuch that combinations were made againſt the proceſſe, and many in many places vp in Armes: whereof Sir *Thomas Wyat* of *Kent*, was the firſt, and that vpon this occaſion.

Queene *Maries* marriage diſtaſtiue to many of the Nobles.

(28) Among many diſlikers of the Queenes marriage, it chanced, one, for ſome other offence, to be committed to the Fleete by the Councell, who being an inward acquaintance of *Wyats*, was ſuppoſed by him to haue reuealed the conſpiracy; whereupon he put himſelfe in action, before the enterpriſe was altogether ripe, and accompanied with *Thomas Iſley*, and others, at *Maidſtone* in *Kent*, publiſhed a Proclamation againſt the Queenes marriage, alleaging the thraldome whereunto the Land would become ſubiect, by that Spaniſh match, and from *Maidſtone* accompanied with Sir *George Harper*, haſted to *Rocheſter*, where they forth-with brake downe the Bridge.

Sir *Thomas Wyats* ſtorie.

An. D. 1553. Ianuary 25.

Wyat commeth to *Rocheſter.*

(29) In the meane while, Sir *Henry Iſley*, *Anthonie* and *William Kneuet*, brethren, in Eaſt, and Weſt *Kent*,

Kent, perſwaded the people (who were willing enough) to take part with *Wyat*, for at *Milton*, *Chriſtopher Roper*, in making Proclamation for the Queen, aſſiſted by Maſter *Tuck* and *Dorrell*, both Iuſtices of Peace, were all three taken, and conueyed vnto *Rocheſter*, and there retained Priſoners by Sir *Thomas Wyat*, whereupon *Sir Robert Southwell*, high Sheriffe of *Kent*, with the Lord *Aburgeuenny*, and others, vpon the Market day at *Malling* in a penned Oration exhorted the hearers from ſuch ſeditious enterprizes. On the other ſide, *Sir Henry Iſley* at *Tunbridge*, proclaimed the ſaid Lord, the Sheriffe and their adherents, Traytors to God and the Crowne. Thus was *Kent* diuided, and preparations made to maintaine the faction, according as the Gentlemen ſtood diuerſly affected.

Jan. 27.

Kent diuided in faction.

(30) The Lord of *Aburgauenny* with the Sheriffe, and others, hearing that *Sir Henry Iſley*, and the two *Kneuets*, conductors of fiue hundred Welſhmen, meant their March vnto *Rocheſter*, to ioyne with *Wyat* againſt the Duke of *Norfolke*, who was then come to *Grauеſend* with fiue hundred *Londoners* in the quarrell of the Queene, to intercept that deſigne earely the next morning, they marched with many Kentiſh Yeomen vnto *Barrow greene*, a place that lay directly in their paſſage to *Rocheſter*, where ordering their men, ſtayed the approach of the Enemy: who ſeeing themſelues thus forelaid, turned ſecretly aſide into another by-way, and gotten vnto *Wrotham hill*, ſuppoſing they had beene quit of all danger, diſplayed their Enſignes.

The Duke of *Norfolke* Generall for the Queene.

(31) The Queenes friends thus defeated, were in a maruellous rage, and haſting forward, ouertooke *Sir Henry*, and the two *Kneuets*, before they could aſcend the height of the Hill, where preſently began a moſt hot skirmiſh, many wounds giuen, and many Priſoners taken, till laſtly the ſeditious were ſcattered, and fled; *Sir Henry Iſley* into *Hampſhire*, and others into other parts, a few eſcaping to ioyne with their Conſorts.

The ſeditious put to flight.

(32) The beginning thus vnfortunate, made many to miſdoubt of the end, among whom *Sir George Harper* got from *Wyat*, and ſubmitted himſelfe to the Duke of *Norfolke*, who with *Sir Henry Ierningham* Captaine of the Guard, *Sir Edward Bray*, *Sir Iohn Fog*, and others, vpon Monday the twenty ſeuen of *Ianuary*, came vnto *Stroud* neere *Rocheſter*, and there being buſied in planting of his Ordinance, was certainely told that the *Londoners* meant to betray him: whereat ſore aſtonied, and turning about, he ſaw Captaine *Bret*, and the Band of white Coates at his backe, crying, *VVe are all Engliſhmen, we are all Engliſhmen*: which ſudden conſpiracy cauſed the Duke and the Captaine of the Guard, to ſhift for themſelues, and left their vnfaithfull followers, to the diſpoſe of their owne affections vnto *Wyat*; among whom *Sir George Harper* lately receiued of the Duke, lightly turned againe vnto *Wyat*. This Duke (ſaith *Grafton*) being an aged man, and fortunate before in all his warres, vpon this diſtaſture impreſſed ſuch dolour of minde, that for very griefe thereof he liued not long after.

Treachery in the Queenes Campe.

Rich. Grafton.

(33) *Wyat*, and his aſſociates greatly incouraged by this new ſupply, with eight braſſe Peeces taken of the *Queenes*, beſides other of their owne, marched the next morning vnto *Cowling* Caſtle, where the *Lord Cobham* then lay, and bending theſe Ordinance againſt the Gate, brake it open with their ſhot, and made entrance for their men. The *Lord Cobham* right valiantly reſiſted their doings, and beſtowed freely ſuch ſmall Munition as he had, againſt their breaſts, euen with his owne hands: in which enterprize two of his men were ſlaine, and *Wyat* after ſome talke had with the ſaid Lord, departed vnto *Grauеſend*, where hee with his men were lodged that night.

Iohn Stow. Tueſday the 30. of Ianuary.

Wyat aſſaileth *Cowling* Caſtle.

(34) The next day hee came vnto *Dartford*, whither reſorted *Sir Edward Haſtings*, Maſter of the Horſe, and *Sir Thomas Cornwallis*, Knights, both of them being Priuy Counſellors to the *Queene*. Their comming ſignified, *Sir Thomas Wyat* with certaine Gentlemen went forth to meete them, *Wyat* ſomewhat marching before the reſt with a partizan in his hand, at whoſe approach *Sir Edward Haſtings* alighted, and ſpake vnto him as followeth.

Two Priuy Counſellors ſent vnto *Wyat*.

Sir Edward Haſtings meſſage to *Wyat*. *Holinſh.*

" (35) The *Queenes* Maieſty requireth to vnder-
" ſtand the true cauſe, wherefore you haue gathered
" in Armes her liege people againſt her, which is
" the part of a Traytor, and yet in your Proclama-
" tions you call your ſelfe a true Subiect, both which
" cannot ſtand together. I am no Traytor (quoth
Wyat) and the cauſe why I haue aſſembled the people, is to defend the Realme from danger of being ouer-runne by Strangers, which muſt needs follow, if the marriage take place. Why, ſaid the *Counſellors*, there is no ſtranger yet come, either for power or number whom you need to ſuſpect, therefore if that thing onely be the quarrell, will you that diſlike the marriage, come to communication touching the cauſe, and the *Queene* is content you ſhall be heard. To that I yeeld, ſaid *Sir Thomas Wyat*; but for my further ſurety, I will rather be truſted then truſt; and thereupon demanded (as ſome haue written, ſaith *Hollinſhed*) *The Cuſtody of the Tower, and her Grace within it, as alſo the diſplacing of ſome Counſellors about her, and to place other in their Roomes*: To which the Maſter of the Horſe replyed: *VVyat, before thou ſhalt haue thy trayterous demand granted, thou ſhalt die, and twenty thouſand more with thee*; and ſo theſe Agents departed to the Court, and *VVyat* forth-with came vnto *Deepeford* by *Greenewich*.

Sir Thomas Wyats anſwere.

February 1.

(36) At whoſe approach ſo neere *London*, ſuch feares were poſſeſſed, that beſides thoſe in the *Court* (who inſtigated the *Queene* to remoue into the *Tower*) the *Lord Maior*, Aldermen, and moſt of the Citizens were in Armour, and the Sergeants and Lawyers at *VVeſtminſter* Hall pleaded their cauſes in Harneſſe, at which time it was no need to bid the *Spaniſh Ambaſſadors* be gone; who no more ſtanding to woo for their Maſter, made away by water as faſt as they could: and yet ſome comfort was conceiued by the certaine newes of the diſcomfiture of the *Carewes* and *Gibs*, that were making head in the *Weſt*, now wholly defeated, and fled: which was proclaimed in *London* vpon *Candlemas* Eue: vpon the day of that Feaſt *Queene Mary* to make the City ſure on her ſide, came vnto the *Guild hall*, accompanied with many Courtiers, whither likewiſe were aſſembled the *Lord Maior*, the Aldermen, and the chiefe Citizens in their Liueries: the *Queene* being placed, and all men attending her pleaſure, with very good grace and words well vttered, ſhee ſpake in effect as here inſueth.

Great feares among the people.

The ſeditious in *Cornwall* diſcomfited.

" (28) In my owne perſon I am come vnto you,
" to tell you that, which your ſelues already doe ſee
" and know, I meane the traiterous and ſeditious
" number of the Kentiſh Rebels, that are aſſembled
" againſt vs and you. Their pretence (as they ſay) is
" to reſiſt a marriage betweene vs and the Prince of
" *Spaine*, of all their plots, pretended quarrels, and
" cuill contriued Articles, you haue beene made
" priuy. Since which time, our Councell haue reſor-
" ted to the Rebels, demanding the cauſe of their
" continued enterprize, by whoſe anſwers the mar-
" riage is found to be the leaſt of their quarrell: or
" rather a cloake to couer their pretenſed purpoſes
" againſt our Religion; for, ſwaruing from their for-
" mer Articles, they now manifeſtly bewray the in-
" ward Treaſon of their hearts, moſt arrogantly de-
" manding the poſſeſſion of our perſon, the keeping
" of our Tower, and not onely the placing and diſ-
" placing of our Counſellors: but alſo to vſe them
" and vs at their pleaſures: what I am louing Sub-
" iects, you right well know, your Queene, to whom
" at my Coronation, when I was wedded to the
" Realme, and to the Lawes of the ſame (the ſpou-
" ſall ring whereof I haue on my finger, which neuer

Queene Maries Oration.

M. Fox.

"hitherto was, nor hereafter shall be left off) ye pro-
"mised your alleageance, and obedience vnto me.
"And that I am the right, and true inheritor to the
"English Crowne, I not onely take all Christen-
"dome to witnes, but also your Acts of Parliaments
"confirming the same. My Father (as you all know)
"possessed the regall estate by right of inheritance,
"which now by the same right is discended vnto
"me: to him you alwayes shewed your selues both
"faithfull and louing Subiects, as to your Liege
"Lord and King, and therefore I doubt not but
"you will shew your selues so to me his daughter;
"which if you doe, then may you not suffer any
"rebell to vsurpe the Gouernment of our Person,
"or interpose our estate, especially so presumptu-
"ous a Traytor as this *Wyat* hath shewed himselfe
"to be: who most certainly, as he hath abused our
"ignorant Subiects, to be adherents to his traiterous
"quarrel; so doth he intend by the color of the same,
"to subdue the lawes to his will, and to giue scope
"to the rascall and forlorne persons, to make gene-
"rall hauocke and spoile of your goods. And this I
"say further vnto you in the word of a Prince, I can-
"not tell how naturally a Mother loueth her Chil-
"dren, for I was neuer the Mother of any; but cer-
"tainly if a Prince and Gouernour may as naturally
"loue the Subiects, as the Mother doth her child,
"then assure your selues, that I being your Soue-
"raigne Lady, and Queene, doe as earnestly and
"tenderly loue and fauour your. And I thus louing
"you, cannot but thinke, that you as heartily and
"faithfully loue me againe: and so this loue bound
"together in the knot of concord, we shall be able I
"doubt not, to giue these Rebels a short and speedy
"ouerthrow. Now as concerning my intended
"marriage, you shall vnderstand, that I entred not
"into the treaty thereof, without the aduice of our
"priuy Councel, yea, & by assent of those, to whom
"my Father committed his trust, who haue so consi-
"dered the great commodities that may thereof en-
"sue, as they not onely haue thought it very honou-
"rable, but also expedient, both for the Wealth of
"our Realme, and also of our louing Subiects. But
"as touching my selfe (I assure you) I am not so de-
"sirous of wedding, neither am so precisely wedded
"to my will, that either for mine owne pleasure I wil
"chuse where I list, or else so amorous, as needs I
"must haue one: for I thanke God (to whom be the
"praise) I haue hitherto liued a Virgin, and doubt
"not but with Gods grace to be able to liue so still.
"But if (as my Progenitors haue done before) it
"might please God that I might leaue some fruit
"of my body to be your Gouernour, I trust you
"would not onely reioyce thereat, but also I know
"it would be to your great comfort: and certainly
"if I either did know or thinke, that this marriage
"should either turne to the danger, or losse of any
"of you my louing Subiects, or to the detriment of
"any part of the Royal Estate of this *English Realme*,
"I would neuer consent thereunto, neither would
"I euer marry whilest I liued. And in the word of a
"Queene, I promise and assure you, that if it shall not
"probably appeare before the Nobility and Com-
"mons in the high Court of Parliament, that this
"marriage shall be for the singular benefit and com-
"modity of the whole Realme; that then I will ab-
"staine not onely from this marriage, but also from
"any other. Wherefore good Subiects, plucke vp
"your hearts, and like true men stand fast with your
"lawfull Prince against these Rebels, both ours and
"yours, and feare them not, for (I assure you) I doe
"not: and will leaue with you my Lord *Howard*, and
"my *Lord Treasurer*, to be assistant with my Lord
"Maior, for the safegard of the City from spoile
"and sackage, which is the onely scope of this re-
"bellious Company.

(37) The Oration ended, and the Citizens well pleased, *Queene Mary* with good content returned to the Court, where conferring with her Councell, shee ordained the *Lord William Herbert, Earle of Pembrooke*, Generall of the Field, and gaue forth Proclamation, that whosoeuer could bring *Wyat* either quicke or dead, should be rewarded with an hundred pound Lands by yeere, to him and his posterity for euer.

The Earle of Pembrooke made Lord Generall. *R. Grafton.*

(38) *Wyat* in *Depford*, and knowing what was done, with foureteene Ensignes, and foure thousand strong, vpon *Saturday* the third of *February*, marched towards *London*, at whose approch, the *White Tower* hauing him in danger, shot off her Ordinance, but did misse their marke, some leuelling too farre ouer, and some as much too short. His entrance into *Southwarke* was peaceable, and without all resistance, though many Countrey-men were therein bestowed to with-stand his comming, who contrary to trust, ioyned with the *Kentish*, and then to winne the hearts of the people, he presently made Proclamation, that no Souldier should take away any thing without due payment, and the parties consent: notwithstanding *Winchester* House soone felt the contrary, whose goods were ransacked, the Bookes in the Library cut and defaced, and not a locke left vpon the doores: such spoiles insurrections euer aime at, how faire soeuer they foyle the glasse to the sight.

Stow hath but fiue Ensignes, & two thousand souldiers.

Wyat commeth to *Southwarke*.

The rebels spoile *Winchester* house.

(39) The Suburbs thus his, he assured himselfe the City likewise shortly would be, but comming to the Bridge, he found the Gates fast shut, neither any in hast to open them for him, therefore making a trench at the Bridge-foote, planted two Peeces of Ordinance against the Gate: At S^t *Georges* Church he mounted another, the fourth at the entrance into *Barmondsey-streete*, and the fift towards the Bishop of *Winchesters* House.

Wyat fortifieth *Southwarke*. *Iohn Stow.*

(40) Within the City the Lord Maior, and Lord *William Howard*, caused the draw-bridge to be cut downe, and making fortifications for their defence, placed great Ordinance against the entrance. *Wyat* still thirsting to know the Cities intent, got with some few followers through the Porters lodge vnto the draw-bridge, where being vnseene himselfe, saw the passage too difficult to haue friendly accesse, and thereupon said to his consorts, This place is too hot for vs. Besides, the Tower began to be topped with Ordinance, seauen Culuerings and Demy Cannons leuelled against the Bridge-foote, the Steeples of *Saint Olaues*, and *Saint Mary Oueries*; all the *White-Tower* laden with her Peeces, three Fawconers ouer the water-Gate, and a double Culuering vpon Diuelling Tower: and all these were turned and fearefully charged vpon the Borough of *Southwarke*, which seene, the Inhabitants with great lamentations came vnto *Wyat*, and complayned, that for his cause they were like to be vtterly vndone; who strucken with pitty and remorse of so many, presently remoued his Army towards *Kingston* vpon *Thames*, where finding the Bridge broken downe, with Ladders and Planks he soone repaired it, and so passing the Riuer the same night, came to *Braineford* before he was descried by the Queenes *Scoutes*, the newes whereof sore troubled the Court. *Wyats* hopes were to haue surprised the City vpon the sudden, and therefore made such haste as he did, but being hindred by a Peece of great Ordinance, that was dismounted from the carriage, came not vnto Knights-bridge before it was day.

London fortified against *Wyat*.

Stow.

The Tower fortified against *Wyat*.

Febr. 6. being Shrouetuseday.

Wyat passeth the Thames at *Kingston*.

Richard Grafton

(41) In the same morning the Earle of *Pembrook*, *Lord Generall*, had taken *Saint Iames* Fields, whither *Wyat* and his in good order marched, but seeing the way fore-laid both with foote and horsemen, turned downe the olde lane directly towards *Saint Iames*, whence Captaine *Vaughan* with two Ensignes tooke towards *Westminster*, and *Wyat* along the causey leading to *Charing-Crosse*; the Lord Generals Horsemen, hitherto stood houering aloofe, vntill the enemy was passed, all but the taile, vpon which they violently set, and seuered from the rest, the maine neuer looking backe to releeue their distresse.

February 7. The Queenes armie in Saint *Iames* field.

(42) From

(42) From the higher ground, and along the high way, the great Ordinance played, and *Wyats* againe answered the like, though with small hurt to either, onely one from the Hill slew three of *Wyats* men in a ranke, and strucke through the Bricke-wall into the Parke. *Wyat* passing forward by the battell of footmen, without any impeachment, came to *Charing-Crosse*, where the Lord Chamberlaine, and Sir *Iohn Gage*, stood ready to resist him: but the Kentish Souldiers rushing violently into the streets, forced them into the gates of *White-Hall*, which presently were shut, and a report in the Court that the Lord Generall was reuolted to *Wyat*; all so distracted, that none durst trust others, and no other voice therein heard, but Treason, Treason. Meane while *Wyat*, with such small company as he had, hasted through *Fleet-street*, and came vnto *Ludgate*, where he knocked to haue entrance, and well hoped of further assistance, but was farre deceiued, the gate being guarded against him, with a number of true Citizens, and Bands of the Queenes friends.

Wyat commeth to Ludgate.

(43) But those straglers that had taken into *Westminster*, whereof *Kneuet* was Captaine, seeking to recouer their companions, came before the Court gates, and there made their stand, which being shut against them, shot many of their arrowes into the Garden, yea, and into the windowes of *White-hall*, though without any hurt: from the Court thus guarded against them, they forth-with departed, meaning to follow *Wyat* their Leader into *London*, and marching forward, were met with at *Charing-Crosse*, by Sir *Henry Iernyngham*, Captaine of the Guard, *Sir Edward Bray* Master of the Ordinance, and *Sir Philip Paris* Knights, sent thither by order of the Lord Generall, with a band of Archers, and certaine Field Peeces to secure the Court; their Artillery discharged, they presently ioyne fight with the Rebels at pushe of the Pike, who a while stucke to it manfully; in which conflict was the triall of the day: but as their quarrell was trayterous, so their hearts were soone quelled, each one sauing himselfe by flight, wherein about twenty of those bemired Souldiers were slaine, and no other cry heard, but downe with the Draggle-tailes.

The conflict at Charing-Crosse.

(44) *Wyat* returned from *Ludgate*, sate downe vpon a stall against the common Inne called *Belsauage*, where he began (as it should seeme) to expostulate what his heady rashnesse had done, and the vaine hopes he had conceiued of the Citizens abetments, who seldome take part against the Crowne: he then despairing of further successe, retired backe towards the Court, and was not stayed vntill hee came to *Temple-Barre*, where certaine Horsemen comming from the Field, met him full in the face, betwixt whom began some bickering, till lastly *Clarentius*, King at Armes, came to him, and said; Master *Wyat* you see the day is gone against you, and in resisting you can doe no good, but hazard the death of your Souldiers, and your selfe, to the great perill of your soule. My counsell is, that you were best to yeelde, and perchance you may finde the Queene mercifull, if you stay from further bloudshed.

Wyat returneth from Ludgate.

(45) *Wyat* hereat somewhat astonied, seeing now his whole designes defeated (though his few Souldiers were bent still to fight) answered the Herauld, Well then, If I must needes yeeld, I will yeeld to a Gentleman: to whom Sir *Maurice Barkley* came presently, and bad him mount his Horse behinde, in like manner another tooke vp Sir *Thomas Cobham*, and the third *Thomas Kneuet*, and so carried them vnto the Court, whence in the afternoone, they with the two *Mantels*, and *Alexander Bret*, were committed to the Tower, Sir *Thomas Wyat* wearing a shirt of Male vnder a veluet Cassocke, and the wind-lace of his Dagge hanging about his necke. The next day eleuen Gentlemen more of name and account, were likewise committed to the Tower. In *London* about fifty persons were hanged for *Wyats* conspiracie, and foure hundred more led through the City with halters about their neckes to *Westminster*, where in the Tilt-yard they were all pardoned by the Queene, pronouncing her mercy from the Gallery aboue.

Wyat yeeldeth himselfe.

Febr. 8.

400 persons pardoned by the Queene.

(46) But the Capitall offender Sir *Thomas Wyat* arraigned at *Westminster* vpon case of high Treason, confessed the inditement, and had iudgement of death accordingly, which he suffered vpon the Scaffold on Tower-hill, the eleuenth of *April* following, his words to the people were these; "Good peo-"ple, I am come hither presently to die, being there-"to lawfully and worthily condemned, for I haue "sore offended against God and the Queenes Maie-"stie; I trust God hath forgiuen me, and will take "mercy vpon me; I beseech the Queenes Maiesty "also of forgiuenesse (shee hath forgiuen you quoth "Doctor *Weston*) let euery man beware how he ta-"keth any thing in hand against the higher Powers, "vnlesse God be prosperable to his purpose, it will "neuer take good effect or successe, whereof you "may now learne by me, and I pray God I may be "the last example in this place. But where it is said, "and noysed abroad, that I should accuse the Lady "*Elizabeth* and the Lord *Courtney*, it is not so, good "people: For I assure you, neither they, nor any o-"ther now yonder in hold, was priuy to my rising "before I began, as I haue declared no lesse to the "Queenes Councell, and that is most true. Then said Doctor *Weston*, marke here my masters, he saith that, that which he hath shewed to the Councell in writing of them, is most true. Whereupon *Wyat* put off his Gowne, his doublet, and wast-coate, and knitting a kercheefe ouer his eyes, with most feruent prayers, receiued the stroke of the Axe.

Holinshed. March. 15.

Sir *Tho. Wyat*, beheaded.

Wyats words at his death.

(47) *Alexander Bret*, and twenty two Kentish persons besides, were executed in diuers parts of that County: others were likewise arraigned for the same Conspiracy, as Sir *Nicholas Throckmorton*, and Sir *Iames Croft*, the one quit by his Inquest, the other pardoned of life by the Queene. Many others were suspected as ayders vnto *Wyat*, and his enterprise, among whom the Lord *Courtney*, and the Princesse *Elizabeth*, sister to the Queene, were not the least, and therefore both of them committed to the Tower: of which Ladies troubles, innocency, and truth, thus we find related.

Sir *Nich. Throck-morton* and Sir *Iames Croft* arraigned.

Lady *Elizabeths* troubles.

(48) These Virgine Princes were not so neerely linked in bloud and nature, as they were separated asunder in affecting Religion, and that being the prime cause for which these commotions were raised, Queene *Mary* much suspected her sister to be a principall mouer therein. The iealousie whereof, *Gardiner* of *Winchester* did further inflame, by blowing Coniectures into her eare: so that needes the Princesse must be sent for, then lying sicke at her Mannor of *Ashridge*, euen the next day after that *Wyat* rose. The messengers were, *Sir Iohn Williams*, *Sir Edward Hastings*, and *Sir Thomas Cornwallis*, all three Priuy Counsellors, with a troope of Horsemen, in number two hundred and fifty.

Lady *Elizabeth* sore sicke is sent for.

M. *Fox* Act. & Monuments. 2288.

(49) These comming to *Ashridge* at ten in the night, suddenly ascended into her Priuy Chamber, and making it knowne they came from the Queene, had present accesse into her Bed-Chamber; where the said Lady lay very sore sicke: their first salutations were, that they were sorry to see her in that estate, and I am not glad, said shee, to see you here at this time of the night; Madam, quoth they, our Message requires haste, and the Queenes pleasure is, that you shall bee at *London* the seuenth of this moneth. No Creature gladder to come to her Maiesty then I (said Lady *Elizabeth*) being right sorry that I am not in case at this time to attend her Grace, as your selues here see. Indeed (said they) for that we see, we are heartily sorry, but our commission is, that wee bring you to *London* either quicke or dead, whereat shee being greatly amazed, sorrowfully said, shee well hoped their commission was nothing

The conference of the three Counsellors with Lady *Elizabeth*.

so ſtrait, but they calling for two Doctors of Phiſick, demanded whether ſhee might be remoued with life, and that being reſolued, bad her prepare againſt the next morning, and ſo left this innocent Princeſſe very ſore perplexed the reſt of the night.

Lady *Elizabeth* as a Priſoner conueyed to the Court.

(50) The next morning approched, and ſhee in no better plight, notwithſtanding was led forth more like a Priſoner then a Prince, which the people in euery place as ſhee paſſed, did much lament, and ſtrongly guarded, was ſo conueyed vnto the Court, where for foureteene dayes ſpace, ſhee comfortleſſe continued without ſight of friend, the Queene or any Lords, thoſe onely excepted that attended the dores, which were the Lord Chamberlaine, and Sir *Iohn Gage*.

Princeſſe *Elizabeth* examined of treaſon.

(51) Vpon Friday before Palme Sunday, *Gardiner* of *Wincheſter*, and nine more of the Councell, came into her preſence, and there charged her both with *Wyats* Conſpiracy, and the ſtirres lately made in the Weſt parts, by Sir *Peter Carew*, and others, which ſhee moſt conſtantly denyed: but in concluſion, they told her it was the *Queenes* pleaſure, that ſhee ſhould forth-with goe to the Tower, the name of which dolefull priſon, ſtrucke deepe to her heart. I truſt (ſaid ſhee) her Maieſty will be farre more gracious, then to commit to that place a true and moſt innocent woman, that neuer had offended her in thought, word, nor deed. And thereupon inſtantly deſired thoſe Lords to be a meane for her vnto the Queene: which ſome of them promiſed, and much pittied her caſe. But about an houre after, came foure of theſe Lords againe, namely, *Wincheſter*, the *Treaſurer*, the *Steward*, and *Suſſex*: with a charge to diſcharge her of all attendants, ſauing onely her Gentleman Vſher, three Gentlewomen, and two Groomes of her Chamber, the Guard was ſet to ward in the next roomes; two Lords with bands of men to watch in the Hall, and two hundred Northerne white Coates in the Garden, thus all was made ſure, and ſhee kept from ſtarting.

The honourable parts of the Earle of *Suſſex*.

(52) The next day came vnto her two Lords of the Councell, with commandement from the Queen to haue her to the Tower, they roundly told her, her Barge was prepared, and that the Tide would tarry for no body: this heauy newes encreaſed this diſtreſſed Ladies penſiueneſſe, who in moſt humble wiſe became Petitioner vnto their Lordſhips, that ſhee might ſtay vntill the next Tide, which as ſhee well hoped, would proue more comfortable; but the one of them being more forward in his Commiſſion then the other, flatly told her, that neither tide nor time ſhould bee delayed. Whereupon her Grace deſired ſhee might write to the Queene: he againe anſwered, that he durſt not ſuffer it, neither in his iudgement was it conuenient: but the other more milder (which was the Earle of *Suſſex*) kneeling downe, told her, that her Grace ſhould haue liberty to write her minde: ſwearing as he was a true man, himſelfe would deliuer it into the Queenes hand, and bring her the anſwere, whatſoeuer came of it: which honourable permiſſion was then moſt thankfully taken, and afterward moſt highly eſteemed in her Princely fauours towards that honourable man; but in writing this Letter or Petition to the Queene, the Tide was turned, and ſerued not to ſhoote the Bridge with a Barge; therefore it was priuily determined, to take the aduantage of the next, which with better aduiſement was againe deferred, for that it fell about midnight, whence roſe a feare, that ſhee might bee forceably taken from them before ſhee came to the Tower: and ſo with great prouidence was that danger preuented.

Lady *Elizabeth* carried priſoner vnto the Tower.

(53) The next day being Palme Sunday, ſerued well for their purpoſe, when as vnder pretext of deuotion, the Citizens of *London* were commanded to carry their Palmes to the Church, whileſt her Barge might be paſſed by without ſight, or any ſuſpect. And to that purpoſe, the foreſaid two Noblemen, about nine of the Clocke repayred vnto her, ſhewing that the time was now come, that her Grace muſt goe to the Tower; to which ſhee anſwered, the Lords will be done, I am contented: ſeeing it is the Queenes minde: and comming into the Garden to take Barge, ſhee caſt her eyes towards euery Window, hoping to ſee ſome that would pitty her caſe, but that alſo failing, ſhee ſighed, and ſaid; *I maruell what the Nobility meane, to ſuffer me a Prince to be led into Captiuitie, the Lord knowes whither, for my ſelfe doe not.*

The ſeuere and hard dealings againſt the Princeſſe *Elizabeth*.

(54) Great haſte was made to the Barge, and as much to get by *London* vnſeene: but the Tyde yong, and not fully come in, the fall of the water at the Bridge was ſo great, as the Bargemen themſelues feared to paſſe thereunder, and motioned a ſtay till the ſtreame were more leuel, which in no wiſe wold be heard: whereupon they paſſed the Arch with ſuch danger, as the ſterne of the boate ſtrucke againſt the ground; and come to the ſtaires, could not take land without ſtepping into the water, which this tender, and newly recouered Princeſſe was forced to doe, in which paſſage ſhe vttered theſe words: *I ſpeake before thee, O God, hauing none other friend but thee onely; here landeth as true a ſubiect, being priſoner, as euer landed at theſe ſtaires;* to which the ſeuerall Lords anſwered, if it were ſo, it was the better for her. Shee come into the gate, a great number of Seruants and Warders of the Tower ſtood to guard her, through whom as ſhee paſſed, the poore men kneeling down, with one voyce, deſired God to preſerue her Grace, whereof ſome were rebuked, and others put from their Ordinary the next day.

The conſtant patience of Lady *Elizabeth*.

(55) Then paſſing ſomewhat further, both faint and vncomfortable, ſhee reſted her ſelfe vpon a cold ſtone, to whom M. *Bridges*, the Lieutenant then being, ſaid; *Madam, you were beſt to come out of the raine, for you ſit vnwholſomely*; to whom ſhee replyed, *Better ſit here, then in a worſe place; for God knoweth, and not I, whether you will bring me*: At which her ſorrowfull and dejected anſwer, her Gentleman Vſher, a ſeruant moſt loyall and louing to his Miſtreſſe, among many others brake forth into flouds of teares, the witneſſes commonly of all inward griefe, which he Princeſſe perceiuing, reproued, demanding what he meant, ſo to diſcourage her, ſeeing ſhee tooke him to be her Comforter, and eſpecially knowing her truth to be ſuch, as that no man ſhould haue any cauſe to weepe for her.

The Earle of *Suſſex* moſt firme for Lady *Elizabeth*.

(56) Shee ſafely beſtowed, and the dores made faſt with lockes and bolts, was there comfortleſſe left in the dolefull priſon, where calling for her booke, and her few ſeruants about her, ſhee fell vnto prayers, deſiring God to proſper her worke, that ſhe might build vpon the rocke Chriſt: whereby theſe bluſtring tempeſts thus ſuddenly riſen, might not preuaile againſt her foundation. Meane while the Lords were as circumſpect, how ſhee might be kept ſure; many among them propounded, that it was moſt needfull ſhee ſhould be cloſe priſoner, and a ſtrong guard ſet to watch her doore; againſt which the Lord *Suſſex* replyed, and ſaid: *My Lords, let vs take heede wee goe not beyond our Commiſſion, ſhee was our Kings Daughter, and is wee know the Prince next in bloud, therefore let vs ſo deale with her now, that if it ſo happen, wee may anſwer our doings vnto her another day.*

Lady *Elizabeth* commanded to haue Maſſe in her lodgings.

(57) Two dayes ſpent thus in the Tower, and Gods diuine ſeruice celebrated in *Engliſh*, it was commanded to haue Maſſe in her lodgings; and to that end two of her Yeomen were appointed to anſwer the Prieſt, which was as vnwillingly done, as the deuotion was ſmall. Then were the fauourites examined, yea, and * ſome of them with torture, and all to finde a fit knife to cut her innocent throate, that ſo *Wincheſter* might waſh his white Rochet in her purple bloud; who being Lord Chancellor, and Ruler of the reſt, came into the Tower to examine her himſelfe, with ſome others of the Queens Councell: Shee then brought before them, was demanded

* *Edmund Tremaine.*

ded of the talke ſhee had with Sir *Iames Croft* (a priſoner in the Tower, and then brought to her preſence) concerning her remooving from *Aſhridge* vnto *Dunnington* Caſtell: My Lords (ſaid ſhee) mee thinks you doe mee wrong to examine euery mean Priſoner againſt me, if they haue done euill let them anſwere for it, I pray you ioyne mee not with ſuch offenders; as touching my remoue to *Dunnington*, mine officers, and you Sir *Iames Croft* can tell; but what is this to the purpoſe, might I not, my Lords, goe to mine owne houſes at all times? whereunto the Lord of *Arundell* kneeling downe, anſwered that her grace ſaid truth, and that himſelfe was ſorry to ſee her troubled about ſuch vaine matters: well my Lords (ſaid ſhee) you ſift mee narrowly, but you can doe no more then God hath appointed, vnto whom I pray to forgiue you all.

Lady *Elizabeth* againe examined of Treaſon.

(58) No fault appearing, nor offence found, yet was ſhee ſtill retained in that cloſe and ſorrowfull priſon, and for want of freſh aire, her health began to be empaired; whereupon the Lord *Shandoys* one of her keepers, obtained that ſhee might walke into the Queens lodgings, the windowes being ſhut onely in preſence of himſelfe, the Lord Chamberlaine, and three of the Queenes Gentlewowen ſent her for the ſame purpoſe; which fauour was further increaſed by liberty to walke into the Garden, the other priſoners commanded not ſo much as to looke into the place while her Grace remained therein.

Liberty obtained to walke in the Garden.

(59) During which time there vſually repaired vnto her a little boy, about foure yeeres of age (a mans ſonne of the Tower) in whoſe pretty pratling ſhee tooke great pleaſure; his vſe was to bring her flowers, and to receiue at her hands ſuch things as commonly pleaſe Children: which laſtly brought a great ſuſpition into the Lord Chamberlaines working head, that by this Child letters were brough betwixt the Princes *Elizabeth*, and the L. *Courtney*, whereupon the boy was threatned, and his Father commanded not to ſuffer him any more to reſort to her Grace: which notwithſtanding, the next day hee did, but the dore being ſhut, and hee peeping through a hole, cried vnto her, Miſtreſſe I can bring you no more flowers now.

A child ſuſpected and forbidden to viſite Lady *Elizabeth*.

(60) It was reported (ſaith *Fox*) if the relation be true, that a Writte ſubſcribed vnder certain Councellors hands, was directed for the preſent death of the Lady *Elizabeth*, which hee doth wholy impute vnto *Winchesters* working: This ſudden charge giuen for her preſent execution, ſore grieued M. *Bridges* then Lieutenant of the Tower, who forthwith repaired vnto the Queene, to know her further pleaſure therein: but ſhee being altogether ignorant of any ſuch warrant, blamed the doers and gaue a contrary command, whereby was preſerued the life of her ſiſter: which howſoeuer (to the diſtaſture of her enemies) it was prolonged, yet her State of liues ſecurity ſeemed little better, and her feares preſently conceiued, were nothing the leſſe: for the Conſtable diſcharged, Sir *Henrie Benifield* a more ſeuere Iaylor was placed in his room, who with an hundred Souldiers in blew coates entred vpon his charge: at ſight whereof the fearefull Princes demanded, whether the Scaffold whereon Lady *Iane* ſuffered was ſtill ſtanding: or whether Sir *Henry* (a man to her altogether vnknowne) made any conſcience of murther, if hers was committed vnto his charge.

M. Fox. Acts and Mon. 2294.

A Warrant ſigned to execute Lady *Elizabeth*.

Sir *Henry Benifield* his ſeueries and Story.

(61) The nineteenth of May her Grace was remoued from the Tower towards *Woodſtocke*, Sir *Henrie Benifield* being her conductor, vnto whom Sir *Iohn Williams* Lord *Tame* was ioined in Commiſſion. The firſt night ſhee was brought vnto *Richmond*, where all her owne ſeruants were remoued from her preſence, and the [redacted] Souldiers ſet to attend her perſon; by which ſeuere beginnings, ſhee much doubted that her dayes were neere ſpent, and in that place her life muſt take end: whereupon calling together her ſeruants, deſired them to pray for her; for this night (ſaid ſhee) I thinke I muſt die; which lamentable words drew fountaines of teares out of their eyes; and thereupon her Gentleman Vſher went downe vnto the Lord *Tame* in the Court, deſiring him vnfainedly to ſhew, whether his Lady and Miſtreſſe that night were in danger of death, whereby himſelfe and fellowes might take ſuch part as God would appoint. Marry God forbid, quoth the Lord *Tame*, that any ſuch wickedneſſe ſhould bee intended, which rather then it ſhould bee wrought, I and my men will die at her foote.

Lady *Elizabeth* is remoued to *Woodſtocke*.

The great feare of Lady *Elizabeth*.

(62) With no greater comfort proceeded ſhee towards *Woodſtocke*: Sir *Henry* her Iaylor (as ſhee termed him) euer carrying ſo hard a hand in his Commiſſion; that the people who with teares preſſed to meet her in the paſſage, and with prayers ſaluted her in moſt louing manner, he both threatned, and draue backe, calling them Traytors and Rebels againſt the Queene and her Lawes; and whereas in certaine villages Bels were rung as ſhee paſſed for ioy (as they conceiued) of her deliuerance, Sir *Henry Benifielde* tooke the matter ſo diſtaſtfull, that he commanded the bels to ſurceaſe, and ſet the ringers thereof in the ſtockes; ſo that not without cauſe this louing Lady ſent this word vnto her poore ſeruants, and well wiſhing friends, *Tanquam onis*, as a ſheepe to the ſlaughter, ſo am I led: And ſurely had not the Lord *Tame* been more comfortable in his place vnto this diſtreſſed Princeſſe, her ſpirit of hopes had been ſpent before the conduction of her perſon had beene accompliſhed.

The ioy that the People conceiued of Lady *Elizabeths* deliuerance.

(63) Neither in *Woodſtocke* was her liberty much enlarged, nor feares any leſſe, ſhee being incloſed in none of the beſt lodgings, garded with Souldiers both day and night; and although ſhee had leaue into ſome Gardens, yet were fiue or ſixe lockes betwixt her walke and her lodgings, and all made faſt after her entrance. It was alſo ſuſpected that the Keeper of *Woodſtocke*, a notorious Ruffian, was inſtigated to kill this innocent Princeſſe, as alſo that one *Baſſet* a Darling of Biſhop *Gardiners*, came to *Bladenbridge*, a mile from *Woodſtocke*, accompanied with twenty men in priuy Coates, earneſtly deſiring to ſpeake with Lady *Elizabeth*, pretending ſecret and importunate buſineſſe: but Sir *Henry* her Keeper gone to the Court, had giuen ſtraight charge to his brother, that none ſhould haue acceſſe vnto her before his returne, though they came from the Councell, or Queene her ſelfe. Whereby that deſigne was happily loſt. What his errand was, I will not determine, but others haue conceiued it was for no good.

Lady *Elizabeth* priſoner in *Woodſtocke*.

Lady *Elizabeth* in danger to bee murthered.

(64) Another accident alſo hapned, whether of purpoſe, or otherwiſe, I cannot ſay; but ſurely it was to the danger of her life: for on the ſudden her lodgings were on fire, which began to kindle betwixt the boards and ſeeling vnder the Chamber where ſhee lay, and was vehemently miſtruſted to be purpoſely done. Theſe and the like feares daily hapning, drew the diſtreſſed Princeſſe into many paſſions, whereof one is reported, that ſhee ſitting ſolitary at her Priſon window, chanced to ſee a Maide of *Woodſtock* in the Parke milking of Kine, and as ſhee ſate, merrily to ſing ouer her Pale, which ſtrucke this ſad penſiue Priſoner into a deepe meditation, preferring the Maides fortunes farre aboue her owne, and heartily wiſhed that her ſelfe were a Milke-maide, into ſuch diſtreſſe was her Princely birth brought, in which comfortleſſe thraldome, we will a while leaue her, and returne to ſpeake of matters in the Court.

Elizabeths lodgings on fire.

A poore liberty preferred aboue a Princely captiuity.

(65) Queene *Mary* being now chiefe Pilot her ſelfe, and ſet at the helme of all Soueraigne power, ſteered the ſterne of her zealous affections, according to her owne liking; when preſently vpon her Coronation began a Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, and a Conuocation in the Cathedrall Church of Saint *Paules* in *London*, where ſhee commanded a free diſputation for Religion, without any danger of offence.

A.D. 1553.

Octob. 18.

fence. The questions to bee controuersed, were concerning a Catechisme set forth in King *Edwards* dayes, and the presence of Christ in the Sacrament of his Supper. For Popish Transubstantiation stood Disputers Doctor *Moreman*, Doctor *Watson*, Doctor *Chedsey*, Master *Harpsfield*, and Master *Morgan*, D. *Weston* Dean of *Westminster* apointed for Prolocutor: For Christs spirituall presence were M. *Haddon*. M. *Elmar*, M. *Cheyney*, M. *Philpot*, and Master *Perne*, these meeting 6 seueral daies disputed only vpon the last question: but with such disagreement, as lastly Q. *Marie* commanded *Boner* to dissolue the assembly, without any Subscriptions to the assertions premised.

A disputation for Religion.

Decemb. 13

(66) And not long after *Thomas Cranmer* Archbishop of *Canterburie*, *Nicolas Ridley* Bishop of *London*, and *Hugh Latimer* sometimes Bishop of *Worcester*, were sent from the Tower of *London* vnto *Oxford* to dispute vpon the saide Argument against Doctor *Tresham*, Doctor *Cole*, Doctor *Oglethorpe*, Doctor *Pie*, Master *Harpsfield*, and Master *Pecknam*, all *Oxford* men, vnto whom from *Cambridge* were ioyned Doctor *Yonge*, Doctor *Glinne*, Doctor *Seton*, Doctor *Watson*, Doctor *Sedgewicke*, and Doctor *Atkinson*, Doctor *Weston* againe being Prolocutor: the

Cranmer, Ridley and *Latimer* sent vnto *Oxford*.

A.D. 1554.

disputation beganne vpon the sixteenth of *Aprill*, and ended the twentieth of the same moneth, with the sentence of those three Bishoppes deaths, which through fire gaue testimony of their faithes, a yeere and sixe moneths after in the Towne Ditch of *Oxford*: whose disputations, letters, and last endes, are largely set down by M. *Iohn Fox* in his Acts and Monuments of the Church, vnto whom I refer the desirous reader, lest by enlarging of them, the course of our temporall story should bee ouermuch interrupted with matters Ecclesiasticall of those sorrowfull times.

They are burned

(67) Queen *Marie* intending her marriage with *Spaine*, great feares were conceiued that many calamities would follow, aswell to the Church, reformed from abuses, as for the politicke proceedings of the Kingdomes affaires; which as some tooke was prognosticated euen from heauen it selfe, by a Raine-bow reuersed, the bow turned downward, & the two ends standing vpward, as also by two Suns shining at one time, and a good distance asunder in the Skies, both which sights appeared in *London* the fifteenth of February.

M. Fox in *Acts & Mon. p.* 1637.

(68) In which City a Parliament to that purpose was assembled, wherein by statute the marriage was confirmed, though with no lesse liking of those times obseruers, then was the marriage desired which is fained of the Sunne: to hinder whose purpose, the world is said to haue made suite vnto *Iupiter*, lest hauing more Sunnes then one, the whole frame of the Globe should bee set on fire. These distastiue stomackes *Queene Mary* well perceiued, therefore to giue them content, shee wrote her letters into the West, and to *Wales*, charging the Lord President, the Bishoppes of *Oxford* and *Salisburie*, to intimate the benefite thereof to the whole land, as much as might bee, neither was *London* forgotten, whose Lord Maior and Commons were sent for to the Court, and there by the Lord Chancellor tolde how by this match all the Realme would be enriched, but especially *London* by their trade and trafficke with *Spaine*.

An Act in the 2. yeare of Queen *Mary* c. 2.

In her letters sent them signed with her hand.

(69) Vnto *Spaine* were sent the Earle of *Bedford*, and the L. *Fitzwaters* to conduct K. *Philip* into *England*; the Lord Admirall with twenty eight shippes securing the seas the space of three moneths before: all things thus ordered, and *Philip* in a readines tooke Barke at *Corona* in *Galacia*, and with a Nauie of an hundred and fifty saile directed his course for his Queene.

(70) Vpon Friday the twentieth of Iuly, hee arriued at *Southampton*, and was the first man of that Fleet that set foot on the shore, which no sooner done, but he drew his Sword, and so bare it naked in his hand as he went. The Earle of *Arundell* L. Steward of the Queenes house, presented to his Highnesse the *George* and *Garter*, and the Maior of *South hampton* the Keyes of the Towne: thither was sent the Lord Chancellor from the Queene, and hee againe sent of his Nobles vnto her, who was on the way vnto *Winchester*, to welcome him herselfe: towards which City vpon Munday following, hee set forth, being accompanied with the Marquesse of *Winchester*, the Earles of *Arundell*, *Darby*, *Worchester*, *Bedford*, *Rutland*, *Pembroke*, and *Surrey*, the Lordes *Clinton*, *Cobham*, *Willoughby*, *Darcy*, *Matreuers*, *Talbot*, *Strange*, *Fitzwaren*, and *North*: besides many Knights and gallant Gentlemen. His Spanish traine were the Dukes of *Alua*, an *Medina Cœli*, the Admirall of *Castilla*, the Marquesses of *Burgues*, *Piscara*, *Saria*, *Valli*, *Aguillar*, the Earles of *Egmund*, *Horne*, *Feria*, *Chinchon*, *Oliuares*, *Saldana*, *Modica*, *Euentesalida*, *Landriano*, *Castellar*, the Bishop of *Cuenca*, and others: so that more honourable attendants had seldome been seen.

The honourable traines of the two Princes.

(71) And surely the Couenants were as honourable for *England* that were agreed vpon betwixt them, which were branched into tenne Propositions.

1 First was, that *Philip* should bee stiled King of *England* during the Matrimony, and should assist his Queene in gouernement, but not dispose of any Lands, Offices, Benefices, or Reuenewes in the Realme.

Holinsh. p. 1118.

2 That *Marie* by vertue of this marriage, should bee admitted Queene of the Realmes and Dominions of *Spaine* already possessed, as of all others, that were appropriated vnto the same, during the Matrimony.

3 That for Dowry shee should receiue yeerely threescore thousand pound Flemish, if in case she ouerliued King *Philip* her husband.

4 That the Issue proceeding of this marriage either male or female in the right of their mothers inheritance, in the Kingdomes either of *England*, or other Dominions depending, should succeed in them according to the lawes, statutes, and customes of the same.

5 That if it chanced *Charles* Duke of *Austrich*, the Infant of *Spaine* to die without Issue, then the eldest sonne of this Matrimony should succeed in all the Dukedomes, Earledomes, Dominions and Patrimoniall lands belonging vnto *Charles* the Emperour, father to the Prince of *Spaine* aswell in *Burgoign* as in the low Countries, in the Dukedomes of *Brabant*, *Luxenburgh*, *Gelderland*, *Zutphane*, *Freeseland*, in the Countries of *Flanders*, *Artois*, *Holland*, *Zeeland*, *Namure*, and the land beyond the Iles.

6 That the Dominions of the low Country, and of Burgundy should be excluded from the Patrimoniall descent of the said Lord *Charles*, notwithstanding his Issue remained, and should bee enioyed by the eldest borne of this marriage without further claime to any other Dominions belonging vnto *Spaine*: and the rest of the Children thereof proceeding, to haue conuenient portions and Dowry assined them aswell out of those Countries, as out of *England* and the others adioined.

7 That if no issue male were borne of this marriage, then the Eldest female should possesse those Dominions, prouided that she shold marry a nobleman, either of the *Low Country* or of the Realme of *England*, otherwise the right of the Succession should remaine in the Lord *Charles*, yet not so cut off, but that shee with the other daughters begot in this marriage, should bee endowed of their fathers Lands and possessions, aswell in *Spaine* as in the *Low Countries*.

8 That for want of Issue by the Lord *Charles*, and of heire male procreated by this marriage, in that case the eldest daughter of K. *Philip* and Q. *Marie* should succeed both in the Territories of the Low Countries, as also in the Realmes of *England*, *Spaine*,

King *Philip* arriued in *England*.

Spaine, and the reſt, after the nature, lawes and cuſtomes of the ſame.

9 That who ſo ſucceeded, either hee or ſhee, yet ſhould the ſeuerall Dominions be gouerned by the Natiues borne in the Realmes, wholly and intirely after the priuiledges, rites and accuſtomed manner formerly vſed.

10 That a ſincere fraternity, vnity and peace, ſhould bee confirmed for euer betwixt theſe Nations, ſo as they ſhould mutually aide each other in all things, according to the ſtrength, forme and effect treated of at *Weſtminſter*, and ſubſcribed vnto at *Vtericke*.

(72) As theſe were agreed vpon for the Generall, ſo other particulars were articuled with the King himſelfe, which were as followeth.

1 That he ſhould not beſtow the adminiſtration of offices or benefices in the Realme of *England*, to any ſtranger or perſon not borne vnto the Engliſh ſubiection.

2 That his Court ſhould bee repleniſhed with Gentlemen and Yeomen the Natiues of the Land.

3 That hee ſhould make no inuaſion of ſtate againſt the Lawes and Cuſtomes of the Realme, neither violate the Priuiledges thereto belonging.

4 That hee ſhould not carry the Queene out of her owne Dominions, without her ſpeciall deſire, nor none of her Children without conſent of her Nobility.

5 That if ſhee ſhould die iſſuleſſe, hee ſhould Challenge no right in the Kingdome, but ſhould ſuffer the ſucceſſion to come to her next.

6 That he ſhould not carry or ſuffer to be carried out of the Realme, either Iewels, or other things of eſpeciall eſtimation, but ſhould faithfully keepe them for the profit of the Engliſh Crowne.

7 That hee ſhould not ſuffer any ſhips, gunnes, Ordinance and other munition of warre to bee conueied out of the Realme, but ſhould ſee all the Forts and Frontiers of the Land kept, and the ſame ſufficiently ſtored for their defence.

8 That neither directly nor indirectly, the Realme of *England* ſhould bee intangled with the warres of his Father, and the French King, neither that himſelfe ſhould giue any cauſe for the breach of peace betwixt the two Realmes.

Philip and *Mary* married at *Winchester*. A.D.1554.

(73) Things thus ordered, with conſent of all parties, the marriage with great ſtate was ſolemnized at *Wincheſter*, vpon Wedneſday being the 25. of Iuly and Saint *Iames* day, where the Emperours Embaſſadors preſently pronounced, that in conſideration of this marriage, their maſter had giuen vnto his ſonne *Philip*, the Kingdomes of *Naples* and *Ieruſalem*, whereupon their Titles by *Garter* King at Armes, was ſolemnely proclaimed with theſe ſtiles as followeth.

The large ſtile of King *Philip* and Queene *Mary*.

> *Philip and Mary by the Grace of God, King and Queene of England, France, Naples, Ieruſalem, and Ireland, Defendor of the Faith, Princes of Spaine and Cecil, Archdukes of Auſtrich, Dukes of Millan, Burgundie and Brabant, Counties of Haſpurge, Flanders and Tyroll.*

Philip and *Mary* in great eſtate paſſe through *London*.

(74) And according to the ſtiles, ſo was the Maieſty of their proceedings, hauing two Swords borne before them as they went from the Church; with other Emperiall Enſines of their great Magnificence; which nothing was leſſened in their paſſage through *London*; where Engliſh eies beheld *Philip*, after the affections of their owne hearts, ſome reioicing as *Iſrael*, that *Ieroboams* golden calues ſhould be againe erected, and ſome ſorrowing as *Iudah*, that the Braſen Serpent was not broken, all of them aſſured, that this *Salomons* ſufferance and his wiues zeale, would build againe the Altars that had been caſt down.

1. King. 11.

(75) The experience whereof *Queene Mary* her ſelfe had giuen, euen before ſhee was crowned, in cauſing the Latine Seruice againe to bee ſaid, in diſplacing the reformed Biſhops, and in publiſhing a moſt ſtraight prohibition againſt preaching, and printed Engliſh Bookes: to all which ſome time-ſeruing Church-men gaue their conſents, ſcandalizing not onely the liues of the miniſters, but alſo the ſcriptures tranſlation, and the iuſt proceedings of King *Edwards* time; againſt all which, Maſter *Bourn* in a publike Sermon made at *Pauls-Croſſe* (in the preſence of the Lord Maior and *Bonner* his Maſter) ſo liberally inueighed, as that one of his Auditors with more diſtaſte then diſcretion, and more zeale then Religion, threw a Dagger at him to his great danger, and no leſſe feare, and ſuch threats murmured againſt him by the people his auditory, as had not Maſter *Bradford* ſtepped vp in his roome, and perſwaded them vnto quietnes, it had ſurely coſt the preacher his life, which cauſed the *Croſſe* the next Sabboth to bee guarded by the Queenes Guard, whilſt the Preacher continued in the pulpit.

Auguſt. 13. Anno 1553.

A dagger thrown at the Preacher.

(76) And againe the like offence was conceiued againſt Doctor *Pendleton*, who in the next yeere after, and in the ſame place had a gunne deſperatly diſcharged againſt him: vnto ſuch hatred their Doctrine did driue them, and vnto ſuch ſinne the ouerferuent affectioned lay many times expoſed: And no leſſe was that Diabolicall deuice of certaine giddy reformers, who had taught a Maide ſo to ſpeake in a wall, as her hearers beleeued it was the voice of an Angell, being none other, but moſt ſeditious ſpeeches againſt the Queenes proceedings, the Prince of *Spaine*, the Maſſe, and Confeſſion. In mockage whereof alſo a Cat was hanged on a gallowes neere vnto the Croſſe in Cheape, her head ſhorne, and wearing a veſture faſhioned like vnto a Cope, her fore-feet tyed with a round paper betwixt, like vnto the papiſticall conſecrated bread; and in that manner the eighth of *Aprill* was ſhewed by the Preacher at *Pauls-Croſſe*, both to the offence and content of the Spectators; and to deride the ridiculous Idolatries of the time then in vſe, vpon Eaſter day the ſame yeere, and in the ſame Cheape, as the Prieſt of Saint *Pancraſſe* came to celebrate the reſurrection, and after the accuſtomed manner put his hand into the Sepulchre for the Crucifix (therein purpoſely beſtowed) when he vſed the words of the Euangeliſt very deuoutly: *Surrexit non eſt hic*, He is riſen and not heere: found it ſo indeed, for that his God was gotten away, and could neuer after be found.

Iune 10. Anno 1554.

A gun diſcharged againſt the Preacher.

The Spirit in the wall.

A Cat hanged in Cheape.

March 5.

(77) Theſe things (ſaith *Fox*) cauſed both the Queen, and biſhops, to conceiue an euill opinion of the *Londoners*; as too much fauouring of King *Edwards* reformation, for which cauſe *Bonner* commanded all Scriptures printings vpon their Churches walles, to bee blotted out; and many other iniunctions to be inquired after. But from theſe vain trifles let vs returne to more ſerious matters in the enſuing Hiſtory.

M. *Fox* Act. & Monuments.

(78) Queen *Mary* erecting the Maſſe, and leauing the title of Supremacy to the Pope, ſent for her kinſman Cardinall *Poole* to be her directer in thoſe great buſineſſes, who had been a long time in forraigne parts, and euer a fauorite vnto the See of Rome, whoſe life vntill this time, we will briefly run ouer, ſo many dependances of ſtory relying vpon him.

The life and ſtory of Cardinall *Poole*.

(79) He was the ſonne of *Margaret* Counteſſe of *Salisburie*, the ſecond childe, and only daughter of *George Duke of Clarence*, ſecond brother vnto King *Edward* the fourth: whoſe youth was ſpent in litterature at *Magdalen Colledge* in *Oxford*; and ſtate increaſed by King *Henrie* his kinſman, in beſtowing vpon him the Deanry of *Exceſter*. Then trauelled he into *Italy*, and at *Padua* ſtudied ſeuen yeeres, in which time the King hauing aboliſhed the Pope, he was ſent for into *England*, but refuſing to returne, was

was proclaimed Traitor, and his Deanery giuen to another: which his losse was presently repaied by his holy Father, in making him Cardinall, and imploying him in many Ambassages, both to the Emperor and French King, with whom he euer dealt against K. *Henry*, and solicited others by letters to forsake his friendship and obedience, which his doing brought many into danger, and for which lastly his own mother lost her Head.

Poole made Cardinall.

(78) Then was he made Legate of *Viterbion*, where he determined to haue led a more quiet life: but *Pope Paul* the third summoning the obtruded Councell of *Trent*, appointed *Poole* with two others to be his Vicegerents: Though indeed this Cardinall was none of the forwardest in the matter of iustification, vnto whose opinion therein he drew one *Morrel* a learned *Spaniard*, who of purpose was sent to dispute the Popes Doctrine in that Councell.

(79) But this *Holy Father* leauing his Chaire empty by death, a faction fell among the Electors, some for the *French*, and some for the Emperour, which last light vpon *Poole*, & choose him for Pope. He altogether Imperial, desired a more orderly election supposing himselfe so gracious in the eyes of most that the same would be continued to his greater praise.

Poole elected Pope. *Goodwin* liues of Bishops.

(80) But the French faction working vpon the aduantage, put the rest in minde of the Emperials sacking of *Rome*, the imprisonment and iests that were made of the Pope, the absence of many Cardinals Electors, whose voices they knew not, yea and *Cardinall Caraffa*, alleaged particular exception against *Poole* the elected, charging him (as *Pasquill* likewise did) with incontinency of body, as also of Heresie, for arguing vpon a iustifying faith in the Councell of *Trent*, for frequenting company with *Anthonie Flaminius* a knowne Protestant, and since he was Legate, that he neuer had punished that doctrine with death.

Poole accused by Cardinall *Caraffa*.

(81) But these accusations, were rather to shrub off his faire top, that *Caraffa* himselfe might more eminently be seene, who thought if *Poole* failed, to be their faircst marke; wherein his politicke expectation was farre ouerseene. For the *English Cardinall* so cleered himselfe, that the French *Caraffa* receiued disgrace, and all their voices went for *Poole* euen the same night, which he againe seemed to dislike of, saying that his election should not be a worke of darkenes, and therefore willed them orderly to proceed vpon the next day; such assurance had his hopes conceiued, that hee thought destiny had been inforced to set the Papall Crowne vpon his Head.

Poole againe chosen Pope.

(82) But whether it were his double delay, or his neglecting to strike when the yron was hot, the Electors change their determination, and choose the Cardinall *de Monte* for Pope, who named himselfe *Iulius* the third, and he to congratulate *Poole* for his Backwardnes, enforced *Caraffa* to aske him forgiuenes before they departed the *Conclaue*: *Poole* thus disapointed of the Papall Chaire, retired himselfe vnto *Verona*, where in a Monastery of *S. Bennets* (which order he had assumed and was the *Patron*) he made his Residence, as desirous to leade a more contemplatiue liue.

(83) But scarcely was he setled before he heard of King *Edwards* death, and a message sent from *Queene Mary* (who had been brought vp vnder the Countesse his Mother) for his returne into *England*. Her affection towards him, he knew was very great both for his person, his learning and religion, and himselfe relied much vpon the old familiarity betwixt them, as also of his birth being of the blood roiall; for which causes he sore longed homeward, not doubting but if things stood as he thought, to get a dispensation, to lay off the Hat, and to put on a Crowne.

Cardinall *Poole* sent for by Queene *Mary*.

(84) But the Emperour mistrusting what this Prelate intended, found deuices to hold him beyond Seas, vntill the match was concluded betweene *Queene Mary* and his sonne. And hitherto *Cardinall Poole* applauded by the Pope, beganne now to enter into his frowne, for being in *England*, and Archbishop of *Canterbury*: his old acuser, the foresaid *Caraffa*, had in the meane while obtained the Papacy vnder the name of *Paul* the fourth: when as presently he sent Frier *Peto*, whom he consecrated *Bishop of Sarum*, and discharged *Poole* of his legatiue power, which doings the Queene tooke so ill, that shee forbad *Peto* to enter the land, vntill a reconciliation was made betwixt the Pope and Cardinall *Poole* her kinsman. Which man as hath been saide, for soliciting Potent Princes against King *Henry*, in the quarrell of *Rome*, had runne in great displeasure with the English, whereby some Acts of Parliament were made against him: all which were now repealed, and Lord *Reinold Poole* receiued as an Angell of God, vnto whom that honorable house presented a Petition, to bee receiued againe into the bosome of *Rome*.

A.D. 1553

(85) The suit easily granted, and absolution giuen, all things proceeded at the deuotion of the *Romanists*. Images were commanded to be erected againe in the Churches: *Holy-water*, *Pax*, and *Censures*, imploied at the Celebration of their Masses and Mattens: Oyle, Creame, and Spittle, vsed in the Administration of the Sacrament of Baptisme. Altars furnished with Pictures, Costly Couerings, & the crucifix thereon solemnly placed: vnto whom Lights, Candles, and Tapers, with great adoration were offered, and all to captiuate the senses of the zealous Beholder, in which zeale *Queene Marie* her selfe gaue a full testimoniall, in restoring againe all Ecclesiasticall liuings assumed to the Crowne, saying, *that shee set more by the saluation of her owne soule, then shee did by tenne Kingdomes*. A worthy speech verily, and good example of a Prince, but slowly followed of many meane subiects, who in this case doe rather mussell the mouth of the *Oxe*, that treadeth out their Corne, then suffer such as serue at the Altar, to liue by the Altar.

The rites of *Rome* restored in *England*.

Holinshed p. 11,27.*b*.

(86) And surely so well inclined was *Mary* of her selfe, that had not the zeale of her religion, and the authority of Churchmen ouer-swaied her own disposition, the flames of their consuming fires had not mounted so high. But woe to the procurer of those sixe Articles, (for which many had died) enacted by King *Henry* the eight, whose rigour in some sort himself had both qualified and repealed, which were againe put in practize, especially two, the one of them touching life, and the other losse of goods; which last was the separation of man and wife, the greatest offence to mutuall society, and naturall affection, as can be committed; and that of life so tyrannicall, as the Law it selfe may seeme with *Draco's* to be writ in blood, and so tirannically followed, that within the compasse of lesse then foure yeeres continuance, there died no lesse, for testimoniall of their conscience in this case, then two hundred seauenty and seauen persons without regard of degree, sexe or age.

Queene *Mary* commendable in her owne dispositions.

Stat. H. 8. An. 35. cap. 5.

The bloody lawes of Queen *Mary*.

(87) In the heate of whose flames were consumed fiue Bishops, one and twenty Diuines, eight Gentlemen, eighty foure Artificers, one hundred husbandmen seruants and labourers, twenty sixe wiues, twenty widowes, nine Virgins, two boyes, and two Infants, one of them whipped to death by B. *Bonner*, & the other springing out of his mothers wombe from the stake as shee burned, was by the Sergeants throwne againe into the fire: Which barbarous cruelty, howsoeuer the Author of *Englands* three conuersions, would excuse, as worthy of death; deprauing the sufferers, of learning, religion; ciuill manners, and honesty of life; yet the more charitable of his own ranke, and profession, doe pitty the spilling of so much Christian blood: the greatest point of no greater sinne, then to beleeue *Christs* spirituall body, to be spiritually receiued in the blessed Sacrament of his Supper.

Iohn Hooper B. of *Glo.* *Ro. Farrer*, B. of *S. Da.* *Rich. Ridley* B. of *Lon.* *Hugh Latimer* B. of *Wor.* *The Cranmer Archb. of Canterbury*.

Three conuersions.

(88) The

Doctor Story in Cron. Italia. p. 1180.

Mat. 13 29.

Ioh. 10. 3.

2 Tim. 3. 17.

Rich. Grafton. & Hollinshed. Iohn Fox. Mart.

(86) The rigour thereof that fell from his mouth, who wished many more had so suffered, when the Sword was so drawne, is farre from the precept and sufferance of Christ, that would haue euen tares grow vnpluckt, till his harueſt were in, and yet if those be his sheepe that follow his voyce, and his word sufficient to make the man of God perfect as himselfe, and Apostle hath taught, then were these excusable by their Aduersaries testimonies, whose Prolocutor in a Conuocation assembled, publikely confessed that these deiected Ministers had the Word, but the Prelates in place the possession of the Sword; which how they then made it drunke with the bloud of Gods Saints, let him that hath the two edged Sword in his mouth, at the great day of triall declare, to whose iudgement and mercy I leaue them.

(87) Sixty foure more were persecuted for their profession and faith, whereof seauen were whipped, sixteene perished in prison, and were buried in dunghils, many lay in captiuity condemned, but were released, and saued by the happy entrance of peaceable *Elizabeth*; and many fled the Land in those daies of distresse, amongst whom most memorable is that of *Katherine* Dutchesse of *Suffolke*, with her husband *Richard Bartie* Esquire, whose Story and troubles happened as followeth.

The story of Katherine Dutchesse of Suffolke.

(88) This Lady *Katherine* was the onely daughter and sole heire of *Lord William*, Baron of *Willoughby*, and of *Eresby*; and the last wife of *Charles Brandon*, Duke of *Suffolke*, lately deceased; in whose time how shee affected the Papall Profession, in massing, and maskings, was made knowne by cloathing a dogge in a Rochet, and calling him *Gardiner*: and againe, in the dayes of King *Edward*, *Gardiner* saluting her from his prison window in the Tower, shee told him, it was well with the Lambes now the wolfe was shut vp. These stucke sore vpon the Bishops stomacke, who being now risen to be Lord Chancellour of *England*, and shee in disgrace with the Queene for her match in marrying Master *Barty*, a man too inferiour for her high estate, he thought it a fit time and occasion to requite, and to that end sent for Master *Barty* her husband, charging him to be indebted foure thousand pound to the *Queene*, which was owing her by his Ladies late Husband, the Duke of *Suffolke*, vnto whom shee was Executrix, but this was onely the traine of a false fire, and the Dutchesse religion, the marke he aymed at; for whom Master *Bartie* so wisely wrought, as himselfe was appointed to be her perswader, and so inwardly grew with the Lord Chancellor, that by his meanes he obtained licence to trauell beyond Seas, for a debt owing to his Dutchesse by the Emperour.

The Dutchesse no fauourer of the Popish religion.

The Dutchesse of Suffolke fleeth the Land.

(89) *Bartie* being gone, and Lady *Katherine* secretly to follow, vpon the first of *Ianuary* with foure men, two women, and her young daughter, her selfe apparrelled like a Merchants wife, from *Lyon Key* in *London* departed, the morning very mysty, and her heart fraught with feare; for no sooner was she gone, then newes thereof came to the Court, and search made after her, as farre as to *Leigh*, before her Barke could attaine to the place: where being shrowded by a Merchant, vnder the name of his daughter, shee escaped to Sea; but twice her Ship with contrary windes was driuen to the same Shoare, to her great danger, and no little griefe: yet lastly, shee arriued in *Brabant*, where shee met with her Husband; whence (being clad like a froe) they came into *Cleueland*, and at *Santon* seated themselues, till further prouision could be made.

(90) But the Townesmen suspecting they were not the Persons they went for, and the Bishop of *Arras* hearing that they were Protestants, purposed with the Magistrate to impeach their liberties, which *Barty* hearing of, with his Froe and Daughter, attended onely with two seruants, suddenly made a way vnto *Wesell*, a Towne priuiledged with the Stilliard in *London*. In trauell they were ouer-taken by night, the weather was rainy, and the thaw vpon a great frost, made the way more deepe, in which distresse, his two seruants he sent to seeke some relefe, whilest himselfe (the surer on foot) bare the childe; and the Dutchesse to ease him bare his Rapier and Cloke.

The great distresse of the Dutchesse.

(91) Thus passing thorow mire, dirt, and darke night, about seuen of the Clocke, all wet and weary, they got vnto *Wesell*, where he being suspected to be a Launce-knight, and shee his woman no better then naught, could get no entertainement; the language they had not, the childe cryed pittifully, the mother wept bitterly, the cold was extreame, and the raine powred downe, as the clowdes had been broken. In this distresse, the Church-porch was thought vpon to shrowd them from raine, and to that end Master *Barty* sent his two seruants to buy Coales and straw: but repairing towards this his cold Inne, he met with two boyes that vnderstood Latine, of whom hee demanded for the Ministers House, who presently brought him to the place, where he supped. His name was *Pernsell*, and had been in *England*, where, of the Dutchesse hee had receiued kinde curtesie, and now at *Wesell* imployed his Ministery among certaine *Wallons*, who hearing that the Dutchesse was fled out of *England*, and that at *Santon* shee liued nothing safe, had procured for their abode in *Wesell*, without making knowne who these *English* were, saue onely vnto the chiefe Magistrate.

(92) Master *Barty* desiring to speake with the Minister, hee presently came downe, who seeing the Dutches so disguised in apparell, and bemyred in dirt, could not speake vnto her for teares, and bringing them in with glad hearts no doubt, Master *Barty* changed apparell with the good man, the Dutchesse with his wife, and their childe, with the childe of the House: and thus were they comforted by this good Preachers meanes.

The Dutchesse sought after to be impeached.

(93) Here they seated not long, but that a sudden watch-word was sent them from Sir *Iohn Mason*, *Queene Maries* Ambassador in *Netherland*, that the Lord *Paget* had fained an errant to the Spaw, and that the Duke of *Brunswicke* with ten Ancients, would passe by *Wesell* for the seruice of *Austricke*, against the French King, by whom the Dutchesse and her Husband should be intercepted, and deliuered vnto the *Lord Paget*.

(94) From hence therefore in haste they remoued to the Towne *Wincheim* in high *Germany*, which was seated in the *Palsgraues* Dominions, where by his Protection, they continued till their maintenance began to scant, and they also almost fainting vnder so heauy a burthen, began to faile of all hope. At which very instant (GOD so mouing the hearts of his Princes) the Palatine of *Vilua*, and the King of *Pole* hearing of their distresse, sent them a safe conduct, vnder the *Palatines* seale, with assurance of maintenance, if they would come vnto those parts.

God doth helpe when man doth faile.

(95) From *Wincheim* therefore they forth-with departed, and in Wagon tooke towards *Franckford*, but by the *Langraues* Captaine were intercepted and set vpon in the high way, so that Master *Barty* was forced to stand at defence, wherein the Captaines Horse was slaine vnder him, and the cry maintained, that he was slaine himselfe, whereupon *Barty* by the counsell of the Dutchesse, and swiftnesse of his Horse fled amaine, but was so eagerly followed vpon opinion of murther, that hee hardly escaped with life; yet lastly they got into *Poland*, where they were honourably entertained vntill the death of Queene *Mary*, whose life in the meane while let vs returne to relate.

(96) The *Nouember* next following her mariage, the Queene was reported to haue beene conceiued with child, for ioy whereof *Te Deum* was commanded solemnly to be sung, and Processions and prayers made for her safe deliuerance. The Queene tooke

Anno 1554. Queene *Mary* bruted to be with Childe.

her Chamber, the Court was full of Midwiues, and Gentlewomen attendants, Rockers were prouided, the Cradle prepared, and all made so certaine, that some were punished for making doubt of the contrary. Insomuch that it passed in Parliament, that if God should take away *Queene Mary*, this their young Master comming into the World, should finde himselfe prouided for; where it was by Act ordained, that King *Philip* should bee Protector of her Issue, and Gouernour of the Realmes, vntill their Prince or Princesse should come to able yeeres.

So called by Sir *Rich. Southwell* a Knight of the house. An. 1. & 2. *Philip. & Mariæ.*

(97) Howbeit as it should seeme this Spanish King had little confidence in the *English*, for, at his first entrance, he had the Hall dore of his Court continually kept shut, neither any suffered to enter, vnlesse his busines was first made knowne: the Lords hauing leaue to depart *London*, had strait commandement to send all their Harnesse and Artillery to the Tower; which was done, in regard of the maligners of this marriage: yea, and somewhat doubtfull he was also of those, who in shew bare him a faire face; the rather for that * a Nobleman in consultation, had giuen his counsell to cut off Lady *Elizabeths* head, assuring himselfe, that those so bad minded to their naturall Princesse, could not bee better vnto him a stranger: who contrariwise vpon this ground so laid the foundation of his true honour, as it gained him loue of all true *English* hearts: for from that day he neuer left to solicite his Queene for the deliuery of that innocent Princesse her sister, who still remained a solitary Prisoner in *Woodstocke*, though no proofes could bee brought for any offence.

Act. & Mon. p. 1643. b.

The feares of K. *Philip.*

* Lord *Pagat.*

K. *Philip* a great friend vnto Lady *Elizabeth.*

(98) At last his suit was obtained, and Lady *Elizabeth* brought vnto *Hampton Court*, hauing not seene the Queene for two yeeres before, here shee was lockt vp, and laid at by *Gardiner* to submit her selfe, till some foureteene dayes after, shee was sent for into the Queenes Chamber about ten of the Clocke in the night: which shee no sooner had entred, but falling vpon her knees, shee prayed God to preserue her Soueraigne Maiesty; protesting her loyalty and truth to her Person, whatsoeuer had beene spoken or instigated to the contrary. Vnto whom the Queen somewhat sharpely said; *Then you will not confesse your offence, I see; but rather stand stoutly vpon your truth; I pray God your truth may so fall out*; *If not* (quoth the Princesse) *I request neither fauour nor pardon at your Maiesties hand:* well then, said the *Queene*, you stand so stifly vpon your owne loyalty, belike you suppose to haue beene wrongfully punished: I must not say so to your Maiesty, said Lady *Elizabeth*: but you will then so report to others it seemeth, said *Queene Mary*: no, and it please your Maiesty, said the Lady, I haue borne, and must beare the burthen my selfe, I most humbly beseech your Graces good opinion of me, and to thinke me your true Subiect, which from the beginning hitherto I haue euer beene, and will bee for euer so long as my life lasteth. The *Queene* replying in *Spanish*, said; *God knoweth*: and so they departed; King *Philip* as is thought, standing behind the *Arras*, heard what was said.

Lady *Elizabeth* brought in presence of the Queene.

The conference of the Queene and Lady *Elizabeth.*

(99) Some seuen dayes after, her *Grace* was discharged of *Benefield* her Iaylor, and had leaue of liberty, yet so, that Sir *Thomas Pope*, a Priuy Counsellor, and *M. Gage* the Queenes Gentleman Vsher, were still her Attendants all *Queene Maries* time: her Gentlewoman Mistresse *Ashley* was sent to the Fleete, and three other waiting Maides vnto the Tower; but the death of *Gardiner* immediately following, these stormes grew more calmer, and Lady *Elizabeth* euery day more affectionately respected.

Lady *Elizabeth* discharged of imprisonment.

(100) About this time, *William Constable, alias Fetherston*, a Millers sonne in the *North*, bruted himselfe to be King *Edward* the sixt, but was seconded by none of any esteeme, and therefore the lesse dangerous or likely to be beleeued. Notwithstanding all diligent search was laid for the Counterfeit; and hee lastly taken at *Eltham* in *Kent*, from whence to *Hampton* Court he was presently conueyed, where his answers were so simple, that he was esteemed as a franticke, and sent to the *Marshal Sea* for a Lunaticke foole: and from thence in a Cart this counterfeit King (whose Crowne was a paper inscribed with his fault) was brought vnto *Westminster*, and from thence whipped to *Smithfield*, whence he was banished into the *North*, and without further punishment was so released: But this *Fetherston* the next yeere (as a dogge returning to his vomit) gaue it forth that King *Edward* was aliue, whereupon he was againe apprehended, condemned of Treason, and hanged at *Tyborne*.

A page to Sir *Peter Mewtas.*

William Fetherston a counterfeit king *Edward.*

Fetherston executed.

Mar. 10.

(101) Now the expected time of *Queene Maries* deliuerance being fully approached, a rumor ranne in *London* and elsewhere, that a Prince was borne; for ioy whereof the Bels were rung, the Bone-fires flamed, Processions made, and some in their Sermons described the beauty of that goodly Boy, and great Prince. At *Antwerpe* also the like triumphs were made by the English Merchants, the Marriners shooting off their Ordinance; for which an hundred Pistolets were sent them from the Lady Regent: but these flying reports proued but wind, which turned the *Vane* shortly into another point; for the truth bursting forth, told for a certaine, that the Queene had neuer been conceiued, neither indeed was euer like to be: which raised as many doubts, as had been tales of her deliuerance: some affirming, that shee was with Child, but miscarried; some, that shee was deceiued by a Tympany: and some that this rumor was spread for a policy: but what the truth was, saith *Grafton*, I referre vnto others that know more.

Reports of the Queenes deliuerance.

The Parson of S. *Anne* within *Aldersgate*. *Hollinsh.*

Great triumphes for Q. *Maries* supposed deliuerance.

Rich. Grafton.

(102) King *Philip* thus frustrate of his hope for his Heire, vpon the fourth of *September* went ouer the Seas to visite his Father the Emperour, and to take possession of the Low-Countries, where hee stayed one yeere and six moneths, to the great griefe of *Queene Mary* his wife, whom as some thought he little affected, and this his long stay made the suspition no lesse. But now returning to *Douer*, he was by his Queene met on the way, and brought through *London*, accompanied with many Peeres of the Realme, as in triumph against a Coronation.

A.D. 1555.

King *Philip* absent from the Queene a yeere and six moneths. A.Do. 1557. March 18.

(103) In whose absence many conspiracies had beene intended, but their foggy smoakes were vtterly extinguished before the fire could burst into flame: for certaine persons plotting to robbe the Queenes Exchequer at *Westminster*, meant with the money to raise warre in the Land; the Leaders into this attempt were *Henry Peckham*, *Iohn Daniel*, *Richard Vdall*, *Iohn Throgmorton*, *Iohn Dethicke*, *William Stanton*, *William Rossey*, *Iohn Beadell* and *White*, the reuealer of the same intendments. These all excepting *White*, were at sundry times executed, and Sir *Anthony Kingston* apprehended for the same, died on the way vnto *London*.

(104) The like stirres were attempted by one *Cleber* a Schoolemaster, sometime at *Dys* in *Norfolke*, who in the Parish Church of *Yarle*, among a great assembly at the celebration of a marriage, stood vp, and read a penned, but trayterous Proclamation against the Queene, perswading the people to take Armes, and to free the Land of wrongs done by strangers.

Conspiracies in *Norfolke.*

(105) So likewise *Thomas Stafford*, second sonne to the Lord *Stafford*, with other Conspirators against the King and Queene, fearing the iust punishments for their deserts, had fled the Land into parts beyond the Seas; from whence attempting still to broach their Rebellions, they sent certaine Bookes and letters written and printed, full of most slanderous vntruthes: and now following King *Philip* into *Eng*[illegible] assisted by some *English* and strangers, tooke by stea[illegible] the Castle of *Skarborough* in *Yorkeshire*, where he p[illegible]blished a most shamefull Proclamation

Thomas Stafford stirreth rebellion

mation against the Queene, trayterously affirming that shee was neither rightful, nor worthy of raigne, and that the King had giuen vnto his Spaniards the greatest and strongest holds of the Land. But by the prowesse of *Thomas Pearsey* (presently created Earle of *Northumberland*) he was surprised, sent to *London*, and there made shorter by the head All these stirres quieted, new troubles were rather sought for, then ministred, and more losse followed to *Englands* dishonour, then glory had beene gained by this *Spanish* great Match.

Thomas Stafford beheaded.

(106) For the *Emperour* ouer-worne with the affaires of the world, and wearied with the troubles of turmoyling warres, or rather touched with remorse of conscience, for the infinite miseries brought by him vpon *Florence*, *Naples*, *Sicilie*, *Tuscane*, *Elbe*, and *Calabria*, being perswaded that these mournefull iarres of *Christian Princes*, had giuen to the *Turke* aduantage vpon diuers parts of *Europe*, he called his Sonne King *Philip* of *England*, vnto *Bruxels* (as is said) where, by authenticke letters bearing date the fiue and twentieth of *October*, hee resigned all his Realmes vnto him, commanding all his Estates and Subiects to acknowledge and hold him their lawfull King; and among many other instructions and most wise exhortations, gaue him charge chiefly to hold amity with the *French*, lest otherwise the warres of those Puissant Nations might oppresse all Christendome.

Grimston in the French History.

Page 568.

Charles the Emperour resigneth all his Dominions to his sonne King *Philip*.

(107) King *Philip* indeed was much inclined to peace, and Queene *Mary* his wife at that time much more, both to hold him with her at home, and to support the Religion which shee had raised, by restoring the Clergy their wonted possessions, whereof much was then held in the Noblemens hands, from whose hard hold, hardly could any thing be wrested; but those in her owne, shee freely resigned by Parliament, with this most Christian resolution, and Princely saying: that shee set more by the saluation of her owne Soule, then shee did by the reuenewes of ten Kingdomes, and so committed the restauration and disposse thereof vnto the Pope, and Cardinall *Poole* his Legate, to the great wealth of the Church, and impouerishing of the Crowne.

(108) King *Philip* following his Fathers aduice, made peace with *France* to continue for fiue yeeres, which no sooner was made, then was againe broken, but most of all to the losse of the *English*: for the Kings did not loue, though their weapons were laid downe, and ancient hatred bred daily new discontents: one principall was ministred by Pope *Paul* the fourth, then an enemy vnto the *Spaniard*, whom Duke *Alua* had mued vp within the walles of *Rome*: His hope of helpe was in *Henry* the *French* King, vnto whom hee sent a triumphant Harte, with a stately Sword, and thereupon had succour by the *Guise*, who by force made his way open into *Rome*: But the *French* decreasing for want of pay, and the *Spaniard* still raising their Trophees of victory, the *Pope* thought it surest to hold with the strongest, and so made frustrate his amity with the *French*.

The Pope besieged sendeth to *France* for helpe.

John Sleidon

(109) *Queene Mary of England*, now the *Pope* was for *Spaine*, and *Philip* her husband preparing for *France*, to shew her great loue and obedience to both, rather sought an occasion against King *Henry*, then any ministred by him for the breach of peace. Her pretenses were many, as that the *French* King had instigated one *Dudley* and *Ashton*, vnto a new conspiracy, which they consulted vpon in his Ambassadors House in *London*, and being reuealed, fled into *France*, where they were maintained by an annuall pension. The like shee alleaged against King *Henry* for succouring of *Stafford*, and his rebellious complices, for suffering his Pyrats to molest her Seas, and for want of more, renewed the remembrances of *Northumberland* and *Wyats* rebellions, who as was alleaged, were supported by him.

Iohn Stow Annals.

(110) These things premised, a defiance was sent into *France*, and was pronounced vnto *Henry* at *Rhemes* by *Clarenceaux* King at Armes. The *French* King loth to heare of these warres, made his answer and preparations accordingly: and *Queene Mary* contrary to promise, entangling her Subiects with the quarrels of the *Spaniards*, with sound of Trumpet in *London* proclaimed warres against *France*. To prosecute which, King *Philip* her husband passed ouer to *Callis*, and thence into *Flanders*, where he made prouision to enter the field: after whom the Queene sent a thousand Horsemen, foure thousand Footmen, and two thousand Pioners, and the Earle of *Pembrooke* was appointed Captaine Generall, vnder whom in seuerall places serued Vicount * *Montacute*, the *Lord Grey* of *Wilton*, the Earle of * *Rutland*, the Earle of * *Lincolne*, the Earle of *Bedford*, the Earle of * *Leicester*, and the Earle of *Warwicke*, the Lords *Howard*, *De la Ware*, *Windsor*, *Bray*, *Shandoys*, and *Dudley*, with many other Knights of approued valiancy.

A defiance sent into *France*.

Iuly 6.

An Army sent into *France*.

* Lieutenant.
* Lord Marsha".

* Coronell of foote.
* Master of the Ordinance.

(111) These passing the Seas, ioyned with King *Philip*, whilest the Dukes of *Sauoy* and *Brunswicke*, the Earles of *Egmond*, *Horne*, and *Mansfield*, had inuaded the *French* confines, and planted a strong siege before Saint *Quintins*; to whose rescue *Monsieur Mountmorancy* Constable of *France*, came with nine hundred men at Armes, as many light Horsemen, seauen hundred *Roisters*, twenty two Ensignes of *Lancequenets*, and sixteen Ensignes of the *French*: and thus furnished, he meant to put more Souldiers into the Towne, but in the assay so miscarried, that himselfe was both hurt and taken prisoner with eight Noblemen more, all of them Knights of the Order, and not many dayes after, King *Philip* with his *English* came to the siege, by whose manly prowesse Saint *Quintins* was taken, for ioy whereof great triumphs were made in *England*, which long lasted not, through the losse of *Callis*.

S. *Quintins* taken by the English.
August 20.

(112) For this great victory made the English both negligent and careless, so that the Towne of *Callis*, and the Forts thereabout for defence, were vnrespectiuely regarded, and besides the neglect of supply to those peeces, the Souldiers thinking all out of danger, stood gazing at the shadow till the substance was lost: for the French being netled, that S. *Quintins* was *Philips*, let slippe no occasion wherein was aduantage: and the Duke of *Guize* imploying the Constables place, determined to put to proofe an enterprize for *Callis*, which long and many times had been purposed vpon.

The English negligent after Saint *Quintins* was wonne.

(113) This danger fore-seene, intelligence thereof was sent into *England*, but no supply heard of, first the Master of the Ordinance posted to the Councell, and secondly followed the Captaine of the Castell himselfe, but either by wilful negligence or lacke of credite with the Queene and Councell, those businesses in *France* were slenderly regarded, vntill the supply was altogether too late. For the Duke of *Guize* with a maruellous celerity approached the *English* Frontier, vnder a colour to victuall *Boloigne* and *Ard*, and vpon a little sorry plat of ground, intrenched at *Sandgate*, and thence diuiding his Army into two parts, sent the one vnto *Ricebancke*, whilest the other laid battery to two Forts at once, both which hee wanne within the space of twelue houres, the Captaine and Souldiers secretly departing to *Callis*. The like successe had the *French* against *Ricebanke*, being abandoned by the *English* Souldiers, and left to the *Guize*, and his disposse.

Iohn Hiefield.

Sir *Raph Chamberlaine.*

The English Forts lost to the *Guize*.
Ianuary 1.

Newnambridge lost.

(114) Then were Canons mounted against *Callis* it selfe, and with continuall battery for three dayes together, a breach made in the wall, not farre from the Water-gate, but yet vnassaultable, the *English* within so maintained the defence: this then a traine of false fire (for the *French* neuer meant their accesse that way) whilest all attended to make good the breach, the Duke had planted fifteene double Canons against the Castell, which once perceiued, the *Callizians* knowing their resistance too weake, sto-

Callice besieged by the Duke of *Guize*.

Iune 7.

ed Barrels of Gun-powder within the *Keepe*, meaning to blow vp the *French* if they there entred, but that deuise failed; hauing waded through the ditch, their clothes dropping wet, disabled the traine of powder to take fire, so that the *French* got the Castle, with the death of *Sir Anthony Ager*, Marshall of the Towne, his sonne and heire, and fourescore *English* besides.

Callis surrendered to the *French*.

(117) The *Lord Wentworth* then Deputy of the Towne, seeing all in like danger if meanes were delayed, sent vnto the Castle to haue a Parlee for composition, which the *French* forth-with accepted, and sent out two Gentlemen for pledges, whilest *Iohn Heisield* Master of the Ordinance, and *Edward Hall* Constable of the Castle, concluded vpon these dishonourable Articles, as followeth:

Vnhonourable Articles.

1 That the Towne, the great Artillery, Victuals and Munition should bee yeelded freely to the *French*.

2 That the liues of all the Inhabitants should be saued, and haue their safe conduct to depart.

3 That the Lord Deputy, with fifty others whom the Duke would appoint, should remaine prisoners, and be put to their ransome.

The hard vsage of the *English*.

(116) Things thus ordered, the *English* were commanded into the Churches of our *Lady*, and *Saint Nicholas*, where they remained that whole day, the night following, and vntill the next day in the afternoone, without either meate or drinke, in which time the Duke of *Guize* commanded by Proclamation, that all Iewels, Plate and Money, to the value of a groate should be laid vpon the Altar, and that vpon paine of death, a sorrowfull offertory towards the *English*, and a great enrichment vnto the *French*. Then was the Towne voided of fiue hundred ordinary Souldiers (a small Garrison indeed to man such a place) of Townesmen, women and Children, foure thousand two hundred; the Lord *Wentworth*, Deputy, Sir *Raph Chamberlaine* Captaine of *Ricebanke*, *Nicholas Alexander* Captaine of *Newnambridge*, *Edward Grimston*, *Iohn Rogers*, and others, to the number of fifty were sent prisoners into *France*, vntill ransome were paid: And thus the Towne and Forts that were wonne by the victorious King *Edward* the third, and that by no lesse then eleuen moneths siege, hauing now beene possessed by the *English* the space of two hundred and eleuen yeeres, was in the compasse of eight dayes besieged, surprized and wonne in the depth of Winter to the Worlds wonder, and great suspition of treachery, which happened the seuenteenth day of *Ianuary*, and in the same moneth were surrendred the strong Forts of *Guizes*, and *Hames*, whereby all the *English* footing was lost in the Continent of *France*.

Edward the eleuenth from *William* the Conquerour, wanne it: and *Mary* the eleuenth from *Edward*, lost it.

(117) This winning of *Callis* and the other strong holds, as they were ioyous to the *French*, and with *Te Deum* & Bonefires celebrated with no lesse solemnity, then was that for the recouery of the County *Oye*, and the Fort won from the *English* in *An.* 1347. so was it grieuous vnto the *English* Nobility, and most of all vnto *Queene Mary* her selfe. Insomuch as shee ceased not to trauell with the King and Councell how to couer the dishonour of her Raigne, by this losse of *Callis*; and albeit some assayes were made against *Breest*, and Mounsieur *Thermes* the new Captaine of *Callis* taken prisoner by County *Egmont* Generall for King *Philip* in the *Low-Countries*, yet the maine was neglected, and could not be recouered for any composition, which strucke so deepe a melancholy into *Queene Maries* minde, as shee letted not to say, that *the losse of Callis was written in her heart, and might therein be read when her body should be opened.* In which passions shee continued the rest of her Raigne, which neuer had beene very prosperous, nor greatly pleasurable vnto her selfe, after shee had abolished the Gospel, restored the Popes Supremacy, and married a stranger, who was vnto her a stranger indeed.

Queene *Maries* sayings for the losse of *Callis*.

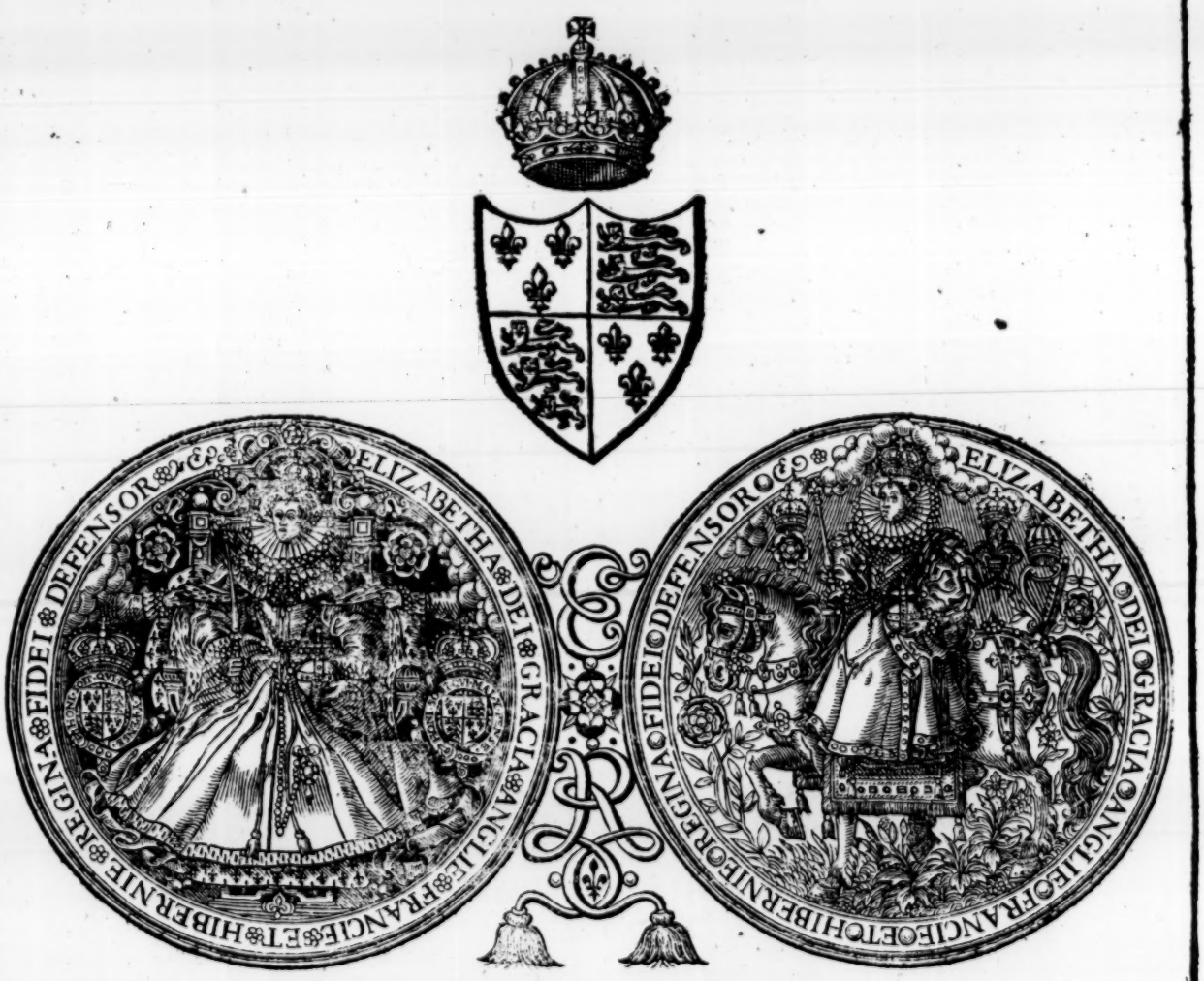
(118) Of all since the Conquest her Raigne was the shortest, onely excepting that of *Richard* the Tyrant, but much more bloudy then was his, and more bloud spilt in that short time of her Raigne, then had been shed for case of Christianity, in any Kings time since *Lucius* the first establisher of the Gospell in this Realme. Her conceptions failing, extreame dearths raging, hurt done by thunders from heauen, and by fire in the royall Nauy, forraigne losses, *Callis* surrendered, and King *Philips* keeping from Court, daily augmented Queene *Maries* melancholy, which lastly increasing to a burning feauer, made an end of her life, at her Mannor of *S. Iames* neere *Westminster*, the 7. of *Nouemb.* and yeere of *Christs* incarnation 1558. when she had raigned fiue yeeres, foure moneths, and eleuen dayes, and liued forty two yeeres, nine moneths and sixe dayes, whose body lyeth interred in a Chappell in the Minster of *S. Peters* at *Westminster*, without any monument or other remembrance.

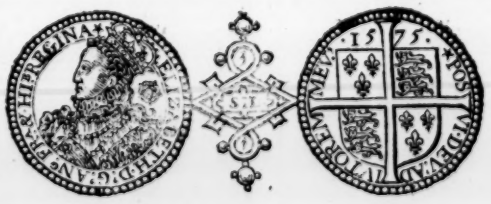
Queene *Maries* Raigne most bloudy.

Q. Elizabeth.

ELIZABETH QVEENE OF ENGLAND, FRANCE, AND IRELAND, DEFENDER OF THE FAITH, &c. THE SIXTIE ONE MONARCH OF THE ENGLISH CROWNE, SINCE HINGIST THE FIRST SAXON, AND THE LAST BEFORE THE VNION OF THE VVHOLE Iland. Her glorious Raigne, Life, and Acts, with the Treasons and inuasions attempted against her Person and State.

A.D. 1558.





CHAPTER XXIIII.

Monarch 61

THE Cloud thus set, that threatned more stormes, and a quiet calme happening when the rage was at highest, that wished Sunne then ascended our *Horizon*, whose rayes (as had been hoped) presently dispelled all foggy Mists from *Englands* faire Skie; which was, the most milde Princesse Lady *Elizabeth*, another *Debora*, and *nursing mother* of Gods Saints, who being then at *Hatfield* in *Hertfordshire*, was there first saluted *Queene*, and the same day, with great ioy and full consent of both the Houses of *Parliament* (at that time assembled) was solemnly proclaimed Queene of *England*, with all other stiles rightly belonging to that Imperiall Title.

Q. Elizabeths age.

(2) Shee entred her Gouernment vpon Thursday the seauenteenth of *Nouember*, the same day that her sister *Queene Mary* died, the yeere of Christs assuming our flesh, 1558. and of her owne age, twenty foure yeeres, two monethes and ten dayes. From *Hatfield* * she remoued vnto *Charterhouse* in *London*; * from whence shee was royally attended vnto the *Tower*

Nouemb. 19.

* Nouemb. 28.

Tower, and all Complements prepared for her *Coronation*. In which time *Proclamations* came forth, forbidding any man to preach, but by appointment, or to alter any *Ceremonies*, but according to the rites in her owne *Chappell*, as also that the *Letanie*, the *Epistles* and *Gospels* should be read in all Churches in the *English tongue*.

The first proclamation touching Religion.

(3) All things in readines vpon the fourteenth of *Ianuary*, with great ttiumphes and sumptuous shewes, shee passed through *London* towards *Westminster* to receiue the Imperiall Crowne; but before shee entred her *Chariot* in the *Tower*, acknowledging that the seat was Gods into which shee was to enter, and she his *Vicegerent* to weild the *English* Scepter; in that royail assembly with eyes and hands eleuated to heauen vpon her knees, shee prayed for his assistance, as *Salomon* did for wisdome when hee tooke the like charge; with a thankefull remembrance vnto God for his continued preseruation, who had brought her thorough great dangers vnto that present dignity. In which triumphall State as shee passed through the streetes of *London*, when the *Booke of God* was presented vnto her at the *little Conduit in Cheape*, shee receiued the same with both her hands, and kissing it, laid it to her breast saying, *that the same had euer been her chiefest delight, and should bee the rule by which shee meant to frame her gouernment*. And to testifie her benigne acceptance of the Lord Maior, and Citizens approued loues, *shee assured them that shee lacked no will, nor (as shee hooped) power to bee to them as gratious a Prince as euer raigned in the Land, and that for the publike good, if occasion were ministred shee would spend her dearest bloud.*

Her passage through *London*.

Queeene *Elizabeths* zealous deuotion.

The Bible presented to Queen *Elizabeth*.

The religious care of Queene *Elizabeth*.

(4) The fifteenth of *Ianuary* (being Sunday) the Coronation was solemnely performed, and the Imperiall Crowne set on her head by Doctor *Owen Oglethorpe* Bishoppe of *Carlile*, the Archiepiscopall See of *Banterburie* being vacant euer since her entrance, by the death of Cardinall *Poole*, who died the same day that Queene *Mary* did.

Her Coronation.

Cardinall *Poole* and Q. *Mary*. died both in one day.

(5) Presently there followed a *Parliament*, wherin the Title of *Supremacie* was againe restored to the *Crowne*, with the *first fruites*, and *Tenths* of all Ecclesiasticall liuings, and the *Booke of Common prayer* ratified for an vniforme celebration of Gods diuine seruice in the *English* Churches; as also those *Acts* repealed that were enacted by *Queene Mary*, in fauour of the *Romish Religion*. Things thus established, and liberty giuen to the Gospell; many that had fled the Realm in case of conscience, returned, and were prouided for according to their worthes, and that *Gods Truth* might be established, (which thing her princely heart chiefly sought after) a conference was commanded and begunne at *Westminster* the last of March, concerning certain Articles to be discussed amongst the Diuines. The *Propositions* were three,

Stat. prim. Eliz. cap. 1
The Regall Supremacy. *cap. 2.*

Queene *Maries* Acts repealed.

Conference at *Westminster*. touching Religiō

1 *It is against the word of God, and customes of the ancient Church, to vse a tongue vnknowne to the people, in common Prayer, and the Administration of the Sacraments.*

2 *Euery Church hath authority to appoint, take away, and change Ceremonies, and Ecclesiasticall rites, so the same be to edification.*

3 *It cannot be proued by the word of God, that there is in the Masse offered vp a sacrifice propritiatory for the quicke and the dead.*

The Propositiōs to bee discussed. *Ioh. Stow. p. 1084.*

The Impugners of these Assertions were,
- *Iohn White* B. *of Wincheber*,
- *Ralfe Bayne* B. *of Lichfield*,
- *Cuthbert Scote* B. *of Chester*,
- *Owen Oglethrope* B. *of Carlile*,
- *Thomas Watson* B. *of Lincolne*,
- *D. Cole.*
- *D. Harpsfield*,
- *D. Langdall*,
- *D. Chedsey*,

The Disputants on both part.

The Defendors of these Assertions were,
- *D. Scorie*,
- *D. Coxe*,
- *D. Sands*,
- *M. Whitehead*,
- *M. Grindall*,
- *M. Horne*,
- *M. Geste.*
- *M. Elmer*,
- *M. Iewells.*

These being solemnly set with many Honourable Counsellors among them, before the *Conference* could well beginne, it was finally ended, and all through the default of the *Bishops* (as *Stow* hath alleadged) who, first pleaded a mistaking of their directions, and in the next sitting, vtterly refused either to write their owne, or to read the others reasons, whereby all was vndone that was intended, and whereof a part was * imprinted, as is yet to bee seene.

The Conference ended almost as soone as begun.

* By *Rich. Iudge.* and *Iohn Cawood*

(6) During the time of this *Parliament* a Petition was made vnto her Maiesty for the hope of royal Issue, to moue her vnto marriage; vnto which eloquent Oration deliuered by the *Speaker*, shee re- "plyed with great thankes for their louing care for "her, and their owne Country: but as touching "their requeste, shee answered, that from the time, "when first shee considered her selfe to bee borne a "seruitor of God, shee happily did choose, and in "truth best liked a *Virgins* life, from which, neither "Ambition of high marriages, which had been for- "merly offered her by her Prince, nor the grieuan- "ces sustained by her, whiles shee liued among "those enemies, whose indignation was death, had "hitherto been able to diuert her: but whether "her yeeres and answere could concord together "in their iudicious minds; shee certainely knew not; "yet this shee assured them, that as then shee stood "so affected, and if that affection changed, her choise "should bee onely of such a one, as should bee as "carefull, shee would not say, as her selfe, (because "shee knew herselfe best) but as any of them for the "Realmes good, and yet withall shee considered, "that although her selfe, for their welfare (if neede "were) would not shunne death, yet might her "Issue (as often happeneth to the best parents) grow "out of kind, and proue vngracious. And there- "fore to leaue behind her a more lasting and grate- "full remembrance; shee held it sufficient, that a "Marble-stone should declare to posterities, *that she "a Queene had raigned, liued, and dyed a Virgin*: and so with many thankes dismissed the assembly. How the first was accomplished, wee that liued vnder her raigne haue seene; but how insufficient that one stone is to containe, & continuate the remembrance of her vertuous, pious, and glorious gouernment, the whole world doth at this day, and shal to all succeeding ages witnesse, whilest the Earth rests in the Center, and the Heauens haue restlesse mouings.

Q. *Elizabeth* her reply touching marriage.

Alexander Russham.

Q. *Elizabeths* sayings in the Parliament.

(7) For the cause of Religion shee sent into *Germany* touching a league defensiue, the Pope troubling the waters of that cleare fountaine, and disabling her Title with the calumny of illegitimation. In the meane while a peace being on foot betwixt the Kings of *France* and *Spaine*, Queene *Elizabeth* also interposed for *England*, wherein the restoring of *Callis* was a maine point, whereupon her Highnesse stood, which was thus.

Her first actions with forraine Princes.

Ex Manuscript. Henr. Killigrew.

(8) The Earle of *Arundell*, the Bishoppe of *Ely*, and Doctor *Wotton* Deane of *Canterburie* remained Commissioners in *France* at the death of *Queen Mary*, vpon composition for the regaining of *Callis*, & other peeces lost in the cause of K. *Philip*: her Maiesty sent them instructions to continue their demands, and certain sure grounds wheron they might worke. The first was that the quarrell of warre was not *Englands*, but *Philips* of *Spaine*, in whose fauour *Queene Mary* his wife against the will of her Councell, sent him aide of her Subiects. And if in case the

She claimeth restitution of *Callis* from the French.

Ex. MS. The instructions of Q. *Elizabeth* sent to the Commissioners.

French

Proofes that Callis was Englands.

French ſhould challenge *Callis* as inhereditary vnto the Crowne of *France*, to that they ſhould anſwere, that there were many Signiories and places in *France*, whereunto the *Engliſh* might make their iuſt claime, and ſome in poſſeſſion ſince *Callis* was Engliſh, which Towne was not onely Lawfully granted, and aſſured from the *French* themſelues vnto the Crowne of *England*, but was alſo allowed by Articles of all treatiſes of peace, for the ſpace of two hundred yeeres and more, this euermore ſpecially prouided, *that Callis ſhould remaine in the quiet poſſeſſion of the Engliſh.*

Great ſummes of Money owed by France.

And the better to impreſſe the deliuery of *Callis*, in the mould of the *French*, they were to demand certain arrerages, wherin their King and Realm had fallen for great ſummes of monies and debts accruing to the *Engliſh* Crowne: aſwell by the acknowledgement of the mother of King *Francis* then being Regent of *France*, and iudgement thereupon giuen; as alſo by the treaty of *More*, *de dato*, 1525. The treaty of perpetuall peace, *de Dato*, 1527. and the late treaty betweene King *Henry* the eight, and King *Francis*, for the deliuery of *Bullein*, *de dato*, 1546. by all which appeareth, that there was two Millions of Crownes due, and very little thereof yet paid, the copies of which treatiſes and confeſſion, the ſaid Commiſſioners haue with them. Alſo another debt of an hundred thouſand crownes, as appeareth by a Bill of King *Francis* hand. And where alſo there is one perpetuall penſion of fifty thouſand crownes due, as appeareth by the treaty of perpetuall peace, and one other penſion of Salt, as appeareth by the ſame treaty. All which notwithſtanding, rather then the *French* ſhould retaine *Callis*, her Maieſty was contented to remit the whole debt and arrerages: but without that in no wiſe ſhee held it conuenient to conclude peace with *France*, and that obtained, ſhee remitted the other Articles to the diſcretion of the Commiſſioners. But the *Engliſh Queene* was no more deſirous to haue *Callis*, then the *French* King vnwilling to let it goe. Whereupon laſtly, it was thus concluded, That *Callis* ſhould remaine *French*, the tearme of eight yeeres, and thoſe expired, ſhould returne to the *Engliſh* vpon forfaiture of fiue hundred thouſand crownes; the branch of which agreement, from the Latine, and that from the originall, is thus tranſlated.

(9) *It is couenanted, agreed, and concluded, that the ſaid moſt noble Lady Queene of England, ſhall ſuffer and permit the foreſaid moſt Chriſtian King of France, his heires and ſucceſſors, to hold, poſſeſſe, and peaceably enioy, from the day of the date of this preſent treaty, vntill the terme of eight yeeres following, the Towne of Callis, with the appertinances and appendices belonging to the ſame; and alſo the Port or Hauen of the ſaid Towne, with the Tower of Ruysbanke, and alſo the Towers, Lordſhips, Villages, and places of Newnainbridge, Merke, Oye, Hams, Sandgate, the Tower and Towne of Guiſnes, and all the reſt of that County taken in this laſt warre, and all other Townes, Caſtles, Villages, Lands, Dominions, Territories, Waters, Riuers, Hauens, Defences, Forts and Shores, and generally all places whatſoeuer ſcituate vnto them by the ſea, which the ſaid moſt Chriſtian King hath gotten in this laſt warre, and taken by force of Armes, in the raigne of the moſt noble Lady Mary, late Queene of England. And the ſaid moſt Chriſtian King, hath promiſed, and doth promiſe aſwell in his owne name, as in the name of the King Daulphin his ſonne, his heires, and ſucceſſors, for which Daulphin, the ſaid moſt Chriſtian King hath made himſelfe, and doth make himſelfe anſwerable, promiſing that hee will take care of, and effect that the ſaid King Daulphin ſhall approue this treaty, and ratifie it, within two moneths after the date of this treaty, which ſaid terme of eight yeeres being complete and ended, the ſaid moſt Chriſtian King his heires and ſucceſſors ſhall preſently without delay, relinquiſh, deliuer, and reſtore, or cauſe to bee deliuered, and reſtored to the ſaid moſt noble Prince* Elizabeth, *Queene of England, her heires, and ſucceſſors, or to thoſe that ſhould bee thereunto deputed by her, or her heires and ſucceſſors, the ſaid towne of Callis, with the appertainances and appendices aforeſaid, and all other and ſingular places aforeſaid, and alſo the Towers, Caſtles, and fortreſſes whatſoeuer in the aforeſaid parts, and alſo the places now of late builded, fortified, or reedified during the ſaid terme of eight yeeres; and the ſaid moſt Chriſtian King his heires and ſucceſſors ſhall leaue the poſſeſſion of all the ſaid places, and depart from it, and wholly forſake the ſame. So that the moſt noble Ladie Queene* Elizabeth, *her heires and ſucceſſors may peaceably enioy, and quietly hold the poſſeſſion of them with all the rights, priuiledges, preeminences, ſuperiorities, recognitions, and all other authorities in the like manner, ſtate, condition and nature, in which the Kings of England haue held them, and poſſeſſed them before the beginning of this laſt warre. Prouided notwithſtanding, and expreſly couenanted, that the ſaid moſt Chriſtian King, his heires and ſucceſſors ſhall not be bound to reſtore or deliuer the Townes and Fortreſſes, and places aforeſaid, otherwiſe then in the ſame ſtate, manner, and condition, in which now at this preſent they are, and hereafter ſhall bee ſtrengthened and fortified by them, during the ſaid terme, yet ſo notwithſtanding as neither in the time of ſuch reſtitution nor before, that there be not any thing done of ſet purpoſe, whereby the former ſtate of the ſtrengthes, and fortifications which now it is in, or which heereafter added, by them, bee in any wiſe miniſhed, broken, or ouerthrowne, but that all things without fraude, bee reſtored intire and vnimpaired, in manner aforeſaid.*

Alſo it is couenanted and agreed, that during the terme of the ſaid eight yeeres, it ſhall neither bee lawfull for the ſaid Chriſtian King, nor for the ſaid moſt fortunate King and Queene of Scots; nor for the ſaid moſt happy Queene of England to innouate, attempt, or enterpriſe by warre any thing againſt each other, or for any one of them againſt the other, or againſt the Kingdomes, proper dominions, and Subiects of each other, either directly or indirectly, to the preiudice of this preſent treatiſe, &c. And likewiſe if any thing ſhall be ſo innouated and attempted by the ſaid moſt Chriſtian King, and moſt happy King and Queen of Scots, or the ſubiects of them, by the authority, commandement, and approbation of them, or any of them. Then the ſaid moſt Chriſtian King, and King Daulphin, their heires and ſucceſſors, by ſuch kinde of innouation attempted, vpon the deed done, ſhall bee bound and obliged to leaue and depart from the poſſeſſion and occupation of the ſaid Towne of Callis, and of all other places aforeſaid on this ſide the ſea, taken of late from the Engliſh, by the ſaid moſt Chriſtian King. And all thoſe things they ſhall deliuer and reſtore without any delay to the ſaid moſt worthy Queene of England, *in the ſame maner and forme, in which at the ſaid terme of eight yeeres, they were promiſed and couenanted to be reſtored: which reſtitution if it ſhall not be ſo made, the ſaid Merchants and pledges ſhall be bound to pay the ſaid penalty of fiue hundred thouſand Crowns to the ſaid moſt worthy Queen of* England, *and the couenant notwithſtanding of reſtoring the ſaid Towne ſhall neuertheleſſe remaine in force. Moreouer if any of the Subiects of any of the Princes aforeſaid, of their owne authority, ſhall endeauour or attempt any thing againſt the ſubiects of either of the ſaid Princes in preiudice of this Treatiſe, hee ſhall be puniſhed as an infringer of the peace, according to the quality of the fact.*

Theſe couenants notwithſtanding they were ſealed and ſworne vnto, yet were neuer performed at the yeeres of expiration, though Marchants were bound, and hoſtages aſſigned to remaine in *England* till the money were paid.

(9) So ſuſpiciouſly had this Towne of *Callis* been recouered from the *Engliſh*, that the L. *Wentworth* (the Deputy) was indited in *Queene Maries* daies, and now arraigned at *Weſtminſter*; the Marqueſſe of *Northampton* being his Iudge, and Lord Chiefe Steward of *England* for that day; but that Nobleman ſo nobly defended himſelfe, that he was acquitted by his Peeres, and wan a moſt honourable opinion for his many and faithfull ſeruices.

(10) Her Highneſſe hauing thus cleered the Engliſh

English are from all Papall infection, and eſtabliſhed Peace, the greateſt benefit for the Subiect; on the foureteenth of May, being *Whitſunday*, *Diuine Seruice* began to be celebrated in the *Engliſh tongue*, whereby Gods Trumpet might bee heard in a perfect ſound, and the praiers of the Congregation vttered with an vnderſtanding heart. To the end therefore that the *Clergy*, the *Teachers* of others, ſhould not be infected themſelues, the *Oath of Supremacy*, with other Articles, was offered vnto them, the refuſers wherof were forthwith depriued, and others ſurrogated that were more loyally affected. In place of *Poole* deceaſed, Doctor *Parker* was conſecrated Archbiſhop of *Cantarburie*, and of *Yorke*, Doctor *Younge* in ſtead of *Heth*, who refuſed the Oath; and ſo of ſome others: then went forth *Commiſſioners* to ſuppreſſe thoſe Monaſteries reſtored by *Queene Mary*, and to caſt out thoſe Images ſet vp in Churches, whoſe ſight hauing heated the blinde zeale of many poore ignorant people in places of Oratory, were now themſelues in the ſtreets conſumed in the fire, at whoſe flames might be ſaid, as in *Iſaiah* touching peeces of like ſtuffe, had been ſaid: *I am warme I haue been at the fire.*

Diuine ſeruice celebrated in the Engliſh tongue.

1. *Cor.* 14.

The oath of Supremacy offered, and by ſome refuſed.

Superſtitious Images caſt out of Churches.

Iſaiah 44. 16.

(11) After the reducing of this purer worſhip into Gods Church, the next care the *Good Queene* tooke, was to enrich her Realme, by reducing her Coynes into fine and pure Sterling, and debaſing of Copper monies: cauſing likewiſe great ſtore of Munition, Armour and Powder to be brought into the Land, and laid vp in a readines as occaſion ſhould ſerue, that nothing might be wanting either for the wealth or ſafety of the ſubiect.

Purer Coine brought in.

Martiall prouiſions.

(12) But theſe her bleſſed beginnings in *England* were little as it ſeemeth to the liking of the French King, *Whoſe hope* (ſaith *Leſlie*) *by certaine acts of Parliament made by Q. Mary againſt her ſiſter the Lady* Elizabeth *to debarre her from the ſucceſſion of the Crowne, was to eſtabliſh Queene Mary of Scotland, who had lately married Prince Dolphine his Sonne, laying her title from Margaret the eldeſt daughter of King Henry the ſeuenth, linked in Marriage with Iames the fourth King of that name, ſhee being the daughter of King Iames the fifth his ſonne. And therefore as the neereſt in blood and lawfull heire to the Crowne of England, he cauſed by Proclamation in Paris her Stile to bee publiſhed vnder the name of Mary Queene of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and cauſed the Armes of England to bee ioined with Scotland and France, which the Dolphine and ſhee did impale, both in their Seales, Plate, Tapiſtry, and other adornements; which cauſed great troubles* (ſaith hee) *betwixt the Kingdomes of England, France, and Scotland.*

The *Frenſh* King maligneth Queeene *Elizabeths* quiet. *Jhon Leſly* Biſhop of *Roſſe.*

Queene *Mary* of *Scotland* her deſcent.

Her claime to the Engliſh Crowne.

The Title and Armes of *England* giuen to her by the *French.*

The firſt ſeedes of heart-burning betwixt thoſe two great Queenes of *England* and *Scotland.*

(13) In *Scotland* Religion (as *England* had embraced it) beganne to be practiſed; Preachers ſpake boldly, and bookes were dayly brought thither, which nothing at all commended the Pope, and by them (ſaith the Biſhop) *the people were moued to a ſedition*, which to preuent, the * *Queene Regent* cauſed an aſſembly of the Biſhops and Barons, vnto whom the Miniſters preſented theſe Articles.

The progreſſe of Religion in *Scotland.*

Biſhop of *Roſſe.*

* *Mary* daughter to the Duke of *Guiſe.*

Articles propounded to *Scotiſh* Biſhops and Peeres.

1 *That their diuine praier and publike adminiſtration of the Sacrament ſhould bee in the Engliſh tongue.*

2 *That Biſhoprickes and other Eccleſiaſticall benefices ſhould be beſtowed vpon qualified men.*

3 *That ſuch perſons enioying the profits, ſhould perforwe their duties and preach the word to the people.*

4 *That none ſhould be admitted in time to come, into the Miniſtery, vnleſſe his life and learning were anſwerable to that excellent calling.*

The *Scotiſh* Biſhops anſwers.

(14) To the two firſt, the Biſhops alleaging the cuſtomes of the *Romane Church*, would in no wiſe conſent, leauing euery man at liberty *priuately* to pray in what language he beſt liked; and the election of their Biſhops to the preſcription of the *Canon Law*, and to the appointment of their *Queene*. For the two latter, they affirmed, no better order could be preſcribed then that of their *Common Law*, which impoſeth vpon them, aſmuch as was required; and thereupon they began to put the ſame in execution, commanding all that had charge of ſoules to fit themſelues to their functions, otherwiſe to looke for no fauour from depriuation, after the terme of ſixe moneths. Which was (ſaith the ſame Author) *the principall cauſe, that a great number of young Abbots, Priors, Deacons, and beneficed men, did aſſiſt the enterprize, and practiſed deuices for the ouerthrow of the Catholike Religion.*

Many Scotiſh Abbots, Priors, &c. aduance true Religion.

(15) True it is, that at the preaching of *Iohn Knoxe*, and other Miniſters affecting reformation, not onely the Images, Altars, and other like things of abuſe, were caſt downe and burnt, but alſo the Charterhouſe of the Friers at *Perth* deſtroied, which was the faireſt Abbey in the Realme of *Scotland*, then followed the ouerthrow of the Monaſteries of Saint *Andrewes*, of *Stone*, of *Striueling*, and of *Linlithaw*; which ouer-heady proceedings cauſed ſuch ſtirres in the Land, that the *Lords of the Combination* encamped at *Cowper*, to abide battle againſt the *French* (who came into *Scotland* to impeach their purpoſes) had not the trauels of ſome Noblemen preuailed on either part.

Stirres in *Scotland* railed by ſome heady proceedings.

(16) The *French* King, thus ouer-buſie about *Scotlands* ſtate, was ouercareleſſe of his own, when (at ſolemnizing the marriages of his daughter and ſiſter) he would needs be a *Challenger* at Tilt, ſeconded by the Duke of *Guize* & *Ferrara*, which triumphant ioy was ſuddenly clowded with a ſad Cataſtrophe. For to runne his laſt (and indeed his laſt) courſe in fauour of his *Queene*, hee ſent a Lance to the Earle of *Montgomery*, with a command to haue him enter the Tilt; but hee excuſing himſelfe from running againſt his Maieſty, alleaged, that fortune the day before, afforded him not to breake one ſtaffe, and that now (as he feared) ſhe would put him to a ſecond ſhame; but the King, deſtiny ſo enforcing, and his date fully runne, ſent him a ſecond command, which *Montgomery* very vnwillingly obeyed, and breaking his Lance vpon the Kings Cuiraſſe, a ſplinter thereof, his beauer being ſomewhat open, ſtrucke him ſo deepe in the eye, that thereupon ſhortly hee ended his life.

The *French* ſend forces into *Scotland.*

Iſabel his daughter married vnto *Philip* 2. King of Spaine, *Margaret* his ſiſter married vnto *Emanuel Philbert* Duke of *Sauoy*, Iune 30. 1559. *Iohn Serres.*

King *Henry* of *France* killed in Tilting.

(17) After whoſe death, *Francis* his ſonne, and ſecond of that name, at the age of ſixteene yeeres ſucceeded him in the Crowne of *France*; hauing by the marriage of Queene *Mary*, the Title of *Scotland* annexed to his others. He hearing of the troubles raiſed there, in caſe of Religion, ſent *Mounſieur de la Broche* to ſtrengthen the Field, and the Biſhop of *Ameans* to aſſiſt the Queene *Regent*, with his farre reaching and inſeeing councell. Surely the preparation to withſtand them was great, & the Combinators many that ſtood for Reformation, as namely, one *Duke*, fourteene *Earles*, and eleuen *Lords*, beſides other of name and account; but knowing their Aduerſaries forces, and ſeeing thoſe ſtrangers to poſſeſſe diuers of their Townes and Forts, to the oppreſſing of the Kingdome vnder forraigne ſubiection, they were enforced to become Petitioners vnto Queene *Elizabeth*, for aide to expell the *French*, who ſought the ſubuerſion of the Realmes ſtate.

Francis the ſecond King of *France.*

He ſends forces to *Scotland.*

The *Scotiſh* Nobles craue Queene *Elizabeths* aſſiſtance. *Holinſh.*

(18) The Magnanimious Queene, nothing fearing the threats of that potent Nation, nor liking ſuch neighbors as formerly profeſſed to rob her of her right, and now vnder pretence of ſuppreſſing the *Scots*, were not vnlikely to attempt an inuaſion vpon her Realme; (for ſo the *Almanes*, hired by the *French*, were told they ſhould doe) gaue them aſſiſtance vpon Articles aſſured; whereof one was, that they ſhould hold faithfull concurrence with *England* during the life of the *French* King, and one yeere after. For the performance whereof, fiue young Gentlemen were ſent into *England*; and the Duke of *Norfolke* into the North, who from *Barwicke* diſpatched the Lord *Gray of Wilton* for Generall into *Scotland*, accompanied with many worthy Captaines, ſixe thouſand foot, and one thouſand two hundred and fifty horſemen; theſe comming to *Salt-Preſton*, were

Queene *Elizabeth* aſſiſteth *Scotiſh* Lords.

Iohn Leſley.

The Lord *Gray* Generall of the *Engliſh.*

were ioyfully receiued of the Scotiſh Lords, who there in Councell decteed what was to be done.

The Queen Regent deſires conference.

(19) From thence they marched toward *Leſterike*, where a Trumpet from the queen Regent met them with a ſafe conduct for Sir *Iames Croft*, and for Sir *George Howard*, with ſixe other Gentlemen to accompany them vnto her preſence in the Caſtell of *Edenborough*; vnto which the Generall and the Scotiſh Lords agreed, with an abſtinence from Armes during the conference. But the French (the meane while) vnder the command of *Monſieur Doiſell* iſſued forth of *Leith*, and in good array tooke the field, which when the Lord *Gray* perceiued, hee ſent an Harold vnto them, willing them to depart till the Engliſh were returned, according to the order betwixt their Regent and him; but they returned him anſwer, they were on their Miſtreſſes ground, which they meant to make good, and thereupon diſcharged a whole volley of ſhot vpon the Engliſh Army.

The French diſturbe the intended parley.

The French and Engliſh encounter.

(20) The Allarum thus giuen when leaſt it was expected, a cruell skirmiſh began, wherein dyed of the French about ſeauenſcore perſons, the reſt were enforced backe into *Leith*, and many of the Engliſh both hurt and ſlaine. Whereupon they intrenched the *Crag*, and planted their Ordinance againſt *Leith*, vpon whoſe Steeples the French had mounted their great Canons, whence their Bullets flew amaine; and ere long a bold attempt was vndertaken by them, who with fifty Horſemen, and fiue hundred Harquebuſiers iſſued out of *Leith*, and aſſayled the Engliſh new trenches with ſuch valour, as they entred, and a while poſſeſſed the ſame; where they tooke *Maurice Barkeley* priſoner, won his Enſigne, cloyed the touch-holes of three great Peeces, and ſlew no ſmall numbers of their reſiſters.

The French aſſaile the Engliſh.

The Engliſh recouer their Trenches.

(21) The Engliſh by this time had armed themſelues (for this aſſault was vnexpectedly giuen) and Captaine *Vaughan* with his, brauely entred the Trench, who being ſeconded by Captaine *Sommerſet*, *Reade*, and *Arthur Grey*, recouered the ſame with ſome ſlaughter of men, the Ordinance from *Leith* diſcharging vpon them, to the great annoyance of their honourable ſeruice; and now being Maſters of what was late loſt, they cleared the great Ordinance which the French had ſtopped, and caſt a new Trench along by the old Chappell, whence with their great Peeces they beate downe the Steeples of Saint *Anthony* and Saint *Nicholas* in *Leith*, and diſmounted the Peeces that therein lay leuelled againſt them.

Paul Æmyl. The Queene Regent dieth.

(22) In the full courſe of which diſſentions, the Queene Mother, *Regent of Scotland*, (a Lady of excellent endowments of minde) conſumed with thoughts, diſpleaſures, and melancholy, departed this life in *Edenborough* Caſtell: the Lords waxing ſtronger, and *Leith* much weaker through extremity of famine, and the French King, (the onely pillar on whom their ſtrength did conſiſt) not able to aſſiſt them. Who being brought daily into feares, through new tumults ariſing, and increaſed in his own Countrey of *Amboyſe*, was forced (ſaith *Leſlie*) to yeeld vp all the Dominions, both of *France*, and of *Scotland*, vnto Pope *Pius* the fourth, to be at his command and defence; but his Holineſſe fearing his owne tottering eſtate, like a wiſe man, that meant to warpe no more then hee could well weaue, ſuffered King *Francis* to ſeeke for other redreſſe, which he did from her, that was more willing and better able to giue him content.

The French King yeelds ouer his Dominions to the Popes protection. *Leſly li. 10. p. 568.*

Holinſh. Hiſt. p. 373.

The Pope vnable to aſſiſt the French King.

The French King ſeekes for peace with *Q. Elizabeth*

(23) For ſending his Ambaſſadors vnto Queene *Elizabeth*, whoſe noble ſpirit himſelfe had firſt prouoked, deſired her peace to be had with *Scotland*, and that Commiſſioners might be appointed to meete with his in that Realme; alleaging that it was vnfitting to a Soueraigne to ſue to his Subiects, as hee was ouer them by his marriage with their onely Queene. Her Princely mind euer forward to aſſiſt the afflicted, and now deſirous to ſaue Chriſtian bloud, diſpatched into *Scotland*, Sir *William Cecill* her Principall *Secretary*, with Doctor *Wotton* Deane of *Canterbury*, one of her ſacred Councell, eminent for his ſingular prudence, and formerly imployed vpon like affaires in *France*.

Commiſſioners of *England* and *France* meete in *Scotland*.

(24) Theſe falling in conference, concluded finally vpon certaine Articles, whereof thoſe that concerned *England*, were theſe: That neither the King of *France*, nor his Queene of *Scotland*, ſhould thence-forth vſe the Armes or Titles of *England*, or *Ireland*, and that all Letters ſealed with thoſe Armes ſhould be called in within ſixe moneths ſpace; that both the *Engliſh* and *French* ſhould depart *Scotland*, ſome few excepted, employed vpon occaſions, and that a generall pardon ſhould be enacted by Parliament, concerning all ſuch as had been in theſe ſtirres. Which Parliament was aſſembled at *Edenborough* in Auguſt following. Theſe things accompliſhed, an Ambaſſage of thankes was ſolemnly addreſſed vnto *Queene Elizabeth* by the Earles of *Morton*, *Glencarne*, and the young Laird of *Lethington*, with proffer that the Earle of *Arran*, the greateſt Lord in account among them, ſhould bee at her diſpoſe for marriage, which (as they well hoped) would be to her ſelfe.

Articles of Accord.

An Ambaſſage of thanks to Queen *Elizabeth*.

(25) With the like conceiued hope the yeere before, *John* Duke of *Finland*, ſecond ſonne to *Guſtabus* King of *Sweden*, was ſent to her by his Father, to treate a marriage for his elder brother *Ericus*, who was moſt honourably entertained, but diſmiſſed without all hope of his ſuite. Notwithſtanding, *Guſtabus* being dead, *Ericus* now raigning King of *Sweden*, hauing impriſoned his brother *John*, ſolicited her Maieſty the ſecond time, but to his diſhonour as it fell out, for his ſuite reiected in the Engliſh Court, he attempted to match with the youngeſt daughter of *Philip Lantgraue* of *Haſſia*, who hearing that he had twice receiued deniall in *England*, denied him alſo with ſome diſgrace, giuing his daughter vnto *Adolfe* Duke of *Holſt*, Vncle vnto *Frederick* King of *Denmarke*, at that time enemy to *Ericus*.

Ericus ſonne to the King of *Sweden* ſeekes marriage with Queen *Elizabeth*. *Iohannes Leuenclaii. Comment. de bellis Moſcorum.*

(26) The Peace ſcarcely was concluded betwixt *England* and *France*, when *Francis* the young King was taken away by death, and another pupill King crowned, euen *Charles* his younger brother, and ninth of that name, who was guided altogether by the Regency of the Queene Mother, and moleſted with the ciuill diſſentions betwixt the Princes of *Guize* and *Conde*. For whoſe reconciliation Queene *Elizabeth* ſent Sir *Henry Sidney*, Lord Preſident of *Wales*; vnto which her endeauours, howſoeuer the French gaue countenance in Court, yet on the Seas they tooke her Merchants ſhips, impriſoned the men, and ſeized their goods, no other cauſe alleaged but that they were Hugonets.

An. D. 1560. An. Reg. 2. *Francis* the yong French King dyeth. *Charles* the ninth ſucceeded his brother.

Q. *Elizabeth* laboureth to ſettle peace in *France*. The *French* ſeize on Engliſh Merchants.

(27) Theſe miſdemeanors, *Englands* great Queen tooke not well; yet did ſhee not ſo much blame, as pitty the young and ouer-ruled King, brought to ſuch a ſtraight, that he was neither able to defend the authority of his owne Lawes, nor to vphold the leagues made with other Princes. But moſt eſpecially the cauſe of Religion (the onely pretended motiue of all theſe diſturbances) together with the ſolicitations of the French themſelues (as from *Roan*, *Deip* and *Newhauen*) moued her Maieſty firſt to ſet forth her grieuances publikely in print, and next to ſend aide vnto *Monſieur Vidame*, Captaine of *Newhauen*, againſt ſuch as ſought to ſubuert both Religion and the Eſtate.

The French grieuances towards the Engliſh.

The Engliſh ſupport Religion in *France*.

(28) Theſe landing in *Normandy*, were with great ioy receiued into the Townes of *Newhauen*, *Roan*, and *Deip*, which were willingly ſurrendred into the Engliſh Queenes poſſeſſions (the onely Cloud-pillar that ſtood betwixt Gods choſen Iſrael, & the bloud-ſeeking Amalekites in this wilderneſſe of *Sin*,) with this reſeruation by the Queene her ſelfe inſerted, *no way to preiudice the Kings Soueraigne authority, nor the eſtate of the Realme*; ſo vpright was ſhee, notwithſtanding their late vniuſt intruding vpon her right and

A.D. 1562. in Septemb.

Ioh. de Serres.

title; and her owne iuſt and ancient title to thoſe forraine parts, eſpecially to *Normandy*.

Ambroſe Dudley Earle of *Warwick* Generall of the Engliſh.

(29) The Generall of theſe Engliſh ſo ſent, was the Lord *Ambroſe Dudley*, Earle of *Warwicke*, who following his charge before gone to Seas, arriued at *Newhauen* the nine and twenty of *October*, where his Commiſſion was proclaimed, and oath taken, vnto whom ſtrengths of Scotiſh men were ſent him from *Diepe*, whereof Monſieur *Montgomery* was preſently made Gouernour, hauing loſt *Roan* vnto the King of *Nauarre*; though the vnfortunate King bought the victory with his owne death, as he viewed the weaker parts of the City.

The King of *Nauarre* ſlaine at *Roan*.

(30) To with-ſtand the Engliſh thus ſetled in *Normandy*, the Coute *Reingrane* was ſent, and in familiar conference told the Earle of *Warwicke*, that hee was come to be his neighbour; but proued indeed ſo couetous an encrocher, as laſtly hee diſpoſſeſſed the Earle of the Towne. For albeit that many manly feates were therein performed by the Engliſh, and the place ſtored with prizals of wines; yet wanting freſh victuall, but eſpecially freſh water, which the enemy had cut off, the calamities were great, and much more augmented by a contagious peſtilence, that ſlew many more then did either famin or ſword; ſo that the *Engliſh* hauing poſſeſt the Towne for eleuen moneths ſpace, now were conſtrained to ſurrender it vpon compoſition, bringing thence many ſicke Souldiers that dangerouſly infected *England* with a long continuing plague.

Newhauen ſurrendred.

The plague brought into *England* from *Newhauen*.

(31) Times motion in *England* now moued onely with the benefit of peace, and no act memorable to commit vnto Hiſtory; let vs ſupply this Interim with looking a little into the ſtate of Religion in *France*; as wee haue ſeene, and ſomewhat touched the proceedings thereof both in *England* and *Scotland*. The Goſpell ſpreading farre in that faire Continent, the impugners tooke occaſions to raiſe many ſtirres, and all in ſhew to race out new hereſies, as they accuſed and called the reformed doctrine. For which cauſe the French Townes burning in the flames of ſeditions, the Proteſtants bloud was thought fitteſt to quench them, and the rapines committed vpon chaſte wiues and Virgins, was pretended to bee canceld by a marriage wrought and contracted betwixt two Princes of the bloud: which were *Henry* of *Bourbon*, Prince of *Nauarre*, a fauourer of the Goſpell, and *Margaret* of *Valois* the third Daughter of King *Henry* the ſecond, and Siſter vnto King *Charles* now raigning, a Princeſſe much deuoted to the *Romiſh* Religion. Theſe muſt be the Birds to bring others to the Net, and one of them laid for, to be caught in the ſame ſnare.

The State of Religion in *France*.

The Spouſals of *Henry* of *Bourbon* and *Margaret de Valois* ſolemnized with bloud.

(32) This match was plotted by the Marſhall of *Coſſe*, and the *Maſter of Requeſts*, with the deuice no doubt of ſome in higher place, who wrought the Queene of *Nauarre*, vnder the pretence of great affection, that the French King bare vnto her; and the *Chaſtillon* Admirall (a moſt zealous Proteſtant) vnder an intent of imployment for the defence of the Low Countries, againſt the King of *Spaine*. This match indeed ſeemed to confirme a publike concord, onely the Popes diſpenſation muſt be had, by reaſon of pretended conſanguinity of the parties, the one being petty Nephew, the other Grand-child of *Francis* the firſt King of *France*. And the Queene of *Nauarre* made ſome ſcruple of the Ceremonies for the celebration, place, and Church; but ciuill reaſon ouerſwaying all difficulties, the Theater muſt be *Paris*, as the Capitall City, and the marriage acted without any change of Ceremony, or of royall forme.

The plõtters and pretences of the marriage.

The ſcruples of the Queene of *Nauarre*.

(33) *Chaſtillon* the Admirall was formoſt at Court, where the Papals gaue him place, and to take from him all iealouſie or miſtruſt, the King countenanced him ſo much, that hee repayed his loſſes ſuſtained in the warre, grants him the reuenewes of his brother the Cardinall *Chaſtillon*, that lately fled and dyed in *England*, treates with him familiarly, giues him a place in his Priuy Councell, and euer honours him with the plauſible name of Father; inſomuch as the people began to murmure that King *Charles* not onely fauoured the *Hugonites*, but was now become a *Hugonite* himſelfe. And the Admirall for his part thinking all vpright, to that end moueth the King to treat a peace with the Queene of *England*, to the preiudice of the *Spaniards*: with theſe motiues among others; that *Elizabeth* was vnmarried, and *Henry* Duke of *Anion* had no wife, the dignity of ſo high an alliance was honourable for the Duke, and the quality of a Kings brother was not to be contemned by the Queene; he hauing in his young yeeres purchaſed great honour and reputation.

The faire ſhew made to *Chaſtillon* to beguile him and the Proteſtants.

John Serres.

A match wiſhed betwixt Queene *Elizabeth* and the Duke of *Anion*.

(34) The charge of this meſſage was committed to Marſhall *Mountmorency*, both to haue his abſence at Court, the better to worke what was intended, and to ſtay her Maieſty by vertue of that peace, from attempting any thing againſt *France*, in fauour of the Proteſtants. The Foord thus founded by the well-meaning Admirall, ſeemed the more ſafely paſſable: for the two Queenes of *England* and *Nauarre*; the firſt of them granting the *Peace* ſo deſired, and the other without all iealouſie repayred to the French Court; where eighteene dayes after her arriuall, of a quotidian Feuer ſhee dyed, though others ſaid, not without ſuſpition of poyſon, by the perfume of a paire of Gloues preſented vnto her.

An Ambaſſage for peace with Q. *Elizabeth*.

The Queene of *Nauarre* dyeth.

(35) Soone after, the marriage was ſolemnized vpon a high Scaffold, built before the Church dore of *Our Lady* in *Paris*; and foure dayes ſpent in Playes, Feaſts, Dancing, and Maskes: all which were but traines and introductions vnto what was intended: for the Admirall departing the Kings preſence with all complements of amity, as hee paſſed from the *Louure*, and in reading a Petition, was with a Harquebuſſe leuelled out of a window, ſhot into the left arme, and dangerouſly hurt. At which traiterous attempt, the King and Queene mother ſeemed to be greatly perplexed, viſiting him with all expedition, and for his further ſafety, commanded all his fauourers (the Proteſtants) to be lodged neere about him. But the night now approached, *Coſſeines* brake into his Baſe-Court, and three of his Company entring his Bed-chamber, with their weapons barbarouſly murthered him, whoſe goared body at *Guizes* command, they caſt out of the Window, *Guize* himſelfe wiping the bloud from his face, acknowledged him to be the man. His head they cut off, and preſented to the Queene-mother, and ſhee balming it, ſent it to her *Holy Father* for an aſſurance of the death of his moſt capitall enemy.

The marriage of *Bourbon* and Lady *Margaret* ſolemnized.

The Admirall wounded with ſhot.

The Admirall barbarouſly murthered.

A gratefull preſent ſent to the Pope by the Queen mother.

(36) The Pallace Clocke ſtrikes (the Watch-word vnto the Alarum) when the other armed troupes flie to the Admirals lodging, cut off his hands, dragge his martyred Carkaſſe through the ſtreets, and laſtly hang it vp by the feete at *Montfaucon*. And with the like helliſh fury the bloudy faction, oppreſſed the *Proteſtants*, both in the City and Suburbes, ſparing neither ſexe, condition, nor age, through whoſe ſtreets nothing was heard but ghaſtly horrour, armes, horſes, and death, with the pittifull ſhrikings of the Innocents, crying (but alaſſe in vain) for mercy. On the other ſide, the ſhoutes of the murtherers preuailed, ſaying, that this one day ſhold end the quarrell, which neither Pen, paper, decrees of Iuſtice, nor open warre for twelue yeeres together could euer doe. Lamentable was the ſpectacle of thoſe ſacred and maſſacred carkaſes ſtrewed in the ſtreetes, the pauements, Market-places, and Riuers dyed with their bloud, and that Sabboth made direfull, and to the Papiſts infamous, with the bloudy pollution of ten thouſand Innocents, in the ſtaine whereof we will leaue them, and returne our ſtile againe for *England*.

The Maſſacre of the French Proteſtants.

(37) As theſe ciuill ſeditions were on foot in other parts, ſo *Ireland*, too too rebellious, ſought vnder the ſhelter of *Shan O-Neale*, to ſhrowd themſelues from the obedience of *Queene Elizabeths* gouerne-

Iriſh Rebellion vnder *Shan* (that is) *Iohn O-Neale*.

ment; a man cruell by nature, and claiming an inheritary right of the Prouince of *Vlster*, as the *O-Neales* formerly had done of all *Ireland*. For in the troublesome times of *Robert Brus*, when his brother *Edward* named himselfe King of *Ireland*, *Douenald O-Neale*, rowsed out of his lurking holes, in his missiue letters vnto the Pope, styleth himselfe *King of Vlster, and in right of inheritance, the vndoubted Heire of all Ireland.* But his glorious shew being clowded before it was seene, his posterity puld in their hornes like snailes, vntill the fire-brands of Ciuill dissentions betwixt the Houses of *Lancaster* and *Yorke* gaue light to their footing, whilest the *English* left *Vlster* vnto their custody, and followed in *England* the faction which they best fauoured.

Scot. Chron. lib. 12. cap. 36.

Domestick factions strengthen forraigne rebellions.

(38) At which time, *Henry O-Neale* began to be great by marrying the Daughter of *Thomas, Earle of Kildare*; as afterward also his sonne * *Con-More O-Neale*, marryed the Daughter of *Girald Kildare* (his Mothers brother) both of those *Kildares* being Deputies of *Ireland*. From the bed of these Cosen-germanes, issued *Con O-Neale*, surnamed *Bacco*, because he *halted*; who was so right *Irish*, that he cursed all his posterity, in case they either learned the English language, sowed wheate, or built them Houses, lest the first should breed conuersation, the second Commerce of sustenance, and with the last they should speed as the Crow, that buildeth her nest to bee beaten out by the Hawke.

The raising of O-Neales Family. That is, The great Con.

Con O-Neale a right Irish.

(29) But King *Henry* the eight, with whom was no dallying, setting his tallant fast on *Kildare*, in whose rebellions *O-Neale* had engaged himselfe deepe, so ouer-dares this enuying Irish bird, that he flyes into *England*, sues to the Eagle, renounceth the name of *O-Neale*, and puts his whole estate into the Kings hand. Whose humble submission so satisfied his crowned bird, that his life was deliuered out of his claw, and letters Pattents granted vnder the Great Seale of *England*, to hold his reuenewes in Fee of the King, together with the Title of *Earle of Tir-Oen*, to him and to *Mathew* his false reputed son, and to the heires of their bodies lawfully begotten, at what time the said *Mathew* was created Baron of *Dungannon*.

King Henry the eight crushed O-Neale.

The Title of Tir-Oen first granted. Camden in Hibernia, de O Neals.

(40) *Shan O-Neale*, (with whom we began) the eldest legitimate vnto this *Con-Bacco*, seeing himselfe disherited, and a bastard preferred before him, suddenly set his heart against his Father, as also against *Mathew* his high honoured and halfe-reputed brother, whom hee neuer left till hee had murthered, and pursued his Father with such irreconcileable hatred, as he stript him out of House and all, and neuer left, till for want and griefe, the olde man pined away.

Shan O Neales cause of rebellion.

(41) *Shan* then chosen, proclaimed, and inaugured *O-Neale*, by an old shooe cast ouer his head, seized vpon his Fathers inheritance, and with all diligence sought after the sonnes of *Mathew*, to secure himselfe of that which he had got. *Brian* the eldest he caused to be slaine by *Mac Donnel Totan*, one of the *Oneals* race, but *Hugh* and *Cormack* by meanes of the English escaped his hands. Thus seated in *Vlster*, hee began to tyrannize ouer the great men of that Prouince, accounting them his Subiects, as in his answers vnto the English Iusticiar, expostulating with him vpon that point, he laid his Title.

(42) That he was the vndoubted sonne and heire of *Con-Oneale*, borne of his lawfull wife, and that *Mathew* his supposed brother, was the sonne of a Blacksmith, borne in *Dundalke*, and vnto the age of fifteene yeeres had beene so reputed and taken; that then he was obtruded vpon *Con*; by the said Smiths wife, whom hee had formerly kept for his Concubine, with an intent to interuert the inheritance and honour of the *O-Neale* another way. That his surrender vnto King *Henry* of *England*, was of no validity, considering that *Con* had no longer therein then his owne life, neither could that lawfully be done without the consent of the Nobles of *Vlster*, by whom he had beene elected *O-Neale*. That himselfe was by Law both of God and man, the onely true Heire, being the first begotten sonne of his Father, lawfully borne in Wedlocke, chosen, declared and proclaimed *O-Neale*, by the generall consent of the Peeres and People of *Vlster*, and that according to the ancient Law *Tanistry*, whereby a man at his full yeeres is to be preferred before a boy, and an Vncle before a Nephew, whose Grandfather suruiued the Father; and lastly, that he had done nothing, but what he had sufficient authority to doe, and which his ancestors had not vsed before him to doe.

Shan O-Neales sute to Vlster.

The Law Tanistry in Ireland, what it is.

(43) His title thus pleaded and passed without opposition, hee presently fell into other out-rages; for *O-Raylie* hee ouerthrew in the Field, tooke *Cailoigh O-Donel* Lord of *Tir-Conel* captiue, cast him and his children in prison, carried away his wife, and in adultery begat bastards vpon her, seizing vpon lands and goods at his pleasure, and bare himselfe as absolute King of *Vlster*.

Shan O-Neales out-rages.

(44) These his doings *Thomas* Earle of *Sussex* (the Lord Deputy) sought to redresse, whose preparations so strangely terrified him, that by the counsell of *Girald* Earle of *Kildare*, he came into *England*, and cast himselfe prostrate at Queene *Elizabeths* feet, and vpon his submissiue behauiour and promised allegeance, with her gracious fauour returned home; where for a while in his diet and apparell, he conformed himselfe to all kind of ciuility, yea, and did some office of seruice in driuing the *Scots* out of *Vlster*, slaying their Leader *Mac Conel*, and in protecting the poorer sort from the violence and oppressions of the Nobles. In which his doings he drew vpon himselfe their hatreds and complaints; and he whose nature could disgest neither, fell furious for reuenge vpon *Mac-Guir*, Lord of *Fermanagh*, fired *Armagh*, the *Metropolitane* City, laid siege vnto *Dundalke*, and harried the Countrey on euery side.

Thomas Earle of Sussex daunts O-Neale.

O-Neales submission to the Queene.

O-Neale doth some good Offices.

O-Neale againe falleth off.

(45) Against whom Sir *Henry Sidney*, then Deputy of *Ireland*, came in person himselfe into the Field: and *Edward Randolph*, a renowned Coronell, with seuen Ensignes of Foot, and a Cornet of Horsemen, encamped at *Derry* by *Logh Foil*, that so hee might charge the backe of the Rebell; which *O-Neale* well perceiuing, hasted with his forces to remoue: where *Randolph* in a pitcht field entred battell, and there manfully fighting with honour, lost his life, but gaue the *O-Neale* so great an ouerthrow, as neuer after he was able to make Head against his Soueraign, and in many other Skirmishes was so foyled, as he euidently saw his owne dreadfull downfall. Wherefore hee minded once more to sue for the Queenes mercy, and with a halter about his necke, intended to humble himselfe to the Lord Deputy, for his fauour and mediation vnto her Maiesty.

A.D. 1565. Sir *Henry Sidney* Lord Deputy of *Ireland*.

O-Neales power broken.

He thinketh of submission.

(46) But making *Neale Mackener* (his Secretary) secret to these his designes, was by him counselled to try Fortunes fauor yet another way; the occasion well fitting, and the persons of great hope (if hee could fasten amity with them) which were the wilde *Scots*, who held their standing Summer-Campe in *Clancboy*, vnder the conduct of two Brethren, *Alexander* * *Oge*, and *Mac Gillaspic*, whose father and brother this *Shan O-Neale* had lately slaine, in an ouerthrow giuen to the *Scots*. For the surer gaining of whose fauour, he sent before hand *Surley-boy*, *Alexanders* brother, whom he had taken and retained prisoner a long time, and soon after, himselfe with the wife of *O-Donel* (whom adulterously he kept) repairing vnto them, was kindly welcommed & intertained in a Tent; where after their Cups, they fell to a brawle about *Iames Mac Conell*, (*Alexanders* brother) whom *Shan* had slain, as also about the honesty of his sister, whom he had married and cast off, for the loue he bare vnto *O-Donels* wife. Whereupon after a signall giuen, in heate of reuenge, *Alexander* and his brother with many wounds hacked *Shan O-Neale* to death, a few of his followers escaped their swords by flight; by whose death *Vlster* recouered their wished peace,

O-Neale doth submission by his Secretary.

* That is, *Alexander* the yonger.

Shan O-Neale slaine.

after a grieuous distasture of oppression and warres, in which let vs a while leaue them, and returne to the affaires of *England*.

A.D.1567.

Callis demanded of the French King. *April* 28.1567.

(47) The time now expired for retention of *Callis* so sore thirsted after, and so thirstingly kept; *Queene Elizabeth* presently sent vnto *Charles* the *French* King, to demand the deliuery according to couenants. He set in estate, accompanied with the Queene mother and others, the *English* Ambassadors had audience, and the Title controuersed among them as followeth. The *Queenes* Letters read, and attendance giuen what would more be said: Sir *Thomas Smith* (for he was the man) demanded in her Maiesties name, the Towne of *Callis*, the Forts, and other the appurtenances, the Castle and Towne of *Guize*, and generally all such Castles, Townes, and places as had been taken by his Father *Henry*, the late *French* King in his last warres, from *Mary* late Queene of *England*, her Maiesties sister: which in a Treaty of peace made at *Casteau* in *Cambrensis* the yeere of Christ 1559. was agreed vpon, that his Soueraigne, *Queene Elizabeth*, should permit the said *French* King and his successors to possesse, and peaceably to enioy the said Townes, Castles, and places, the space of eight yeeres, and those expired, the said King *Henry* couenanted for himselfe and successors, to deliuer the same intirely vnto the *English*, which being compleat and ended, the second of that present moneth *Aprill*, himselfe with Sir *Henry Norris* her Maiesties Ambassadors, vpon the third day of the same moneth, demanded in her name the possession thereof accordingly, but could not attaine, or get speech, either with Lieutenant or Gouernour. Whereupon they were inforced to make repaire to his Maiesty, whom he doubted not but would accomplish the performance, and likewise keepe perpetuall amity with his Soueraigne Lady and Mistresse.

The Towns Gouernours would not be spoken with.

(48) King *Charles* but young, and altogether gouerned by the Queene-mother, hauing well learned his lesson, made present answer, *That Callis was his, and that none had right thereunto but himselfe*, neither should any deliuer it to any other, *and that the Treaty*, named by the *English* Ambassador, *did wholly giue it him*. Whereunto Sir *Thomas* replyed, That neither her Maiesty nor Counsell did so take it, nor indeed could, the words of the Treaty being so plaine, and manifest. *Why, Master Smith, quoth the Queene-mother, I marueil the Queene your Mistresse would now send for such a purpose, and especially you, who knoweth none better, how all things haue passed: you know that your Queene hath forfeited Callis, and all her rights in those places diuers wayes. As first, by inuading the Kings Subiects in Scotland, then most manifestly at New-hauen, where the King, my Sonne, was faine with an whole Army to recouer it; and in the said Treaty was an Article as hath been disputed, that if the Queene of England should inuade any part of my Sonnes Dominions, shee should forth-with lose her right in Callis.*

King *Charles* speech to the Ambassadors.

Obiections against the Queen of England.

(49) Madam, said Sir *Thomas*: King *Henry* and his successors were bound to lose *Callis*, if they inuaded *England*, and yet did King *Francis*, brother to the King here, doe it by the way of *Scotland*, as is most manifest, after the said Treaty at *Casteau*, not onely in assuming the *Armes and Title of England and Ireland*, but contrary to the Articles of Peace, which concluded that both *English* and *French* should depart *Scotland*: which incontinently her Maiesty performed, in reuoking thence her Lieutenant, Captaines, and Souldiers: whereas contrariwise *Monsieur D'oisell* their Chieftaine abode therein still, and the French power daily augmented vnder the conduct of *Monsieur de Martigues*, and *de-la-Brosse*, and also by another great Commander, whose Nauy was dispersed by tempest, and whose strength his shipwracke did testifie, in *Holland*, *Zeland*, *Norway*, and *Denmarke*, by the losse of Armour, Men, and Munition: to let passe * *Britaigne* and *Normandy*, then in preparing to inuade *England*; and *Lantzknights* likewise hired in *Saxony*, and the Land of *Lunenburge* to assist the French in that enterprise, when these *Almanes* according to their nature loath to take Seas, and desirous to know whither their seruice intended, were told, they should no further then *Scotland*, and to the Land adioyning, which was plentifull of gold, siluer, and all kind of wealth, and where no *Almane* Souldier had made spoile for the space of an hundred yeeres before, and to some of them in plaine termes it was told, that they should into *England*; which was likewise signified vnto her Maiesty, both from her neighbour Princes, warning her Highnesse to take good heed vnto her selfe, as also by letters intercepted, that declared their intents; whereof shee did not onely admonish *Mounsieur de Seure* then Ambassador in *England* for *France*; but also by her Ambassador to the French King, praying him to desist from such attempts so preiudiciall to her Highnesse, and so directly against the treaty of Peace. To colour which matter, the said *de Seure* made a Protestation in Print, the answer whereunto is likewise printed in English, French, Italian, and Latine, wherein may appeare the History of that time. And since her Maiesty hath had a more manifest proofe by men which are yet aliue. For when the most part of the French power was arriued in *Scotland*, the Queene Mother *Monsieur de Oisell*, and *Monsieur de Martigues*, called the Scotish Lords with their Forces vnto *Aimouth*, besides *Barwicke*; where they declared, that their minde was to inuade *England*; and to giue to the King & Queen the possession of the English Crown; of which they now had the *Titles* and *Armories*. But the Lords of *Scotland* vpon consultation, made answer, That they had often attempted to inuade *England*, but they neuer got any good thereby; further affirming, it was against the peace newly concluded and sworne: so neere was it to execution. Vpon this there followed a treaty of peace at *Edenborough*, wherein the number of French Souldiers were to be lessened; the Stile and Armes of *England* left downe, and the treaty of *Casteau* renewed and confirmed: all which may appeare by the hands of them which were Commissioners, authorized by the French King vnder his Great Seale: which treaty when it was signed with all the Commissioners hands, the Queene my Soueraigne for the loue of peace, being contented to seale and sweare; the said King *Francis* did refuse them both, sith which refusal her Maiesty doth, and hath alwayes taken that the right of *Callis*, both propriety and possession, was deuolued vnto her by reason of the attempt, and hath demanded it diuers times, yet was content to stay the time of composition; which now being clearely expired, it must needes be hers, and cannot iustly be denied.

The *French* charged with hard dealings.

The Scotish Lords too wise to be led by the *French*.

The *French* King refused to sweare to the peace.

Answers to the French obiections.

(50) *Why* (said the Queene) *all this while you haue said nothing against the King my Sonne, why hee should forfeit it; he hath done nothing: and is the bearing of your Armes so great a matter with you? you beare the Armes and stile of Ours, and so doe many beare others Armes also.* No Madam, said *Sir Thomas Smith*, the bearing of the Armes is not so great a matter, but that with other things doe declare the intent, and the attempt maketh the right forfeited by the treaty. And though the King your sonne did not forfeit it, yet the right being once lost from *France*, and accrewed to the Queen of *England*, how should it goe from her again? *All this while* (said the Queene Mother) *you speake but of the King of Scotland, who did it in his wiues right, and there you must aske your amends, and not here; you here what my Son saith, and euery man seeth the right is his, your Queene hath forfeited it, and therefore I marueil my good sister will stand in it, or send to demand it.* This is the answer, said *Sir Thomas*, which I shall carry to the Queene my Soueraigne. That? *Nay, said the King, I will talke with my Councell, and then shall you haue a resolute answer.* Then were the English Ambassadors desired to absent themselues a while, and within an houre after were sent for againe.

Queen mother.

Sir *Thomas Smith*.

Queene mother.

Sir *Thomas*.

King *Charles*.

(51) The

* An Addition taken out of a former Treatise written by Sir *Thomas Smith*.

The cause for *Callis* debated before the *French* King and his Councell.

(51) The King ſet in Councell with the *Queene Mother*, the Dukes of *Anion*, *Alanſon*, *Monpencier*, *Aumale*, *and Neuers*, the *Cardinals of Bourbon and Chaſtillon*, the *Biſhops of Orleance and Lymoges*, *Monſieur de Valence & others*, *the Ambaſſadors* of *England* were placed in the middeſt: vnto whom the *Queene ſpake and ſaid*, *Monſieur L' Ambaſſador, I pray you ſay your minde before the King and his Councell here aſſembled*: which Sir *Thomas Smith* preſently did in the ſame forme as hee had done before, adding with all, that this demand was grounded vpon the lapſe of the time, by which without all controuerſie after eight yeeres *Callis* was due to the *Queene* of *England*, and that by right, both the propriety, and the poſſeſſion thereof was inueſted vnto her long age, by the forfeiture made by the attempt in *Scotland*, by the commandement and conſent of *Francis* the ſecond to inuade *England*, ſeeing the King did not ratifie the treaty made at *Edenborough*.

Callis fortified by Couenant.

(51) *Monſieur de Valence ſaid the Queene Mother, I pray you anſwer that, whereupon he ſtanding vp ſaide, my ſelfe was ſent to that treaty of peace, and am glad to heare Monſieur L' Ambaſſador confeſſe that the bearing of the Engliſh Armories was but a ſmall matter, and yet was that the chiefeſt thing imputed by their ſide, as for the men of warre, they were not aboue fiue thouſand at the moſt, ſent indeed becauſe of a rebellion (for ſo muſt I tearme it in plaine tearmes) then riſen there. But the Engliſh men were aboue fifteen thouſand that came againſt them at Petty-Lith. There was ſent thither alſo the Biſhoppe of Amiens with the Popes Bulles to reduce them againe to the Religion Romane. And as touching theſe matters I ſpake with your Queene as can through England, and offered her as much at the firſt as was done in that Treaty, if ſhee would breake the League betwixt her and the Scotiſh Lords, which were Rebels. But ſhee ſaid ſhee could not. Now for the ratification and confirmation of that Treaty which was ſigned with my hand and others: there ſhould haue come into France certaine Scotiſh Lords to haue agreed and ſworn to certain Articles, which did deferre to come till the King was ſore ſicke, and could not attend them, who ſhortly after died and ſo the Treaty was not ratified. And hee being dead, the King that now is, had nothing to doe to ratifie it: for the matters therein touched Scotland, and their Queens doings and titles, which appertained nothing at all vnto him.*

Monſieur d'Valence.

The Romane religion a chiefe cauſe of theſe ſtirres.

Sir *Tho. Smith.*

(53) To whom Sir *Thomas* replied and ſaid, I am not ignorant that the Article ſaith, *Armis innouare, attentareaut moliri*, and doe not take *Armis* to ſignifie *Armories*. But the *Armes* that I meant to weigh the moſt, and the attempt with them done was the Armed men, and the good *Captaines* whom I named *D'Oiſel*, *Broſſe*, *Martigues*, and *others*, their *Enſignes* and *Companies*, marry the *Armories* and *Titles* did diſcloſe the intent and meaning. And if there had beene none other but them which the Biſhop brought, and none other munition but the *Popes Bulles*; Queene *Elizabeth* ſhould not haue needed to haue armed ſo many *Shippes*, nor ſent ſo many *Souldiers* to haue let their enterpriſe, nor would euer haue complained of it: but it was far otherwiſe as I haue declared. As for the league you ſpeake of with the Rebels of *Scotland*, I thinke there was none, and the euent did ſhew what Rebels they were. But this I thinke, they were as weary to haue ſo many of you there, as wee were weary to haue you ſo neare vs. And therein I thinke the Queenes Maieſty & they did agree. And to excuſe the refuſe of the ratification, by the not comming in for the Scotiſh Lords, hath ſmall reaſon to beare it: ſo the Treaty made betwixt the *French King* then, and the *Queen of England*, might haue been ratified notwithſtanding, whatſoeuer was betwixt him and the *Scotiſh* Lords his Subiect: for our fact and peace did not ſtand vpon their doings, which *Treaty* becauſe it was not ratified, I ſay, the *Queene my Soueraignes title* to the poſſeſſion of *Callis*, by reaſon of that attempt, ſtandeth whole and entire vnto her.

The Scotiſh Lords ſcandalized.

But ſir ſaid he (ſpeaking to the *King*) to ſay the truth I haue no commiſſions, nor any commandement or authority to diſpute or anſwere in theſe matters, but onely to demand *Callis* and the other *Fortreſſes* and *places* according to the *Treaty*, which is ſo plain, that to mine opinion, there need be no controuerſie. And if there be any doubt, now the time expired doth put it out of all doubt. Bnt becauſe you and the *Queene* haue charged mee that I know ſo much of the matter, as I cannot deny ſomewhat I doe, as hauing been at the doing of a great deale & the diſpute; Somewhat I muſt, and may ſay for my ſelfe, leſt it ſhould be thought that there were nothing to be ſaid. Marry as I ſaid, as *Commiſſioner* from the *Queene* my *Soueraigne*, I haue nothing to ſay, but the demands onely, the matter being plain and in right iudgement, without controuerſie, and alſo that I ſee no perſon here but ſuch as be parties, and no competent perſon to bee Iudge of the controuerſie. *Whereunto the conſtable replied and ſaide, Who ſhould bee iudge of that which is the Kings but himſelfe? it is his, and none could take or giue it to any other but himſelfe: With that the Queene mother asked Monſieur Chancelier, Why he did not ſpeake.*

No Commiſſion to argue the title but to demand *Callis.*

The Conſtable.

Queen Mo.

Monſieur Chancellor.

(54) Who after ſome pauſe, beganne a long and well compoſed oration, the ſum whereof was this: *That the preſent Kings right to Callis was long before any claime could be made thereunto by the Engliſh, which was not much aboue two hundred yeeres, and then was it got by the fortune of warre; but more anciently, that it had been the inheritance of France, none can deny, as being vpon the Continent thereof, and not vpon any Engliſh ground. King Edward (quoth he) wee grant wan it, and your father noble King rewanne it to his Crowne. But the Engliſh will ſay they haue poſſeſſed and enioyed it many yeeres: Why ſo they did Aquitaine, Gaſcoigne, and Guyen, and other dominions beſides, which they claimed by our Elinor, the repudiate of the King of France, who was inheritrix vnto it: indeed ſome titles they had, yet ſo as they held them of the Crowne of France: for the whole, which is Gallia, appertaineth to you ſir our King: and ſo doth Callis which is of no great antiquity that I can read of: for Countie Boloigne was the firſt that did incloſe it, being afore but a Burgard, as the moſt part of the Townes of France then were. At the battell of Creſſy, dolorous to vs, King Edward of England after nine moneths ſiege, by compoſition had it ſurrendred, the poore inhabitants pardoned of life at the great ſuit of his good Queene, elſe had they died euery mothers ſonne, and ſo with white wands in their hands were expelled the towne: To whom the King of France was ſo mercifull, that hee commanded of euery thing vacant, they ſhould bee the firſt prouided for. And I thinke when your Father King Henry tooke it, the Engliſh were likewiſe ſo ſerued. Theſe claime two hundred yeeres poſſeſſion, the others before them, aboue fiue hundred yeeres: thus God doth to puniſh, or to eſſay his ſeruants. And although the Engliſh claimed Gaſcoigne, and Guyen, by ſucceſſion of Elioner, although Normandy by one William, and Pontieur by a Dowry of their mother, daughter of Philip de Bel: yet to Callis they had no right, but onely by Armes, and by Armes your Father againe recouered it. But ſome will ſay, by the peace at Bretigny, they haue right; I ſay no; for euery man knowes what exceptions were taken at that peace: and ſome, that ſo long a poſſeſſion makes a precription; I ſay no, for Preſcription is among priuate men, but among Princes, preſcription cannot ſtand; and yet theirs was not much aboue two hundred, ours aboue eight hundred yeeres. But to you Monſieur L' Ambaſſadour, I will ſay, that at the peace of Troes in Champaign, were your ſelfe and Monſieur Throckmorton, both of you moſt able in ſuch affaires and nothing therein done, I doubt not without the Queen and Councels conſent: no one word was ſpoken of Callis, which chiefly was the cauſe of the warre; ſo that all ſtandeth clear for al which was then talked vpon, and is a plain confeſſion, that they did acquit their right thereunto. This Article I ſay is* tranſlatinus *in the peace of Caſteau in Cambreſis, and is no more, but ſuch as forgetfulneſſe, or becauſe*

What *Callis* had been.

The French Kings compaſſion vpon the expulſed of *Callis*

Among Princes Preſcription auaileth not.

A prety deuiſe to debar right.

becauſe all ſmall things cannot bee mentioned in conference. But Callis was the chiefe point, which being omitted, I ſay by meaning it was acquitted. But now to your reaſons Monſieur L'ambaſſador; the Article for the loſſe of Callis at that treaty was forced in by you the Engliſh, who of all nations bee the moſt wary and circumſpect in making their peaces. Whereupon the Queene of England, layeth to vs a ſuſpition, a iealouſie, a coniecture, a geſſe, that a King of France would haue inuaded England. But euery ſuſpition muſt not make a breake: for ſo whenſoeuer any Prince ſhould arme his men vpon iuſt occaſion, his neighbours might ſay it was againſt him. And ſo doe you Engliſh lay geſſes againſt the late King Francis the ſecond. But the Queene of England with open face inuaded the Kings Realme, with a goodly pretence to keepe the townes to the Kings vſe, yet when all was reduced into their due obedience, ſhe would keep the town of Newhauen as a pledge for Callis, by which deed ſhee hath loſt all her right in Callis, God indeed hath made a naturall ſeparation betwixt you and vs, a ſure wall of defence, Et penitus toto diuiſos orbe Britannos: *So that naturally you ought to haue nothing but peace and amity with ours. But doe not thinke Monſieur L' Ambaſſador that I ſay this as fearing what you can doe, for there was neuer any King of France ſince Charlemans ſo great as the King is now, had ſo many men of warre, ſo ready, and ſo good Souldiers: and yet his Highneſſe doth deſire the amity of the Queene of England, and the loue of that nation: of which there is the more hope if all theſe pretences and demaunds were cancelled, and Callis forgotten, which hath been the continuall pickequarrell betwixt theſe two Realmes. You neuer read Monſieur Smith, that the French euer inuaded England, I ſpeake it not to your diſpraiſe which are Engliſh, but to your praiſe; yet this I thinke, had there not been ſo eaſie a deſcent, ſo conuenient a place, and ſo ready, for you to make warre here, ye would not (as I ſuppoſe) haue come hither ſo often and troubled our Country, nor the amity betwixt you and vs; And I dare boldly affirme and gage any thing, that the Queene of England ſhall gaine more by continuall peace with vs, then ſhee ſhall doe by Callis, & therefore your Queene muſt leaue off theſe demands and quarrels, and come to a perfect peace with vs. which ſhal be more profitable for both the Realmes: and this I dare aſſure you, here is no Councellor among vs that dare once open his mouth to render you Callis, for my part, I will not be one to moue or aſſent thereunto. Nor I, ſaid the Conſtable, and ſo all the reſt.*

The French had rather make faults then ſee faults.

A faire ſhew to skar the Engliſh.

Callis a continall pick-quarell.

The Conſtable.

(55) Then quoth Sir *Thomas Smith*, *Monſieur Chancelier*, mee thinkes you fetch your Title very farre to haue *Callis*, and howſoeuer the poſſeſſion, was come by, by and by the right is his in poſſeſſion, then by your reaſon all our diſputation is in vaine, and it maketh no matter, *bonáne an mala fide poſſideat*, the *King* once in poſſeſſion, as a thing returning to his primer eſtate *poſtliminio* or gotten of the enemy, yee admit no contract, or latter treaty, ſo as it doth appeare, yee open that which was thought of ſome men, and alwaies ſpoken, that what promiſe ſoeuer was made, the *French* would neuer render *Callis* againe to the *Engliſh*, but keepe it ſtill, *per ius, nefaſque*: this reaſoning paſſeth all anſwere, for whatſoeuer the *Queen of England* had done *quàm ſanctè*, ſo euer ſhee had kept her treaty of this eight yeeres, though ye could obiect nothing againſt her, yet ſhe ſhould neuer haue had *Callis* reſtored; to this kind of reaſoning and to that, that no man dare moue the *King* to render it being due, I cannot anſwere; but to this that toucheth my fact in the making of the *Peace* in *Champaigne*, where I muſt confeſſe, and am not aſhamed, that I was a Miniſter, I doe not yet acknowledge that either I am worthy to bee accounted ſo wiſe as you would make mee, nor our Nations alwaies ſo circumſpect in making Treatiſes with you your owne Writers auerring otherwiſe, and giue you the praiſe therein againſt vs. But for the point wherein you touch vs, that the peace at *Troes* ſhould be *uouatio contractus*, and wee ſhould thereby acquit our right of *Callis*, it is *Antiſtrophon*, and turneth a great deale better vpon you. For if becauſe our talke was of our right to *Callis*, by reaſon of the attempt in *Scotland*, you of the forfeiture of it by reaſon of the decent to *Newhauen*, neither condiſcending to other, and not concluding thereupon, wee did agree vpon that *Peace*. And if that *Peace*, doth make *nouationem*, then the forfeiture of our right by keeping *Newhauen*, which you impute to vs, is wiped away, nouated and clenſed by this *Peace*, and our right which was not yet in *eſſe*, *& cuius dies nondum venit*, remaineth ſtil. So as it toucheth you rather then vs, and by this meanes haue you nothing to ſay againſt vs, but wee ſtill our right againſt you. But the truth is, as Monſieur *Le Conneſtable* here can tell, who was partly the occaſion that we came to it; for when this was contended, that *Callis* was already due vnto vs, you, that wee had forfaited it, ſo that wee could enter into no other Article of peace, why ſaid you; haue not wee the wit to make a peace, and make no mention of *Callis*? neither to ſpeake of it one way, nor other: your times not yet come to ask it, let vs liue in peace in the meane while, and let each *Prince* haue right ſuch as it is, reſerued; whereupon you *Monſieur L'Ambeſpine* were one of the firſt that came with vs, and you know what paſſed.

The French the cauſe that *Callis* was not mentioned in the peace

(56) *Tea* (ſaith hee) *but wee would neuer grant that it ſhould bee put in, that you ſhould haue Callis*: you ſay true (ſaid Sir *Thomas*) nor wee that the *Queens Maieſty* ſhould acquit it, nor the hoſtages neither. But in the end when it came to the Concluſion, as the Biſhoppe of *Orleans*, and *Monſieur Bourdin* can tell, it was agreed, that expreſſly the right be reſerued, aſwell to that, as to any other thing, not expreſſly there mentioned: *Omnes aliapetitiones & demand & ſimiliter exceptiones, & defenſiones* as appeareth by the Treaty. And as touching *Newhauen*, *Monſieur Chancelier*, note in it two things. The one the firſt entry, the other, the keeping after the peace agreed vpon amongſt your ſelues. As for the firſt entry, I deny that our men of warre made any inuaſion or came by force. But being requeſted and deſired aid of a great number of Noblemen, and other who were in perill and danger. And whether did they like inuaders (I aske for all the time that they were not aſſailed) ſpoile any, or robbe any; no, they tooke not an henne or an egge, but they paide for it: I, if any complaine I offer to pay it: This is no inuaſion, nor no hoſtility: but the act of a friend, and at their requeſts and purſuits, wh oſe doings ſir, aſwell for matter of *Armes*, as for other things done in that tumult, you haue declared by *Edict* to haue been done *á bon fin et pour voſtre ſeruice*, which may truly bee ſaid, for by their means and defence, a great number of your good Subiects aſwell men as women, aſwell *Captaines* as *Souldiers*, of whom *Monſieur le Chancelier* did now boaſt, as of other not Souldiers, are ſaued now to doe you ſeruice, which elſe ſhould haue been a prey and ſpoile to them which ſought but the ruin of halfe or third part at the leaſt of your Realme. For the conſeruation of whom, yee in part may thanke the Queen my *Miſtreſſe*. And this for the firſt deſcent of our men. Now where *Monſieur Chancellier* ſaith, that the *Queen* my Miſtreſſe changed her pretence, I ſtil doe ſay ſhee kept her firſt proteſtation. That ſhee would appropriate no *Land Towne*, nor *Fortreſſe* of the *Kings* to her, nor ſhee did neuer claime *Newhauen* as hers, but comming peaceably into it, hauing beene at great charge and coſt, it was both wiſdome and reaſon all other being ſatisfied and content, ſhee ſhould at the leaſt haue ſome reaſon offered her in her right to *Callis*. And otherwiſe ſhe did not hold *Newhauen*, which thing was manifeſtly declared at *Gallion*, where *Articles* were drawn not vnreaſonable, and the matter ſo farre forward, that they were ſigned with my hand, and tarried but for power and Commiſſion to affirme them. But the mortality and peſtilence growing ſo great in *Newhauen*

The condition reſerued.

No hoſtile attempt in entring *Newhauen*.

The benefit accruing vnto th: French by the aide of the Engliſh.

Sir. Tho. Smith.

The *French* all for themſelues whatſoeuer they ſaid.

Philip. Comin.

Newhauen, gaue too much aduantage, which was taken; and the reasonable dealings in this matter broke off; other meaning her Maiesty had none.

(57) *No said the Constable, what meant such preparation, and prouision? I cannot skill of things; but in that arte wherein I haue been brought vp and exercised all my life, I can skill a little. There was such a number of Horse harnesse for the carte: such a number of Artillery, such prouisions of Gammons of Bacon, Cheese and other things, and aboue fiue thousand men, that am I sure went out of it, besides all those that were dead: can you make me beleeue that all this was for Newhauen alone? No Monsieur (said he) I know what belongeth too a Towne of Warre. Yea, said another, and the Ships also that came. Nay sayd the Constable they came to late. Why, said the Queene-mother smiling, will you make vs beleeue that all that preparation was for Newhauen alone?*

(58) Wisedome would, Madam, quoth Sir *Thomas Smith*, because the sea & winde doe not serue at all times, that there should be good store of all manner of prouision. *No, no (said shee) there was a further meaning, but as you haue quitted Newhauen, so must you quit Callis, and let vs be friends, neuer talke more of these demands, nor of the sums of money for which yee had Hostages. All is gone from you quite. Your Queene in comming to Newhauen, hath quitted all. Shee must forget that matter cleane, and let vs be friends still. The King my sonne doth offer as much friendship as need to bee, but as for Callis, ye must neuer speake of it.* It is hard, Madame, said Sir *Thomas Smith*, for a man to forget his right, or not to remember a wrong offered. *Nay; no wrong sayd shee, you haue heard what Monsieur Le Chancellier hath said, and what all these of my sonnes Counsell doe say.* Madame (quoth he) it is for the most part seen that men be partiall in their owne causes, I doe assure you, that the Queene my Soueraigne doth thinke that she hath as good right to *Callis* as to any Towne in *England*: and so doe all her Counsell: and whatsoeuer yee haue heard, I am able to say for her right euen out of hand, but they a great deale more. But Sir, quoth Sir *Thomas*, is this the finall answeer I shall haue? *Yea said the King*, That yee will not render *Callis* vnto her *Maiesty* according to the Treaty, nor pay the fiue hundred thousand Crowns which is for the peine.

(59) *No, said the King, I will keepe them both according to the Treaty*: wel then said Sir *Thomas* I haue no more to say, but to bring this report to her *Maiesty*, which I shall be sorry to doe: and thereupon himselfe, and Sir *Henry Norris*, rose vp to depart, doing their obeisance- *But you take not your leaue, Monsieur L'ambassadors for altogether said the Queene.* Yes forsooth said Sir *Thomas. Doe you intend to come no more at court?* No Madam, except the *Kings Maiesty*, doe command me. But I am sorry to carry this answere so precise; and that there is so little regard of the *Queene* my *Soueraignes* right. *No right, said the Queen, for if there were any, the King my sonne would be loth to offer her any wrong: yee haue heard all the reasons, I marueil that you will take vpon you, you that are learned to defend so vniust a cause.* Ah Madame (said he) I see well, it is true on your part, that men be blinde in their owne causes and aduantages. *Surely (quoth shee) the Queene (my good sister) shall haue more aduantage thus as it is, then to demand Callis. And I pray you perswade her.* I Madame, against her right? *You must not say so, I pray you commend me heartily to the Queene, my good sister, and desire her to keepe the amity and loue which is betwixt her and my sonne, and I shall bee ready to doe her what seruice or pleasure I can, quoth the Queen: and so said the King.* Thus this conference ended, and *Callis* kept still by the *French*.

(60) Now as these distastures fell betwixt *England* and *France*, and these broken Couenants ministred occasions to set each against others: So at the same time, the affaires of *Scotland* was carried with so violent a motion as set the Lords at dissentions, and the land in ciuill sedition; so as not onely outrages were committed vpon the best subiects, but euen vpon the vertuous King and Queene themselues, him they shamefully murdered in a most barbarous manner, and her they tooke prisoner, forced her to resigne gouernment, and lastly to flye into forraine parts for succour. But knowing that this Subiect is to be writ with a farre more noble pen, and our extant relations from vncertainty and suspected reports, we will surcease to intermeddle in the particulars of that Queenes affaires, excepting onely in such entercourses of State, as are wouen in ours, and cannot otherwise be auoided without maime of History; this onely in generall.

The King of *Scotland* barbarously murdered.
The Queene of *Scotland* oppressed by her owne subiects.

(61) *Mary* Queene of *Scotland* hauing imbarked her selfe for *France*, where shee well hoped to finde many friends; by contrary windes (accompanied with sixteene persons) landed at *Werkinton* in *Cumberland*, and from thence was conueied to *Carlile*, to *Bolton* Castle, & lastly to the custody of the Earle of *Shrewesbury*. Whose troubles and misfortune, Q. *Elizabeth* both pitied and sought to redresse, writing in her behalfe vnto the Regent of *Scotland*, and blaming the Lords of the many wrongs done to their *Queen*, which indeed were intollerable to royall authority, and such, as other Princes could not but seeke to redresse, and reuenge; notwithstanding such was the distasture of those distempered Lords, or the frownes of those fatall times, that in *England* she remained euer after during her life.

Queene *Mary* of *Scotland* arriues in *England*.

(62) As the iealousies grew great betwix these two great Queenes *Elizabeth* and *Mary*, by the working instruments of the *Pope*, and forraine Princes; so by the like meanes, were the like discontents bred and nourished in some of the greatest *English* Peeres towards their Soueraigne, wose *Peace*, vnder pretext of Religion, they irreligiously disturbed. Among these, the first in ranke, time and disloialtie, were the two Earles of *Northumberland* and *Westmorland*, who with *Leonard Dacres*, *Neuil*, *Norton Tempest*, *Danby*, and others, purposed on the sudden to haue surprized the Earle of *Sussex*, the Queen Lieutenant of the North in his house at *Cawood*; but therein preuented, they were enforced to keepe secret their intents, till some fit occasion should chance to be ministred. They had in readinesse against the rising certaine *Englisb* Priests, *Morton* and others, with *Bulles* and instruments of absolution, reconciliation, and taking of Oathes to the Pope and his doctrine, which was not so secretly done, but that *Queene Elizabeths* vigilant Counsellors had an inkling thereof.

Queene *Elizabeth* solliciteth the *Scots* in her behalfes. *Bucha-lib.* 19

The Popes instruments nourished discontents in the *English* towards their Soueraigne.
The Earles of *Northumberland* and *Westmorland* in Rebellion.

(63) *Thomas Piercy*; (so was *Northumberlands* Eare named) lying at his Castle of *Topcliffe* in *Yorkeshire*, had gone so farre in his intended purposes, as he could not returne; who being sent for vnto the Court, strucke great amazement and sudden feare into the other conspirators hearts: and his own guilty minde was much more distracted, vpon notice that some forces were aproching for his apprehension; whereupon all affrighted, he rose from his bed, and caused the Bels to be rung in a most confused manner, so that the Townesmen raised, all sought to defend and follow him their chiefe Lord,

Morton a Popish Priest aduanceth the Rebellion with Papall Bulles.

An. D. 1569. The Earle of *Northumberland* sent for to the Court, strengthneth himselfe. Nouem. 14.

(64) The nest thus broken before the birds could well flye, he departed to *Branspeth*, where he met with *Charles Neuill* Earle of *Westmorland*, and his following consorts; who ioining in Councell, made no conscience to vndoe many true subiects, and innocent men: For abusing the *Queenes* name in their Proclamations & Commissions, they commanded the Country to follow them in Armes; sometimes pretending the safety of her Maiesties person in danger (they said) by Treasons in working; and sometimes in case of Conscience for restoring their former Religion, which if themselues should neglect, other forraigne Prince (said they) would doe, to the no little perill of the Realme.

The pretenses of the Rebels.

(65) In this zeale they hasted to *Durham*, with as forward an intent as *Ieroboam* did to *Bethel*, to set vp

1. *King* 12. 33.

The outrages of those rebels. Ier. 36.

vp his *golden Calues*, where they rent and tare the Bible, in as great a contempt, as *Ioachim* did the rowle that *Ieremy* wrote: at *Darington* they besprinkled their host with holy water, for feare of spirits, and at *Rippon* heard Masse, to forward their Treason, with the assistance of that Propitiatory Sacrifice. Whence, with Banners displaied, they entred *Borowbrigge*, old *Norton* being their *Ancient*, whose Ensigne was the Crosse, and fiue wounds of our Lord.

The strength of the Popish Rebels.

(66) From thence they went to *Tadcaster*, *Wetherby*, and *Bramham Moore*, where they mustered sixteene hundred Horsemen, and foure thousand footemen, intending therewith to march vnto *Yorke*. But their mindes altering, they fell vpon *Barnards* Castle, which after eleuen daies resistance, was yeelded vnto them: which fortuuate entrance did so animate their rebellious conceits, as that in their letters sent to their fauourers, they daigned their Soueraigne no better stile, then *Elizabeth the late Queene*, *pretended Queene*, and *no Queene* indeed: as likewise did the Countesse of *Northumberland* in her Letter sent vnto *Stuckley*, and* others of the faction, in far worse termes.

The Rebels faucinesse towards their Soueraign. M.S. of Parliament.
*The Dutchesse of *Ferrara*, &c.

They are proclaimed Traitors

(67) These things diuulged, and their rebellions still going on, *Proclamations* came forth denouncing them *Traitors to their Queene and Countrey*; and the Lord *Scroope* Warden of the *West-Marches*, with the assistance of the Earle of *Cumberland*, and other Genlemen of the Country, kept the Castle of *Carlile*, while Sir *Iohn Foster* warden of the *Middle-Marches*, accompanied with Sir *Henry Percie*, exercised their manly resistance against these proud Rebels.

The Earle of *Sussex* leades against the Rebels.

(68) To withstand their still-growing outrage, *Thomas* Earle of *Sussex* (her Maiesties *Lieutenant Generall* of the North) gathered some forces; whose Lieutenant for the footmen was *Edward* Earle of *Rutland*: and for the Horsemen, was *Henry* Lord *Hunsdon*, Lord Warden of the *East-Marches*, *William* Lord *Eure* leading the rereward. These followed the enemy to *North Allerton*, *Croftbridge*, *Alke*, *Durham*, *Newcastle* and *Hexam*, euen close at their heeles; whose power was so weake, and purse so empty, (being defrauded of an hundred thousand Crownes, promised them by the Pope to maintaine the Rebellion) as that those Rebellious heads entred conference with *Edward Dacres* at *Naworth*, of their desperate estate, being both monlesse and powerlesse to withstand the puissance of the Lord Generall, now on their backes, as also the Earles of *Warwicke*, and *Lincolne*, the Lords *Ferrers*, *Willowby*, and *Howard*, approaching very neere them, euen at *Borow-brigges*. No other succour their consultations could pitch on, then by flight into *Scotland*, vnto those Lords that there stood out for the Romish.

His Holinesse promiseth treasure to aduance the Rebellion.

The Rebels desperate estate.

The chiefe Rebels flye into *Scotland*.

(69) So the night following they put it in practise, not bidding their intrapped traine once farewell, which as Sheepe without a Shepheard, stood gazing at their owne destructions, whilest *Sussex* surprized them without any resistance. Vpon whose ringleaders, Iustice so seized, that at *Durham* died, by Marshall Law, an *Alderman*, a *Priest*, and sixty sixe *Constables*, and in the Country for a great Circuit, a great number of such as were forwardest in the Action.

The remaining ringleaders executed.

(70) Not warned by these successes (which vsually proue vnhappy, in such disloyall attempts) *Leonard Dacres* of *Harlesey* began to gather head againe; whose aiders were the more resolute, in reuenge of their friends executed; and women also became stout Souldiers in quarrell of their husbands, all forward enough, and too forward to mischief. These vpon a More neere vnto *Naworth*, to impeach the *Lord Hunsdon* that made thitherward; had set downe their battell in a triangle forme, where they continued a long and most desperate conflict, but in the end were forced to giue backe, and *Dacres* to flie from his slaine, wounded, and scattered people, towards *Scotland*, the then-Refuge of Traiterous transfugers.

Leonard Dacres renueth the Rebellion.

A.D. 1570. Februar. 22. The Rebels embattell themselues.

(71) *Scotland* thus harbouring those disloiall *English*, and their owne Lords diuided into seuerall factions, some of them sought to conceale, and some to apprehend these guilty Earles; so that *Westmorland*, was shifted away into *Flanders*, but *Northumberland*, taken by the *Regent*, and committed to Custody, was afterwards sent into *England*, where hauing beene attainted by Parliament, vpon the twenty two of *August* was beheaded at *Yorke*: vsing liberty of speeches, in auowing the *Popes* Supremacy, denying subiection vnto his Soueraigne *Queene*, affirming the Realme to be in a *Schisme*, and her obedient Subiects, no better then *Heretickes*. *Charles Westmorland* his consort, a person vtterly wasted by loosenesse of life, euen by Gods iust iudgement, in the time of his rebellion, was bereaued of children, and afterwards wandring in forraigne parts, had his body eaten with vlcers of lewd causes, as is most constantly reported. But from these temporall proceedings (being the Domesticke effects of a forraign cause) let vs a while behold the spirituall flourish of the Popes leaden sword, vnsheathed at *Rome*, to enspirit and enflame such traiterous dispositions against *Englands* Queene.

Northumberland sent into *England* and beheaded. *Tho. Randol.*

A.D. 1570.

Execution of Iustice, &c.

Westmorlands end.

(72) *Nicholas Mooreton* an Eglishman, made Bishop by *Pius Quintus*, that Pontificall and surlie Pope of *Rome*, who now hauing turned the key of his Consistory, and set wide open the dores vnto the complaints of his Clergy, against those Christian Princes that vrged subiection to their positiue Lawes (a Note indeed ill sounding in the eares of his sons) amongst others, this puppet Bishop, commenced a feined suite and plea against *Queene Elizabeth*, whom thereupon *Pius* (like a *transcendent Iudge*) depriued from all Princely authority, as one vncapable either of Crowne, or Gouernment, and with the curse of his impious mouth, sent forth his *Bull* to goare her *Maiesty*, like to those of *Bashan*, that encompassed *Dauid*; the tenour whereof (if the words corrupt not the aire, and the inke the eies of the beholders) shall stand for euer as a *Pillar of Salt*, and Monument of shame to that *man of sinne*; the transcript whereof, taken from the originall it selfe, is as followeth.

The Popes instruments & endeauours to ruinate Queene *Elizabeth*.

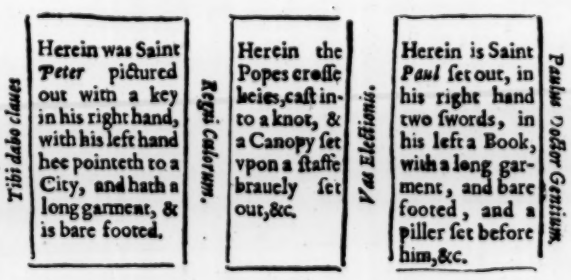
Morton commenceth suit against Q. *Elizabeth* before Pope *Pius Quintus*.

Psal. 22. 13.

The Bull of *Pius Quintus* to dethrone Queene *Elizabeth*.

Pij Papæ 5. *Pontificis Maximi Sententia declaratoria contra Elizabetham, prætensam Angliæ Reginam, & ei adhærentes Hæreticos.*

Quâ etiam declarantur absoluti omnes subditi à iuramento fidelitatis, & quocunque alio debito, & deinceps obedientes Anathemate illaqueantur.



Pius Episcopus seruus seruorum Dei, ad futuram rei memoriam.

(73) *Regnans in excelsis, cui data est omnis in cælo & in terra potestas, vnam sanctam Catholicam & Apostolicam Ecclesiam, extra quam nulla est salus, vni soli in terris, videlicet, Apostolorum Principi Petro, Petrique successori Romano Pontifici, in Potestatis plenitudine tradidit gubernandam. Hunc vnum super omnes gentes & omnia regna principem constituit, qui euellat, destruat, dissipet, disperdat, plantet, & ædificet, vt fidelem populum mutuæ charitatis nexu constrictum, in vnitate spiritûs contineat, saluumq; & incolumem suo exhibeat Saluatori. Quo quidem in munere obeundo, nos ad prædictæ Ecclesiæ gubernacula Dei benignitate vocati, nullum laborem intermittimus*

termittimus, omni operâ contendentes, vt ipſa vnitas & Catholica Religio (quam illius Author, ad probandam ſuorum fidem & correctionem noſtram, tantis procellis conflictari permiſit) integra conſeruetur. Sed impiorum numerus tantum potentiâ inualuit, vt nullus iam in orbe locus ſit relictus, quem illi peſtima doctrina corrumpere non tentarint, adnitente (inter cæteros) flagitiorum Seruâ Elizabetha, pretenſâ Angliæ Reginâ, ad quam veluti ad Aſylum omnium infeſtiſſimi profugium inuenerunt. Hæc eadem, Regno occupato, Supremi Eccleſiæ capitis locum in omni Anglia, eiuſque præcipuam authoritatem atque iuriſdictionem monſtruoſe ſibi vſurpans, Regnum ipſum, iam tunc ad fidem Catholicam & bonam frugem reductum, rurſus in miſerum exitium reuocauit. Vſu namq; veræ Religionis, quam ab illius deſertore Henrico octauo olim euerſam, claræ memoriæ Maria Regina legitima huius ſedis præſidio reparauerat, potenti manu inhibito, ſecutiſq; & amplexis hæreticorum erroribus, Regium Concilium ex Anglicâ Nobilitate confectum diremit, illudq; obſcurus hominibus hæreticis compleuit, Catholicæ fidei cultores oppreſſit, improbos concionatores atq; impietatum adminiſtros repoſuit. Miſſæq; ſacrificium, preces, ieiunia, ciborum delectum, cælibatum, ritúſq; Catholicos aboleuit. Libros manifeſtam hæreſim continentes toto Regno proponi, impia miſteria & inſtituta ad Caluini præſcriptum à ſe ſuſcepta & obſeruata, etiam à ſubditis ſeruari mandauit. Epiſcopos Eccleſiarum, Rectores, & alios Sacerdotes Catholicos, ſuis Eccleſijs & Beneficijs eijcere, ac de illis & alijs rebus Eccleſiaſticis, in hæreticos homines diſponere, déq; Eccleſiæ cauſis decernere auſa, Prælatis, Clero & Populo, ne Romanam Eccleſiam agnoſcerent, neue eius præceptis ſanctionibúſq; canonicis obtemperarent, interdixit; pleroſque in nefarias ſuas leges venire, & Romani Pontificis authoritatem atque obedientiam abiurare, ſéque ſolam in temporalibus & ſpiritualibus Dominam agnoſcere iureiurando coegit; pœnas & ſupplicia in eos qui dicto non eſſent audientes impoſuit, eaſdem ab ijs qui in vnitate fidei & prædicta obedientia perſeuerarunt, exegit; Catholicos Antiſtites & Eccleſiarum Rectores in vincula coniecit, vbi multi diuturno languore & triſtitia confecti, extremum vitæ diem miſerè finierunt. Quæ omnia cum apud omnes nationes perſpicua & notoria ſint, & grauiſſimo quamplurimorum teſtimonio ita comprobata, vt nullus omninò locus excuſationis, defenſionis, aut tergiuerſationis relinquatur; Nos, multiplicantibus alijs atque alijs ſuper alias impietatibus & facinoribus, & præterea fidelium perſecutione, Religionisque afflictione, impulſu & operâ dicta Elizabethæ quotidiè magis ingraueſcente, quoniam illius animum ita obfirmatum atque induratum intelligimus, vt non modò pias Catholicorum Principum de ſanitate & conuerſione preces, monitioneſque contempſerit, ſed ne huius quidem ſedis ad ipſam hac de cauſâ Nuncios, in Angliam trajcere permiſerit, ad arma Iuſtitiæ contra eam de neceſſitate conuerſi, dolorem lenire non poſſumus, quod adducamur in vnam animaduertere cuius maiores de Republica Chriſtiana tantoperè meruêre. Illius itaque authoritate ſuffulti, qui nos in hoc ſupremo Iuſtitiæ Throno, licet tanto oneri impares, voluit collocare, de Apoſtolicæ poteſtatis plenitudine declaramus prædictam Elizabetham hæreticam, & hæreticorum fautricem, eique adhærentes in predictis, Anathematis ſententiam incurriſſe, eſſeque à Chriſti corporis vnitate præciſos. Quinetiam ipſam prætenſo Regni prædicti iure, nec non omni & quocunque Dominio, dignitate priuilegioque priuatam, & item Proceres, ſubditos & populos dicti regni, ac cæteros omnes, qui illi quomodocunque iurauerunt, à iuramento huiuſmodi, ac omni prorſus Dominij, fidelitatis & obſequij debito perpetuo abſolutos, prout nos illos præſentium authoritate abſoluimus & priuamus; eandem Elizabetham prætenſo iure Regni, alijſq; omnibus ſupradictis. Præcipimuſque & inter dicimus vniuerſis & ſingulis proceribus, ſubditis, populis, & alijs prædictis, ne illi eiuſue monitis, mandatis, & legibus audeant obedire. Qui ſecus egerint, eos ſimili anathematis ſententia innodamus. Quia verò difficile nimis eſſet præſentes quocunque illis opus erit perferre, volumus vt earum exempla, Notarij publici manu, & Prælati Eccleſiaſtici, eiuſue Curiæ ſigillo obſignata, eandem illam prorſus fidem in iudicio, & extra illud, vbique gentium faciant, quam ipſæ præſentes facerent, ſi eſſent exhibitæ vel oſtenſæ. Datum Romæ apud S. Petrum. Anno incarnationis Domini, 1569. Quinto Calend. Martij, Pontificatus noſtri Anno quinto.

The ſame in Engliſh.

The declaratory ſentence of the Vniuerſall Biſhop, *Pope Pius* the fift, againſt *Elizabeth* the pretended Queene of *England*, and againſt the Heretikes that take her part.

Wherein alſo all her ſubiects are declared to be abſolued from the Oath of Allegiance, and any other duty whatſoeuer, and beſides, they that doe obey her, are pronounced accurſed.

Pius the ſeruant of the ſeruants of God, for remembrance hereof in time to come.

(74) He that raigneth aboue, to whom is giuen all power in Heauen and Earth, hath committed in fulneſſe of power to be gouerned, one holy Catholike and Apoſtolike Church (where-out is no ſaluation) to one onely in Earth, namely, *Peter* the Prince of the Apoſtles, and to the Romane Biſhop the Succeſſor of *Peter*. And him alone hath he made Chiefe ouer all Nations and Kingdomes, who may roote out, deſtroy, ſcatter, waſte, plant, and build: that the faithfull people knit together with the band of mutuall Charity, might be kept in the vnity of the Spirit, and preſented in health and ſafety vnto their Sauiour. For the vndergoing of which office, we being called by the goodneſſe of God to the gouernment of the ſaid Church, doe refuſe and omit no paines, labouring by all meanes that this vnity and Catholike Religion (which the Author thereof for the triall of the faith of thoſe that be his, and for our correction and amendment, hath ſuffered to be toſſed with ſo great afflictions) might be preſerued whole and entire. But the number of the wicked hath ſo much encreaſed in power, that now there is no place in the World left, which they haue not attempted to corrupt by moſt wicked Doctrine; among the reſt, *Elizabeth* the ſeruant of ſinfulneſſe, the pretenſed and vnlawfull Queene of *England*, with whom, as in a Sanctuary the moſt wicked Perſons of all doe finde a refuge. This Queene, ruling the Kingdome, and monſtrouſly vſurping to her ſelfe the place of the ſupreme Head of the Church throughout all *England*, and the chiefe authority and iuriſdiction of the ſame, hath reuoked againe to miſerable ruine this very Kingdome, which was in a manner recouered againe to the Catholike faith, and good deuotion. For the vſe of the true Religion (which the moſt lawfull Queene, *Mary* of famous memory, by the helpe of this Seate had repayred, being before by the Apoſtata, *Henry* the eight, ouerthrowne) now by ſtrong hand reſtrained, and the errours of Heretikes imbraced and followed; ſhee hath remoued the Councell of State that conſiſted of the Engliſh Nobility, and fild the ſame with obſcure hereticall fellowes; ſhee hath oppreſſed the Profeſſors of the Catholike faith, and hath ſet vp wicked Preachers and Miniſters of impieties. Shee hath aboliſhed the Sacrifice of the Maſſe, Prayers, Almes, difference of meate, ſingle life, and Catholike rites. Shee hath commanded Bookes to bee ſet forth containing manifeſt Hereſie, and her ſelfe vſing and obſeruing wicked Rites and Inſtitutions, according to *Caluins* preſcription; hath alſo commanded them to be obſerued by her Subiects. Shee hath preſumed to caſt out Biſhops of Churches, Rectors, and other Catholike Prieſts, from their Churches and Benefices, and to diſpoſe of them and other Eccleſiaſticall liuings among Hereticall men; preſuming alſo to iudge of Church matters, ſhee hath forbidden the Prelates, the Church and People, that they ſhould

not acknowledge the Romane Church, nor that they obey his Precepts and Canonicall Iniunctions; ſhee hath compelled many to yeeld to her wicked lawes, and to forſweare and abiure the authority and obedience of the Romane Biſhop, and to acknowledge her by their Oath, the onely Gouernour in temporall and ſpirituall matters; ſhee hath impoſed penalties and puniſhments vpon thoſe which were not obedient to her command, and hath exacted the like vpon them which perſeuered in the vnity of the Faith, and in the aforeſaid obedience; ſhee hath caſt into Priſon the Catholike Gouernours and Rectors of Churches, where many, laden with daily languiſhings and ſorrow, haue wofully ended their liues. All which things, foraſmuch as they are notorious and manifeſt to all Nations, and ſo approued by the moſt graue teſtimony of very many, that no way is left them for excuſe, defence, or euaſion: We moued by the impieties and miſchiefes that more and more multiply, beſides the grieuances of the faithfull, the affliction of Religion which groweth daily more intollerable by the meanes and working of the ſaid *Elizabeth*, whoſe minde is ſo hardned and indurate, that ſhee hath not onely contemned the godly prayers and admonitions of Catholike Princes for her health and conuerſion, but alſo hath not ſuffered the meſſengers of this See to come into *England* to her about this buſineſſe; We, I ſay, moued by theſe cauſes, haue of neceſſity betaken our ſelues to the weapons of Iuſtice againſt her, not being able to refraine from griefe and ſorrow, that wee muſt needes puniſh ſuch a one, whoſe Anceſtors haue ſo well deſerued of the Common-weale, and of all Chriſtendome. Being therefore ſtrengthned with his authority, who hath pleaſed to ſet vs in this ſupreame Throne of Iuſtice, though vnfit for ſo great a burthen, wee by the fulneſſe of our Apoſtolike power, doe declare the foreſaid *Elizabeth* an Hereticke, and a maintainer of Heretickes, and thoſe that take her part in the things aforeſaid, to haue incurred the ſentence of *Anathema*, and to be cut off from the vnity of Chriſts Body. And moreouer that ſhee is depriued of the pretenced right of her ſaid Kingdome, and alſo from all Rule, dignity, and prehemineuce whatſoeuer, and alſo her Nobility, Subiects, and People of the ſaid Realme, and all other which haue ſworne vnto her, by any manner of meanes, are abſolued for euer from ſuch Oath, and from all duty of Empire, fidelity, and obedience, in ſuch ſort as we doe abſolue them by the authority of theſe preſents, and depriue the ſaid *Elizabeth* of the pretenced right of the Kingdome, and of all other things aforeſaid. And wee doe command and forbid all and ſingular of the Nobility, Subiects, People, and other aforeſaid, that they preſume not to obey her admonitions, commands, nor lawes. Whoſoeuer ſhall doe otherwiſe, we doe enwrap them in the like curſe. And becauſe it were too difficult a matter to beare theſe preſents to euery place where there is need, we will that the Copies of them being ſigned with the hand of the publike Notary, and the Eccleſiaſticall Prelate, or with the Seale of his Court, haue the ſame credit and authority in Court, and without it with all Nations euery where, that the preſents themſelues ſhould haue if they were exhibited. Giuen at *Rome* at Saint *Peters*, in the yeere of the Incarnation of our Lord, 1569. the fifth of the Calends of *March*, and of our Papacy the fifth.

Iſaiah 59.5. The fruits and effects of the Popes Bull.

(75) The webbe thus wouen by theſe Spiders of *Rome*, and the Cockatrices Egge hatched into a Serpent, many were imployed to patch vp this garment of iniquity, and Spirits ſent abroad to corrupt *Englands* ſweet ayre; the one ſort, plotters of inuaſions to lay the Land waſte, and the other, conſpirators againſt her annointed perſon. The chiefe of either in this place, (omitting the order of Annales) that they may ranke together without interruption of better narrations, and not infect the paper in more places then one, I will here lay downe; aſſuring my ſelfe, that many more attempts were plotted, then euer were diſplayed. For the thunderbolt of curſes throwne from that *Iupiter of Rome*, denounced her Maieſty vncapable either of Crowne or Kingdome, tooke ſuch rootes in the hearts of theſe Locuſts, that they both armed themſelues openly to battell, and ſecretly ſought to imbrue their barbarous hands in their Princes bloud. *Apoc.*

(76) For this Brutiſh Bull, calued in the Popes Conſiſtory (or rather Cow-houſe) and now able to trauell from *Rome*; in *London*, and at the Weſt ende of *Pauls*, firſt put forth his hornes, being there hung vpon the Biſhops Pallace Gate, by a lewd perſon imployed as an Herauld from the Pope. *Moreton* an old Engliſh fugitiue, (as hath been ſaid) had procured it: brazen-faced *Sanders* in his writings maintaineth it, *Briſtow* in his Motiues approued it, *Northumberland* and *Neuil* had put it in practiſe, *Iohn Felton* had diuulged it, the two *Nortons* ſupported it, and many after-followers aſſaid to execute it; all which, like Serpents bite the boſomes wherein themſelues lay, but neuer could hurt her, the *Lords beloued, and holy Annointed*, who in peace and glory came to her graue, in a full age, as a ricke of Corne into the Barne in due ſeaſon. The Popes Bull hanged vp at the Biſhop of *Londons* gate. Patrons and abettors of the Bull. *Sand. de Viſibil. Monarch. Briſtow Motiue* 6. *Iob* 5. 26.

(77) The Marſhaliſts, beſides them in the North, were *Iohn Throckmorton*, *Thomas Brooke*, and *George Redman*, with others, who intended with ſound of Trumpet and Drum, to proclaime their diuelliſh deſigne at *Harleſton* Fayre, in the County of *Norfolke*; their ſhew being for the ſuppreſſion of Strangers, but their maine end, to make a ſtrange alteration in the State; whereby they haſtened their owne ends, ſuffering a death due to Traytors. A.D.1570. Execution of certain Traytors.

(78) But more dangerous were thoſe Conſpiratours, which ſecretly plotted to bring in *forraigne powers*, or publikely by their writings animated men thereunto, defaming the faire face of *Englands* Religion, and deforming the body of *Elizabeths* Gouernment; in which kinde *Sanders* and *Briſtow*, two Engliſh fugitiues, were the *Iannes and Iambres that withſtood Moſes*; *men of corrupt mindes, and enemies to the Faith*; *Traytors, heady, and high minded, hauing a ſhew of godlineſſe, but denying the power thereof*, as the Apoſtle propheſied, that in *the laſt dayes ſuch ſhould ariſe*: both of them approuing *Pius Quintus* his proceeding about her *Maieſties* depriuation, and iuſtifying the wicked in their Rebellions, contrary to the Doctrine of that Apoſtle, whoſe Chayre they pretend to vphold. From which ſinke of iniquity, iſſued thoſe corrupt ſtreames, that became bitter as wormwood, the taſte whereof brought many to their vntimely, but wel-deſerued deaths: among whom, firſt was *Felton*, the two *Nortons*, *Kenelme Barne*, and *Edmund Mather*; not long after whom, followed Doctor *Story*, who may not bee forgotten in our Story. Secret inſtruments to draw in forraine enemies into the Land. 2 *Tim.* 3. 8. 1 *Pet.* 2. 13. *Apoc.* 8. 11. Iuſtice executed vpon certaine Traytors.

(79) This man by birth was Engliſh, though an Alien in heart, by Profeſſion a Ciuilian, and Doctor of the *Canon Law*, a perſecutor of Gods Saints in the dayes of the laſt Queene, and in this Queenes raigne, a turbulent inueigher againſt the Religion eſtabliſhed in the Engliſh Church. For which being apprehended and committed to Priſon, he found meanes of eſcape, and in *Antwerpe* receiued Commiſſion vnder Duke *D'Alua*, to ſearch all Ships comming thither for Engliſh Bookes; not forgetting his tyranny wherein he had beene trayned, nor to further trayterouſly many and great attempts to bring in *forraine powers* for *Englands* ouerthrow. But the pit that he digged, he fell into himſelfe, and the deſtruction prepared for others, light on his owne pate; for one *Parker*, an Engliſh Merchant, loyally affected to his Prince, trading to *Antwerpe*, laid his ſnare faire to catch this foule Bird; cauſing ſecret notice to be giuen vnto *Story*, that in his Ship were ſtore of Hereticall Bookes, with other intelligences, which might ſtand him in ſteed. Doctor *Story*. His impriſonment and flight. His imployments beyond the Sea.

(80) The Canoniſt conceiuing that all was Cock-ſure,

Cocke-ſure, haſted to execute his Commiſſion himſelfe, where with lookes very bigge vpon the poore Mariners, each Cabbin, Cheſt, and Corner, aboue board were ſearched, and ſome things found to draw him further on; ſo that the Hatches muſt be opened, which ſeemed to bee vnwillingly done, and great ſignes of feare was ſhewed by their faces. This drew on the Doctor to deſcend into the hould; where now in the Trap, the Mouſe might well gnaw, but could not get out: for the Hatches went downe, and the Sayles hoyſed vp, which with a merry gale were blowne into *England*, where ere long hee was arraigned, and condemned of high Treaſon, and accordingly was executed at *Tyborne*, as hee had well deſerued.

Story taken in his owne ginne.

His arraignment and execution.

A.D. 1571.

(81) To the like end came *Sherwin*, *Campion*, *Kirby*, with others ſeditious Trumpetters of this infamous Bull, and *Sanders* the Iriſh Legate, the greateſt maintainer of his goaring authority, though he eſcaped the Barre of Iuſtice, yet was found out by a raging *Phrenſie*, as he wandred ſuccourleſſe in the waſte Mountaines of *Ireland*, wherein laſtly he miſerably dyed. But to leaue theſe poyſonous tonguemen and libellous Pen-men to regiſter their owne ſhame, and ſeare their conſciences with the brand of ſinne; let vs diſcouer thoſe other daring and ſwording Monſters, who actually imployed themſelues to lay either violent hands vpon her Maieſties perſon, or the Land open to *forraigne Inuaſions*.

Sherwin, Campion &c.

Sanders his miſerable end.

(82) The firſt of them (or firſt manifeſted) was *Iohn Sommerſile* of *Elſtowe* in *Warwickeſhire*, a furious young man, who like a tempeſt that threatned deſtruction, came ragingly forward towards the Court, with intent to murther the Queene; the progreſſe of which attempt ſummarily was thus. Keeping his *Whitſontide* with *Arden*, (his Wiues Father) he was there ſo wrought by *Hall* a Seminary Prieſt, as hee conceiued a deſperate rage againſt her Maieſty, holding it a matter (ſeeing there was no hope of alteration during the life of the Queene) meritorious to make her away; to which bloudy reſolution, he was further inſtigated by his wicked wife. Whereupon returning home, he grew much perplexed, hauing many feares and conflicts in himſelfe, which cauſed his Wife to write vnto *Hall*, to come and ſtrengthen the man with firmer reſolutions. But he, buſied elſewhere with the like purpoſes, by Letter excuſed his not comming, yet therein aduiſed him to goe forward, promiſing he would aſſiſt him with his prayers to God for his good ſucceſſe.

Somerſils Treaſons.

A.D. 1583. Execution of Iuſtice.

The progreſſe of his attempt.

Hall a Seminary prepareth *Sommerſile*.

Sommerſils conflicts of minde.

Halles animating of him.

(83) This Letter receiued, he grew fully reſolued to actuate the deſigne, and haſted his iourney amaine towards *London*; who no ſooner departed, but that his wife ſent *Halles* Letter vnto her Mother, and ſhee preſently made it knowne to *Arden* her Huſband, which Letter he cauſed to be burnt, as ſoone as himſelfe was called in queſtion. But *Sommerſile* diſcouered by the way, was indited in *Warwicke*, and thoſe his Aſſociates condemned of high Treaſon in *London*; *Sommerſile* confeſſing his intent, ſaid, that he had been moued thereunto by his wicked ſpirit, and by the inticements of certaine ſeditious perſons, his Kinſmen and Allies, together with the often reading of pernicious Bookes, publiſhed againſt her Maieſty. This deſperate Ruffian committed to *Newgate* after his condemnation, moſt deſperatly ſtrangled himſelfe to death; an example of Gods ſeuerity againſt ſuch ſonnes of diſobedience.

Sommerſile and the reſt condemned of Treaſon.

Somerſile ſtrangleth himſelfe.

Decem. 19.

(84) Of which litter in the dayes of this bleſſed *Deborah*, not ſo few as *one hundred and twenty* of knowne *Ieſuites* and *Seminaries* ſcrawled like frogs, through her faire ſoyle, croaking, and ſpawning their doctrine to recall obedience to the Pope, and diſſwading the Subiects from the allegeance vnto their Queene: Of this number fifty three with pardon of life were baniſhed the Land, and the reſt as Traytors dyed for conſpiracy againſt her perſon, and breach of the Law in that caſe enacted for the indemnity of the State. To ſhrowd themſelues and their Diſciples from that danger of Law, at the ſuite of *Campion Perſons*, *Haywood*, and *Hart*, a diſpenſation was giuen to the *Camelion Catholikes*, from the rigorous extent of the foreſaid Bull: ſo that moſt of theſe *Seminaries* imploied for *England*, caſt off their *Serpentine Skinnes*, and ſhewed themſelues abroad in the attire of *Gallants*, the more ſafely to vent their enuenomed drugs, and to keepe their Coules from preaching at the Gallowes.

The number of eluits & Prieſts in the Raigne of Queene *Elizabeth*.

E. Reg. 27.

A diſpenſation obtained from the rigour of the Bull.

(85) To which end faculties were granted to *Robert Perſons*, and *Edmund Campion*, vntill they could make their party ſtrong in *England*; which faculties were engroſſed on this wiſe;

Faculties granted by the Pope to his adherents.

Petatur à Summo Domino noſtro, explicatio, &c.
Let there be deſired of our moſt high Lord an explication or meaning of the Bull declaratory, made by Pius *the fifth againſt* Elizabeth, *and ſuch as doe adhere or obey her: Which Bull the Catholikes deſire to be vnderſtood in this manner, that the ſame Bull ſhall alwayes bind her and the Heretikes, but the Catholikes it ſhall by no meanes bind, as matters doe now ſtand or be, till hereafter, when the publike execution of that Bull may be had, or made.* And in the Concluſion thus, *The higheſt Pontiffe granted theſe ſore ſaid Graces to Father* Robert Parſons, *and* Edmund Campion, *who are now to take their way into England the foureteenth day of Aprill, in the yeere of our Lord*, 1580. *being preſent, the Father Oliuerius, Manarke aſſiſtant.* And though the one of theſe *Spyders* ſpunne his Webbe ſo in corners, as he could not be found, yet was the other ſwept downe by the hand of Iuſtice, and drew his laſt threed in the Triangle of *Tyborne*. After whom others, as ſome likewiſe before them, ploughing with the ſame Heyfer, and ſowing the furrowes with the ſame ſeed, reaped their harueſt with no better increaſe, then tares or darnell could yeeld, as was ſeene by their ſucceſſes.

The Romaniſts ſuite to the Pope.

The Popes grant to his Agents.

Rob. Parſons.

Edmund Campion.

(86) Wherein *Cuthert Mayne* in *Cornwall* had (before this time) borne a part, who armed with an *Agnus Dei*, and an old Copy for a new Iubile, with ſome other Writings, maintaining the authority of *Rome*, diſſwaded the naturall ſubiects from their due obedience, deliuering diuers *holy Graines* (as he termed them) by which, he that had ſuch ſhould be knowne to be ſure of that ſide, and thereby to bee defended in the bloudy day, as by his inditement ſtandeth vpon Record, and confeſſed vnder his owne hand.

A.D. 1577. *Cuthert Maynes* Treaſons.

The vertue of holy Graines.

(87) *Nelſon*, *Hanſe*, *Lacies*, *Briant*, *Cotam*, and a great number of others, were all of them employed to draw the hearts of the Subiects from their Soueraigne, and to prepare way to an intended Inuaſion. And leſt Maſſing Prieſts ſhould be wanting to make eaſie the ſcrues of their winding deuices, when their Cobwebs were wouen, *Thompſon* brought *Holy Oyle* to beſmeare their ſhauen Crownes; *Hemford* a diſpenſation of *Pius Quintus* his Bull, not to extend to the *Catholikes*, *vntill opportunity ſerued*; and *Haydocke* was doubly imployed, both to prepare aides to aſſiſt the enterprize, and to note the fitteſt landing places for forraine forces, which himſelfe ſent word to Doctor *Allen* he had done.

Nelſon and other inſtrumen s of Rebellion.

Thompſon.

Hemford.

Haydocke.

(88) But *Iohn Payne* a Prieſt, ſtepped yet ſomwhat further, in practiſing the death of her Maieſty, who with *fifty Reſolutes*, furniſhed at the Popes charge, was appointed violently to aſſayle her, being ſlenderly guarded, as ſhee tooke her recreation abroad. Theſe, and ſuch others are the men that are made *Martyrs* in the Popes Bead-rolle, as *choſen veſſels* to ſuffer for the *Romiſh* cauſe, of which number *Sanders* was not worthy to be, as himſelfe Doctor-like ſignified in his Letter vnto *Allen*, which here I inſert, according to the Originall, to ſhew what honeſt hearts he and his Mates did beare towards their Natiue Country.

Payne.

The Popes holy Martyrs.

To the Right Worſhipfull M. Doctor Allen
Ieſus, S. P. in Domino.

A Letter of *Sanders* vnto Maſter *Allen*.

(89) *Yours of the ſeuenth of Iune came to my hands*

*to greater comfort, then the ſucceſſe that followed could maintaine. O pittifull change of things, the more need of peace within, to withſtand ſuch troubleſome perſecutions as you there haue ſuffered. I am not worthy to partake them: they are for more choſen veſſels. GOD grant you all there to know your owne bleſſing, and to thanke God of it. I had as much before my eyes long before, and ſtill thinke that wee ſhall haue no ſteady comfort but from GOD: a x A A, not o x. Therefore I beſeech you to take hold of the Pope, for the King of Spaine is as fearefull of warre, as a Childe of fire: and all his endeauours is to auoid all ſuch occaſions. * A will giue two thouſand, when you there ſhall be content with them. If they doe not ſerue to goe to England, at the leaſt they will ſerue to goe into Ireland. I thanke you heartily for the fauour you haue ſhewed to Gibbons brother, it ſeemeth to be a bleſſed brood, for Gods ſake continue your fauour ſtill that way, albeit I feare me your Seminary will againe fall to diſperſion. I haue none other thing in this world ſo at the heart, as to be with you: nor can I get leaue to depart hence. Therefore if it ſo fall that it bee no hinderance for you to come hither, loſe not the occaſion.* Vale in Chriſto Ieſu viſcera mea, ego te fruar in Domino, qui te in æternum tueatur. *From Madrid the 6. of Nouember*, 1577.

Secret Characters.

* *A.* Seemeth to ſignifie the Pope

(90) By this we ſee, what plots were intended for the ſubuerſion of *England*, and what fruits thoſe *Italianate Fugitiues* brought forth, but as men cannot gather grapes from the *Thornes*, neither doe finde the figges on the *Thiſtle*; ſo let theſe *brambles* bring forth their owne berries, and let their hands bee prickt that ſeeke to plucke them; as indeed they did theirs, of whom we are to write; whereof *Francis Throgmorton*, a Gentleman well educated, and of a good wit, was one; who weary of longer delay, after ſo many yeeres plotting, and conſulting of an Inuaſion, reſolued to be the man himſelfe, to bring the matter to an iſſue.

Luke 6. 43. Math. 7. 16.

The long conſultation about an Inuaſion, draweth towards an iſſue.

Throgmortons Treaſons.

(91) This man ſollicited by *Barnardine Mendoza*, the Spaniſh Leager-Ambaſſador lying in *London*, vndertooke a moſt dangerous deſigne againſt his dread Soueraigne, and natiue Country, which was, to bring in a *forraigne Army*, and *to alter Religion*, with alienation of the Crowne and State. His imployment was to ſound the Hauens for entrance, and to collect a Catalogue of the names of ſuch great men in euery County of *England*, as ſtood for the Papall cauſe, vnto whom *Charles Paget* (masked vnder the names of *Mope* and *Spring*) was ioyned for an aſſiſtant. *Sir Francis Englefield* in the Low-Countries, and others elſewhere had vehemently ſollicited the King of *Spaine* to attempt *Englands Inuaſion*, and the *Duke of Guize*, vndertooke to be the principall leader, conditionally that *Rome* and *Spaine* would beare the charge of the warre.

An. D. 1583. See the *Diſcou.* of Treaſons.

His deſigne and proſecution of it.

Charles Paget.

Sir Fr. *Englefield.*

(92) For compaſſing this plot, *Throgmorton* (for his part) had plotted a chard of the Hauens and Harbours of *England*, and gathered his Catalogue of Catholike aiders, which hee preſented vnto *Mendoza*. In this his Suruey no place was held fitter to land theſe forraine powers, then was *Arundel* in *Suſſex*, both for the neere cut from thoſe parts of *France*, where the *Guize* meant to muſter his men, as alſo for the opportunity of aſſured perſons, to giue them aſſiſtance, as they did preſume. The want was onely Money; for which, meſſengers were employed vnto *Rome* and to *Spaine*, whoſe returne was daily expected with bagges and Bils of Exchange, as they wiſhed and well hoped, which confidently was aſſured by *Barnardine Mendoza*, promiſing that the King his Maſter would beare halfe the charge of the enterprize.

Arundel the harbour appointed for landing.

Bernardine Mendoza.

(93) The Treaſon thus forwarded, and ready for execution, the *Watchman of Iſrael*, who euer waked for the defence of his *Annointed*, and walled her *Vineyard* with his owne protection, ſhooke out the fruite of this ill-conceiued ſeed from the huske, before it was ripe. For *Throgmorton* ſuddenly apprehended, and his Study ſearched, the Catalogue of *Romanized* Gentlemen of euery Shire, and the Hauens for landing of *forraigne power*, were therein found: with certaine Petigrees touching the title to the *Engliſh Crowne*, and ſome infamous libels publiſhed beyond Seas againſt her Maieſties Perſon. But a certaine Casket couered with greene veluet, was cunningly conueyed from vnder a bed, and carried to the *Spaniſh Ambaſſador*, wherein many things lay hid, that neuer after came to light; as alſo a letter which himſelfe was then writing in Ciphers, hee conueyed from the ſight of the ſearchers: all which himſelfe confeſſed, and with his owne Pen wrote the whole Conſpiracy, for which, after iudgement he moſt worthily dyed.

Throgmorton apprehended.

Throgmorton confeſſeth the whole conſpiracy.

A. D. 1584. *Parries* Treaſon.

(94) Not warned by theſe, *William Parry* (as hee named himſelfe) a man of a profuſe waſtfulneſſe, riot, and prodigality, hauing conſumed two Widdowes wealths, and wounded his Creditor, by committing Burglary, was for the fact condemned to die, but ſued and obtained his pardon of life by the compaſſioned mercy of *Queene Elizabeth*, which he, vngratefull man, ſought to requite, by vowing her death, that ſaued him from his. For trauelling into forraine parts, and there obtaining the title of a *Ciuilian Doctor*, he fell from his naturall alleagiance (as riotous Malecontents vſually doe) and reconciled himſelfe vnto the See of *Rome*, then hauing frequent acquaintance and conference with certaine Ieſuiticall Prieſts, was finally inſpired with a helliſh reſolution to kill her, who had giuen him life.

M. *Hugh Hare* in the Temple.

Parry formerly had his life by the Queenes pardon

(95) Whereunto hee was further inſtigated by *Benedicto Palmio*, a Father Ieſuite, *Chriſtofero de Salazar*, Secretary to the Catholike King, and *Thomas Morgan* an Engliſh Fugitiue, *Annibal à Codreto* his Confeſſor, approuing the diueliſh deſigne; and *Ragazzoni* the Popes *Nuntio*, promiſing that this Catholike ſeruice ſhould be remembred at their Altar. Two things were yet wanting, to ſtrike vp this Cataſtrophe, which were the Popes approbation, and his Abſolution from all his ſinnes: to procure which, *Cardinall Como* was imployed, who ſo effectually followed the buſineſſe, that both were ſhortly procured, and ſent him into *England* with a warrant to proceed in his Holineſſe Name.

The inſtigators of his diueliſh attempt.

Cardinal *Como* ſolliciteth the Pope for the exploit.

(96) Thus armed from *Rome*, his promiſes on Earth, and his vowes in Heauen, the worke ſeemes meritorious, and the Queene muſt die: to effect which, no fitter way could be found, then to faine himſelfe a falſe Traytor indeed. For hauing priuate acceſſe to her preſence, was heard at large, that hee was the man who had vndertaken her death, which to ſound the deepe waters, and to beare ſayle with the faireſt, he promiſed to doe, with no intent, as he conſtantly affirmed, to act that impoſed charge, but onely to diſcouer thoſe who laid for her life. Her Highneſſe (whoſe piercing vnderſtanding was not eaſily blinded, or beguiled with words) ſeemed ſo doubtfully to interpret his confeſſed fact (which yet ſhee kept ſecret from her neereſt Counſellors) that he in great feare departed; as how can a conſcience ſo clogged, but feare? Whereupon his late letter from *Como* he ſhewed; which ſeeming alſo to be little eſteemed, and his ſuit to be M^r. *of S^t. Katherines*, vtterly reiected, confirmed more deſperatly his reſotion to kill her: and often hauing weapon, preſence, place, & oportunity, purpoſely thought to performe it, but euer was daunted when he beheld the glory of her preſence, and Maieſty in her face, wherein to his ſeeming, the Image of God, in her his Vicegerent, was portrayed, commanding him obedience, and threatning deſtruction to thoſe who intend violence againſt his holy Annointed.

Parry treacherouſly confeſſeth himſelfe a Traytor.

Parry ſheweth the Queene Cardinall *Comos* Letter.

Parry incenſed with deniall of his ſuit for Saint *Katherines*.

The Maieſty of Queene *Elizabeths* preſence often daſhed *Parries* attempt.

(97) This *Synons* part thus failing, he ſought to vndermine the walles yet another way; his vowes reſting in Heauen, were holy motiues (forſooth) to his helliſh act, and *Allens* Booke redoubling his former reſolutions (wherein euery word was a warrant for his prepared minde, and euery line taught, that Kings might be depriued, excommunicated, and violently

Parry animated by *Allens* Booke.

M. Edmund Neuil.

violently deposed, in case of the religion of *Rome*) vpon these spurres hee posted to a worthy Gentleman, whom he supposed as discontented as himself, opening his Treasons for the bringing in of *forreine inuaders*, solliciting his assistance, and threatning with dagge or dagger to kill the Queene.

Parries Treason descried.

(98) The Gentlemen, loathing this horrible intent, reuealed the Treason vnto two principall Priuie Counsellers, and they vnto her Maiesty, who commited his examination vnto Sir *Francis Walsingham* her principall Secretarie, a man of exquisit iudgement, integrity and industry in all state affaires and intelligences; the Treasons then found out, and confessed by himself, were diuulged by his voluntarie pen, & subscribed vnto with his own hand, with many other circumstances vnknowne before, and againe were seconded by another letter, written to the Lords of the Counsell, which heere out of the Originall, I haue inserted.

Sir Francis Walsingh. the prime man of that age for intelligences of State.

Parries Treason confessed vnder his owne hand.

(99) *My Lords, now that the conspiracy is discouered, the fault confessed, my conscience cleared, and minde prepared patiently to suffer paines due for so hainous a crime: I hope it shall not offend you, if crying,* Miserere, *with the poore Publicane, I leaue to despaire with cursed Caine. My case is rare, and strange, and for any thing I can remember singular: a naturall Subiect solemnly to vow the death of his naturall Queene, (so borne, so knowne, and so taken by all men) for the reliefe of the afflicted Catholike, and restitution of Religion. The matter first conceiued in Venice, the seruice (in general words) presented to the Pope, continued and vndertaken in Paris and lastly, commended and warranted by his Holinesse; digested and resolued in England, if it had not been preuented by accusation, or by her Maiesties greater lenity and more gratious vsage of her Catholike Subiects. This is my first and last offence conceiued against my Prince, or Countrey, and doth (I cannot deny) containe all other faults whatsoeuer. It is now to bee punished by death, or most graciously (beyond all common expectation) to be pardoned. Death I doe confesse to haue deserued: life I doe (with all humilitie) craue, if it may stand with the Queens Honour, and policie of the time. To leaue so great a Treason vnpunished, were strange; to draw it by my death, in example, were dangerous. A sworne seruant to take vpon him such an enterprize, vpon such a ground, and by such a warrant, hath not been seen in England. To indite him, arraigne him, bring him to the Scaffold, and to publish his offence, can doe no good. To hope that hee hath more to discouer then is confessed, or that at his execution he will vnsay any thing he hath written, is in vaine. To conclude, that it is impossible for him in time to make some part of amends, were very hard and against former experiences. The question then is, whether it be better to kill him, or (lest the matter bee mistaken) vpon hope of his amendment to pardon him. For mine owne opinion (though partiall) I will deliuer you my conscience. The case is good* Queene Elizabeths; *the offence is committed against her sacred person, and shee may (of her mercy) pardon it without preiudice to any. Then this I say in few words, as a man more desirous to discharge, his troubled conscience, then to liue. Pardon poore* Parrie, *and releeue him: for life without liuing is not fit for him. If this may not be, or be thought dangerous or dishonourable to the Queenes Maiesty (as by your fauours I thinke it full of honour and mercy) then I beseech your Lordships (and no other) once to heare me before I be endicted, and afterwards, if I must die, humbly to entreat the Queens Maiesty to hasten my triall and execution: which I pray God with all my heart, may proue as honourable to her; as I hope, it shall bee happy to me. Who will, while I liue (as I haue done alwaies) pray to Iesus Christ for her Maiesties long and prosperous raigne. From the Tower the* 18. *of February.* 1584.

Parries letter to the Lords of the Councell.

W. Parry.

Februa 25.

(100) And according to this his last request, his inditement was framed, and arraignement performed at *Westminster*, where he pleaded himselfe guil and had iudgement of a Traitor. Which accordingly was executed in the Palace at *Westminster* vppon the second of *March* following; where (whether for feare of preiudicing and discrediting the Romanists cause, or by whatsoeuer other perswasion) he impudently denied, that he euer had an intent to kill the Queene, notwithstanding all his owne former confessions, witnesse of the fact, & other cleare euidences of truth; among which, the letter receiued from Cardinal *Como* is not vnworthy to be here annexed, whose translation from the originall, written in the *Italian* tongue, is as followeth.

W. Parrie executed.

Denied his owne confessions.

(101) *Sir, his Holinesse hath seen your letter of the first, with the assurance included, and cannot but commend the good disposition, and resolution, which you write to hold towards the seruice and benefit publike: wherein his Holinesse doth exhort you to perseuere, with causing to bee brought to effect that which you promise. And to the end you may be so much the more holpen by that good spirit which hath moued you thereunto, his holinesse doth doth grant you plenary indulgence, and remission of all your sinnes, according to your request. Assuring you that besides the merit that you shall receiue therefore in heauen, his Holinesse will further make himselfe debtor to acknowledge and requite your deseruings, by all the best meanes he may. And that so much the more in that you vse the more modesty, in not pretending any thing. Put therefore to effect your holy and honorable determinations, and attend your health. And to conclude, I offer my selfe vnto you heartily, and wish all good and happy successe. From* Rome *the xxx. of* Ianuary 1584.

Cardinall *Como* his letter to *Parrie*.

At your disposing

N. Card. of Como.

(102) Had not then her Maiesty iust cause to complaine, as shee did? when in the honourable assembly of Parliament, shee openly professed, that *shee knew no creature breathing, whose life stood hourely in more perill then her owne; and that euen at the first entrance into her estate, she entred into infinite dangers of life, as one that had to wrestle with many and mighty enemies.* And yet, in confidence of her celestiall Protector, and of her owne innocency, she often seemed somewhat too remisse and neglectiue in the care of her selfe and life, as appeared manifestly by her procedings with this last Traitor, in keeping his conference of that importance, from the knowledge of her Counsellers, & often admitting priuately his accesse, though he had told her, he was the man appointed to worke her death. And indeed such was this Princesse Magnanimity, that in an apparant danger, as great, though not so traiterous as this, she shewed a resolution of courage farre aboue her sex, when being in her Barge vpon *Thames* to take the aire, accompanied with the French Ambassador, the Earle of *Lincolne*, and others, a Seruingman in the Court from his Caliuer discharged a Bullet, & shot the waterman, within fixe foote of her seat, (the second to her Bales) through both the armes; whereat all other being amazed, and the man abundantly bleeding, she threw him her scarfe, and with words of comfort bad him be of good cheer, he should not want, for the bullet was aimed at her, though it hit him; and with such resolute courage bare it out, as all present, admired. Neither so onely, but knowing afterwards that it was done casually at randome, she both pardoned the party of his life, when he was to die, and commanded his Master to retaine him againe into his seruice.

Ex Parla. in An. 1585.

The hazards and troubles that attend Crownes.

Queene *Elizabeth* her vndaunted confidence.

Thomas Appletree shot the Queens Bargeman. 1579. Iuly. 17.

The Queen pardons the offender.

(103) And indeed, of singular clemency, and inbred lenity was this Lady, that shee neuer heard mention of the capitall (though neuer so deserued) punishment of offenders, euen of such as had sought her owne death, but it bred a kind of horrour and sorrow in her; whereby, had not her Counselles ernestly inculcated the necessity of such exemplary Iustice, many dangerous attẽpters had escaped their due.

Her singular clemency towards offenders.

due punishment. Which moued her to say, being once questoning with a * great Diuine of *Oxford*, about bookes meetest for Princes to study on, that *her Reading of* Seneca de Clementia, *had done her much good, but some would perswade her, it had done her State as much harme.* But for her loue to her people in generall, and tender care ouer the poorer sort, or any waies oppressed, in was incomparable; whose eares were not only open at all times to their complaints, and her hands ready to receiue their petitions; but her manner was also to commend their cause vnto her counsell and Iudges, giuing these and the like earnest charges; *Haue care of my people, you haue my place: doe you to them that which I ought to do; they are my people, yet euery man oppresseth and spoileth them without mercy. Themselues can neither helpe themselues, nor reuenge their quarrell: See vnto them, I pray you, see vnto them, for they are my charge, them therefore I charge you with, euen as God hath committed them vnto me. I care not for my selfe, my life is not deare vnto mee, my care is for my people; I pray God my Successor bee as carefull for them; and surely they which might know my cares for my people, may likewise conceiue, that I take no great ioy in wearing the Crowne.*

* D.R. of C.C.C. in Oxford

Her gracious loue to her people in generall.

Her earnest commands to her Counsellors and Iudges.

(104) What heart then could conceiue so great mischiefe, or hand could bee so barbarously violent, as to worke the destruction of so louing a *nursing Mother*, but onely those *obdurate and venemous Vipers*, which eat forth the way from the wombe of their owne conceptions; Or rather those sting tailed Locusts, arrising with *foggy smoake* from the bottomlesse pit, who to reare vp their *Dagon*, or great King *Abaddon*, cast downe Princes with the wings of their warre, and execute their damnable doctrine in the murthers of the Lords annointed; whereas *Dauid* durst not touch *Saule*, though he was abiected by God.

Apoc. 9. 2.

(105) Those Proselites so vncessantly, yeere by yeere, prosecuted the *Romane cause*, that many of them thereby deseruedly came to their deaths: amongst whom was *Henry Piercy Earle of Northumberland*, gone so farre in such disloiall enterprizes, as being vpon suspition of Treason committed to the Tower of *London*, he laid violent hands vpō his own life, by discharging a Dage, charged with there bullets, vnder his left pappe, wherewith he pierced his heart, and presently dying, was by a Iury found guilty of his owne death. The Treason laid against him (besides the former of the insurrection in the *North*, by himselfe confessed, and by the Court fined at fiue thousand Markes) was, that he had beene priuy to the Plots of *Throgmorton*, for the bringing in of *Forreine powers*, to the destruction of the Queen and Realme; which truth being reuealed by other conspirators, he so deepely apprehended, as in that desperate manner hee preuented his further iudgement.

A.D. 1585. *Henry Piercy* E. of *Northumberland.*

violent [illegible]th.

Out of the Record.

(106) In the same place (though after the *Spanish* attempt for Innasion *Anno* 1588. which purposely wee yet passe ouer, to auoide interrupting of particular mens Treasons and designes) *Philip Earle of Arundell*, and Sir *Iohn Perat* late Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, both of them condemned of high Treason, by course of nature ended their liues; the one seeking to escape the Land, was first fined at ten thousand pounds, and afterwards found guilty of a higher offence, had sentence of death: the other likewise, *for plotting with Spaine, to open their way into Irelard*, gaue way to the Law to take hold on his life.

Philip Earle of *Arundle* dieth in the Tower. Sir Iohn *Perat* dieth.

An.D.1589.

An.D. 1592.

(107) Neither were these great ones drawne alone into the confederacie of *Romes* irreligious purposes, but others also, thirsting for *Englands* destruction, of lesse quality or place, had parts appointed to be actors in the Scene: which parties themselues shal now enter the Stage, euen fourteene in number; whereof *Anthony Babington* Esquire, was the Princ pall, the others were *Chidioke Tichborne, Charles Iun y, Edward Abington, Thomas Salisbury, and Edward Iones* Esquires, *Iohn Sauage*, *Robert Barnewell*, *Henrie Dun*, *Iohn Tranerse*, *Iohn Carnocke*, and *Richard Gage*, Gentlemen, and *Iohn Ballard* a Seminary Priest; for can there be any conspiracies hatched without them? The plot was the more dangerous by how much the more secretly carried, and the parties resolute to venture therein vnto death, whereof sixe vndertooke to murther the *Queene*, and *Sauage*, bound himselfe for her death.

An.D.1586. [illegible]thington and his fellowes Treasons.

Babingtons letter.

(108) The shew must be against the precise *Puritanes*, whose *chiefe* or * *head* in the Low Country, not onely threatned (as was pretended) the destruction of all Romish Catholikes, but also to vsurpe the Crowne from the Queene; and therefore for the security of both, they were thus enforced to make ready for armes. Their aiders in *England* were many, as *Babington* beleeued, who wrote that the *West parts*, the *North parts*, all *Walles*, the Countries of *Lancaster*, *Darby*, and *Stafford*, were in great forwardnesse, and had giuen fidelity to giue aide to the enterprize. That *Lord Piercy* could doe much in the *North*, *Arundel* in the *South*, and the *Lord Paget* in the heart of the Land, though two of them were then in Prison, and *Paget* in *Spaine*; their onely want was of a *Nobleman* to leade them, wherof they were destitute, as *Babington* complained, vnlesse it were *Westmorland*, and he out of the *Realme*.

Their pretenses. * Earle of *Leicester.*

The false imaginations which Traitors haue of abbetors and friends.

(109) Their forreine assisters were many and strong, especially *Spaine*; as *Mendoza* assured them. The Ports were appointed where the Inuaders should land; and once landed, should be seconded from all parts by the Italianated *English*, as they vainly hoped; the *Statists* surprized which held not for *Rome*; the faith restored that had been abandoned, and the vsurping Competitor (for so they termed the *true annointed Soueraign*) dispatched by murther, themselues the onely men marked (if euer) now to redeeme the Land from the seruitude and bondage which Heresie had brought, with the losse of thousands of soules. These were their glozes vpon *Pius Quintus* his alleaged Text, and the *faire visards* that hid their *foule faces*, whom *God* himselfe vnmasked to their following shame.

Their forraine assisters.

(110) For *Ballard* being sent to *Mendaza*, to signifie al things now in a readinesse, and ready to embarke himselfe for *France*, was suddenly apprehended; and part of the conspiracy discouered. Whereupon *Babington*, with *Charnock* and *Sauage*, enters a new resolution, which was immediately to kill the Queene, whereas of their bounty it had beene ordered before, that shee should liue vntill the *Inuasion*, which was appointed to be in *September* following. But being intercepted before he well wist, hee was committed to Custody, yet so as hee went abroad with his Keeper, from whom he shortly made his escape: and thinking to recouer the Seas, disguised himselfe like a Labouring man, staining with wallnut-tree laeues his hands and face, which shadowed neither his shame nor sinne, neither yet could hide him from the eye that called him to account; for being descried and brought backe to *London*, he was with curses of the people committed to the Tower, whence he could not so easily start.

Ballard a Seminarie.

Babingtons diuellish resolution.

Iuly.

(111) The other conspirators, hearing of these their confederates successe, dispersed themselues & plaied least in sight, yet were they found out, indited and brought to their trials, all of them confessing their Treasons without any torture. Yet at their arraignement (perswading themselues belike, that what they did by papall warrant, could not be called Treason,) they pleaded not guilty, which the Iury vpon manifest proofes finding otherwise, they worthily receiued iudgement of death, and died accordingly in *Lincolnes Inne fields*, euen in the place where they had often conferred for the execution of their Treasons.

The Traitors executed.

(112) The nest of conspirators thus broken in *England*, and their snares still failing though neuer so craftily laid, was a sore corsiue to the *English* fugitiues

Anno 3.

tiues in other forraigne parts; especially to the Iesuites, whose griefes were as great, as is the paine of a *Scorpion* when he hath stung a man. Among whom *Iaques Frances* a perfidious Traitor, and base Laundresse sonne, seeing the *Catholicks* thus cast downe and their case desperate, if treasons were thus preuented & punished, pronounced this *maxime* out of his vnwashed mouth, that the State of *England* then was, and would be so setled, as vnlesse *Mistris Elizabeth* (for so he termed his dread *Soueraign*) were suddenly taken away, all the Diuels in Hell would not be able to preuaile against, or shake it. And *Stanley* that transfugous Champion for *Spaine* and *Rome*, so impatient was of these vnprospered proceedings, as he hired *Patrick Cullen*, an Irish Fencer and Ruffian, to vndertake the death of the Queene; which hee did for the summe of thirty pounds, but had no more for his money then the report of a Traitors death, which deseruedly he suffered at *Tyburne*.

Iaques Frances. Proceeding against Traitors.

Stanley.

Patricke Cullen. A.D.1592.

(113) To accompany and second these treasons of *Cullen*, *Cressewell* the Legier Iesuite in *Spaine*, writ his traiterous booke vnder the name of *Philopater*, as after him *Cowback* alias *Parsons*, another Iesuite, and Rector at *Rome*, did the like, vnder the name of *Doleman*, concerning titles of the Crowne; both so full of falshood, treason, and impudency, as (though the Authors be vnnamed,) whosoeuer looketh on the brats, will easily know their Fathers by the resemblance.

Cresswels Philopater.

A.D.1594. Doleman. Parsons.

(114) This desperate designe failing, another as diuelliish was assaied to bee practized, wherein no Englisn man was yet knowne to haue had any hand, the Actors being onely *Spaniards* and *Portugals*, the one solliciting by promises of great rewards, the other vndertaking to worke the death of the Queene; which was contriued, that poison should be giuen her in Physicke; a designe indeed most fezible and ineuitable, had not that helliish hand been staied by a heauenly. *Roderick Lopez* was the Physitian, a Doctor of that profession and a *Portugall* by birth, in especiall trust and practise for the state of her health.

A.D.1594. Lopez his treason.

(115) Hee a fit instrument to act without suspect, receiued for an *earnest*, *a Iewell of gold*, of good valew, garnished with a great *Diamond*, and a large *Rubie*, from *Christophoro de Moro*, a speciall Counsellor of the King of *Spaine*, whose lustre so dazelled his eies, as the practise of treason possessed his heart, and vpon farther payment of *fifty thousand Crownes* hee couenanted to take away her Maiesties life, in a potion giuen her vpon pretence of health. For the assurance of which money, *Manuel Andrada*, the bringer of the *Iewel*, conferred with the *Conde de Fuentes* at *Callis*; and *Stephano Ferrera*, a *Portugall* also, delt likewise by letters with *Stephano Ibarra* the Kings Secretary at *Bruxels*, to make the same ready: *Lopez* himselfe assuring them the deed should bee done, when the money was paid, which daily was promised and daily expected; the onely stay pretended was, that *King Philip did not well like*, that so base a person as *Andrada* was, should bee employed in so waighty a cause.

The first bayt. His instigators. Christophoro de Moro.

Manuell Andrada Conde de Fuentes.

Stephano Ferrara.

(116) Whereupon *Ferrara* of better repute with the King, receiued bils of exchange for the money, deliuered by the *Counte Fuentes*, and from the said *Counte*, *Manuell Lewis* another *Portugall*, was presently sent into *England* to conferre with *Ferrara*, and they both with *Lopez*, who faithfully promised vpon the payment of the money to performe the villany. At which very instant Gods mercy did bring to light the conspiracy, through the continual vigilancy of some Lords of the Counsell, in which number neuer any Prince had more, *Sapient*, *Sedulous*, Prouident, and experienced Sages, then *shee* had.

Queene Elizabeths most choise Counsellors.

Lopez put to triall.

(117) And to make experiment of his intendments, *Lopez* was appointed to giue the Queen Physicke; who made ready the potion, and brought it to her presence. But her Maiesty knowing what hee least suspected, told him, hee must goe minister to the Lord Treasurer, *Cicill*, who at that present had more need of Physicke then her selfe; whereupon *Lopez* with double diligence repaired vnto him, signifying his comming was to minister his Lordship Physicke, so commanded him by the Queene: yea marry said the old man but what is your Physicke? a purge and it please your honor said *Lopez*: a purge Master Doctor said the L. Treasurer, I thinke I must become a Physitian to Purge you, and thereupon he apprehended him for a Traitor, who stood so perplexed with feare, that his presence was scarce tollerable for the smell. Then other Doctors of Physicke were called, for to examine the ingredients, who easily found that the potion was poison, for which hee was indicted and arraigned at Barre, where hee pleaded not guilty, and his *two Consorts* by long circumstances sought to saue their liues, yet their former confessions subscribed with their own hands, gaue sufficient testimony of their guilts; for which at *Tyburne* vpon the seuenth of *Iune* they suffered death.

Lopez apprehended of treason.

Febru. 28.

(118) *Stephano Ibarra* thus failing of his purpose, by these Portugall fals, sought yet to raise the fabricke of his wicked intents, vpon the resolutions of some *English fugitiues*; among whom none were held more fit then *Edmund Yorke*, and *Richard Williams*, souldiers by profession, and two desperate Champions for the quarrell of *Rome*; vnto whom *Hugh Owen* an English Rebell, & *Spanish Pensioner*, shewed an assignation, vnder that Secretaries hand, *of foure thousand Crownes* to bee giuen them for to murder their Queen; and for assurance that the same should be forth comming, the assignation was deliuered in *Deposito*, to *Holt* an *English Iesuite*, who producing the Sacrament, and kissing it, tooke solemne Oath to pay the mony as soone as the fact was done.

Stephano Ibarra.

Yorke and Williams Treason.

Owen.

(119) To forward this enterprize, three seuerall consultations were held at *Bruxels*, wherein *Holt* sate as President, and *William Stanley Protector* for this diuelliish designe, animating *Yorke* by his vncles example, to be constantly resolued, as a man ordained for his Countries good, and though many had miscarried in attempting the Act, yet that it was meritorious and easie to be done. *Thomas Throgmorton*, *Michaell Moody*, *Charles Paget*, *Henry Owen*, *Edmund Garret*, and the two diuine Doctors, *Gifford* and *Worthington*, were principall speakers in this impious *Parliament*, all of them eager to egge on the two vndertakers, & to ioyne to them a third man, named *Young*, whose taske should be to kill the greatest Counsellors, as soone as the Queene should be dead. The last that spake was *Holt the President*, who after he had ministred these Traitors their Oathes, in threatning wise, menaced to take from the English this high and acceptable seruice, and to employ therein Strangers, who were farre more worthy: and so sent the two former into *England* with his blessing, which neuertheless could not saue them from the Gallowes: their purposes were to get entertainement of some great Courtier, the better to effect what they intended, and to seeme men of some note for intelligence, sent from *Callis* to procure their passport, but the vigilant eye of the *English State* had found out their treasons before (and bringing them afterwards to their trials, they were found guilty, iudged, and died like traitors.

Consulters about furthering the Treason.

Young.

(120) The last publike attempter, that assaied the Queenes death, was *Edward Squire*, a Scriuener of *Greenewich*, who by deputation had emploiment of a purueyer in the Stable, but being in witte aboue his vocation, and carrying his sailes aboue his fortunes; put himselfe in action for Sea in the last voyage that *Sir Francis Drake* made into the Indies. Embarked he was in a small shippe, called the *Frances*, who losing the Fleete about *Guadalupe*, was taken by fiue Spanish Frigots, and with other brought Prisoners into *Spaine*: where falling in acquaintance with *Richard Walpoole* an *English fugitiue*, by order a Iesuite, in great credite, and vicar Generall to *Parsons* in

Edward Squiers Treasons.

A.D.1597. Walpoole the Iesuite.

in his abſence, was by him obſerued to bee of more capacity then commonly was found in a man of his quality or education; for yeeres, mature, and paſſed his middle age; for carriage well aduiſed, and reſolute enough, if not too much, in not apprehending his eminent danger.

Squier a fit ſubiect to worke vpon.

(121) Vpon him *Walpoole* therefore meant to worke, conceiuing for his purpoſe two ſpeciall aduantages: the one, that comming into *Spaine* a Priſoner, and not a fugitiue, his returne into *England* would be without ſuſpect; the other, that *Squire* had been employed in the *Queenes ſtable*, and therefore had liberty of free acceſſe: But the more to inuolue what hee intended, hee ſubtilly cauſed *Squier* to be apprehended by the *Inquiſition*, and put priſoner into the *holy Houſe*: where mollified by diſtreſſe, hee got his heart into his hands, ſo that of a Neuter he became a fixed Romaniſt.

(122) This firſt aſſay prooued effectuall, for an introduction to his further intendments, he fell into the old ſong; whoſe burden was the tyrannies vſed, and the perſecutions exerciſed in *England* againſt the poore Catholikes; vpon how few perſons the Engliſh State did ſtand, and how eaſily thoſe props were to be remooued, if any deuored would put to their hands. *Squier* who wanted no wit to perceiue whereat he aymed; firſt, gaue ſome ſlight ſignification, and after a more ſerious proteſtation, that he was the man, that would ſacrifice himſelfe and his ſeruice in the cauſe.

Walpoole proiects the killing of the *Earle of Eſſex*.

(123) The good Father hauing thus got him into the circle, began then the charme: *It were* (ſaid he) *no doubt a worke meritorious to kill the Earle of Eſſex; but vnum neceſſarium, one thing is neceſſary*: And then told him plainely, that he meant to put a ſeruice vpon him of great worth, and reward; which he might accompliſh without any euident perill of life, becauſe it was to bee done not immediately vpon her perſon, nor in her preſence, neither yet in doing it (though hee were ſeen) ſhould bee endangered, being acted as hee would preſcribe; and that was to impoyſon the pommell of the Queenes ſaddle, at ſuch time as ſhee ſhould ride abrode, the Pommell being the place, whereon ſhee would reſt her hand, and her hand not vnlikely to touch her mouth or noſtrils, would giue acceſſe to the forcible poiſon. This, ſaid he, might eaſily be performed, he hauing familiar acquaintance in the Quirry, yea and that very ſafely; but if otherwiſe, and *immediate death happened, he ſhould be aſſured, that for the exchange of this preſent and tranſitory life, to enioy the ſtate of a glorious Saint in heauen.*

He teacheth how to poyſon the Queens Saddle.

Walpoles helliſh conſultations.

(124) Which *Syrens ſong* ended, and *Squier* inueigled; confeſſions, vowes, promiſes, receit of the Sacrament, and all confirmed the reſolution of the diuelliſh attempt; and to preuent varying from this Center, *Walpoole* told him, *that now hee ſtood in the ſtate of damnation, if hee did not his vttermoſt endeauour to performe his vow*, bidding him remember, *how that the ſinne of backſliding did ſeldome obtaine pardon; and if he did but once make doubt of the lawfulneſſe or merit of the act, it was enough to caſt him head-long downe into hell*; and if he did conceiue any difficulties, he wiſhed him to conſider *what it auailed a man, to win the whole world, and to looſe his owne ſoule.*

His ghoſtly Counſels.

(125) *Squier* thus armed (though not with the complete Armour of the Apoſtle) fell downe in confeſſion before this *Ieſuites* feet; whom hee lifted vp, hugd him about the necke with his left arme (ſuch were *Squiers* owne words) and croſſing him with his other hand, mumbled a few words in Latine, and then diſtinctly in Engliſh ſpake thus; *God bleſſe thee, and giue thee ſtrength my ſonne; bee of good courage, I pawne my ſoule for thine, and thou ſhalt haue my prayers dead and aliue.* Thereupon deliuering vnto him the poyſon, directed how it ſhould be vſed; and ſhewed him the nature of the confection; which was, to bee put into a double bladder, and when it was to bee employed, to bee pricked full of holes, and ſo preſſed out vpon the Pommell of the Queenes ſaddle; the operation whereof was ſuch, that vpon his hand hee muſt haue a thicke double gloue, leaſt the poyſon thereof ſhould infect himſelf, whoſe vigour alſo was ſuch, as neither continuance of time; nor ſubtilty of ayre could checke or vn-vertuate the ſtrength: And that the matter might bee carried without all ſuſpect, an exchange was accepted of two Spaniſh priſoners in *England*, for *Rowles* and *Squier* to be releaſed from *Spaine*.

His Fatherly benediction.

The vſe & force of the poyſon.

Squiers arriuing in *England*.

(126) Thus himſelfe poyſoned in heart, and minding to poyſon others, being monied by the *Ieſuite*, arriued in *England*, not long before the expedition for *Cadiz*; which action (as hee thought) fitted him well, and thereupon made ſuite and obtained it, to attend the *Earle* of *Eſſex* in his owne ſhip; aſwell to be abſent when the poyſon ſhould worke on *her Maieſty* (which he meant to beſtow before his departure) as to haue opportunity thereby, to poyſon the *Earle* himſelfe. Occaſion being giuen by the Queenes riding abroad, and her Horſe made ready, and attending in the Stable-yard, thither *Squier* repaired *full of euill ſpirits*; and laying his hand vpon the Pommell of her Saddle, bruiſed out the poyſon in the bladder ſaying cheerfully, *God ſaue the Queen*; with no better affection then *Ioab* bare to *Amaſa*, when with his hand he tooke him to kiſſe him, but with his ſword ſtruck him to the heart. His part thus plaid, *Gods wonted and wonderfull protection beganne*, who vnder his Canopy or wings of mercy had euer ſhadowed her from the ſtroke of danger, for albeit the * ſeaſon was hot, and the veines open to receiue any maligne tainture, yet her body felt no diſtemperature, nor her hand felt no more hurt, then *Pauls* did, when hee ſhooke of the Viper into the fire.

Squier praieth for the Queenes ſafety, when hee attempts to poyſon her. 2. Sam. 20. 9.

* In Iuly.

Act. 25. 1.

(127) The deed thus done, without all miſtruſt, *Squier* taking the remaine of the poyſon, within ſixe daies after departed to the Sea, and had his entertainment in the *Earle of Eſſex* his owne Ship, where ſeeking to finiſh his *diuelliſh deſigne* betwixt *Faial* and *Saint Michaels*, beſtowed his confection vpon the Pommels of a wodden chaire, wherein the Earle vſually ſate at meales: which in like manner (the Lord ſo working) tooke not effect, to the no little admiration of *Squier*, though very well ſatisfied, that the default was not his, but rather in the poyſon it ſelfe; and his vow now diſcharged (as he thought) he ſlept the more quiet.

Squiers endeuour to poyſon the *Earle* of *Eſſex*. going to *Cadiz*.

(128) *Walpoole* the Ieſuite ouer-tickled with ioye of his hoped ſucceſſe, and not able longer to keepe ſecrecy, imparted his treaſons to his companions in *Spaine*, who together with him daily expected the iſſue thereof, but all things ſilent, and no newes of the *Cataſtrophe*, they changed their opinions, and held *Squier* for a falſ-brother, when as alſo their longing hearts beganne to feare, leſt the maine cauſe would bee mard, being caſt into ſo bad a mould. Whereupon a conſultation was called, and the Sicophant condemned in the higheſt degree, whoſe end muſt be ſpeedily wrought, or elſe thoſe Catholike proceedings would ſurely come to wracke; for that he knowing much, would (as was feared) reueale much more; and therefore it was politikely concluded, that one ſhould be let ſlip from them into *England*, to giue information of *Squiers* treaſons.

Squiers treaſons ſucceſſeleſſe.

Squire miſtruſted to be a falſe brother.

(129) This man to haue the more credit, brought two letters in his budget, the one he affirmed, himſelf had ſtolne out of a *Ieſuits* ſtudy, & the other brought from another perſon, both which indeed were found to bee counterfeit, and *Squier* for the preſent reputed an honeſt man. Yet becauſe the matter was tender, and touched neer the quicke, *Squier* was ſent for, and examined; at firſt hee denies all, but comming to circumſtances; ſomething was found, hold taken, and the Traitor committed to Priſon; who left alone, beganne to bethinke him how farre his Confeſſors Confeſſion might extend, and therefore by good Counſell (the truth withall working) he

A counterfeit meſſenger ſent from the Ieſuits.

Squier voluntarily confeſſeth his treaſon.

he disclosed the Treason, and how far he had therein gone, which indeed no man had knowledge of but himselfe, and this confessed at the Tower, without torture, and at the Barre with remorse of conscience, he had his sentence of death, which he accordingly suffered.

The iust motiue to the State to make sharp lawes to preuent Treasons.

(130) Had not then the *wise Statists* of the Land, cause to enact such Lawes as they did; to set the shaking Sword in the entrance of this *faire Eden*, and to stop out the wilde Boare that would lay the Vineyard waste? their *Queene* and lamp of Glory, hauing thus often and narrowly escaped extinguishing, by as many hands of murthering *Priests* and *Iesuites*, as *Dauid* had pursuers of his life, when to *Ionathan* hee complained, that *there was but a step betwixt him and death?* So that iustly in a conference of Parliament, for meanes to be had against the many conspirators, daily leuelling at her royall heart, one of good repute, hauing experience of their desperate designes, in the open Assembly, with a feeling affection, thus vttered his minde: *that euery night when hee awaked, he feared to heare some newes of desperate mischiefe, and protested before God, he neuer saw the light of the day, but that he feared before the Sun-set, to heare of some strange attempt.*

1 *Sam* 20.3.

So many and so continually were the conspiracies.

(131) For as the Pope had denounced vnder his Buls, an absolution to him that would dethroane *Elizabeth, Englands faire Queene:* so were there many foule minded Proselites, that reputed her bloud as an acceptable sacrifice, which many times they sought to offer vnto their God: but hers and our God, *the watchman of Israel, neither slumbred nor slept in protecting her Person, as the apple of his eye*; whose iust defence, her innocency, and their bloudy guilts, haue often divulged to the whole world; neuer any Prince escaping so many dangers, as this most *milde and maiden Queene* in her daies had done, and many more no doubt were put in practice, which lay groueling in darkenesse, and neuer came to light, and as the *workes of darkenesse*, so let them lie, and let vs hasten to our former, and farre more pleasing Subiect. Hauing therefore from the yeere 1570. made our digression, for the closer relation of all those treacheries together; let vs thence pursue the ensuing occurrents of her raigne and life.

Many more conspiracies then euer came to light

(132) In Anno 1571. and thirteenth of her most happy Raigne, that the State might be stayed vpon an approued succession, a Parliament was called, and therein thus was enacted: *For the auoiding of contentions, and seditions spreading abroad titles to the succession of the Crowne of this Realme, to the disturbing of the quiet of the Realme: Be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that whosoeuer shall hereafter, during the life of our said Soueraigne Lady, by any Booke, or worke printed or written, directly and expresly declare, and affirme at any time before the same be by Act of Parliament of this Realme established and affirmed, that any one particular person, whosoeuer it be, is, or ought to be the right Heire and successor to the Queenes Maiesty that now is, (whom God long preserue) except the same be the naturall issue of her body: or shall wilfully set vp in open place, publish, or spread any Bookes or Scrowles to that effect; or shall print, binde, or put to sale, or vtter any such Booke, or writing wittingly: that he, or they, their Abettors and Counsellors, and euery of them, shall for the first offence suffer imprisonment of one whole yeere, and forfeit halfe his goods, whereof the one moity to the Queenes Maiestie, the other moity to him or them that will sue for the same, by bill, action of debt, plaint, information, or otherwise, in any of the Queenes Maiesties Courts, wherein no essoyne or protection shall be allowed: And if any shall eftsoones offend therein, then they, and euery of them, their Abettors, and Counsellors shall incurre the paines and forfeitures which in the Statutes of prouision, or premunire are appointed and limitted.*

Parl. iin An. 13. *Eliz.* Reg. April 2.

(133) Notwithstanding, these sharp threats, and seeming set edge against such offenders, and disturbers of State, yet was the prosecution thereof executed with a more soft temper: for not any one person (resting there onely without further attempts) felt the weight of that imposed fine: so milde was the disposition of this Mayden Queene, and so inclined to mercy; though necessity required more strict Iustice in those rebellious and papall times.

(134) But that Pen of *Sanders* which enuiously hath written, and those Romanists that suspiciously hath glozed vpon the words of that Parliament, *the Naturall Issue of her Body*, as intended for an vnlawfull Bed, let be accursed, and them accounted for shamelesse Recorders of State passages, who oprobriously seeke and search into the thoughts of farre better Subiects; and by their selfe-wicked imaginations, doe blot the faire proceedings of that Honourable Assembly, and as much as in them is, defame the vertues of that Virgin Queene: whose chaste remembrance among her many other Princely parts, is celebrated through the whole World, and euer shall be.

(135) But she being the *Maule* that beate down their *Dagon*, and the *Lyon* that met their crooked *Serpent* in his way, those *Wizards* teeth were set on edge with vntruths, and their tongues as sharpe *Razors* whetted vnto slander: for which let themselues expect, and we attend what reward shall be giuen vnto such false tongues.

Psalme 120.

(136) Nor was *Scotland* free frō their trecherous attempts, when at the same time their *Regent* was slaine by the shot of an Harquebuse, as hee rode through *Lithquo*, mistrusting no danger. And a roade made into *England* in time of peace, by some discontented Scotish, who carryed great booties with them into *Scotland:* to recouer which, *Sussex* the Earle Generall, and Lord *Hunsdon*, Gouernour of *Barwicke* followed, and in *Tinidale* did much hurt to the Inhabitants.

Walter Scot. Tho. Kar.

(137) New troubles thus arising, as wel for the death of the Regent, as for the vnder propping of the then falling Pinacles of the Church of *Rome*, the Land full of factions, and all in ciuill broyles, the Englisn Queenes aide was sent for, by some of the Lords, who with their helpes, preuailed in winning and demolishing many strong and faire Castles. And the *Earle of Lennox* sent into *Scotland* by her Maiesty, was first made *Lord Gouernour*, and after *Lord Regent*, by the election of their three Estates, who afterwards was as trayterously murthered, as the other before him had beene, which caused great troubles in *Scotland*; yea, and some Nobles of *England* were not exempted from the same.

The Earle of *Lennox* Regent of *Scot land.*

He is murthered.

(138) For *Lord Thomas Howard Duke of Norfolke*, intending some fauours for the Scotish cause, proceeded so farre therein, as the letter of the Law took aduantage of his life, to the great sorrow and laments of very many. For being a man filled with fauour, both of his Prince, and of the People, Fortune at length made him a Ball for her banding; who first from *Burnam* besides *Windsore* was brought to *Westminster*, and thence by water was left Prisoner in the *Tower*, where he remained from the eleuenth of *October*, vnto the fourth of *August* following, and then was remoued to the *Charter-House* neere *Smithfield*, where he abode thirteene moneths space; till lastly he was sent backe againe into the *Tower*, where, vpon the Hill and ordinary Scaffold, he penitently suffered death.

The Duke of *Norfolks* troubles.

The good esteem of the Duke.

Released out of the Tower.

The Dukes end. Iune 2. A.D.1572.

(139) In this yeer of Christs natiuity, 1572. the eighteenth of *Nouember*, appeared a strange Starre or Comet Northward, in the Constellation of *Cassiopeia*, euen at the backe of her Chayre; which with three chiefe fixed Starres of the said Constellation, made a *Geometricall* figure losing-wise. This Starre in bignesse at the first appearing, seemed bigger then *Iupiter*, and not much lesse then *Venus*, when shee seemeth greatest. It neuer changed place, but was carried about with the daily motion of the Heauens, as all fixed Starres commonly are; and was obserued by the greatest *Mathematicians* to haue been in place celestiall farre aboue the *Moone*, otherwise then

euer any Comet hath been ſeen, or naturally can appeare, nor the like from the beginning of the World did euer appeare, vnleſſe it were that which at Chriſts Natiuity was ſeen, vnto which Starre indeed *Philip* of *Mornay, Lord of Pleſſie*, doth compare it. *Tru. Chriſt. Relig. Chap.* 34.

Duell or combat for title of Lands.

(140) About which time, a ſtrange caſe (which we will inſert, rather *to ſhew* the courſe of *Iuſtice* and *mercy* of the *Queene*, then for any other great vſe in Story) happened at the Common-Law Barre: where *Simon Lowe*, and *John Kyme* were *Plaintifes*, for a certaine Manor and demaines in the *Iſle of Harty*, adioyning to that of *Sheppey in Kent*, wrongfully *poſſeſt* (as they alleaged) by *Thomas Paramour*, againſt whom they brought *a Writ of right*: the *Defendant offered* to maintaine his Title by *Combate*, which the *Plaintifes accepted*, and brought their Champions before the Iudges to the Barre. For *Paramour* was *George Thorne*, of a bigge and broad ſet, who caſt downe his Gauntlet as *Challenger*, to iuſtifie *Paramours* right, which was taken vp by *Henry Naylor* Maſter of Defence, a man proper and ſlender, and not very tall, who appeared *for Lowe and Kyme*, to make good their claime.

The two Champions.

The place of Combat.

(141) The place appointed for Combate, was in *Tuttle-fields*, where a Plot of ground of one and twenty yards ſquare, was doubly rayled, and without the Weſt-ſquare a Stage ſet for the Iudges, repreſenting the *Court of Common Pleas*, behind the which two Tents were pitched, the one for *Thorne*, and the other for *Naylor*, the field with Scaffolds on euery ſide for People to ſee: All things thus ready, and the day drawing on, her Maieſty (who euer abhorred all bloud-ſhed) tooke the matter into her owne hands, and gaue command and directions for the Parties agreement, with a ſurceaſe from all further ſuite, which could not wel be, vnleſſe the Champions appeared in field; who altogether ignorant of what was determined, vpon the day aſſigned appeared in place, *Thorne* was there firſt, who was brought to his Tent by *Sir Ierome Bowes*; then came *Naylor*, hauing the Gauntlet borne before him vpon a Swords point, a Truncheon (Taper-wiſe) typt with horne, about an elle long, and a ſhield of hard leather carryed after him; and ſo was conueyed to his Tent by *Sir Henry Cheiney*.

Iune 18. An.D.1571.

The manner of their entring liſts.

(142) The Court ſet, and the Combatters called, *Naylor* entred the lyſts, being led by the hand by *Sir Ierome Bowes*, where making his obeyſance, he came to the Barre, and there held vp his Shield. Then was *Thorne* brought into the lyſts by *Sir Henry Cheiney*, and with like reuerence he held vp his Shield. Whereupon an Oath was miniſtred to the *approuer*, the Tenor whereof hee ſpake as followeth. *Heare this, you Iudges, that I haue this day neither eate, drunke, nor haue vpon me either bone, ſtone, ne graſſe, or any enchantment, ſorcery, or witch-craft, where through the power of the Word of God might be inleaſed or diminiſhed, and the Diuels power increaſed: and that my appeale is true, ſo helpe me God, and his Saints, and by this Booke.*

The oath miniſtred to the Challenger.

(143) Then was *Proclamation* made in her Maieſties Name, that no Perſon of whatſoeuer eſtate, degree, or condition there preſent, be ſo hardy to giue any token or ſigne, by countenance, ſpeech, or language, either to the Prouer, or to the Defender, whereby the one of them may take aduantage of the other, and no perſon to remoue, but keepe ſtill his place: and euery perſon to keepe their ſtaues and their weapons to themſelues; and ſuffer neither the ſaid Prouer, nor Defender to take any of their weapons, or any other thing that may ſtand either to the ſaid Prouer or Defender any auaile, vpon payne of forfeiture of Lands, Tenements, Goods, Chattels, and impriſonment of their bodies, and making fine and ranſome at the Queenes pleaſure. But when all theſe Ceremonies were ended, the Lord Chiefe Iuſtice ſtood vp, and forbad the proceedings, alotting *Paramour* the Lands, with the ſatisfying of the *Plaintifes*, and thereupon commanded *Naylor* to giue *Thorne* againe his Gauntlet, which he vnwillingly did; and ſo the Combate being ended, we may haue leaue to proceed.

The Law and manner of a combat.

The Combat ended before it begunne.

(144) Peace flouriſhing in *England*, to no great liking of the *Seminary*, that often ſought to diſturbe it: the *Regent* of *Scotland* craued aide of her Maieſtie, for the defence of the *young King*, and the Countrey, endangered at that time with ciuill broyles. Shee as tender in her affection, as he dutifull in his alleageance, ſent him *fifteene hundred men*, whereof *Sir william Drury*, Knight Marſhall of *Berwicke*, was Generall. Theſe comming to *Edenborough*, lay battery to the Caſtle, with no leſſe then *thirty Canons*, and were as valiantly reſiſted by the *Scotiſh* within, but for want of freſh water, and no aide to be expected, the Souldiers ſicke, hurt, ouer-wearyed, and diuided in opinion, *Lord Peteroe* being let downe from the wall, by compoſition the Caſtle was ſurrendered, to the vſe of the *young King*, whereupon the *Engliſh* returned to *Berwicke*.

An.D.1573.

The Queene ſends aid to the Regent of *Scotland*.

Edenborough Caſtle ſurrendred.

(145) This time of *Elizabeths*, like vnto that of *Auguſtus*, when the Temple of *Ianus* ſtood (for the moſt part) continually ſhut, made *London* like *Rome*, to be moſt magnificently repaired, and with many *ſtately edifices* adorned; among which, for beauty and commodious vſe, none is more famous then the *Royall Exchange*, (ſo named by her Highneſſe) whoſe Founder was Sir *Thomas Greſham* Knight, Agent to her Maieſty, built for the confluence and commerce of Merchants, whoſe Traffikes were great, and in theſe times of peace, extended their Nauigations into the fartheſt, (and till then, vnſearched) parts of the World.

The Royall Exchange built.

(146) For the ſearching and vnſatisfied ſpirits of the *Engliſh*, to the great glory of our Nation, could not be contained within the bankes of the *Mediterranean or Leuant Seas*, but that they paſſed farre, towards both the *Articke* and *Antarticke* Poles, enlarging their trades into the *Weſt* and *Eaſt Indies*: to the ſearch of whoſe paſſage, that worthy Sea-Captain Sir *Martin Furbuſher*, made Saile into the *North-Eaſt-Seas*, farre further then any man before him had euer done, giuing to theſe parts the name of *Queene Elizabeths foreland*.

Engliſh renowned nauigations.

Sir *Martin Furbuſhers* nauigations. An.D.1576.

Queene Elizabeths foreland.

(147) The next yeere hee attempted thirtie leagues further, when finding *Gold Ore* (as was thought) and taking a man, woman, and Child, of the *Sauage Contayaes*, he returned into *England*; but as his gold prooued droſſe, ſo theſe liued not long, neither turned that diſcouery to any great profit, though it was againe the third time aſſaied by himſelfe, and ſince by other moſt *famous Nauigators*; the *North-weſt* by Engliſhmen being lately deſcried, to bee Seas more ſafe, and the paſſage of farre better hope.

(148) Among theſe *Sea worthies* our *famous Vliſſes*, *Sir Francis Drake* is the firſt in the ranke, who the yeere of *Chriſt Ieſus* 1577, and fifteenth of Nouember, ſet ſaile from *Plimmouth* in a Fleet of *fiue Ships*, and one hundred, ſixty foure men, who hauing put of *Cap de Verd*, in the beginning of *February*, hee ſaw no land, till the fifth of *April* following, being paſt the line, thirty three degrees of latitude, and in the 36 degree entred the Riuer *Plate*; whence hee fell with the *ſtraite of Magellan* the one and twenty of *Auguſt*, which with *three of his ſhips* he paſſed, hauing caſt-off the other two as impediments vnto him, and the *Mariegold* toſſed from her Generall after paſſage, was no more ſeen; but the other whereof *Maſter Iohn Winter* was Captaine, ſhaken alſo off by tempeſt, returned through the ſtraites, and recouered *England*; only *the Pellican* whereof himſelfe was Admirall, held on her courſe to *Chily, Coquimbo, Cinnano, Palma, Lima*, vpon the Weſt of *America*, where he paſſed the line the firſt day of *March*, and ſo forth till he came to the *Latitude* 47, thinking by thoſe *North-ſeas* to haue found paſſage to *England*. But fogs, froſts and cold windes forced him to turne his Courſe

Sir *Francis Drakes* voiage. An.D. 1577. *Rich. Hakluyt* in Engliſh voiages.

Francis Drake paſſeth the ſtraites of *Magellan*.

The 13. of *February* they came to *Lima*, in the degree 11. 50 minutes. An.D.1578.

Course South-West from thence, and came to anchor 38. degrees from the line, where the King of that Countrey presented vnto him his networke Crowne of many coloured feathers, and resigneth therewith his Scepter of gouernment vnto his deuotion, his people so admiring our men, that they sacrificed vnto them, as to their gods. This place for the glory of *England*, he named *Noua Albion* according to her ancient name; and at his departure areared a Monument to witnesse what there had beene done, which was a plate, of brasse fixed in an eminent place, wherein was engrauen her Maiesties name, and her right that prouince, as freely giuen vnto her deputy both by King and people. Wherein also was written the yeere and day of their entrance, and of the lands deliuerance; vnder which plate hee put her Maiesties picture and armes in a peece of Siluer to retein the memory of this seruice vnto posterity. From thence the fourteenth of *November* he fell with *Ternate* one of the *Iles of Moluco*, being curteously entertained of the King, and from thence he came vnto the *Iles of Celebees*, to *Iaua Maior*, to the *Cape Buona Speranze*, and fell with the Coasts of *Guinea*, whence crossing againe the line, he came to the height of the *Azores*, and thence into *England* vpon the third of Nouember and yeere of Saluation 1580, after hee had beene at Sea with such fortunate successe the space of three yeeres lacking twelue daies. The small vessell wherein this admirable voyage was performed, was at her Maiesties commandement, laid vp in the docke besides *Deepeford*, where it remaineth as a monument of *Englands* great fame, vnto this day; and the worthy Generall honoured with knighthood, being the first that by trauell encompassed the *Earth*, and saw the wonderous workes of God in those great deepes.

Sir Fra. Drakes ship kept as a Monument.

(149) The Seas thus knowne, *our Merchants* began to trade with the *Muscouites*, and *Turkes*, whose priuiledge for Trafficke the *Great Sultan* sent them, confirmed vnder his Regall Seale, and at their Ambassadors request (without direction from her Maiesty) made peace with the King of *Poland*, as by his owne letters sent vnto our Queene is apparant; the Coppy whereof being deliuered vnto mee by him who had beene Deputy Ambassador in *Constantinople*, I haue here inserted translated word for word as followeth.

Trade with Turkes and Muscouites.

Mr. I. Sa.

The Sultan Muraht his Letters to her Maiestie.

(150) *Most glorious, and in brightnesse most splendent woman, and of women the chiefest Prince of the mighty followers of Iesus. Queene of the most famous Kingdome of* England, *most excellent* Elizabeth, *most sapient Gouernesse of all the affaires of thy People, and Family of the* Nazarites, *the most pleasant Spring of brightnesse and glory, the most acceptable Cloude sweete showers, the Heire and Lady of perpetuall happinesse, and blessednesse, of the most famous Kingdome of* England, *to whom all distressed suters doe flocke for reliefe. Wee wishing from* GOD *the mighty Creator, a most fortunate increase of all the affaires of your Excellency, and happy successe; and offering eternall vowes and prayses worthy of our mutuall and perpetuall familiarity and league, and declaring the premisses, and that which followeth with singular decentnesse: Wee giue you to vnderstand most friendly, that certaine yeeres passed, we had continuall warres with* Casulbas, *Prince of Persia, in right of our People, by reason whereof wee would not make warre vpon other parts, whereby certaine theeues in the parts of* Polonia, *called* Casakes, *and other wicked persons lurking in those confines, daily troubled and grieued our Subiects: now the* Persian *being vanquished, and by the power of the Almighty Creator, matters in those parts being compounded, wee determined to punish the said persons lurking in* Poland, *and other parts; and by the* Belgerby *of* Greece *our Army being ioyned, and sent with our charge by a Prince of* Tartaria, *in the yeere last passed, a part of the Kingdome of* Polonia, *was on our behalfe troubled, and wasted, and the said* Casakes, *and other wicked persons were punished accordingly to their deserts, which the King of* Poland *seeing, and sending two messengers to our blessed Port, to inquire, finde out, and punish in full punishment, signified so much vnto vs, and required our acceptations of his present; but we would not allow his Petition, but had fully determined againe to send our Army against the said King of* Poland; *but the Ambassador of your Maiesty remaining in our blessed Port, interposing himselfe, and signifying that he did assist your Excellency with Corne, Gun-powder, Masts, and other things, necessary for warre, out of the confines of* Polonia; *now when as the Kingdome of* Polonia *by our meanes was troubled, and your Ambassador declared vnto vs your singular and peculiar pleasure, the same his declaration and intercession was vnto vs gratefull and acceptable, and your Excellency to whom we owe all fauours and honour. We wrote our Letters to the King of* Polonia *on this manner; that the said factious wicked persons and Casakes should bee found out and fully punished, but if on the behalfe of your Maiesty, a louing league of peace had not been sollicited for the King of* Poland, *wee would not by any meanes haue entred League with him, but onely at your request we haue shewed this grace to the said King and his Subiects, and sith our familiarity is mutuall and perpetuall, we thinke it conuenient that your Maiesty ioyning your selfe with the Kingdome of* Polonia, *doe not leaue to continue warre with the King of Spaine, who so long time hath kept warre against you; and if your Maiesty bee not grieued to write vnto vs by some trusty man, we vow, by the aide of the Omnipotent Creator, that all necessary things shall be on our part finished and ordered, that a speedy dispatch may be made into* Spaine, *wherein for our parts no assistance shall be wanting, whereof you may nothing doubt. Giuen in our Royall Seat at* Constantinople, *in the yeere of* Iesus, 1590, *and of our Prophet* Mahomet 998, *in the moneth called* Sadele, *the xij.* *Sadel.*

But from these farre trauels, long and chargeable aduentures, let vs returne to our neerer home proceedings, vnder the Gouernment of our prudent *Queene Sheba.*

(151) *Gregory*, of that name the thirteenth, and stout stirring man of *Rome*: seeing *Pope Pius* his thunderbolts fall short of the marke whereunto they were aimed, thought it necessary to raise that begun foundation, (though with ill burnt bricke, and bad tempred morter) as that his mounted Canons from the height, might reach and command where the other had left: To which purpose hee sollicited *Philip* King of *Spaine*, after his fortunes had set him in *Portugall Anno* 1582. to vndertake warre against *Queene Elizabeth* either directly or vnderhand, infauour of the Irish Rebels, vnto which charge he offered not only his holy blessing, and spiritual treasure, but also to acquit him of the fruits of the *Archbishopricke* of *Toledo*, long retained in his hands, whilst the Archbishop remained suspended, and the King receiued some millions of Crowns, which the Pope claimed to belong vnto the See of *Rome*. But *Philip* not yet ready to attempt vpon *England*, ioyned with him for the conquest of *Ireland*; the one sending sixe hundred men vnder the command of *Thomas Stukely*, whom he had lately stiled Marquesse of *Ireland*,) a profuse and defamed person throughout all *Christendome*, flying out of *England* for his many Piracies, and now imploied to follow the consecrated *Standard* of the Church;) the other, bearing all the charge, with an adition of three hundred Spaniards, sending money with them to wage foure thousand men more; and the more to kindle the flames of Rebellions, *Doctor Sanders* (the Arch-Rebel and English Fugitiue) was sent from the Popes holy side.

An. Do. 1583.

Pope Gregory incites the King of Spaine against England.

Spanish History.

The Pope and King of Spaine sent supply vnto the Irish rebels

Tho. Stukley and a band of Spaine attempt Ireland.

(152) These landing in *Ireland* and County of *Kerry*, vpon a Promontory shooting it selfe into the *west-Sea*, raised their consecrated standard, built their Fort *Del-Ore*, and with many threats gaue forth that

The Spaniards fortify in Ireland.

Desmond well hoped to be sole King of *Ireland*.

the Country should shortly know wherefore they were come: and *Desmond*, a man desperate to euill, put in action by papall authority, had laid his hopes no lower (by these aides now arriued) then presently to become the sole King of *Ireland*, as *Benhadad* boasted ouer *Israel* before his harnesse was put on.

1. King. 20.11.

(153) To salute this puppet King, and to welcome these papals with such entertainement as his martiall sword would allow, *Arthur* Lord *Grey* Baron of *Wilton*, then *Deputy of Ireland*, hasted to *Dingle*, and so to *Del-Ore*, where he bad them to so sharpe a banquet, that all the *Spaniards*, *Italians*, and *Biscayes*, notwithstanding their bragging brauadoes yelded their weapons at the first brunt, and vpon the points of the aduersaries, died without mercy; the Captaines Coronell, Secretary and few more reserued for ransome. The Fort they had stored with money, Bisket, Bacon, Oile and wine, sufficient to hold out the space of sixe moneths, and furnished with powder, shot, and armour sufficiently for two thousand men: with them all the Irish as well women as men died; and *Desmond* driuen into extreame want, fearing the pricke of euery thorne, & the shadow of euery bush, notwithstanding he was armed with an *Agnus Dei*, and an enchanted ring sent from the Popes owne finger hung about his necke, yet could he not keepe his traiterous head vpon his shoulders; when like a wolfe wandering in the woods for his prey, was in a poore Cottage wonded by a Souldier rushing in vpon him, and being knowne was presently cut shorter by the head. But with his end, ended not the troubles of *Ireland*, especially those parts of *Vlster*, that lay most remote from *England*.

The Lord *Gray* Deputy of *Ireland*.

The Spaniards slaine by Lord *Gray*.

All the Irish as well women as men slaine at *Del-Ore*.

Iames Desmond slaine by a common Souldier.

An. D. 1573. *Walter* Earle of Effex, in *Ireland*.

(154) And whereunto, *Walter Earle of Essex*, accompanied with the Lord *Rich*, and others, had formerly made an expedition, aswell to reduce those wilde Irish vnto a more ciuil life and respectiue obedience vnto the English Crowne, as to winne them to the knowledge of Christ, whom they most ignorantly worshipped. But the death of this Nobleman hapning before his intendments could bee accomplished, left that to be followed by others which himselfe had begun.

(155) The troubles of which Prouince we haue partly touched vnto the death of *Shan O-Neale*, whose segnories by Parliament were inuested into the queenes hands, and a Law enacted, that from thence forth no man should assume the name or title of *O-Neale*. After which some small blasts of peace breathed vpon those parts; till shortly *Turlogh Leinigh*, a brothers son of *Con-More* the Grandfather of this *Shan*, by a popular election tooke that stile vpon him, a man stept farre in yeeres, which made him more quiet, and much the rather for feare of *Shan O-Neales* sonnes, but especially of *Hugh Baron of Dungannon* the sonne of bastard *Mathew*, vnto whom he had giuen his daughter in Marriage, and the said Baron had lately repudiated and cast off.

T e name or ti- e forbidden.

(156) This *Turlogh* was most obsequious and seruiceable to Queene *Elizabeth*, stirring no troubles to the *English*, though to his neighbours the *Irish* he proued most sterne: For, *O-Donell* hee disquieted, the *Scots* of the *Islands* he molested, and in an incounter slew *Alexander Oge* the slayer of *Shan O-Neale*; and indeed became so fearefull, that his sonne in law *Hugh*, lay hid from him in his owne Country, and lastly escaped his hands into *England*, where to raise himselfe from his obscure estate and condition, hee got command of a troupe of Horse, with a pension of a thousand markes by yeere from the Queene. Whose seruice against the Rebellious *Desmond*, was so well performed and accepted, that he obtained the place and title of Earle of *Tir-Oen*, pleading the Letters patent of King *Henry* the eight, granted to his Grand-father, and his heires males, whereof himselfe was the sonne of *Mathew*, created *Baron of Dungannon* by the same King. Thus growne vnto greatnesse, old *Turlogh* vpon certaine conditions resigned vnto him the Gouernment of *Vlster*, where shortly cõbining himselfe with the men of most might, they together associated their strẽgths to defend the Romish religion, for that was the mantle that euer couered their hatched rebellions.

Turlogh a tyrant against his neighbours.

Baron *Dungannon* got imployments of the Queene.

He is made Earle of *Tir-Oen*

(157) The first *Champion* that sounded the Alarum was *Mac-Guyre* a man of a turbulent spirit, thrust forward by *Guaran* a Priest, whom *Pope Vrbane* the second had ordained Primate of *Ireland*, commanding him in the name of God to fight there the *Lords* Battaile; assuring him by his Apostolicall warrant, of most fortunate proceedings and happy successe. But see how this great Prophet was deceiued; for by the valour of S^r. *Richard Bingham*, *Mac-Guyre* was discomfited, and the primate Priest slaine in the field.

Mac Guyre.

Guaran bought his primacy at a deere rate

(158) The Confederacy thus broken, *Mac-Guyre* set himselfe for open rebellion; whome *Tir-Oen* in shew of his dutifull obedience pursueth, and was so forward in seruice; that he receiued a wound in his thigh to his no little honour. Whereupon he became of greater respect in the *Englisb* Court, and more enhaunsed in his owne esteeme; so that hee feared not to exhibite Complaints against the *Lord Deputy* S^r. *William Fitz-Williams*, the Marshall, whose sister he e had married, and the Garrisons souldiers that Guarded those parts. But the *Deputy* recalled, and S^r. *William Russel* appointed in his place; as if all quarrels had beene quite forgotten, he came vnto the new Lord Deputy, and exhibited an humble submission vpon his knees, wherein hee dolefully expressed his inward griefe, in that her Maiesty had conceiued some indignatiõ against him His absenting himselfe from the State, he confessed was disagreable to his obedience, albeit to be somewhat excused by the hard measure (as he alleaged) of the late Deputy, and Marshall, that were combined for his destruction. He acknowledged that the Queenes Maiesty had aduanced him in title, dignity and great liuings, and himselfe vnworthy of any, but rather dishonour and ruine, if he should become vngratefull vnto so good a Prince. With these and the like complement of his true heart and meaning, hee possest the Counsell of *Ireland*, that albeit S^r. *Henry Bagnall* the Marshall was present, and charged him with many subornations of *Mac-Guyre*, the Primate, the besiege of *Inis-Kellin* and others, hee was by them dismissed and sent home, to the great discontent of the Queene and disquietnesse of the Land, as afterward followed, and in course of time and story shall be declared.

Tir-Oens good seruice against *Mac-Guyre*.

Tir-Oen grows very bold.

Sir. W. Russel L. Deputy.

Tir-Oens Dissimulations.

(159) Long before these last *Irish* troubles, (as you may obserue in the relation of some former attempts against the Queene) the brands of dissention were blowne vnto flames, betwixt *Queene Elizabeth of England*, and *Philip* the second of that Name, King of *Spaine*; whose first breaking forth was in the *Netherlanders* cause, the one persecuting, and the other defending the Religion that those people profest; and thus it began. In the yeere of Grace 1575, *Don Lewis*, Gouernour of those Low-Countries for the said King, sent his Agent vnto *Queene Elizabeth*, desiring her to banish such of them as repayred to *England*, onely their flight, and their religion, all the cause alleaged against them.

Edward Grimston in hist. *Nether. lib.* 10.

The *Spanish* hostility with *England*.

Don Lewis sent to haue the *Netherlanders* banished out of *England*.

(160) Her answer was short, and nothing acceptable, that shee held it vnworthy the Maiesty of a Prince, to chase away those poore exiled and scattered *Netherlanders*, that were fled into her Dominions, for the safety of their liues, and to auoid the Spanish tyranny, exercised onely in case of their consciences. And yet shee forbad some men of speciall note, as also such as bare armes, to enter *England*, vpon condition that *Westmorland* should bee banished the *Low-Countries*, with such other Rebels as had fled to the *Spaniard*. But the Clergy intending to bring their *Spanish* Inquisition into those parts, the Prince of *Orange* entred conference with the States of *Holland* and *Zeland*, touching the defence

Conference among the States how to withstand the *Spanish* Inquisition.

fence of their professed religion, and the preseruation of their distressed Countries, vnable of themselues (as was alleaged) long to defend themselues, and therefore it was thought fittest to choose them a Protector.

The Emperour the *French* King the Queene of *England* in election for defence.

(161) This passing for currant among the Counsellors of estate, three were in name, *the Emperour*, *the French King*, and *the Queene of England*; for they were past all hope of any assurance with *Spaine*. Yea of these in choise, some excepted against, as neither safe nor conuenient to be yeelded vnto. Against the Empire was alleaged the diuersities of religion, the small vnion of those *Germane Princes*, and hauing their hands full to keepe their owne at home, would bee the lesse able to assist with helpe abroad The *French* (they feared) had wasted their money the onely meanes for warre) with their owne ciuill dissentions; if not, yet might they hardly be trusted, as witnessed the cruell massacre lately committed. *England* then was the Pillar to which they must leane; their Queene the greatest of all Christian Princes, their Nauy the Commandresse of the Seas; and their people professing the same Religion with them, the surest band of Christian society: further it was alleaged that the Realmes of *Denmarke* and *Sweden* desired it, the County of *Emden* and the Hanse Townes in the East intreated for it, *Brabant* and *Flanders* sought it; yea and the rightfull Title of the *Princes Elizabeth*, issued from the *Earles of Holland*, and *Zeeland* by the *Lady Philip*, daughter to *William* the third of that name, *Earle of Henault* and *Holland*, did warrant it.

Obiections against the Emperour.

Obiectiõ against the *French* King.

Queene *Elizabeth* chosen to be the defender.

The reasons alleaged to haue *Elizabeth* their gouernour.

(162) Thus then concluded, the States were sent vnto *England*, and made the end of their comming knowne to the *Queene*; who wisely weighing into what a Labirinth shee should enter, sought rather the safety of her owne, then to consent to their motion; for *Spaine* shee well knew would storme at the Vnion, and *France* bee in great iealousie to haue such a neighbour; shee therefore promising to bee a mediator vnto the King of *Spaine* for their peace; and after some complements of Princely entertainments, with thankes for their offer, and sufferance to carry with them many voluntary Englisb souldiers, let them depart: whose deniall made knowne, was nothing welcome to those distressed Prouinces.

The States of the *Low-Countries* sent to the *English Queene*.

(163) Long after this, *Lewis* the Gouernour liued not, whom *Don Iohn of Austria* (base brother to King *Philip*) succeeded; who at first made shew of most fauourable affection, yet so, as vrging their subiection to *Spaine*; and obedience to the Apostolicall See of *Rome*. Neither would hee come to their Counsell, without Hostages deliuered, and most of their troupes to guard his suspecting person, esteeming them *Lutherans* and *Heretikes*, in whom was no trust.

Don John made gouernour of the *Low-Countries*.

(164) These mooued the States once more to sue to her *Maiesty*, that by her meanes, with peace they might enioy the antient Priuiledges of their Prouinces, and the freedom of their own consciences against the Inquisition and Tyranny of *Spaine*; and indeed so lamentably deplored their case, that the pitty-full *Queene* sent into *Spaine*, to desire the King in commiseration to withdraw these extremities from the distressed. But *Philip* deafe on that eare, and *Iohn* planting his Garrisons with suspicious intents, *Elizabeth* beganne to looke to the maine, sending the King word, shee liked not that his Souldiers should bee her bad neighbours, and the *Gouernour* notice, that she would not suffer the Christian *Netherlanders* to be tyrannized by his *Spaniards*. And thereupon caused the value of forty thousand Angels in Bullion, vnminted (in part of an hundred thousand pound sterling promised) to bee sent vnto *Brusels*, receiuing the States obligations for the same: where also were confirmed certaine conditions betwixt her and them.

The States sue againe to the Queene.

The Queene soliciteth the Spanish King for the States. *Ed Grimston lib.10.pag.611.*

(165) This mooued *Don Iohn* to such conceits, that he intended to doe wonders in *England*, by interposing himselfe in the Scottish affaires, yea, and by the destruction of *Queene Elizabeth*, whereto hee is said to haue got the *Popes* good furtherance. But whether by poison or discontents, this great conceited Monarch left the Crowne of *England* where it gloriously stood, and laid his owne head in the graue of death.

pag.612.

Ed. Grim. l.b.10. pag.619.

(166) And indeed so glorious was *Elizabeths* fame, growne now more potent by the Low-Countries engagements, that the wise Statists of *France*, feared their owne Starre would be dimmed at the presence of her bright Sunne. For *Henry* their King, though he made great shewes to doe much, both in the Church and Councell of State; in feasts, in maskes, and in treading the measures of dances, dallied out both day and night in vnmeasurable delights: and yet the Clergy to hold in their owne hands the raines of Church-gouernment, with Bels, Bookes, and Beads, sounded forth the zeale of his religious piety in the eares of their auditories: And to manage all temporall affaires at their owne dispose, the *Queen Mother*, and the *Guize* laid loose the bridle in his owne necke, not abridging his pleasures with their grauer aduices. But lest the *English maiden Queene* should bee a maule to the Churchmens Massings, or disturbe these State-guiders by claime (as shee had done) of her owne right in *France*; the marriage motioned nine yeeres before, betwixt their Kings brother *Francis Valois Duke of Anion*, and *Elizabeth Englands faire Queene*, was againe sollicited, in hope by this match to make her wholly theirs, the better to establish their peace: and so effectually was the sute mooued, and so acceptably heard of her Maiesty, that the *Monsieur* came ouer in person to wooe her himselfe; though to the little liking of many Nobles, and great discontent to the Commons, as (amongst other appearances) was made knowne by a booke written against it, for which by reason of some personall and ouer-lauish passages) the * Inditor lost his hand. But whether her Maiesty affected not marriage, or disliked the man, or else out of her tender care not to giue the least griefe or distaste to her Subiects, after most Princely and magnificent entertainment shee let him depart without any promise of a nuptiall knot.

Iohn de Serres. pag. 885.

The States of *France* somewhat daunted at Q. *Eliz.* greatnesse.

A mariage solicited.

An. D. 1581. Anno Reg. 24.

Francis Valois comes into England about a marriage with the Queene.

* *Wil. Stubs.*

His departure.

(167) The fame of this *Duke* was very renowned, and much the more by the *Englisb Queenes* fauours; in so much, that the distressed vnited Prouinces, after they had declared *Philip of Austria* (then King of *Spaine*) by his too violent Gouernment against their priuiledges (whereunto he had sworne) to be an enemy vnto their state and peace, and therefore vpon breach of couenants, to haue fallen from his interest among them, chose this hopefull *Monsieur* to be their Protector, as a Prince most powerfull to defend their cause; of whose triumphes and *French* trecheries there, let *Serres* and *Petit* report for me.

Ed. Grimston. pag. 726. K. Philip adiudged enemy to the States. *Monsieur* chosen Protector of the States pag. 779. *Serres* pag. 793. See the History of France and Netherland. page 813.

(168) He dying in *France* (penitent and sorrowfull for what hee had done) and *William of Nassau Prince of Orange* (by an Edict from *Spaine* proclaimed a Traitor, his Lands and goods giuen to them that could bring him either dead or aliue, with a further reward of twenty fiue thousand Crownes annuall) was first dangerously wounded in the face with a Pistoll, & at last murthered with the like shot by the base hand of an odious traytor at his Court in *Delfe in Holland*: whereupon the oppressed Prouinces once more sued for reliefe, both to her *Maiesty of England*, as also vnto *Henry the French King*.

The Prince of *Orange* murthered.

Ed. Grim. Hist. Nether. p. 764.

The Prouinces againe sue for helpe.

(169) Shee much disliking the cruelties of *Spaine*, whose hands were thus dipt in the bloud of this Prince, commended their cause vnto King *Henry* by an honorable * Ambassage. But hee finding himselfe ouermastered at home, and in danger of the *Guize* and the league; himselfe without forces, and theirs growne very strong; recommended their distresses vnto *Queene Elizabeth* by his owne Ambassador

* Earle of *Darby* Ambassador into *France*.

An.D.1585.

basſadour promiſing her by the faith of a King, aſſiſtance for thoſe *Netherlanders* reliefe: and the like requeſt hee made vnto the King of *Nauarre* in their behalfes. Hereupon their *Procurators* were ſent into *England*, with full Commiſſion to diſpoſe of their Prouinces at the *Queenes* pleaſure.

Conſiderations why it behoued to aſſiſt the Low-Countries.

(170) Her Councell then aſſembled to conferre of the buſineſſe, many waighty conſiderations amongſt them were mooued, and laſtly concluded, that her Maieſty ought to accept of the offer. The defence of *Gods Goſpell* was the firſt motiue, ſhe being the nurſing mother of *Chriſts* diſtreſſed Saints: The *Spaniſh* Inquiſition, that without reſpect had perſecuted her Subiects contrary to right, was too cruell to be tollerated: *Philips* Army with flying colours ſent lately into *Ireland* vpon gift made vnto him by the Pope, with a purpoſe of the like enterprize for *England*; bewraied their intents; and laſtly the hard meaſure that was to bee expected for *England*, if the *Spaniards* ſeated in theſe neere *Netherland Prouinces* was to be preuented. Theſe important reaſons for her owne State, and pitty of theirs, mooued her *Maieſty* to become their *Defender*, but would in no wiſe take the Title *of Soueraigne Lady* thereof, which they would haue conferred vpon Her and her heires.

Sanders and *Creyghtõs* letters.

Elizabeth taketh vpon her the defence of the Low-Countries.

Sir *Iohn Norris* Generall.

(171) And thereupon Articles being drawn, (to the number of thirty) *Sir Iohn Norris* (a renowned Marſhall man) was appointed *Generall* of fiue thouſand foote, and a thouſand Horſemen *Engliſh*, all retained at her Maieſties pay during the ſaid warres; which monthly amounted to twelue thouſand fiue hundred, twenty ſixe pound ſterling, accounting 56. dayes to the moneth, according to the Contract. For which monies ſo diſburſed, the Towns of *Fluſhing* and *Brill*, with *two Skonces*, and the *Caſtle of Ramekins* in Holland, were deliuered to her Maieſties vſe in pledge, vntill the money were repaied: theſe Couenants were dated at *Nonſuch* the tenth of Auguſt in *Anno* 1585.

Great ſummes of monies diſburſed, for which certaine holds were deliuered.

(172) This protection, vndertaken by the *Queene of England*, was very ill taken by King *Philip of Spaine*; neither better digeſted by the Pope his holy Father, as was ſhewed in two *lying libels* publiſhed againſt her: where amongſt other things, ſhee was taxed with *Ingratitude* towards King *Philip*, who in the raigne of her ſiſter, was ſaid to haue ſaued her life, and that treacherouſly ſhe had ſought the death of the Prince of *Parma* the preſent Gouernour in thoſe parts vnder the ſaid King, vnto which impudent ſlanders ſhee made anſwere in a booke printed both in Engliſh and French, ſhewing the ſhamefull vntruth of thoſe impoſturous liers, and the reaſons that led her to aſſiſt thoſe poore diſtreſſed States, whereof theſe were a part.

Loud-lying libels againſt her Highneſſe.

Printed by *Chriſtopher Barker*. An.D.1585. Anno Reg. 27.

(173) The naturall ſituation of thoſe Countries, lying directly oppoſite to *England*; the neereneſſe, commodious hauens, and commerce of thoſe people with the *Engliſh*, euen when they were ſeuerall; and not yet vnited together, as of late yeeres they haue been, by inter-marriages, and reduced vnder the gouernments of the Lords that ſucceeded in the Dukedome of *Burgundy*; betwixt whom and the *Engliſh* Kings, hath been a continuall league, as alſo betwixt the naturall Subiects of both Countries, both of commerce for Merchants, as all other ſpeciall bonds of mutuall amity. For teſtimony of which there are extant ſundry Authentique treatiſes and tranſactions for mutuall commerce, intercourſe and ſtraite amity of ancient times; as betwixt King *Henry the ſixth*, and *Philip* the Second Duke of *Burgundy*; which was reuiued by Duke *Charles* his ſonne (Father to the King of *Spaines* Grand-mother, and husband to the Lady *Margaret*, ſiſter to King *Edward the fourth*) and againe confirmed by King *Henry the ſeuenth* and the *Arch-Duke Philip*, Grand-father to the King of *Spaine*. And of later yeeres betwixt King *Henry the eight*, and *Charles the fifth*, Emperour of *Almaine*, Father to *Philip* now King of *Spaine*. In all which treatiſes it was at all times ſpecially contained in expreſſe words, that the naturall people and Subiects of either ſide ſhould ſhew mutuall fauours and duties one to the other: But now *Philip* of *Spaine* departing the Low-Countries, and appointing Spaniards, Forreiners and Strangers, men exerciſed in warre, and delighted in blood to bee chiefe Gouernours of all the ſaid Low-Countries, contrary to their ancient Laws and coſtomes, who vpon ambition, and for priuate lucre haue violently broken the Liberties, as the people alleage; and in a tyrannous ſort haue baniſhed, killed and deſtroyed within the ſpace of a few moneths many of the moſt ancient and principall perſons, of the naturall Nobility, haue brought in inteſtine warres, made the Country in a manner deſolate by famine, ſword, and other exactions. So that the people are forced for the ſafety of their liues to ſeeke the protection of other forraine Lords, or rather to yeeld themſelues wholy to the ſoueraignty of ſome mighty Monarch, as not onely by the ancient laws of their Countries they may, but euen by ſpeciall priuiledges granted to the people by ſome of the Lords and Dukes of the Prouinces as they doe affirme, whereby they are free from their former homages, and at liberty to make choiſe of any other to be their Prince and head.

Bernardyn Mendoza the Spaniſh Lieger Ambaſſador practiſeth an inuaſion.

(174) Beſides theſe reaſons concerning them, the practiſes of *Bernardin de Mendoza* (Lieger Ambaſſador in *England* for *Philip* King of *Spaine*) who by the directions of *Francis Throgmorton*, contriued to bring in a forraine power to the deſtruction of *Englands* eſtate, it was not onely held a worke of piety to defend theſe diſtreſſed Chriſtians, but alſo a neceſſary policy to aide the Low-Countries Proteſtants with *Englands* ſupply, the better to impeach theſe dangerous aſſignes. And how ioyous her protection was to theſe Prouinces, the deliuery of *Fluſhing* with the Caſtell of *Ramekins* vnto Sir *Philip Sidney*, and the *Brill* vnto Sir *Thomas Cecill*, appointed by her Maieſty the Gouernours thereof, is witneſſed by the letters of Prince *Maurice* himſelfe, wherein hee ſignified the great ioy and hopes that he conceiued, and his willing ſurrender of the ſame towne *Fluſhing*, being his patrimoniall inheritance.

The ioy conceiued at *Elizabeths* protection.

(175) Things ordered thus among theſe great Potentates, *Robert Dudley* Baron of *Denbigh*, was the man, whom the *Queene* appointed to bee her *Deputy Generall*, honourable by birth, being the Duke of *Northumberlands* ſonne, by creation Earle of *Leiceſter*, and of the Order of the Garter, gracious in the eye of his Soueraigne, and ſufficiently ſorted with all courtly complements, who being accompanied with a gallant traine of Earles, Barons, and other great Perſonages of *England*, landed in *Zeeland* the nineteenth of *December*, and thence w honourably conuaied vnto *Dunhage* in *Holland*, where hee was inſtalled, and the States tooke their oath to the *Queene*, which no ſooner was accompliſhed, but that a ſuſpition began to ariſe; vpon this occaſion.

The Earle of *Leiceſter* ſent into the Low-Countries.

An.D.1537.

(176) The States hauing drawne inſtructions of Counſell for their Countries affaires, preſented the ſame to their new made Gouernour, whoſe anſwere was, that ſuch inſtructions would proue limitations, which his authority now being abſolute, could no waies indure: they greatly miſtruſting whereat hee did aime, bewailed the miſeries wherunto their Country ſeemed to be brought, yet they ſuffered him to chooſe his Counſellors of Eſtate, and to ſtampe his owne Armes both in their great and Counter-Seale: which when the *Queene* their aſſiſter vnderſtood, ſhee was offended both with them and him, ſuppoſing her ſelfe to bee drawne further then euer ſhee entended, or that ſhee had yeelded vnto in the *Declaration*, where her ſelfe had granted to bee their *Aider*, but neuer would graunt to bee the *Soueraigne* of thoſe Countries.

Ed. Grimſt. hiſt. Netherl. Pag. 911.

The States miſtruſt, & *Leiceſters* pride.

(177) Things

Troubles in traffick vpon the seas.

(177) Things thus passing betwixt *England* and the *Vnited Prouinces*, the English Marchants Ships and goods were arrested in *Spaine*, which caused many to leaue the trade of Merchandizing, and to become men of Warre on the Seas, where alwayes the Spaniard, whosoeuer wanne, went to the worst. But on the Land, the Prince of *Parma* held Plea; for whose further safety Pope *Sixtus* the fift sent him a consecrated Sword with a Hatte, and to his men of Warre the Apostolicall blessing, with eternall life for them that should die in the Catholike Romish faith.

A consecrated Sword sent to Prince *Parma*.

(178) Another feare was blowne into the Netherlanders eares, which sore troubled them though without all cause, for it was diuulged by sinister reports, that Queen *Elizabeth* meant to make peace with the King of *Spaine*, without either mention or regard for the safety of her vnited Confederates. Shee touched in honour, whereof shee was euer iealous, wrote her letters to Prince *Parma* in answere of his, that had mentioned the same, and to these doubtfull Netherlanders, to assure them the contrary, both which were dated from *Richmond* vpon one and the same day.

The feares of the distressed Netherlanders.

(179) Now *Leicester* not liking to lie still, and doe nothing, made his preparation for *Zutphen*, which being in want of victuals, the Prince of *Parma* sought to supply, to intercept which, Sir *Iohn Norris* was sent, and to the saide seruice came the Earle of *Essex*, the Lord *Willoughby*, Sir *Philip Sidney*, Sir *William Stanley*, and Sir *William Russell*, in all two hundred horse, and fifteene hundred Musketiers and Pikes: the *Parma* hauing seauen hundred horse, and two thousand foote, appointed with the like defence.

July 19. A.D.1586.

(180) The day being darke through great foggy mists, the *Spaniard* whilest their Wagons made forward, stayed in a place of aduantage neere vnto *Zutphen*, vpon whom the English were entred before they were aware, and were entertained with a furious charge of shot, which notwithstanding they abode, and so valiantly followed the skirmish, that they ouerthrew a cornet of horse, and tooke *Cressier* the Captaine thereof prisoner, and after him Count *Hanniball Gonzaga*, another Cornet also they put backe and slew. But in this the day was made vnfortunate, that the worthy Sir *Philip Sidney* as he changed his horse, was shot by a Musket aboue the left knee, which so shiuered the thigh-bone, that the Bullet could not bee recouered, of which wound he died fiue and twenty dayes after, to the no little griefe of her Maiesty, and many others, for the great hopes they had of that worthy Gentleman; in whom were compleat all vertues and valours that could be required or residing in man.

A conflict at Zutphen.

Sir *Philip Sidney* shot with a musket, whereof hee dyed.

(181) Good seruice done vpon the Sconces neer *Zutphen*, so that the Towne seemed to bee blocked vp; his *Excellency* (so did they now enstile the Earle) made *Rowland Yorke* the Gouernour thereof, and ouer *Deuenter* Sir *William Stanley*, to the great discontents of the Estates, for that *Yorke* had been a double Traitor in seruice, and *Stanley* before time had serued the *Spaniard*. Other grieuances also they then beganne to complaine of, and by petition to his Excellency sought the redresse; but hee minding for *England*, with faire words held them in expectance vntill such time as hee should returne againe.

Yorke and *Stanley* made gouernors of townes.

(182) The State-Souldiers found themselues agreeued, that they were not dealt with according to custome, degrees or desert, (as that the Sergeant should be aduanced to be Ensigne, the *Ensigne* Sergeant Maior, and so vpward) they venturing their liues to winne reputation. And the Earle of *Holocke* held himselfe much wronged, in that Sir *Edward Noris* vpon words spoken at Table, sent him a letter of challenge to fight with him body to body; the Earle then lying sicke of a wound receyued at *Zutphen*, which hee disdainefully tooke, as being his vnequall, and partly imputed it to the sufferance of his Excellency. But more neerely touched the losse of *Deuenter* and *Sconce* at *Zutphen*, traiterously sold vnto the *Spaniard* by Sir *William Stanley*, and *Rowland Yorke* Englishmen, whom *Leicester* had left there at his departure. These things droue the the Counsell of State into many iealousies, that the English entended as the French had done.

Grudges and grieuances at *Leicesters* doings.

Stanley and *Yorke* traiterously sell their Townes.

(183) The occasion that mooued the *Lord Generall* to return into *England*, was for his presence in Parliament, wherein was handled the waighty cause of that great Princesse *Mary* Queene of *Scotland*, whose vntimely death and vnfortunate end was finished at *Fotheringhay* Castle in the County of *Northampton*, to the great discontent of her Maiesty, as was manifestly seen * to all her people, by the griefe shee conceiued, and high displeasure shee tooke against the forward * Actor, both in casting him into the Tower of *London*, and neuer admitting him after into her presence, or his place. The body of the deplored Queene was solemnly interred in the Cathedrall Church of *Peterborow*, where it remained vnder a Hearse of black veluet. But by his Maiesties appointment was thence remoued vnto the Collegiat Church of *S. Peters* in *Westminster*, and in the most magnificent Chappel of *K. Henry the* VII. interred vnder a Princely Monument of white marble, with her picture according to life artificially imitated by sculpture.

An.D.1587.

February 8.

* Yet *Sanders* (in his *Schisma Anglic.*) impudẽtly forgeth that the Queen therevpon was triumphantly drawne with her white Coach-horses.
* Secretary *Dauison*.

(184) In this absence of *Leicester* euery seuerall Captaine tooke vpon him the place of a *Generall*, whereby many desperate seruices were attempted, and great robbery by their Souldiers committed, so that it was feared all would come to ruine. To preuent which, a *Counsell for State* was assembled at *Dunhage*, where *Maurice Nassau*, the younger sonne of *Willam* Prince of *Orange* was elected their *Gouernor*, and the Prouinces sworn vnto him, with a reseruation had vnto her Maiesty; when also a great complaint was sent into *England*, which to examine, the *Lord Buckhurst* was sent into *Holland*; at whose doings *Leicester* tooke offence, but especially against *Sir Iohn Noris* (that renowned Leader) whom to the great dislike of the States, he caused to bee recalled, and sent into *Ireland*.

Maurice Nassau chosen gouernour of the Low-Countries.

Sir Iohn Noris sent into *Ireland*.

(185) *Leicester* the Lord Generall hoping to recouer his wel-nigh lost reputation, landed in *Zeeland*, gallantly accompanied, where hee made a forward shew of great seruice; but such was the successe, that *Sluce* was surrendred, and the occasion thereof partly imputed to him; when also beganne many factious abettings betwixt the Estates and his Excellency, so that some Townes vtterly reiected his gouernment, and hee againe sought to seize vpon some other.

July 6.

Sluce surrendred.

(186) The care of preuentiug further mischiefes, moued her Maiesty hereupon to recall the Earle of *Leicester* into *England*, well knowing that a Kingdom diuided could not long stand: who on his returne, shee commanded to resigne his gouernment of the *Netherlanders* into the hands of the Generall Estates, which was performed by act, signed vnder his hand, and sent vnto them: which resignation receiued, was presently proclaimed through al the Prouinces, to the end that euery man might know himselfe discharged of his oath to the Earle of *Leicester*.

Ed. Grim. Hist. Netherl. Pag. 979.

Leicester discharged of his gouernment in the Low-Countries.

(187) Now *Philip* King of *Spaine* espying these dissentions, thought it a fitte aduantage for him to worke vpon, hauing a long time proiected an attempt for *England*, and at that time preparing a mighty Nauy vpon the seas. To cast therefore a myst ouer her Maiesties eyes, and to driue all iealousies out of her head, hee importuned by all meanes the Realmes vnto peace. She measuring other Princes by her owne true-meaning, and peacefull dispositions, gaue eare to his guilefull lullaby, without suspition of any snake to bee hid in so floury a garden; and therefore sent to the Estates to vnderstand their resolution for an vniuersall peace, protesting

Spaine contriues warre vnder the false proffers of peace.

Q. *Elizabeth* desirous of peace.

ſting that if they ſtood out, ſhee would withdraw her whole forces from thence.

The Low Country States feare to haue peace with Spaine.

(188) They, like themſelues anſwered with a bold deniall, neither thought they that ſhee could haue any peace with him that was head of the *holy League*, and perſecuted the exerciſe of the reformed Religion, whoſe policy (as they feared) was but to detract time, till his ſea-prouiſions were better ripened, as indeed the ſequell ſoone proued. The terror of this prepared, and *Inuincible Nauy* (as the *Spaniards* tearmed it) ſpreading it ſelfe wide, and menacing fearefull ſtormes both vnto the Engliſh and Flemiſh; the Eſtates like prouident reſpecters of themſelues, and thankfull men to their Protectreſſe, prepared their ſhipps of warre to aſſiſt her Maieſty, and preſſed a thouſand ſailers of the Netherlanders for her ſeruice on ſeas.

The Dutch prepare againſt the Spaniards.

A.D. 1588. Feb. 24.

(189) During this brute of the Spaniſh proceedings, Commiſſioners were ſent out of *England* to conferre vpon conditions of the pretended peace with the Duke *Parma*, Lieutenant for the King of *Spaine*, who for that purpoſe came to *Oſtend*. For her Maieſty were aſſigned *Henry* Earle of *Derby*, *William* Lord *Cobham* Warden of the Cinque-ports, with Sir *James Croft*, and others. For King *Philip*, were *Maximilian* Earle of *Aremberg*, Gouernour of *Antwerpe*, *Monſieur Richardot* Preſident of *Artois*, and Counſellor of State, beſides other Ciuilians. Theſe ſtayed at *Bruges*, and by meſſages too and fro much time was ſpent for precedency of place, where they ſhould meet, and what hoſtages ſhould bee giuen for ſecurity of ſides; yet laſtly, the Engliſh had the priority, and the place was *Oſtend*.

Commiſſioners for the pretended peace.

ariance for precedency.

The Queenes demands.

(190) The demaund of the Queene was, to haue a ſurceaſe of Armes, with a preſent and vndelayed truce, miſtruſting the Kinges preparation at Sea. The ſending away of forraine ſouldiers out of the Low-Countries for *Englands* ſafety. A reſtitution of ſuch ſummes of money as the Queen had lent vnto the Eſtates, which the King had promiſed by his Edict made at *Bruſels*. That the Netherlanders might enioy their ancient liberties and priuiledges, nor bee gouerned by a ſtranger, but by a Natiue Prince. That the Religion might bee permitted for two yeeres at leaſt. And laſtly; that the Articles of Pacification of *Gant*, and other like Treaties might bee obſerued. And theſe being concluded; the Townes ſhee poſſeſſed ſhould bee deliuered vpon ſuch reaſonable conditions, as all the world ſhould witneſſe ſhee tooke them not to her owne vſe, or commodity, but onely vpon a neceſſary defence and aſſurance.

The Spaniſh ſhifts and anſweres.

(191) To theſe the *Spaniards* replyed, that touching their preparation for Sea, they did aſſure them it nothing concerned *England*. To ſend away their Souldiers, their King could not reſolue; vntill that the Netherlanders had ſubmitted themſelues vnto him. Concerning their priuiledges, it appertained nothing to the Queene, neither ſhould ſhee preſcribe to the King a law. And ſo farre was hee from tolerating Religion, that hee would not heare thereof, otherwiſe then hee had allowed vnto other Towns that had ſubmitted vnto his obedience: and the like anſwere made they for the Pacification of *Gant*.

The Popes Bull ſent forth againſt *England*.

(192) The propoſitions further vrged, and anſwered with dilatory delayes, *Pope Sixtus* the fift (the prime man in the intended Tragedy) obſeruing well the time, among other beaſts ſent foorth his Bull to thunder out bolts againſt *Englands* Queen, confirming the Excommunications of his two Predeceſſors, and depriuing her Maieſty from all Princely dignity; for whoſe finall diſpoſſeſſion, hee then ordained his Catholike ſonne *Philip* of *Spaine*, commanding all her Subiects, vpon paine of his curſe, (oh fearefull bugge-beare) to aid and aſſiſt the *great, noble, and Inuincible Armie*, prepared to that end vnder the command of the Duke of *Parma*. And *Allen* an Engliſhman, an eager Trumpeter to this exploit, now purpoſely made Cardinall by the Pope (to ſhew his Holy affection to the Engliſh Nation) would not lie idle, but ſet himſelf on worke to write a Booke exhortatory to the Nobility of *England* and *Ireland*, to rouze them vp to the execution of the Popes ſentence againſt their Soueraigne, in aſſiſting K. *Philip*, who was made the whip in his Holineſſe hand, and the Duke of *Parma* who was appointed the chiefe Commander in that action, which Booke (fraught with all impudency of diuelliſh ſlanders againſt her ſacred perſon) was printed at *Antwerpe* in *Anno* 1588.

Cardinall *Allen* traiterous libell.

(193) This Bull and Booke comming to the Queenes knowledge; ſhe ſent vnto *Parma* (who had gained the reputation of ſome Princely vertues) to deale plainly with her; if ſo, then meant ſhe no longer to continuet he treaty of peace: but he with many Courtly complements denied his authority, neither had ſeen (as he ſaid) any ſuch preſcripts. Moreouer the Engliſh Commiſſioners preſſed the conditions, purpoſely to find ſome footſteps of this cloſe-carried deſigne, when at laſt it burſt forth in theſe termes, that the King of *Spaine had kept fifty thouſand men in pay almoſt a whole yeere to lie ſtill and doe nothing; to his great charge by the meanes of that treaty*. At which very inſtant, theſe their hidden traps and toyles apparantly ſhewed themſelues, when the Seas were turretted with ſuch a Nauy of ſhips; as her ſwelling waues could hardly be ſeen, and the Flagges, Streamers, and enſignes, ſo ſpread in the winde, that they ſeemed to darken euen the Sunne, which put the Engliſh Commiſſioners in ſome ſuſpition and feare, hauing no hoſtages for their ſafe returne.

The Queene ſent to Prince *Parma*.

Parma denieth his authority.

The Spaniſh purpoſe made knowne by themſelues.

(194) This *Inuincible Nauie* long in preparing and now in readineſſe, was furniſhed with all prouiſions of warres, and with many brauadoes ſpread their ſailes for *Englands* inuaſion, guided by the *Prouinciall Generals*, whoſe names the numbers of Veſſels, Ordinances, Sailers, Souldiers, and Slaues, as I find them recorded, in this enſuing Table are inſerted.

A Table

A Table contayning the prouiſions of the Spaniſh Armado.

Leaders.	Prouinces.	Galliaſers & Gallions	Ships & Hulkes.	Pinaſes & Caruals.	Great Ordinance.	Saylers.	Souldiers.	Gally Slaues.
Duke Medina Sidonia.	Portugal.	10.	2.		300.	1300.	3300.	
Diego de Mandrana.	Portugal.	4.			20.	360.		888.
Iohn Martinez de Richald.	Biſcai.	10.		4.	250.	700.	2000.	
Michael de Oquendo.	Guypuſco.	10.		4.	310.	700.	2000.	
Pedro de Valdez.	Andolozia.	10.		1.	280.	800.	2400.	
Martin de Vertendona.	Italy.	10.			310.	800.	2000.	
Diego Floris de Valdez.	Caſtil.	14.		2.	380.	1700.	2400.	
Iohn Lopez de Medina.	Medina.		23.		400.	700.	3200.	
Hugo de Moncado.	Naples.	4.			200.	460.	870.	1200.
Antonio Buccado.	Mendoza.		22.		193.	574.	488.	
The totall Sum of this Preparation.		72.	47.	11.	2843.	8094.	18658.	2088.

(195) Admirable (as ye ſee) was the prouiſion of this mighty Armado, and ſo confident was the *Spaniard* that *England* ſhould pay the whole ſhot, that no coſt of any thing was at all ſpared; of bullets for great ſhot were two hundred and twenty thouſand; of powder foure thouſand and two hundred kintals, euery kintall containing a hundred weight; of lead for bullets one thouſand kintals, and one thouſand and two hundred kintals of match; ſeuen thouſand Muskets and Caliuers, ten thouſand Partizans and Halberts, with murthering Peeces, double Canons, and field Peeces for Campe; with ſtore of furniture for carriages, Mules and Horſes, ſo that they were ſufficiently prouided both for Sea and Land. Bread and Bisket was baked, and Wine laid aboard for ſixe moneths prouiſion; ſixe thouſand and fiue hundred kintals of Bacon, three thouſand of Cheeſe, beſides fleſh, Rice, Beanes, Peaſe, Oyle, and Vinegar, with twelue thouſand Pipes of freſh water, ſtore they had of Torches, Lanthornes, and Lampes, Cannas, Hides, and Lead to ſtop leakes, whips, and butchery kniues; for what vſe we may imagine. In a word, by the report of *Don Diego Piementell*, the Army was two and thirty thouſand ſtrong, and coſt the King of *Spaine* thirty thouſand Ducats euery day.

The wonderfull and great prouiſions in the Spaniſh Armado.

Their Regiments

(196) In this Army were fiue regiments of old Spaniſh Souldiers, of the *Tertios*, of *Naples*, *Sicily*, and the *Terceraes*, commanded by fiue Maſters *Del Campo*; The firſt was *Don Diego de Piementel*, a Knight of the Order of *Saint Iohn*, brother to the *Marqueſſe* of *Taueras*, and Couſen to the Earle of *Benuent* and *Calui*. The ſecond Colonel was *Don Franciſco de Toledo*, brother to the Earle of *Orgas*: the third, *Don Alonzo de Luzon*: the fourth, *Don Nicholas de Illa*, or *Patritio Anſelmo*: and the fift, was *Auguſtin Mexia*, brother to the *Marqueſſe de la Garda*, who was afterwards made Gouernour of *Antwerp*; each company hauing in his regiment two and thirty companies, beſides the *Caſtilians* and *Portugals* bands, each of them hauing their peculiar Gouernours, Captaines, Officers, Colours, and weapons.

Their great ſtrength in men.

Their Generall.

The Admirall, Marſhall and Counſellers.

(197) The Generall of this mighty army, was *Don Ludouicus Perez, Duke of Medina Sidonia, Baron of Saint Lucas*, of the Order of the Golden Fleece. The Admirall was *Don Iohn Martinez de Richald*, the Marſhal *Don Franciſco Bouadille*: and the chiefe Counſellers for the warre, were *Diego Piementell*, *Floris de Valdes*, *Pedro de Valdez*, *Michael Oquendo*, *Don Alanzo de Lieua*, *Don Diego Maldonado*, and *Don Georgio Manriquez*. *Don Martin Alarcon* was ordained Vicar Generall for the holy Inquiſition, in whoſe traine were a hundred Monkes and Ieſuites: and Cardinall *Allen* was appointed the *Superintendent* of all Eccleſiaſticall matters throughout *England*; who fearing to be ouertaken with time, tranſlated *Pope Sixtus* his Bull into Engliſh, that it might be the ſooner publiſhed vpon the arriual of the *Spaniſh* Fleete into that Kingdome. Of voluntary aduenturers, were an hundred twenty foure, Noblemen, and Gentlemen of great account; all of them furniſhed at their owne charges: among whom was the Prince of *Aſcoli*, *Alonzo de Leiua*, the Marqueſſe of *Pennafiel*, the Marqueſſe *de Ganes*, the Marqueſſe *de Barlango*, the Count *de Paredes*, the Count *de Telnas*, and diuers other Marqueſſes and Earles of Honourable Families of *Mendoza*, *Toledo*, *Pachieco*, *Cordouas*, *Cuzma*, and *Manricques*, neither was there any Noble Houſe of *Spaine*, but had a ſon, brother, or nephew in the voyage, in hope of reuenewes and riches in *England*.

Vicar Generall of the Inquiſition.

Cardinal *Allen*.

The voluntaries in this voyage.

(198) Nor was the Duke of *Parma* ſlacke in the buſineſſe; who lying in readineſſe to ioyne his forces with this Nauy, ſet many thouſands on worke to build ſhips, to dig and deepen Riuers for ſayle from *Antwerpe* to *Gaunt*, and to *Bruges*, lading three hundred ſmall Boates with Munition and victuals; as alſo prepared ſeauenty others flat bottomed, euery one able to beare thirty Horſes for tranſportation, with Bridges ready made to ſhip and vnſhip them. Two hundred more were made of the like faſhion, though not ſo big, and lay ready in the Hauen of *Newport*; at *Dunkirke* lay thirty ſeauen ſhips of warre, wherein ſtore of pyles were beſtowed, ſharpened at the end with yron pykes, to pile vp the mouthes of Riuers; and at *Graueling* hee had prouided twenty thouſand empty Caskes, with Cords, and other furniture fit to make floating Bridges to ſtop vp the Hauens. He likewiſe had ſhipped great abundance of Saddles, Bridles, with all other furniture for Horſe; and Horſes alſo for carriage, with Ordinance, and other prouiſions of warre.

The Duke of Parma his preparation.

Ed. Grimſton in Hiſtory of *Holland*. *Pag.* 1000.

(199) Neere vnto *Newport* hee had lying vnder the command of *Camillo*, thirty Companies of Italians.

Duke *Parma* his Forces.

lians, two of Wallons, and eight of *Burguinons*, euery Company being an hundred men. At *Dyxmew* hee muſtered foureſcore Companies of Netherlanders, threeſcore of Spaniards, threeſcore of high Dutch, and ſeauen of rebellious fugitiue Engliſh, whereof *Sir William Stanley* was General; at *Corricke* alſo were foure thouſand lodged, and at *Watene* nine hundred Horſe, ouer whom the Marqueſſe of *Gnaſt* was Commander. And to this Land-ſeruice came the Duke of *Paſtrana*, ſuppoſed to be the Spaniſh Kings baſe ſonne: the Marqueſſe of *Bourgon*, one of the Archduke *Ferdinands* ſonnes, *Don Veſpaſian Gonſagua* of the Houſe of *Mantua*, a great Souldier, who had beene Viceroy of *Spaine*, *Don Iohn de Medices* Baſtard of *Florence*, *Don Amedeus* baſtard of *Sauoy*, with many others of the like eſtate.

The Noblemen employed in this Armado.

The Popes Cruſado.

(200) Neither muſt you think, that *Sixtus Quintus* the Pope of *Rome*, did in any wiſe neglect his diligence and deuotion to this intended inuaſion; whoſe helping hand was ſhewed, in ſending forth his *Cruſado* (as hath been vſed againſt the Turkes) and publiſhing a ſafe paſport for his *Philippians* to enter into *England*. Who alſo for the furtherance of the enterpriſe, vndertooke to contribute a *million of gold*, the halfe preſently, and the other when any notable Hauen in that Land ſhould be wonne; with this *proniſo* notwithſtanding (moſt wiſely inſerted) that hee ſhould hold the Engliſh Crowne as feudatory vnto the See of *Rome*; in earneſt whereof, he beſtowed vpon him his Apoſtolicall benediction, and the Title of the *Defendor of the Faith*: ſo liberall was he, both in his temporall and ſpirituall largeſſes, and ſo forward was *Philip* to catch at *Elizabeths* ſtill flouriſhing Crowne. But her vndanted heart in this preſent danger, as another *Ezekiah*, ſought vnto the Lord, whoſe Annointed ſeruant ſhee was, and who euer had beene her onely defendant. And for preuenting thoſe long threatned ſtormes, ſhee ſent *Charles Howard, Lord Baron of Effingham, High Admirall of England*, vnto the Seas, where the *Lord Henry Seymer* kept betwixt *Callis* and *Douer*, ſeconded by the Ships of the vnited *Prouinces*, in league with the *Queene*.

His contribution

The French King giues notice to the Queen of the preparation.

(201) The *French King*, who euer honoured and admired *Queene Elizabeths* great and gracious vertues, hauing more particular intelligences that this great preparation was made againſt *England*, gaue ſpeedy and ſecret notice thereof to her Maieſty; whereupon ſhee commanded the generall Forces of the Realme in their ſeuerall Shires to be muſtered, trayned, and put in readineſſe for the defence of the whole; which accordingly was done, and whereof the *Lord Robert Dudley*, Earle of *Leiceſter*, and Steward of her Houſhold, was appointed Lieutenant. *Tilbury* in *Eſſex* was the place for the Camp, whereunto were appointed 15000. Horſemen, and twenty two thouſand of Foote, and to guard her Maieſties Perſon, out of the ſeuerall Counties of the Weſt, Eaſt, and South parts of *England*, were ſelected two thouſand, three hundred, fifty two Horſemen, and thirty foure thouſand and fifty of Foote; her ſelfe in courage farre ſurmounting her ſexe, as another *Zenobia*, or rather *Deborah*, led forth the Lords Hoaſt againſt this great *Siſera*, and her Souldiers valiant for warre, and apt for battell, Men skilfull to handle Speare and Shield, both for courage and quicke diſpatch, might well bee compared vnto thoſe Gadites that came to aide *Dauid*, whoſe faces were like to the faces of Lyons, and were compared to Roes in the Mountaines for ſwiftneſſe.

The Queenes Forces at *Tilburie*.

1 Chr. 12. 12.

(202) The *Inuincible Nauie*, and terrour of *Europe*, as the Papals both termed, and tooke it to be, hauing all things prepared, looſed Anchor from *Lisbon*, vpon the nineteenth of *May*, and made vnto the Groine in *Gallicia*, it being the neereſt Hauen to *England*, whence hoyſing ſayles with great hope and pride, bent their courſe thitherward: but ſuddenly the Heauens hating ſuch hoſtile actions, powred downe reuenge, by a ſore and vnexpected tempeſt, which draue the Duke of *Medina*, the chiefe Generall backe againe into the *Groine*; eight other of their ſhips being diſperſed on Seas, their maſts broken and blowne ouer-board; beſides three *Portingall* Gallies which fell vpon the Coaſt of *Bayon* in *France*, and were ſet vpon by their owne ſlaues, whereof *Dauid Goyn* an *Engliſhman* was the firſt, who with his fellowes both *French* and *Turkes*, freed themſelues by the ſlaughter of many *Spaniards*, among whom, *Don Diego de Mandrana*, was one.

An. D. 1588.

A Tempeſt afflicteth the inuincible Nauy.

(203) *Charles Howard, Lord Admirall*, hearing for certaine that their Fleete was ready to hoyſe vp their ſayles, had ſent the worthy *Sir Francis Drake*, who was conſtituted his Vice-Admirall, vnto the Weſt parts, with ſixty ſixe ſhippes well appointed, whither himſelfe alſo following with ſpeed, and ioyning his Fleete, their number amounted to one hundred ſhippes, whereof fifteene were *Victuallers*, and nine *Voluntaries* of *Deuonſhire Gentlemen*; many a ſeruiceable man returning backe for lacke of imployment or place. Theſe from *Plymouth* reſoluing and * aſſaying to put forth to Seas, were ſo met with the wind, that paſt the *Syllies* they could not attaine, and thence alſo were forced by tempeſt into the Hauen, (from whence they lanched) to refreſh their ſhips and Companies; where lying at Anker, the ſcouts at Sea had deſcryed ſome ſayles of the *Spaniards*, which had beene likewiſe diſtreſſed by the ſtormes; but before theſe could be haled, the wind came about, and brought them to the *Groine*, where the reſt lay in Harbour.

Sir Francis Drake Vice-Admirall of the Engliſh.

* May 30.

Iune 6.

(204) Intelligence ſpreading that the *Spaniards* were in want, their great ſhippes diſperſed, the reſt ſtorme-ſhaken, and their men by multitudes dying with the peſtilence; the *Lord Admirall* meant to vſe the aduantage vpon the firſt North-winde, which came about the eight day of *Iuly*, and bare his ſayle almoſt within ſight of *Spaine*, when ſuddenly it changing into the *South*, and he wiſely fore-ſeeing, that the enemy might paſſe without his diſcouery, that the Seas might be ſtormy, and his Fleet windbound, and that whileſt they thus lay abroad, their ſeruice much better might be employed at home, hee therefore preſently returned, and ankered his Fleet in the Hauen of *Plymouth*, ſuffering his men to relieue themſelues on Land.

Iuly 8.

The Spaniards againe ſet forth.

(205) But the *Spaniards* ſhips new rigged, and their wants ſupplyed, their King ſtill hote on his former reſolutions, inſtantly vrged and haſtened his Chiefetaines to put againe to Sea, which accordingly was done vpon the eleuenth of *Iuly*, waying their Ankers at the Groin, where with braue ſhewes, and full ſayles they came into the Chanels of the narrow Seas, where they caſt anker, and diſpatched certaine ſmall Pinaces vnto the Duke of *Parma*, to ſignifie their arriuall and readineſſe, and to command him in the name of the King to forward his charge for that ſeruice.

The Engliſh haue notice o their approch.

(206) The Engliſh Fleete being in Harbour, and many men on ſhore, Captaine *Thomas Fleming* (ſome ſay a Pyrate) deſcried the *Spaniard* vpon the point of the *Lazard*, the wind being then *South* and by *Weſt*: He haſtening to *Plimouth*, made relation thereof vnto the *Lord Admirall*, the newes was more fearefull, for that it was ſudden, the Queene hauing receiued intelligence for certaine, that this great *Armado* would not come forth that yeere, their Bulkes being ſo diſperſed and bruiſed, and their wants and ſickeneſſe ſo great, vpon which raſh reports (a dangerous matter in State-affaires,) ſo confident ſhee was, that ſhee ſent for foure of her talleſt royall ſhippes, to be brought againe vnto *Chattam*; but *Flemings* vnexpected diſcouery hindred that purpoſe, and all hands were ſet on worke to warpe out the Shippes, the wind blowing hard, and hindering the ſame.

They ſet forth from *Plimouth*.

Iuly 20.

(207) The next day about noone, this terrible Fleete

Fleet was descryed by the *English*, who with a *South-west* wind came forward amain, and (as seemed) they made for *Plimouth*. But whether their Commission were otherwise, or for that they saw the *English* ships out of the Harbour, they passed by towards *Callis*, well hoping about those Coasts to meete with Prince *Parma*, by whose wafting that way, the *English* got the wind, and eftsoones gaue them chase, and encounter, where fire, smoake, and ecchoing Canons began the parley, and Bullets most freely enterchanged betwixt them, were messengers of each others minde.

The English assaile the Spanish.

July 21.

(208) The next day the two Fleetes fought within Musket shot, where the English Admirall fell most hotely on the Vice-Admirall of *Spaine*, at which present they well perceiued their owne ouersights; their great Shippes (like Castles) powerfull to defend, but not offend, to stand, but not to moue; and therefore farre vnfit for fight in those narrow Seas: their enemies nimble, and ready at all sides to annoy them, and as apt to escape harmes themselues, by being low built, and easily shot ouer. Therefore they gathered themselues close in forme of a halfe Moone, and slackned their Sayles, that their whole Fleete might keepe together. Notwithstanding, one of their great Gallions, wherein was *Don Pedro de Valdez*, *Vasques de Silua*, *Alonzo de Sayas*, and other Noblemen, was sore battered by the *English* shot; in auoyding whereof, shee fell fowle vpon another shippe, and ere shee could be cleared, had her fore-mast broken off, which so hindred her sayle, that shee was vnable to keepe way with the Fleet, nor they of courage to succour these Lords, but left both ship and them, in this sudden and vnlooked for distresse. But night comming on, and shee lagging behind, the *Lord Admirall* supposing neither men nor Marriners to bee left within board, and fearing to loose sight of the *Spaniards*, past by, and followed the Lanthorne, which he tooke to be borne by *Sir Francis Drake*, but that renowned Knight, busied vpon fiue great Hulkes, pursued them amaine, which being haled, were found to be Easterlings, and thereupon freed from his further harmes.

A Gallion distressed.

July 22.

(209) The next day following, *Sir Francis Drake* espying this lagging Gallion, sent forth a Pinnace to command them to yeeld, otherwise his Bullets should force them without further fauour; but *Valdez* to seeme valorous, answered; that they were foure hundred and fifty strong; that himselfe was *Don Pedro*, and stood on his honour, and thereupon propounded certaine conditions. But the Knight sent his reply, that he had not leisure to parley, if he would yeeld, presently doe it, if not, he should well proue that *Drake* was no dastard; whereupon *Pedro* hearing that it was the *fiery Drake*, (euer terrible to the *Spaniards*) who had him in chase, with forty of his followers, came on board *Sir Francis* his ship; where first giuing him the Conge, he protested, that he, and all his, were resolued to die in defence, had they not fallen vnder his power, whose valour and felicity was so great, that *Mars* and *Neptune* seemed to attend him in his attempts, and whose generous mind towards the vanquished, had often been experienced, euen of his greatest foes. *Sir Francis* requiting his *Spanish* complements with honourable *English* curtesies, placed him at his owne Table, and lodged him in his owne Cabbin. The residue of that company were sent vnto *Plymouth*, where they remained eighteene moneths, till their ransomes were paid; but *Sir Francis* his Souldiers had well paide themselues with the spoyle of the shippe, wherein were 55. thousand Ducats of gold, which they shared merrily among them. The same day *Michael de Oquendo*, Admirall to the *Quadron Guypusco*, and Vice-Admirall to the whole Fleete, suffered no lesse disaster, whose ship being one of the greatest Gallions, fell suddenly on fire, all the vpper part of the shippe, and most of the persons therein consumed, howbeit the Gunpowder in the hold was all saued, and the rest of the scorched *Spaniards* with the hulke brought into *Plymouth*, to the great ioy of the beholders.

Don Pedro yeeldeth himselfe.

July 23.

(210) Vpon Tuesday the twenty third of *July*, the *Spaniards* approaching right against *Portland*, the wind came about into the North, as fit as could be wished to further their designes; but the *English* agill, and fore-seeing all harmes, recouered the aduantage thereof from the *Spaniards*, and continued that day from morning till night, in battering those vast wooden Castles with shot both great and small; which forced them for their further safety, to gather themselues close into a rundell, their best and greatest Ships standing without, securing the battered and lesse. On this day the soarest fight was performed: wherein, besides other remarkeable harmes, a great Venetian ship, with some other smaller, were surprised, and taken by the *English*.

July 24.

(211) The foure and twenty day of this present Moneth, the fight was onely betweene the foure great Galliasses, and the *English* ships, the *Spaniards* hauing the aduantage, theirs being rowed, and our sayles vnfilled, by reason of the calme, which notwithstanding they sore galled the enemy with *chaine shot*, therewith cutting asunder their tacklings, cables, and cordage, to their no little annoyance. But wanting powder, which so freely they had spent, they sent men on Land for a further supply, which ministred dislikes (if not suspitions) to many, that we should thus want vpon our own Coasts. In which Interim, a *Councell* was called, wherein it was decreed that the *English Fleete* should be diuided into foure Squadrons, and those committed to foure worthy *Captaines*, and most skilfull Nauigators, whereof the Admirall in the *Arke Royall* was chiefe, *Sir Francis Drake* in the *Reuenge* led the second, Captaine *Hawkins* the third, and Captaine *Frobisher* the fourth. Other most valiant Captaines there were in her Maiesties Shippes, as the Honourable *Lord Thomas Howard* in the *Lyon*, the *Lord Sheffield* in the *Beare*, *Sir Robert Southwell* in the *Elizabeth Ionas*, Captaine *Baker* in the *Victory*, and Captaine *George Penner* in the *Galeon Leicester*.

July 25.

(212) The fiue and twenty of *July*, the *Spaniards* were arriued against the *Isle of Wight*, where was a terrible encounter, each shooting off their whole sides, and not aboue sixscore yards the one from the other; till at length the *English* so battered the *Spanish* high Turrets, that they were forced once more to secure themselues in a rundell, and the foresaid Generals so worthily bare themselues in this conflict, that the *Lord Admirall* bestowed the Order of Knight-hood vpon the Lords *Howard* and *Sheffield*, Master *Iohn Hawkins*, *Martin Frobisher*, and others. And yet (by the *Spanish* brags) a false rumour was spread in *France*, that *England* was wholly conquered by the *Spaniard*.

July 27.

(213) Their Fleet making forward about Sunset, the 27. of the same Moneth, came against *Douer*, and ankered within sight of *Callis*, intending for *Dunkerk*, there to ioyne with the Duke of *Parma* his Forces, without which, they well saw, they could doe nothing. The English Fleete following vp hard vpon them, cast anker so neere, that they lay within Culuering shot. Where the *Lord Henry Seymer* vnited his to the Lord Admirals Ships. Meane-while the Duke of *Medina* sent vnto *Parma*, to bid him make ready his long expected forces; with which messengers many Noblemen of the *Spaniards* went on Land, among whom was the Prince of *Ascoli*, the Kings base sonne, who so well liked his shipping, that he made no great hast againe from shoare: wherein he was onely fortunate; for that his Gallion was cast away vpon the *Irish* coast, and neuer returned to salute *Spaine*.

(214) Duke *Parma* hearing the best of this voyage, makes all things ready that lay in his charge; whose hopes were so fixed for *Englands* Conquest,

that the glittering *Diadem* vpon *Queene Elizabeths* head, dazeled his ambitious eye, being assured by Cardinall *Allen*, that he was the man designed to be crowned therewith, and who, from the Pope and *Spaine* should hold that Kingdome himselfe. Wherefore thinking his Coronet of the *Low-Countries* Gouernment, would but trouble the *English* Crowne, and both too weighty to be worne vpon one Head, he committed that charge vnto Count *Mansfield* the Elder, and making his vowes vnto Saint *Mary* of *Hall* in *Henault*, was already in conceit no lesse then a King. But soone the date of his raigne was expired, and his swelling tyde fallen into a low shallow ebbe; for the day following in his march towards *Dunkerke*, he heard the thundring Ordinance ring the passing peale of his stile and title, and the same euening had newes of the hard successe of the *Spaniards*, the hoped aduancers of his dreamed fortunes.

The Fleet disanchored from *Calis* by stratagem.

(215) They lying then at anker neere *Callis*, to ioyn their powers with *Parmaes*, were forced thence by a politike stratagem thus: Their Ships, as Castles pitched in the Seas, had their bulkes so plancked with great beames, that bullets might strike, and sticke, but neuer passe through, so that little auayled the English Canon, except onely in playing on their masts and tackling; whereupon, by her Maiesties aduice and appointment, eight of the *English* shippes were discharged of men, and filled with gun-powder, pitch, brimstone, and other combustible matter; their Ordinance charged with bullets, stones, chaines, and the like; which vpon Sunday, the eight and twenty of *Iuly*, at two of the clocke after mid-

Iuly 28.

night, were let driue with wind and tyde among the Spanish Fleete, whose Pylots returning, and their traines taking fire, such a sudden thunder-clap was giuen, that the *Spaniards* affrighted in the dead of the night, were stricken into a horrible feare, lest all their ships should be fired by these; which present mischiefe to auoid, in great perplexity, they hasted to cut their owne Cables, the time being too short to weigh vp their Ankers; and hoysing their sayles, did driue at randome into the Seas, in which haste and confusion, the greatest of their Galliasses fell foule vpon another ship, and lost her Rudder, so that guideless shee droue with the tyde vpon a shelue in the shoare of *Callis*, where shee was assaulted by the *English*.

A Galliasse taken.

(216) This Galliasse was of *Naples*; her Generall *Hugh de Moncado*, who fought the more valiantly in hope of present rescue of the Prince of *Parma*; but *Sir Amias Preston* gaue so fierce an assault, that *Moncado* was shot dead with a bullet, and the Galliasse boarded, wherein was many a *Spaniard* slaine, and a number of the rest leaping into the Sea, were drowned; yet *Don Antonio de Matiques*, a principall Officer, had the hap to escape; and was the first man that brought into *Spaine* the welcomes of this now vincible Nauy. This huge Bottome, manned with foure hundred Souldiers, and three hundred slaues, had in her also fifty thousand Ducats of the Spanish Kings treasure, a booty well fitting the English Souldiers affections; who hauing ransacked all, and freed the slaues from their miserable fetters, went about to set that vessell of Emptines on fire; but *Monsieur Guordon*, the Gouernour of *Callis*, fearing some danger to the Towne or Hauen, would not permit them, but discharged his Ordinance against such as assayed it.

Iuly 29.

(217) The morning after this their miserable hap, ranging themselues againe into order, they approched ouer against *Greueling*, where once againe the *English* getting the winde, the *Spanish* were thereby depriued of the Conueniency of *Callis* roade, and kept from supply out of *Dunkerke*; in which Port had rested their full hope of support. Notwithstanding, they were forced to passe by, and so followed by the *English*, that their Shippes discharged vpon them from morning till night, the conflict prouing dismall to the inuincible *Armado*; for therein a great Gallion of *Biscay* perished, the Captaines thereof to auoid ignominy, or to bee accounted valorous, desperatly slew each others; in which distresse also two other great shippes presently sunke. The *Saint Philip*, and *Saint Mathew*, two *Portugal* Gallions were so torne with shot, their tacklings spent, and their bulkes rent, that the water entred in on all sides; in the former of which, was *Francis de Toledo*, being Colonell ouer two and thirty Bands, who taking his course for the Coast of *Flanders*, the leake was so great, that he with others, committing themselues to the Skiffe, arriued at *Ostend*, and the Ship, with the residue, were taken by the *Vlishingers*.

A Gallion taken.

(218) In the *Saint Mathew* was embarked *Don Diego Pimentelli*, Campe-master, and Colonell also of thirty two Bands; whose ship, though very strong, was so pierced with shot, that her Leakes could not be stopt, which knowne, the Duke of *Medina* sent his Skiffe for him, and some others, to saue themselues from their eminent danger. But he, vpon a Spanish braue, refused so to doe, assaying each way to free himselfe like a Souldier; but not able to keepe sayle with the Fleete, he forth-with made toward the Coast of *Flanders*, where being espyed by fiue men of warre, was met with, and required to yeeld, which lastly he did vnto Captaine *Peter Banderdueste*, who carried him into *Zeland*, where, for a trophy of Victory, his Banner was hung vp in the Church of *Leyden* in *Holland*, whose length reached from the very roofe vnto the ground: and another Ship of lesse burthen, coasting also for *Flanders*, was cast away on the sands.

(219) The *Spaniards* now finding their BVENVENIDA vnto *England* farre other then they expected, were content to couch their Fleete close together, not seeking to assayle, but to defend; and the winde comming to the *South-west*, in the same order passed by *Dunkerke*, whom the English still followed. But lest *Parma* should play vpon aduantage, the Lord Admirall dispatched the Lord *Henry Seymer*, with his Squadron of small shippes, vnto the Coast of *Flanders*, to second those *Hollanders* which there kept watch vnder the conduct of *Iustin Nassau* their Admirall: whose Nauy consisted of thirty fiue Shippes, furnished with most skilfull Mariners, and old experienced Souldiers, whereof twelue hundred were *Musketiers*, whom the States had culled out of the Garrisons. Their charge was, to stop all entrance into their Hauens, or enter-course with *Dunkerke*, whither Duke *Parma* intended, though his men were vnwilling, hearing how their friends were welcome at the Sea, onely the English fugitiues, about seuen hundred, vnder the command of that treacherous Knight, Sir *William Stanley*, were very forward to be the first that should assault *England*.

The Hollanders Aides.

English fugitiues proue the most desperate enemies.

(220) But the Armado being now passed the place of their expected supply, and hauing gotten more Sea-roome for their huge bodied Bulkes, * spread their maine sayles, and made away as fast as winde and water would giue them leaue, more fearing the small Fleete and forces of the English, (though nothing in number like vnto them) then standing vpon termes of honour, either of their chieftaines or *Inuincible Nauy*. But surely, if they had knowne the want of powder that ours sustained, (a fault vnexcusable vpon our owne Coasts) they no doubt would haue stood longer to their tacklings: but God in this, as the rest, would haue vs to acknowledge, that wee were onely deliuered by his owne gracious prouidence and Arme, and not by any policy or power of our owne.

* Iuly 30.

(221) The *Vincible Armado*, holding on their way, the *English Admirall* followed, lest they should assay to put into *Scotland*; but the wind comming faire, and feare of more encounters, with all their sayles spread, they betooke themselues to flight, leauing

The Spanish Armado flyeth.

Scotland

Scotland on the West, and bending toward *Norway*; ill aduiſed (but that neceſſity vrged, and God had infatuated their counſels) to put their ſhaken and battered bottoms into thoſe blacke & dangerous Seas; neither was the Climate healthfull for the crazed bodies of the *Spaniards*, ouer-beaten and tyred with wants, being now entred the degree of Latitude 57, from whence the Lord *Admirall* returned, leauing ſome Scouts to deſcry their ſucceſſe.

Sigiſt 2.

(222) The *Spaniards* now cleared from thoſe their haunting ſpirits, conſulted moſt ſeriouſly what was to bee done: the Popes credit was to be reſpected, who had predicted this voyage to fortunate ſucceſſe; the wrath of King *Philip* was to be feared, his great expenſes thus loſt; the aduenturors loſers, if the voyage ſhould bee left, the glory of the *Spaniards* laid in the ſuds, the Inuincible Nauy in the ebbe of her fame: and *England* ſtill *England*, not lorded by the *Spaniard*, if they thus without further attempt ſhould returne into *Spaine*. But with all, fiue thouſand of their ſouldiers were ſlaine; multitudes of ſicke and maimed lay on their hands, twelue of their greateſt ſhips were ſunke, loſt, and taken, their Cables, Maſts and Saile, cut, rent, and broken, with the Engliſh ſhot, their anchors left, where the fired Hulkes forced them, their victuals failing, and freſh-water all ſpent, their enemies no leſſe fierce and vndauntable, then fortunate: and their long expected friend, the Duke of *Parma* though euer preparing, yet ſtill foreſtalled by the *Dutch*, moſt firme Allies vnto the Queene: theſe circumſtances wiſely ballanced, the voice went currant for ſpeeding into *Spaine*.

The Spaniſh conſultation.

(223) But knowing that *Scotland* (whoſe *Religious King* was faſt knit in affection, and blood vnto Queene *Elizabeth*) would yeeld them no comfort, and hopleſſe alſo that *Norway* would giue them any ſupply, they caſt all their Mules and Horſes ouer-boord for ſparing of their freſh-water: then framing their courſe to ſaile about *Cathenes* and the coaſts of *Ireland*, ſo proceeded between the *Oreades* and *Iſles* of *Farr* vnto the 61 degree Northward, whence the Duke of *Medina*, with his beſt ſtored ſhips tooke Weſtward ouer the maine Ocean towards *Biſcay*, and ſo arriued ſafely in *Spaine*, where for his *welcome*, hee was depoſed from all his authority, forbidden to come at the Court, and commanded to be priuate. Neither could hee thus giue ſatisfaction for his bad ſucceſſes, albeit he imputed it to the treachery of his Mariners, their ignorance, and ſmall experience of thoſe Northern Seas, the want of ſuccors from the Pince of *Parma*, the tempeſt, ſhipwrackes, and *ill fortune*, but not a word of the *iudgements of God* vpon this Gyantlike attempt to enſlaue all *England* to the mountaines of *Grenada* or to the mines of *Peru*.

The Spaniards caſt their horſes into the Sea.

The Duke of *Medina* diſgraced for his ſucceſſeſſe ſeruice.

(224) The reſidue of his ſhippes, about forty in number, fell neerer with the coaſt of *Ireland*, intending for *Cape Clare*, where they well hoped to water, but the winds contrary, and tempeſts ſtorming vpon thoſe dangerous Seas, many of their ſhips periſhed vpon the ſhoares of *Ireland*, and among other a Great Galliaſſe, wherein *Michael de Oquendo* was a Commander, and two other of *Venice*, both ſhips of great burthen, beſides thirty eight more, together with moſt of the Spaniards conteined within them. Thoſe that got cleare of the danger, put forth to Sea, whereof ſome with a ſtrong Weſt wind were driuen into the channell of *England* where part of them were taken by the Engliſh, others by men of *Rochel* in *France*, and ſome arriued at *Newhauen* in *Normandy*. In ſo much, that of *one hundred thirty foure ſhips*, which had ſet ſaile out of *Lisbone*, onely fifty three returned to *Spaine*: of the foure Galliaſſes of *Naples*, but one: of the foure Gallies of *Portugall*, but one: and of the ninety one Gallions and great Hulkes from diuers Prouinces, onely thirty three returned, fifty eight being loſt: in briefe, there were miſſing of their whole fleet, foure-

Iohn Serres muſt. France.

The ſucceſſe of ſome ſhips on the Iriſh coaſts.

The ſum of the Spaniards loſſe.

ſcore and one veſſels, and of the thirty thouſand ſouldiers, thirteene thouſand, fiue hundred and odde. Of priſoners taken in *England*, *Ireland* and the *Low Countries* were two thouſand and more. In *England*, *Don Pedro de Valdez*, *Don Vaſquez de Sylua*, and *Don Alonzo de Sayes* and others were kept for their ranſome: in *Zeland*, *Don Diego de Piementell*, and in *Ireland*, *Don Alonzo de Lucon*, *Roderigo de Laſſe* and others of great account: to conclude, there was no famous or worthy family in all *Spaine*, which in this expedition loſt not a ſonne, a brother, or a kinſman.

(225) Thus were theſe Sea-ſeruices effected: as for the Land, preparations were made throughout the Kingdome, but the main forces lying encamped at *Tilbury* vnder the command of the Earle of *Leiceſter*, thither her Maieſty in perſon vpon the ninth of Auguſt repaired, full of Princely reſolution, and more then feminine courage, whoſe louely preſence and imperiall ſpeeches, as ſhee paſſed like ſome *Amazonian* Empreſſe through all her Army, were ſo acceptable and gratious, that Her ſouldiers, full-fraught with manly ſpirit, yet receiued an acceſſe of hardineſſe from ſo alacrious a patterne in their *Mayden Queene*: and they perceiued ſo well the loue of their Prince, and ſhee ſaw what it was to haue the loue of her ſubiects, that the harmony of both their affections was admirable, both of them profeſſing reſolution, and willing to ſacrifice their liues in that moſt rightfull quarrell. But the *God of Hoſts* hauing now preuented their forwardneſſe, without loſſe of Engliſh bloud, eſt-ſoones the Campe was diſſolued: and not long after *Leiceſter* ended his dayes, hauing been a Peere of great eſtate, but lyable to the common deſtiny of moſt *Great ones*, whom all men magnifie in their life time, but few ſpeake well of after their death.

Earle of *Leiceſters* death.

(226) The Land thus deliuered by the arme of the Omnipotent, and the Bore put backe that ſought to lay *Englands* fayre vine-yeard waſte, *Queene Elizabeth* (who euer held ingratitude a Capitall ſinne, but eſpecially towards her Almighty protectour) commanded ſolemne thankes-giuing to bee celebrated vnto the *Lord God of Hoſts*, at the Cathedrall Church of *Saint Pauls* in Her chiefe City of *London*, which acordingly was done vpon Sunday the eight of Sceptember, where eleuen of the Spaniſh Enſignes (the once badges of their brauery, but now of their vanity) were hung vpon the lower battlements of that Church, as palmes of praiſe for *Englands* deliuerance; a ſhew no doubt more acceptable to God, then when their ſpread colours did ſet out the pride of their ſhippes, threatning the bloud of ſo many innocent and faithfull Chriſtians.

Queene *Elizabeths* thankfulneſſe to God.

(227) the next day, the Faire being kept in *Southwarke*, theſe faire flagges were ſpread vpon *London Bridge* to the great ioy of the beholders, and eternall memory of Spaniſh purpoſes, as irreligious as vnproſperous. But the ſolemne day aſſigned to be kept holy throughout the land, was the *nintenth of Nouember*, being Tueſday, which accordingly was then done, and would to God had ſo continued ſtil, being no leſſe for our deliuerance, then was that *Purim* for the Iewes, which they inſtituted to be kept holy throughout their generations.

Eſter. 9. 26.

(228) Queene *Elizabeth* therefore, to bee her ſelfe an example vnto others, vpon the Sunday following, being the foure and twentieth of Nouember, repayred from the Pallace of White-Hall in *Weſtminſter*, through the ſtreets of *London* in great Eſtate: and came accompanied with her Nobility vnto the Cathedrall Church of Saint *Paul*, where diſmounting from her Chariot at the Weſt-dore, ſhee humbled her ſelfe vpon her knees, and with great deuotion audibly praiſed God, acknowledging him her onely Defender, who had thus deliuered the land from the rage of the enemy. And after the Sermon ended, wherein none other Argument was handled, but onely of prayſe and glory to bee rendred

Q. *Elizabeth* commeth to *Paules* Church.

rendred vnto God; her Maiesty her selfe with most princely and Christian speeches exhorted all the people to their due performance of those religious seruices of thankfulnesse vnto God, like vnto another *Iosuah*, *Dauid*, and *Iosias*. The *Zelanders* also to leaue a *Memoriall* of their no lesse gratitude to God, then faithfulnesse to the Queene, caused a new *Coyne* of siluer to bee stamped, hauing on the on side the *Armes* of their Country engrauen, with this inscription, *Glory to God alone*, and on the other side, the portracts of great ships, vnder-stiled, *The Spanish Fleet*, and in the circumference, *It came, went, and was, Anno* 1588. Wherein they alluded to that quicke worke of *Cæsar*, ** Veni, vidi, vici*, which wee haue seen also excellently described in deuise, where on the one side, the *Spanish Fleet* had inscribed *veni*, the *Sunne* (the eye of the whole world) *vidi*, and the *English* Nauy, *vici*. In other coines also were stamped ships fleeting, & sinking, and in the *reuerse*, *Supplicants* vpon their knees, with this Motto, *Man proposeth, God disposeth*, 1588. To the like effect also the Hollanders stamped the remembrance of this *Armado* in their monies, after the example of the Ancient, whose vse was to inscribe their *victories* vpon their *Coines*, of which kind were those with *Spanish Shippes*, hauing this *Word*, *Impius fugit nemine sequente*.

The Zelanders thankfulnes to God.

*I came, I saw, I conquered.

(229) Neither did the *Dutch* alone participate the triumph of this glorious successe, but all other Nations also congratulated the same; which vniuersall ioy being excellently expressed in this ensuing *Ode*, by a * Stranger of eminent *Piety* and *Learning*, and translated into all the chiefe Languages of *Christendome*; we will here annex the same, as the Close and Epilogue of this *Tragico-Comedy*, to be perpetuated vnto all ensuing posterities.

Theodorus Beza An. 1588. and in his Epistle before his Comment on *Iob*.

Strauerat innumeris Hispanus Classibus aquor,
Regnis iuncturus Sceptra Britanna suis.
Tanti huius rogitas quæ Motûs causa? Superbos
Impulit Ambitio, *vexit* Auaritia.
Quàm benè te Ambitio, merstt vanissima ventus:
Et tumidæ tumidos vos superastis aquæ!
Quàm bene Raptores Orbis totius Iberos
Mersit inexhausti iusta vorago Maris!
At Tu, *cui venti, cui totum militat Aequor,*
Regina, O Mundi totius vna decus:
Sic regnare Deo perge, Ambitione remotâ,
Prodiga sic opibus perge iuuare Pios;
Vt te Angli longùm, longùm Anglis ipsa fruaris,
Quàm dilecta Bonis, tam metuenda Malis.

Spaines King with Nauies huge the Seas bestrewd,
To augment with English Crowne his Spanish sway.
Aske yee, what caus'd this proud attempt? t'was lewd
Ambition *drone, and* Auarice *led the way.*
It's well; Ambitions *windy puffe lies drownd*
By winds, and swelling hearts, by swelling waues.
It's well; those Spaniards who the Worlds *vast Round*
Deuourde, deuouring sea most iustly craues.
But Thou, *O Queen, for whom* Winds, Seas, *do warre;*
O Thou, Sole Glory of this worlds wide Masse:
So raigne to God still, from Ambition *farre,*
So still with bounteous aides the Good *imbrace;*
That Thou; *England long, long may' England* Thee *inioy*
Thou, Terrour of all Bad, *thou* Good *mens Ioy.*

(230) The Thunderclappe of this Spanish Armoda thus past, and the *inuincible* vanquished, as the attempt & Issue was open to the eyes of the world, so the due consideration thereof was rooted in all true Englishe hearts; whereupon the *Nobles* and *Commonalty* being then assembled for Parliament, this course was at length thought fittest, that the proud Castilian should bee requited vpon his owne coasts. And first it was determined to aide *Don Antonio* the expulsed King of *Portugall*, whose title was apparantly farre more iust, then either *Philips* for *England* or *Stukeleys* for *Ireland*; both which Kingdomes they had in hostile manner inuaded: and this the rather was resolued on, for that the Spanish king was endeuouring to repaire his dishonour by repairing his Fleet and Forces for a new expedition against *England*.

An. D. 1589.

Consultations for attempts on *Spaine*.

Don Antonio King of *Portugall* flyeth to Queen *Elizabeths* protection.

Philip prepareth for a new expedition.

(231) This *Don Antonio* among other Competitors claimed the Crowne of *Portugall* after the decease of King *Henry*, as sprung from king *Emanuel* by his sonne *Don Lewis* the Infant; but alleaged by the Philippians to haue been his *Bastard*. Against which accusation *Don Antonio* had sentance for his legitimation by the Bishoppe of *Angra*, and euery way sought to rubbe off that scandalous imputation. His conditions were such as well befitted a Crown, he being a Prince of greater spirit then person, and yet of rare modesty and humility, seasoned with a disposition very deuout and religious, whereby hee came to bee in farre better fauour and esteeme then *Philip* of *Spaine*; for which cause hee was first made *Defender* of the Realme by the Gouernours, and afterwards accepted *King* by the people, whereto he was in a manner enforced, seeing himselfe enuironed with many drawn swords in midst of a furious multitude.

Don Antonio his Title.

His conditions.

(232) But *Philip* as more ambitious, so more strong in men and munition, made warre into *Portugall*, and by his *Generall*, Duke *Alba*, put this new King vnto flight; after which fortune, himself enters *Portugall*, where hee proclaimed *eight hundred thousand Crownes* to him that could bring him *Don Antonio* either aliue or dead. But such was their loue vnto this vnfortunate Prince, that eight moneths hee kept in Portugall disguised, and had conuersation and conference with many, yet was neuer betraied; but not able to hold vp his side, the Gouernours (as is the fashion of the world) dayly falling to his stronger, after many conflicts, and much lamenting their miserable estate, left the Spaniard (who then gaped for nothing but Kingdomes to possesse the Gouernment of *Portugall*.

K. Philip attempts the Crowne of *Portugall*.

Portugall possessed by the *Spaniard*.

(233) *Antonio's* kingly stile thus ended before it was throughly begunne; *Philip* had subiections offered him *auie*, and in such sort, as some that seemed *Competitors*, yeelded him their rights, among whom *Katherina* Dutchesse of *Braganza* was one: yea and Pope *Gregorie* himselfe (with the Prior of *Crato*) who had hitherto sided wit *Don Antonio*, knowing it was surest to hold with the strongest, sent *Philip* his Apostolicall allowance, the better to put on his New-gotten Crowne; exhorting him to thankfulnesse, for these his prosperities; & mouing him earnestly to make warre against *England*, with proffers of assistance as we haue said.

(234) *Don Antonio* thus driuen out of his Kingdome, for succour repaired vnto the Court of *France*; where, of the Queene Mother, a pretended Competitor for the Portugall Crown, he was both fauoured and aided at Seas for the Isles of *Terceres*: but such was his destiny in his Sea-fights also (the *Peruan gold* being no lesse powerful then the Spanish Canons) that eight of the tallest French Ships were lost, & two thousand men slaine; among whom was the Lord *Philip Trossy* the *Generall*, whose death was so Taken, and the expedition so censured, as the Portugal Captaines were reputed for Cowards, imprisoned in *France*, and many of them charged with corruption and treason; so that all his hopes were now in the wane, and no further assistance could be expected of the *French*.

King *Antonio* seekes aide from *France*.

His losses at sea.

(235) The poore Prince thus deiected in *France*, knowing the vniuersall report of Queene *Elizabeths* great fame, obtained leaue of her Maiesty for access vnto her sacred presence, whose *Court* had euer been a famoused *Sanctuary* to all oppressed Princes, or distressed Estates: where shewing his right to the *Portugall* Crowne, and clearing the obiections touching his *Bastardy* (which imputation in sundry languages he refuted in Print to the publike view of the world) receiued now comfort to bee set in his kingdome

K. Antonio repaires for aid to Q. *Elizabeth*.

Kingdome, *England* hauing ſo iuſt an occaſion to warre againſt *Spaine*. Among whom once more he aſſayed to try the fauour of Fortune; his Petition to the Queene being onely this, that ſhe would but land him ſafe in his Country, & amongſt his owne People, of whoſe aſſured loue and readineſſe to receiue him as their King, and thence forward to defend him and his iuſt Title, hee nothing doubted. So honeſt and reaſonable a ſuit could not but finde fauour with ſo gracious a Queene: whereupon prouiſion being made for the Portugall voyage, he embarked at *Plimouth* in Aprill, whence ſixe of the Queens ſhippes, and twenty more of warre (beſides many other ordained for tranſportation) ſpred their Sailes vnder the conduct of the euer-feared Sir *Francis Drake*, and the moſt valorous Sir *Iohn Norris Generall* for the land ſeruice, with *eleuen thouſand ſoldiers, and twenty fiue hundred Mariners*. Theſe *landing in a Bay of *Galicia*, neere vnto the *Groine*, in their March were met and encountred within halfe a mile of the Towne, but their enemies were ſoone forced to retire vnto their Gates.

Succours are afforded him.

A.D.1589. The Portugall voyage.

*Ex Winkfeild. April.20.

(236) The next day General *Noris* hauing viewed the aduantage, reſolued to attempt the place by a ſcalado, and to land ſome Artillery, to beat the ſhips and Gallies which did play vpon their troopes, which was effectually performed; and the Gallies forced to abandon the Roade, the Baſe-town was ſurpriſed, and in three ſeuerall places entred, where the Inhabitants with a great cry tooke into the high Towne, but ſome preuented, eſcaping the fury of the ſword, fledde to the Rockes, where they were found and ſlaine to the number of fiue hundred. Among theſe ſo hid, *Don Iuan de Luna*, a man of great command, was one, who the next morning came forth, and yeelded himſelfe to the Generals deuotion *Iuan de Vera*, a Commiſſary of victuals was likewiſe taken, who confeſſed that there was in the Towne *three hundred thouſand Ducats of ſiluer*, and order giuen for the baking of three hundred thouſand Bisket, of that the Towne was ſtored with two thouſand Pipes of wine, a thouſand Iars of Oyle, three thouſand Kintals of Beefe, a great quantity of Beanes, Peaſe, Wheat and Fiſh, and of Match and Harqueboizes three Barkes were brought thither not long before. All which (hee confeſſed) were for a new voyage againſt *England*. And indeed ſuch ſtore of wines was there found, as the Engliſh Souldiers vſing little moderation in drinking, did not onely lay themſelues open to danger from the vpper Towne, but by diſtemperature ſo inflamed and infected their bloud, that it cauſed a great mortality and infection in the whole Army.

The Groine ſurpriſed. Infection through intemperate drinking of wine.

(237) The Baſe-Towne thus gotten, a ſudden reſcue of two thouſand men ſo reſolutely came to the very Gates, as though no contrary power could poſſibly keepe them from entrance, but in the firſt brunt of reſiſtance, they were content to make their heeles the ſafe guardians of their heades, of whom yet many were cut ſhort by the Engliſh purſuers. With the like feare the ſhippes in the Roade were fraught, whoſe Souldiers ouercharging the great Ordinance of a great Gallion, abandoned her bord, and ſet her on fire, which for the ſpace of two daies burned in moſt terrible wiſe, ſo that of fifty great peeces but ſixteene were found whole, the reſt broken and melted, and ſo brought away by the Engliſh; but the higher towne ſtrong both by ſituation and ſufficiency for reſiſtance, reſolutely held out, onely intreated by Parley to haue faire Warres. And being built for the moſt part on a hard rocke, one place was found mineable, where the Generall the fourth day of this ſiege ſet men on worke, who bedded their powder ſomwhat too ſhort of the wall, whereby that deſigne tooke not the ſuppoſed effect. But this error reduced, another as great was committed, for the Miners againe ſet on worke, came right vnder the Wall, but ſomwhat wide of a great Tower thereupon built, ſo that when the blaſt of powder brake forth, it ouerthrew but a part of the ſame, and left the other ſtanding tottering and ſhaken, which being not reguarded, in the heat of aſſault fell ſuddenly vpon the Engliſh, and ſlew Captaine *Sydenham* with thirty Souldiers beſides, to the great aſtoniſhment of the reſt there imployed, not knowing the cauſe whereof it came, but rather ſuſpecting it a Strategem of the Towne; and the reſt of the rubbiſh lay ſo looſe vnder foot, that the Aſſaulters could haue no ſure ſtanding to make their fight.

The Enemy put to flight.

(238) Whiles theſe things were in doing, the Generall had certaine notice that the *Conde de Andrada* had aſſembled an Army of eight thouſand ſtrong, which was but the beginning of another more ſtrong, leuied vnder the *Conde de Altemira*; the former, not paſſing ſixe miles off, and both of them intending the reſcue of the *Groine*: To preuent which, Sir *Iohn Norris* with nine Regiments *met them, and preſently fell to a hote skirmiſh, whoſe brunt the enemy not able to endure, tooke ouer a Bridge, built vpon a Creeke of the Sea, at the further foot whereof their Campe lay verry ſtrongly entrenched. Sir *Edward Norris*, Colonell *Sydney*, the Captaines *Hinder*, *Fulford*, and *Barton* entred the Bridge, whoſe further end was barricaded with Barrels, where comming to puſh of pike and ſword, Sir *Edward* was grieuouſly hurt in the head, Captaine *Hinder* receiued fiue wounds in the head and face by the Sword; Captaine *Fulford* hurt in the left arme with a ſhot, and Captaine *Barton* hurt in the eye. Notwihſtanding, the Generall ſo ſeconded the encounter, as the Guard was ouerthrowne, and the whole Army put into rout, of whom our men had the Chaſe fully three miles in foure ſundry wayes. What the ſlaugher was, is vncertaine, but ſuppoſed to bee great; beſides others that were found hid in Vineyards and hedges, and two hundred put to ſword that had taken into a Cloiſter. In this ſeruice the *Kings Standard* was taken, ſome plate and rich apparrell found in their Campe, and the Country for three Miles compaſſe ſet on flaming fire; the *Generall* making his retreat with the *Kings Colours* and *Armes* diſplaied before him, to the great honour of the Engliſh.

*May 6.

The enemy encountred.

The Engliſh are victorious.

(239) Thus returning vnto the Groine, and wanting Cannons to batter the walles, the Engliſh fitted the Baſe-Towne, embarked from thence, and put againe to Sea. But the windes being contrary, many aſſaies were made before the Fleet could recouer the Burlings, in which paſſage *Robert* Earle of *Eſſex*, with M. *Walter Deuereux* his brother, accompanied with others, *came to the Fleet; which Earl hauing put himſelfe into the Iourney againſt the opinion of the world, or well-liking of the Queene, ſeemed vnto the Sager ſort to hazard his fortunes; but other more ſtirring ſpirits, held it the great aduancement of his reputation; whereof I thinke I may ſay, as *Tacitus* ſaid of *Veſpaſians* employment in *Britaine*, *That there was laid the firſt foundation of his future eſteeme.*

*May 8.

The Earle of Eſſex commeth to the Fleet.

* May 13.

Corn. Tacitus.

(240) The Fleete thus encreaſed, they landed in *Portugall*, euen vnder ſhot of the Caſtle of *Peniche*, where the Sea growing high, many were in perill of drowning; for moſt of them waded to the waſt for the Shoare. Of this Towne and peece, *Conde de Fuentes* had the command; who with fiue Companies of *Spaniards* ſallied out againſt the Engliſh, and made their approach cloſe to the Sea-ſide; whereupon the Earle of *Eſſex*, with S^r *Roger Williams* diuided their men into two Troupes, the one keeping the Sands along the Shoare, and the other ouer the ſand-hills made towards the in-land. Which the enemy ſeeing, haſted to the encounter, and came vnto fight, euen within puſh of Pike; but were ſo entertained, as they had no great liking, but preſently turned their backs, and fled further then the Engliſh had reaſon to follow. The Towne they left vndefended, of that it was entred without any reſiſtance,

The enemy put to flight.

Peniche in *Portugall* taken.

resistance, and the Castle summoned the same night; the Captain whereof was *Antonio de Aurid*, a Portugall, who demanding, and being satisfied, that *Don Antonio* was present, gaue vp the peece, with the munition therein. Vnto this place some Fryers & other poore of the Country, came to welcome their King, promising him (in the name of the rest) a sufficient supply both of horse and foote, which notwithstanding was neuer performed.

The attempt for Lisbone.

(241) Here it was thought fitte that the wounded and sicke should remaine, with sufficient prouision, and seauen companies of foot to guard the ships and Castle; and the maine Army to march ouer land vnto *Lisbon*, the *Metropolitane* of *Portugall*, accounted the strongest Fort in the World, and whosoeuer held that, might (in their esteeme) make head against the mightiest Monarch in the Earth; whither likewise Sir *Francis Drake* (*Generall* of the Sea-seruice) promised to come, if the iniury of weather did not hinder him. The March vndertaken, *Torres Vedras* made some shew of resistance, but presently vpon the approch of the English, that Castell was abandoned, and left to the possession of *Don Antonio*; whose hopes hereupon beganne to enlarge, thinking the whole would stand for his claime; but therein was not a little deceiued; for victuals growing scarse in the Army, the Country did not supply them according to expectation, neither came in any of strength. Notwithstanding the English Army from *Vedras* marched to *San Sebastian*, thence to *Lores*, and lodged the fift day at *Aluelana*, three miles from *Lisbon*, where many of their Souldiers perished by drinking in two places of poisoned standing waters, as also in eating of honey, purposely left in the houses, and spiced with poison, as it was thought.

Spanish history.

The *English* approch *Lisbon*.

(242) The fiue and twentieth of May, the English Army came vnto *Lisbon*, whose Suburbes were found abandoned, houses of prouision for corne & victuals fired, and none left to defend but a sort of olde folkes and beggars, crying in the streetes, *Viua el Rey Don Antonio* and about midnight they within the Towne set fire on their houses that stood within vpon the wal. The English wearied with the six daies march, want of victual, the last nights watch and many of them weake, were desirous of rest; where the enemy hauing aduertisement, in the dead of the night sallied out of the Town; and made their assault in three seuerall streets, but chiefly vpon Colonell *Brets* Quarters, who being at rest (as most of the Army were) with what hast was possible, put himselfe, and his in Armes, & so throughly made head, that he was slaine in the place, Captaine *Carre* with the like resistance and valour ended his life; Captaine *Carsey* wounded to Death; Captaine *Caue* hurt, but not mortally. The others found not their attempts so easie, but were put to a suddaine and foule retreat; insomuch as the Earle of *Essex* (full of high spirit, and hot youthly bloud) had them in chase to the very gates of the *high town* and (as it was truly reported) the enemies losse did triple the English, aswell in quantity, as in men of quality.

A Sally on the English.

Essex pursueth the enemy to the very Gates.

(243) Mean while Generall *Drake* with his whole Fleete was come to *Cascais*, and possessed the towne without any resistance, for the inhabitants at the discouery of his Nauie, fledde with bagge and baggage into the mountaines, which the *Generall* perceiuing, sent vnto them a *Portugall Pilote*, to offer them all peaceable kindnesse, so as they would accept of their rightfull King, and minister necessaries to the Army which he had brought. Which offer the ioyfully embraced, and presently sent two chiefe men of the Towne, to signifie their loyalty to *Don Antonio*, and their honest affection to his Army, whereupon *Sir Francis* immediately landed his Companies, but not without perill of the Castell, which being guarded by the Spaniards, held out against him for their King.

Drake surprised *Cascais*.

(244) At *Lisbone* the Portugals had promised to aid *Antonio*, with three thousand horse, besides other supplies from the Duke of *Braganza*, *Don Francisco de Toledo*, & others, at a day prefixed, and now altogether past, by reason (as it seemeth) that the Spaniards hauing chiefe command in al places, they were vnable by any meanes to make head. Whereupon the vnfortunate *Antonio* seeing the time expired, & but forty horse come, nor of foot sufficient to furnish two Ensignes, grew almost hopelesse, yet assaied hee to perswade a stay before *Lisbon* for 9. dayes more: but the Towne being strong, and the English declining (for there was the first apparant shew of sicknesse among them) the Portugals backward, and of base resolutions, ready to obey any so themselues may be rich: and the Generall hauing already done more then was promised, lest they should hazard the honour which hitherto had been gotte, denied his request, and gaue present order to return to *Cascais*, himselfe, the Earle of *Essex*, and Sir *Roger Williams* remaining with the stand, that was made in the high street, till the whole Army was drawn into the field: at which time, the King (euen herein of kingly disposition towards his Natiues) made request to saue the suburbes, from spoile; which if the English had ransacked, they had beene the richest Army that euer returned to *England*. But now ready to depart *Lisbon*, the noble *Essex* in the courage of his Martiall bloud, ranne his speare and brake it against the Gates of that City: demanding alowd, if any *Spaniard* mewed therein, durst aduenture forth in fauour of his Mistresse to break a staffe with him. But those Gallants thought it safer to court their Ladies with amorous discourses; then to haue their loues written on their breasts with the point of his English Speare.

Don Antonio his Princely compassion.

(244) Being now come to *Cascais*, intelligence was brought by a Fryer, that the enemy was marched vnto Saint *Iulina* with a strong power to encounter the English, vnto whose Generall, the Generall *Norris* sent a Trumpet, promising to meete him the next morning if hee durst abide his comming, and withall gaue him the lie: the Earle of *Essex* also sent him a particular Cartell, offering himselfe against any of theirs, if they had any of his quality, or else sixe eight or tenne, to trie single combate, whereat this *Spaniards* combe was so cut, as in the night, before battell, in great feare and perturbation hee dislodged, and returned to *Lisbon*, not answering the Challenge, but threatning to hang the Messenger, who followed him euen to the very Gate. Then was the Castle of *Cascais* rendred vpon condition, that the men of Armes should depart with bag and baggage; which peece in part, by the Order of the Generall, was blowne vp by mine. During which time threescore Hulkes laden with Corne, Masts, Cables, Copper, and Waxe, being the Spanish Kings prouision were taken going to *Lisbon*.

The Castle of *Cascais* rendred.

Sixty Spanish Hulkes taken.

(245) The English hauing thus farre proceeded, put againe to Sea, when, vnlooked for, and in a great calme, nine Gallies fell in the winde of their Fleete, and so plaide vpon a straggling Barke of *Plimouth*, that Captaine *Caluerly*, his Lieutenant, the Master, and some of the Marinars, abandoning the vessell, betooke them to their Boates, whereof one, (in which the Captaine and Master were) was ouerrunne by the Gallies, and they both drowned. Two other Hulkes also straggling from the Fleete, were set vpon by the Spaniards; in one of which, Captaine *Minshaw* fought to the last, and very valiantly after his ship was on fire; but whether fired by himselfe or the enemy, could not be iudged; the calme being so still, as no succour could be sent from the fleete, to their great griefe.

(246) Thus continuing seuenteene daies on board, many of the dead souldiers were cast into the Sea; and the whole now consisted of two thousand men, who comming to *Vigo*, found euery street fenced with a strong Barricadoe, and but only one man in the Towne, the Inhabitants making toward *Bayon*

as

as fast as they could driue; then was both the Towne and all the Countrey for seuen miles campasse set on a flame. Which seruice thus performed, *Sir Francis Drake* with the Queenes Ships safely * arriued at *Plymouth*, and vpon the second of *July* following, arriued *Sir Iohn Norris*, hauing both of them performed the parts of worthy Generals.

The English arriued at *Plymouth*. * Iune 21.

(248) Whilest these Realmes were at variance each against others, the *French* were not quiet among themselues, the King somewhat voluptuous, but excessiuely prodigall towards his fauourites; the Nobility ambitious, mistrustfull, and disloyall, the Clergy turbulent, and vndutifull, bending all their force and thoughts against the Plantation of the Truth. To vnite friendship therefore, some league had been made, for confirmation whereof, the three Estates were assembled at *Bloys*. For the Clergy appeared *one hundred thirty foure Deputies*, among whom were foure Arch-bishops, one and twenty Bishops, and two Generals of Orders: for the Nobility came one hundred and fourescore Gentlemen, and for the third Estate an hundred fourescore and eleuen Deputies, all of them Lawyers and Merchants. Vpon the first sitting, and before these best wits of *France*, King * *Henry* made a solemne Oration to perswade vnion, full of liuely affection, true magnanimity, and pregnant reasons, deliuered with such an admirable eloquence and grace, as it rauished the eares of all present, besides the opening of the propositions; the which, *Mantelon*, the keeper of the Seale, for him further prosecuted: after him, *Reynauld de Beaulme*, Archbishop of *Bourges*, Patriarke and Primate of *Aquitaine*, spake in the same argument: and lastly, *Michell Marteau*, Prouost and President for the third Estate, confirmed, and consented to all that had been said. Whereupon an Oath of vnion was taken, to binde the King, them, and all their Posterities, the fundamentall Lawes and liberties of *France* onely reserued.

John Serres. The State of *France*.

An.D.1588. Octob. 17.

* Henry 3.

An oth of Vnion in *France*.

(249) This notwithstanding, the *Leaguers*, to hit the marke whereat they aymed, daily diuulged and buzzed the *French Kings* disgraces, and all to install the *Guize* in his Throne; the Papists wrongs were grieuously expostulated, their Churches burnt, and Altars profaned, the People oppressed with impositions and Subsidies; Places of Iudgement set to sale, and spirituall Benefices to him that would giue most: the Offices at Court, they alleaged, were managed by men of meane ranke; the Noblemens seruices neglected, and vnrewarded. All these, and more, were complained of, and all to make the King base in the Peoples eye, the *Guize* himselfe the while temporizing with both, as disswading the King to subiect his authority vnto their complaints, and at the same present perswading the other, to be vehement in their pursuites.

The *Guizians* practises.

(250) Among their other practises, one was against the King of *Nauarre*; whom the Clergy condemned for an *Heretike*, the chiefe (as they termed him) of the relapse; excommunicated and depriued him of the Gouernment of *Guienne*, and of all other dignities, as being vnworthy of successions of Crownes or Realmes. But *Henry*, with *Festus* thought it vnreasonable, to condemne this Prince without hearing, and therefore desired to haue him againe summoned, and againe to be sworne to the *Vnion*.

A.D.1588. Nouemb. 4.

Acts 25.

(251) To this motion was answered, that the Cardinal of *Bourbon* his vncle had once obtained absolution for him; that the *Queene mother* had many times assayed to winne him, many learned Doctors had beene sent to reclaime him: but all in vaine. For, from the Cradle (said they) hee hath beene brought vp in this new Heresie, hath beene condemned by the Councell of *Trent*, receiued againe into grace by the Consistory, is againe fallen into the error which he abiured, and is now an Heretike, relapsed, vnworthy of obedience, vnworthy of respect, and vnworthy to be prayed for: for the holy See of *Rome* hath declared him a Schismatike, excommunicated him as incapable of succession, and therefore must the Estates of *France* ratifie the Popes sentence; and King *Henry* must thereunto subscribe, if not, the Duke of *Guize*, who was Master of the Castle, and carried the keyes at his owne girdle, would dissolue the Assembly, and lay all the blame vpon his Maiesty.

(252) Thus then (by the purpose of man) the first Prince of the bloud, and the onely remainder, after so many sisters and cousens of *Anion*, *Alencon*, *Eureux*, *Berry*, *Bourgoyne*, *Angolesme*, and *Orleans*, and which onely succeeded that of *Valois*, was now depriued of the succession which Nature gaue him, without calling, or hearing of his iustifications.

Henry King of *Nauarre* pronounced incapable of the Crown of *France*.

(253) To further this *Guizian* enterprize, his followers buzd into the heads of the multitude, that it was the Kings Climacteticall yeere, and so many presumptions were obserued, as it was told the King in plaine termes, that the Duke of *Guize* would surprize him. Whereupon, hauing remained long in suspence, betwixt the rigour of reuenge, and the mildnesse of his owne disposition; at last, by the lightening, supposing a thunder-clap would follow, he sought timely to preuent the danger, by taking away his life, that intended the blow. Which was not so secretly carryed, but that the designe was discouered, and a scrowle laid vnder *Guize* his Napkin as he sate at dinner, wherein it was written, that *his life was in danger*: but hee, as one confident in his owne power, wrote in the same scrowle these words, *they dare not*; and threw it from him vnder the Table. Other aduertisements he had, (if we may beleeue the additions of *Serres*) from *Rome*, *Spaine*, *Lorraine*, and *Sauoy*, that a bloudy Catastrophe should dissolue this Assembly, their Almanackes had obserued it, and it was generally predicted for *Saint Thomas* day.

(254) But the Duke bearing himselfe bold vpon his owne greatnesse, neglected all motiues, and very presumptuously spake to the King, complayning that the affaires of *France* inclined from bad vnto worse, vncurable, and almost growne desperate, wherefore, the charge he had receiued, hee would againe giue vp, and retire into the Countrey, lest other mens sinnes should be imputed his.

(255) The King, who had resolued on his death, gaue him good words, with promise of amendment what in him lay, and held him with familiar discourses, and fauourable countenance, vntill a fit time should be offered; which was the three and twentieth of *December*, when the Lords sitting in Councell, and entring consultation, the *Guize* was called for vnto the King, who as he lifted vp the Tapestry into his Cabinet, was charged vpon by the Guard, and with their Swords & Partizans presently slaine; the King auouching, that thence-forth hee would rule alone. And not long after, the Cardinall of *Guize*, brother to the Duke, dranke of the same Cup, at the commandement of the King.

John Serres.

(256) This death of the *Guize* and Cardinall, caused the King to be exceedingly hated of the Papals, whose Preachers branded his reproaches in their Pulpits, incensing the People to open rebellion, and as Furies of Hell heaped an Iliade of curses vpon the heads of the Executioners. In *Paris* the Kings furniture, and in the *Lowre* his Pictures were broken, his Armes beaten downe, his Images dragged through the streetes, his great Seale defaced, and his royall name blurred with many opprobrious termes. Yea, and the Colledge of *Sorbon* as forward as any, concluded by a publike * Act, *That the people of France were free from the Oath of Obedience & Fealty, which they stood ingaged in vnto* Henry *of Valois, that lawfully, and with a good conscience they might arme themselues against him, receiue his reuenewes, and imploy it in their warres for his ouerthrow.*

* Dated Ian. 7.

(257) Contrariwise the Duke of *Guize* was extolled to Heauen, Orations made of his commen-

The prayses attributed to the *Guize*.

dable exploits in *Hungary* against the Turkes, at *Iarnac* against the Proteſtants, at *Poitiers*, at *Montcontour*, at *Vimorry*, and at other places; in a word, ſuch were the inteſtine troubles of *France*, as the King ſent for *Henry* King of *Nauarre*, to helpe quench the flames of ciuill ſedition, which were mounted ſo high, as that the Leaguers preuailed againſt the Lords of Parliament, prophaned Churches, violated Virgins, and defiled their Chriſtian profeſſion with ſtreames of bloud. And to fill vp the meaſure of their impious iniquity, a *Iacobin* Frier, by name *Iames Clement*, when the King had beſieged *Paris*, (the head City of this rebellion) made vowes to kill the Tyrant (as hee tearmed him) to free that holy City from *Senacheribs* ſiege; with which reſolution he went to Doctor *Bourgoine*, Priour of his Couent, and imparted this damnable proiect to him, to Father *Commolet*, to other Ieſuites, and to the heads of the League, all of them incouraging him to this Diuelliſh deſigne, with promiſe of Abbeyes and Biſhoprickes, if he eſcaped, and if he dyed in the action, to be made a Martyr, and haue place in Heauen aboue the Apoſtles.

A Iacobine Fryer vndertaketh to kill the King.

A.D.1589.

(258) Thus furniſhed with bleſſings for this curſed act, vpon the firſt of *Auguſt* the Monke went to *Paris*, and had priuate acceſſe to the King to deliuer a Letter, pretending ſome matter of importance; but as the King read it, the Diabolicall Inſtrument with a Knife from his ſleeue, wounded him in the bottome of his belly, and there left the knife, which the King drew forth, and with the ſame ſtrucke this *Iacobine* aboue the eye: their ſtrugling being heard, many haſtily came in, who ſeeing the King wounded, and all in goare bloud, in their rage ſtabbed the Monſter to death, and not many dayes after, King *Henry* dyed of the wound.

(259) Whereupon *Charles* Cardinall of *Bourbon*, a younger brother to *Anthony* King of *Nauarre*, and vncle vnto *Henry* then the preſent King, was proclaimed *Lieutenant Gouernour*, yea, and gold and ſiluer coyned with his picture and ſtile of *Charles* the tenth, King of *France*. Howbeit, *Henry* King of *Nauarre* was proclaimed of the Army, whoſe right was before that Papall Prelates, and whom the laſt *Henry* by his laſt will ordained to be his Succeſſor. Notwithſtanding onely in reſpect of his Religion, being a profeſſed Proteſtant, the Leaguers made ſuch head againſt him, that hee was enforced to ſue vnto that *Generall Sanctuary* of Princes, *Queene Elizabeth* for her aide, who euer fauouring the progreſſe of the Goſpell, and knowing *Nauarres* claime to be aboue all other (of that Nation) for the *French Crowne*, and that the *Spaniard* was ſetting foot into *France*: firſt, ſent him twenty thouſand pound ſterling, with Powder, Munition for warre, and certaine ſhippes alſo to ſerue at his command; and cauſing a generall muſter to be taken in moſt of the Shires in *England*, ſent foure thouſand Souldiers furniſhed, from euery of them into *France*; to which ſeruice the Citizens of *London* ſet forth a thouſand very well appointed, and ſeruiceable men: the Generall of all which Forces, was the noble *Peregrine Barteu Lord Willoughby*: whoſe want ſhee again ſupplyed with three thouſand foote, which were ſent into *Britaine*, vnder the conduction of *Sir Iohn Norris*, that ſonne of *Mars*: theſe ioyning with the *Prince Dombes*, Lord Generall of that Prouince, performed many worthy exploits for the *French King*.

Lord Willoughby Generall of the aides for *France*.

Septemb. 21

A.D.1591.

(260) But *Parma* being entred *France*, and the * Pope with his Cardinals fulminating his Excommunication againſt *Henry*, and his adherents: *Queene Elizabeth* (who neuer was daunted with ſuch flaſhes) ſent into *France Robert Earle of Eſſex*, for her Lieutenant Generall ouer foure thouſand Footmen, and two hundred Horſe, (beſides many Pyoners) all of them to bandy for the King againſt his enemies the *Leaguers*. The Earle, though young, yet full of valour, was followed with many voluntary Gentlemen, whoſe countenances well ſhewed the courage of their hearts: Theſe landing in *Normandy*, laide ſiege vnto the ſtrong *Roan*, in aſſault whereof his brother *Walter Deuereux* was ſlaine with a ſmall ſhot, to the exceſſiue griefe of the Earle, and others, being a Gentleman trayned vp, both by Academicall and Marſhall education, vnto very great hopes and expectation.

* *Gregory* 14.

Earle of *Eſſex* Generall of aide for *France*.

Walter Deuereux ſlaine before *Roan*.

(261) But King *Henry* finding many rubs in his way, the Leaguers ſtill increaſing their ſtrengths from *Rome* and *Spaine*, and the Crowne of *France* laid at ſtake for him that threw moſt, thought it good policy (though proued to him in the end diſaſterous and fatall) to temporize with the predominating faction; and therefore leauing the Religion wherein he had been bred, fell to that of *Rome*, which euer till then hee had reſiſted, and after great ſuite made to the Pope, was laſtly abſolued by the *Holy Father*, who heaped whole ſtreames of bleſſings vpon his ſacred head, himſelfe ſwearing to defend the Romiſh faith againſt all impugners: ſo that now all ſides ſatisfied, without contradiction; *Henry* of *Nauarre* was crowned King of *France*. Onely the *Spaniards* were vnwilling to leaue that faire Countrey, fortified in *Britaine* vpon the Riuer, ouer againſt *Breſt*; whence after much ſlaughter, *Generall Norris* forced them, though with the loſſe of ſome *Engliſh*, and life of Captaine *Furbiſher*, Commander of the Fleet.

Spaniſh Hiſtory. *Henry* King of *France* forſaketh his Religion.

A.D.1593. Iuly 25.

(262) The *Leaguers* not liking *Nauarres* aduancement, miſtruſting that his conuerſion was fained, and temporary, as being but a ſtep, the eaſier to mount the Royall Throne: by treaſon laid waite for his life, and croſt what they could his countenance at *Rome*; whileſt the *Spaniards* imployed all their wits for the worrying of *France*, and ſo farre perſiſted in their deſignes, as King *Henry* by Proclamation denounced warre againſt *Spaine*, and *Philip* in like manner proclaimes warre againſt *France*; in which ſtate they ſtood, during the life of *Erneſtus* Archduke of *Auſtria*, brother in Law and Nephew vnto King *Philip*, whoſe Gouernour hee then was in the *Low-Countries*.

Warres proclaymed betwixt *France* and *Spaine*.

(263) After whom ſucceeded his brother *Albertus* the Military Cardinall, and Arch-duke of *Auſtria*, who no ſooner was made Gouernour in place of his Brother, but that hee prepared againſt the *French* and Vnited Eſtates: and to make his aſſayes, he firſt began with *Callis*, a thing long before proiected by others in his place; that Towne being Sea-port of great importance, as the Engliſh found it whileſt it was theirs, and the loſſe thereof great, as *Queene Mary* and her wiſe Statiſts both tooke it, and felt it.

Callis ſurprized.

(264) At this time the Garriſon was ſmall, and the Gouernour negligent, vndiſcreet, and vnfortunate, though hauing notice from *Netherland*, that the *Spaniard* meant her ſiege; ſo that *Richbanke* left vnmanned, and in great ruine, was entred vpon by the Cardinall, and ſuch as reſiſted, driuen into the Towne; where, with the Inhabitants hee grew to a compoſition for the ſurrender, *Vyſdoſſein* the Gouernour neuer interpoſing therein.

A.D.1596.

(265) *Callis* thus turning *Spaniſh*, and the *Spaniards* ſtill intending for *England*, *Elizabeth* ſollicited the *French* King, and proffered her aid for recouery of that Peece; but he empoueriſhed by warre, ſought to regaine his loſſes rather by ſome faire conditions of peace, then to depend vpon the dependancies and hazard of Armies: at which reſolution, our Noble *Senobia* was nothing well pleaſed, and therefore to preuent the practiſes of *Spaine*, began to make good againſt them, and prepared another expedition to Sea. But dealing more Prince-like then *Philip* had done by her (who made faireſt pretence of peace, when he was hoteſt in preparing warre) ſhee cauſed to bee publiſhed and Printed a *Declaration* of the iuſt cauſes mouing her to ſet forth her Nauy, for the defence of her Realme, the Tenor whereof wee thinke not ~~vnfit to~~ be here inſerted.

Queen Elizabeth offereth aide to recouer *Callis*.

(266) *To all Chriſtian People, to whom this Declaration*

The Declaration touching the setting forth of a Navy.

tion shall come to be read or heard, greeting: we Robert, *Earle of* Essex *and* Ewe, *Vicount* Hereford, *Lord* Ferrers *of* Chartley, Bourchier, *and* Louaine, &c. *and* Charles *Lord* Howard, *Baron of Effingham, Lord High Admirall of* England, &c. *Having the charge of a Royall Navy of Ships, prepared and sent to the Seas, by the most excellent Princesse, the Lady* Elizabeth, Queene of England, France, and Ireland, &c. *doe give all men knowledge, that the said Navy under our charge is by her Maiesty prepared, and sent to serue on the Seas, for defence of her Maesties Realmes, Dominions, and Subiects, against such mighty Forces as wee are aduertised from all parts of Christendome, to bee already prepared by the King of* Spaine, *and by further prouisions of men and shippes daily sent for, are to bee mightily increased, to inuade her Maesties Realmes, as heretofore in the yeere of our LORD,* 1588 *was attempted, (euen when there was a Treaty continued by both their Commissioners for a Peace) with a greater Army then euer before in his time was set to Seas: though by Gods goodnesse, and the valiance and wisedome of her Noble and faithfull Subiects, the same was notably made frustrate. And because her Maiesty hath good intelligence of perfect amity with all Kings and Princes of Christendome, sauing with the King of Spaine, who hath this many yeeres most vniustly professed openly great enmity by diuers actions, both against her royall Person, and her People, and Countries, without any iust cause first giuen on her Maesties part: Therefore we the said Earle, and Lord Admirall, doe ascertaine all persons, that we are most straitly commanded by her Excellent Maiesty, to forbeare from offending in this our voyage of any manner of Persons of what Nation soeuer, except the said Kings Naturall Subiects, or such other borne Strangers, as shall giue to the said King manifest aide with Men, Shippes, Artillery, Victuall, and other warlike prouisions for inuasion of her Maiesty. Which her Maesties commandement wee meane dutifully to obserue, and doe therefore giue straite charge to all persons, that shall serue in this Navy vnderneath vs, vpon paine of extreame punishment to obserue the same; yet to auoide all occasions that may breede question, who they are, being not the King of Spaines Subiects, that shall be charged by vs, to bee manifest ayders for the furnishing and strengthning of the said Kings Forces, prouided either by Land or Sea, to attempt any inuasion of her Maesties Countries: Wee doe for the liquidation of this doubt, earnestly in Gods name, require and charge all persons, that are not the said Kings naturall Subiects, and yet that haue giuen him aide with their shippes, victuall and munition as is aboue said, to withdraw all their said ships prepared for the warre, and all their prouisions of hostilitie out of any Hauens of* Spaine *or* Portugall, *or from the company and seruice of the Kings ships against our Navy; and therewith to returne either to their owne Countries, or if they shall like to come to our Navy, to whom, in the reuerend name of our Soueraign Lady the Queenes Maiesty, wee doe promise all Security, both for their persons and goods, to bee vsed and defended as friends, and to suffer all their Shippes and prouisions, that were taken by the King of* Spaine, *or intended for his seruice, or that shall be by the Owners withdrawne from his aide, to remaine in their free dispositions, so as the same bee vsed in all sorts as friends, and not as enemies to the Queenes Maiesty, and to vs her Generals: and if any shall vpon knowledge of this her Maesties most honourable Order, and of our promise (to obserue the same as fauourably as wee may) willingly and manifestly refuse to accept this our offer, and shall not endeauour themselues to performe this reasonable request, tending to their good and liberty; wee shall then bee iustly moued, as by the law of Armes wee may, to take and vse all such so refusing this our offer, as manifest aiders of the King of* Spaine *with forces to inuade her Maesties Dominions, and so manifest enemies: and in such case of that refusall, if any harme shall happen by any attempt against their Persons, Shippes and goods, by any our Navy, for the aiding of the said King, there shall bee no iust cause for them hereafter to complaine, or to procure their Naturall Princes and Lords to sollicite restitutions or amends for the same.*

And for the more notification hereof, wee haue thought good to haue the Originall hereof to be signed with our hands, and with our Seales, to bee sent by any that will require to reade or see the same: And likewise wee haue put the same in Print, in French, Italian, Dutch and Spanish, and haue also caused the same to be distributed into as many Ports of Spaine and Portugall as conueniently might be, for the better knowledge to be had in the said Ports, as also in all other Portes vnder his subiection.

R. ESSEX.
C. HOWARD.

An.D.1596.

(267) These things premised, seuenteene of her Maiesties *Ships Royall*, three of the Lord Admirals, foure and twenty of the *States shippes*, Merchants, Men of Warre, and Victualers aboue one hundred, in all to the number of *one hundred and fifty Saile*, in the beginning of *May* met at *Plymouth*, where such Lawes were ordained for the true seruice of God, and Iustice in the Army, as it seemed rather a Regiment of Ciuill Academians, then a Rendeuow of Souldiers: and her Maiesty likewise in the Court, as *Hezekiah* in the Temple, opened her heart vnto the Lord in this wise.

Lawes ordained for the Army.

2 Kings 19.15.

A Prayer made by Q. *Elizabeth* for the prospering of her Navy.

Most omnipotent Maker, and Guider of the Worlds Masse, that onely searchest and fadomest the bottome of our hearts conceits, and in them seest the true Originals of all our actions intended: thou that by thy foresight doest truly discerne, how no malice of reuenge, nor quittance of iniury, nor desire of bloud-shed, nor greedinesse of lucre, hath bred the resolution of our now-set out Army, but a heedfull care and wary watch, that no neglect of foes, nor ouer-surety of Hauen, might breed either danger to vs, or glory to them: these being the grounds wherewith thou doest inspire the minde; wee humbly beseech thee with bended knees, prosper the worke, and with best fore-winds guide the iourney, speed the victory, and make the returne the aduancement of thy glory, the triumph of their fame, and surety to the Realme, with the least losse of the English bloud. To these deuout Petitions, Lord giue thou thy blessed grant.

The English Commanders in the Fleete.

(268) The whole Fleete was commanded by *Charles Lord Howard, High Admirall*, shipped in the *Arke-Royall*, and Lord *Robert Deuereux*, Earle of *Essex* and *Ewe*, in the *Due-Repulse*, both of them iointly her Maiesties *Lieutenants Generall* for this seruice, by Sea and by Land. The *Vice-Admirall* was the Lord *Thomas Howard*, shipped in the *Miranore*; and the *Rere-Admirall*, Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, in the *Warre-Spight*; and for the *States* was Admiral, *Iohn Van Duuenuoord*, who serued in the *Neptune*, a Shippe of foure hundred Tunnes, and accordingly the whole Fleete was diuided into fiue squadrons, with a commandement that euery squadron should attend his Admirall, and euery one of these had his Vice-Admirall assigned. Of the first, was Sir *Robert Southwell* in the *Lyon*; of the second, Sir *Francis Vere*, in the *Rainebow*; the third Sir *Robert Dudley*, attending the Lord *Thomas Howard*, in the *Non Pareile*; the fourth, *Robert Crosse*, following Sir *walter Rawleigh* in the *Swift-sure*: and the last, was *Iohn Gerbrantson*, Vice-Admirall of the *Hollanders*.

The Dutch Commander.

The Vice-Admirals.

(269) For the Land-seruice besides the Generals, were Sir *Francis Vere*, Lord Marshall: Sir *Iohn Wingfield* Campe-Master Generall: Sir *Coniers Clifford*, Sergeant Maior, Sir *George Carew*, Master of the Ordinance: *Iohn Bucke* Prouost Marshall: *Oliuer Lambert*, Quarter-Master, and *Roger Astley*, Secretary. The Colonels of the Army were the Earle of *Sussex*, Sir *Christopher Blunt*, Sir *Thomas Gerrat*, Sir *Richard Winkfield*, and Sir *Edward Winkfield*; of the *Voluntaries*, and for the *Dutch*, was the Count *Lodowicke*, in all about *ten thousand Men*. The priuate Councell for this expedition being selected, certaine instructions were sent sealed to euery Shippe, with a commandement to the Captaine, not to breake them open, till such time as they came to the South-Cape, vnlesse they happened to bee seuered from the Fleete by

Offieers for Land seruices.

storme or mischance; but if taken by an enemy, then to cast them ouer-bord.

The voyage to *Cadiz*.

(270) Thus ready for Seas, vpon the first of Iune a warning Peece being shot off, all weyed Anchors, and with a gallant shew, and full sailes followed the Lord Admirall; but the wind scanting before they past *Cornwall*, they were enforced backe into the *Sound*, where staying two dayes, vppon the third, the winde came about, and with a prosperous Gale brought them to Cape *Saint Vincent*, where an *Irish* Barke was met with from *Cadiz*, which signified the strength of the Towne, and the shipping that lay in the Bay, to witte, twenty Gallies, ninety Sailes of Ships, whereof fiue were of those great Gallions, which are called the *Kings twelue Apostles*, (all doubtlesse the *Sonnes of Thunder*) two great Galliasses, three Frigats, three Argosies, twenty Biskaines; the rest were *Merchants* shippes, rich and of great burden, whose ladings were munition, coine, oyle, wine, waxe, silke, cloth of gold, and quick-siluer; some bound for the Indians, some for *Britaine*, some for *Lisbon*, and some for other places. Newes most acceptable vnto the *Generals*, who hasting thitherwards, vpon Sunday the twentieth of Iune, assaied at the *Friery of Saint Sebastian*, on the west side of *Cadiz* to land their men, but the place strong, and the Seas going high, their purpose was hindered.

Iune 18.

The King of *Spaines* twelue Apostles, but far Vnlike Christs.

The rich ladings of the Spanish Shippes.

A fortunate presage.

(271) May I relate with hope of credite what others haue reported vpon their owne eye-sight? At the first approach of this *Royall Nauy* before *Cadiz*, a faire doue (a fortunate *Presager*) betimes in the morning, is said to haue lighted vpon the Mayne-yard of the Lord Admirals ship, and there to haue sate quietly the space of three howres, euery man gazing, but no man suffered to harme her: as also the last day of their departure thence, another *Doue* presented her self in the same manner, & in the same shippe, growing wonderfully tame and familiar with the men, and so continued with them till they came into *England*.

(272) The day following their approch, being the first of the weeke, the Spanish ships in the road in number fifty nine, attended with twenty Gallies by the aduise of their *Admirall, shot with the tide within the point of Maine-land, vnto Castle *Puntall*, and in the straites of the Baye, sorted themselues in good order, and of a reasonable distance, as well to offend the enemy, as to relieue each others interchangeably.

*Diego Sote.

(273) The Bay was narrow whereunto they had entred, full of Rockes, shelues, and sands, all which notwithstanding, it was in Councell determined, that the Lord *Thomas Howard*, Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, Sir *Francis Vere*, Sir *George Carew*, and Sir *Robert Southwell*, with some *Londoners*, and a Squadron of the *Low-Countrey* Ships should begin the fight; which was most valiantly attempted, maintained, and continued, the thundring shot battering their bulkes, and renting their shrowdes.

The Nauall fight at *Cadiz*.

(274) In the heate whereof, the Earle of *Essex*, (in Councell appointed to keepe the *Maine Battell*) vpon the sudden from *Port* Saint *Maries* side, thrust himselfe formost in this Sea-fight, which the other *Generall* perceiuing, and the *Arke-Royall* too vnweldy for that narrow water, tooke into his Pinnace, and forwarded the fight to the end: Meane while the Gallies were assayled by *Sir Iohn Winkfield*, who with his small shippes so hanselled their sides, as they were forced to creepe by the Shoare, and so got passage at the Bridge, contrary to the expectation of the *English*, whose eyes were euer ayming at the fairest Marke, which indeed was the *Philip*, so battered with Bullets, that he began to stagger, and giue ouer fight; whose Souldiers seeking to saue themselues by water, and swimming, set this *Apostle* (their *Admirall*) on fire, by whose example, the *Saint Thomas*, another of *Spaines* Apostles, did the like, lest the *English* should leade them in triumph of their victory. The rest of the *Spanish* Fleete ranne themselues on ground in the Bay of *Port Reall*, to gaine some breathing time from their still following pursuers.

Charles Howard Lord Admirall.

The Spanish Admirall set on fire.

(275) These seruices thus forwarded, the Earle of *Essex* forth-with landed his men vnder the Block-house *Puntall*, about a mile West-ward from *Cadiz*, whence it was thought expedient to send some Regiments to the Bridge, on the West of the Iland, to impeach all succours that should come from the Maine: To which seruice were sent Sir *Christopher Blunt*, Sir *Thomas Gerrard*, (now Lord *Gerrard*) and Sir *Coniers Clifford* with a power of twelue hundred strong. Meane-while the Generall *Essex*, with the Earle of *Sussex*, Count *Lodowicke*, Lord *Harbert*, Lord *Burk*, Sir *George Carew* (now Lord *Carew*) and others tooke towards *Cadiz*.

The English goe on Land.

(276) The side of their entrance was fortified with a Wall through the necke of the Promontory from Sea to Sea, and a Counters-karpe raised some distance, where were built two Bulwarkes, and a Curtaine for the stronger defence of the Towne; the enemy hauing also an aduantage from the higher ascent, played sore vpon the *English* to their great annoyance, insomuch that the formost began to giue backe from the Gate, which the Earle of *Essex* perceiuing, to engage his Souldiers resolutions, caught his owne *Colours*, and cast them ouer the Wall into the Towne, giuing withall a most hote assault vnto the Gate, where to saue the honour of their *Ensigne*, happy was hee that could first leape downe from the Wall, and with shot and Sword make way through the thickest presse of the enemy. The Towne thus surprized, the Lord Admirall hasted to second the charge, when a hote encounter ensued: for the streetes were very narrow, so as but two could march on breast, and from their flat roofed Houses, heapes of stones were tumbled downe, to the great hurt of many of the *English*, who neuertheless droue the enemy before them into the *Market* place, where the worthy Sir *Iohn Winkfield*, sore wounded at the Gate in his thigh, was shot with a Musket from a loope-hole of the Castle into the head, and presently dyed.

The assault on *Cadiz*.

Cadiz surprized.

Sir *Iohn Winkfield* slaine.

(277) But the Towne and Castle surrendred, a *Proclamation* was made to stay the fury of the Souldier, and the slaughter of the *Spaniard*, with commandement vpon paine of death, that no man should offer violence or harme to any religious person, woman, or childe. And such honourable care had the LL. Generals for the Inhabitants, that they sent them in their owne Pinnaces vnto *Porto Sancta Maria*; the Ladies and Gentlewomen first, who were suffered to depart in their costliest apparell, and richest Iewels: and to saue them from the spoiles, or any the least wrong of the ruder Souldiers or Seamen, the Generals themselues in persons stood at the water-sides, to see them shipped without hurt or violence.

The Christian vsage of the *English* towards the conquered.

(278) The rich Bishop of *Casco* being taken Prisoner, without any ransome was released, and all other of sacred Orders or Habite, suffered without touch to depart; such was the heroicall Clemency of these most Noble and truly-*English Generals*, to the great glory of our *Nation*, as the *Spaniards* themselues were forced to confesse. The Towne thus wonne, the spoyle thereof was giuen to the English Captaines and Souldiers, the wearing clothes of the Inhabitants onely excepted, and the Citizens compounding with the Lords Generals, to pay an hundred and twenty thousand Ducats for their ransome, were suffered to depart: for payment whereof, forty of the chiefest *Citizens*, *Caualleroes*, *Clergy men*, and *Merchants*, were brought pledges into *England*, till the money was paid.

The Citizens ransome.

Iob. Stow. in Annal.

(279) The like accord was attempted by the Shippes which had runne themselues on ground, whose number was about fifty two, many of them Merchants, and all most richly laden, as might seeme by

The Shipe make offer for their redemption.

by the offers they made; for no leſſe then two millions and a halfe of Ducats were offered by them for the redemption: but the L L. Generals more minding honour and the ſeruice they came for, would heare of no compoſitiō but for the Merchants ſhips onely, which whileſt it was in trauiſe to and fro, the Duke of *Medina Sidonia*, Admirall of *Spaine*, commanded them all to gether to bee ſet on fire, which was ſuddenly done: and the flames terribly mounting, forced the pitchy ſmoake, as thicke clouds to darken the Aire. Among theſe were two of the Spaniſh *Apoſtles*, the *Mathew* and the *Andrew*; the firſt of which was ſaued by the Lord Admirals directions, & the ſecond was quenched by Sir *Thomas Gerrard*, in whoſe bottome himſelfe returned for *England*.

The value of the Ioſſe in the Spaniſh ſhippes.

(280) Thus in an inſtant, a Fleet, ful of men, merchandize, victuall, armour, & twelue hundred peeces of Ordinance, all valued by themſelus, at twelue Millions of Ducats, was ſuddenly ſunke, conſumed or taken; the Towne alſo ranſacked, euery Souldier bringing ſom portion of her rich ſpoiles into *England*, to ſhew the ſeruice he performed at *Cadiz*. The Towne they burnt, ſauing the Churches only: the Walles they battered, and Towers demoliſhed, the Iland it ſelfe they burned, razed and ſpoiled, laying all waſte before them, and leauing the rubbiſh to declare the ruines which the Engliſh had made.

Iune. 30.

(281) Vpon the fifth of Iuly the Earle of *Eſſex* with his, abandoned *Cadiz*, the Lord Admirall being gone on boord ſome ſixe dayes before; and the next day the whole Fleet ſet ſaile weſtward towards *Faro* a Towne in *Algarua*; where the Earle deſirous to doe ſome further exploite vpon the *terra firma* of *Spaine*, landed his men (the Lord Admirall on board ſecuring the ſeas) and marching to *Faro*, he found it empty of men, the Inhabitants being fledde with much of their ſubſtance, and the Towne left deſtitute of victuall: yet in the Nunnery and in the Biſhoppes Palace, ſome goods were found, and in the *Library* Bookes valued at a thouſand Markes; and among other prizes of note, the faireſt Culuerin the King of *Spaine* had, was there found, and ſeaſed vpon; the Engliſh forrage the Country for 3 leagues about, and burnt the Towne *Lotha* without any reſiſtance.

The Engliſh depart from Cadiz.

The attempt on the firme land.

The Engliſh returne.

(283) Thence the firſt of Auguſt the LL. *Generals* fell before the *Groine*, where ſeeing no ſhippes ſtirring, and the Seas altogether cleared; vpon the ſeuenth of the ſame moneth they ſafely and very richly arriued at *Plimouth*, to the great honour of *England*, glory of their Queen, and renowne of their owne valours and famous aduentures.

An other voiage at Sea.

(283) But as the wrongs offered by the *Spaniards*, ſeemed to the *Engliſh* farre greater then was yet the reuenge: ſo alſo the *moſt prudent Queene* held it ſtill fitte to finde King *Philip* more worke at home, and therefore a third voyage was vndertaken the yeere following, whereof *Robert* Earle of *Eſſex* was made as well Lord Generall for the Land, as Admirall for the ſea; hauing for the one ſeruice, his *Vice-Admirall* the Lord *Thomas* Howard, Knight of the Order, and his *Rere-Admirall*, Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, Captaine of the Guard; for the other, his *Lieutenant Generall* was *Charles* Lord *Mountioy* Knight of the Order; his *Marſhall*, Sir *Francis Vere* Coronell Generall of the Low-Countrie Forces; Sir *George Carew* Lord Preſident of *Munſter*, Maſter of his Ordinance; and Sir *Ferdinando George*, Sergeant Maior of the field. The whole number conſiſted of ſixe thouſand men, beſides Mariners, for which an hundred and twenty ſhippes were furniſhed, whereof ſeuenteen were her Maieſties, ſixty men of Warre, the reſt for victuall and tranſportation. Theſe vpon the ninth of Iuly were embarked at *Plimouth* for the Ilands of *Azores*, and hauing cleared ſixty Leagues, fell fowle by a Tempeſt, and were driuen backe againe to *Plimouth*, and againe thence ſet ſaile vpon the 17. of Auguſt next following.

The Earle of *Eſſex* both Admirall and Generall of the Forces.

A.D. 1597.

(284) Vpon the fifteenth of September they fel with the Iſles *Flores*, *Enermes*, *Fyall*, and *Pike*; al which ſubmitted themſelues to the Lord Generals deuotion; whence weying their Anchors, they made ſaile for *Saint Michaels*, and there before the Town caſt them againe, where it was determined that *Sir Walter Rawleigh* ſhould keep the ſea, whiles the Lord Generall with two thouſand ſhould land elſe where in the Iland; which they did, and ſacked the rich town *Villa Franca*: but the ſeas going high, and the Winter ſtormes approaching, after the ſpoile of thoſe places, the deſtruction of a Carracke richly laden with Sugars, fired by her owne men, the taking of a Braſile man, and the ſurprize of three prizes which they brought into *England*, valued at foure hundred thouſand Ducats, they returned, the *Spaniard* euery where hauing the worſt.

Villa Franca ſacked.

(285) Theſe ſtirres on the ſeas brought yet further miſchiefes on the *Spaniard*, by hindring the trafficke of Merchandiſe, as well for their owne trade & comerce with others, as for others trading into *Spain*; among whom *Sigiſmond*, the young and new elected King of *Polonia*, found himſelf moſt agreeued: whoſe Amdaſſador for that buſineſſe vnto the *Queen*, was one *Paulus de Ialine*, a *Polone Gentleman*, learned, eloquent, and very audacious, (if not ouer-much) who bringing * letters of credence from his King, had audience at *Greenwich*, her Maieſty ſitting vnder her cloth of Eſtate, and with her Nobles, attending the ſumme of his meſſage, which the *Polonian* beganne with more then an ordinary Grace.

Sigiſmond K. of *Polonia* his Ambaſſage to the Queene.

* Dated 19. of May.

(286) Whoſe tenour was filled with blaſts of diſcontent, conceiued by the potent Maſter the King of *Polonia*, and cauſed by the greeuances of his *Merchants*, who not onely were depriued of ſome priuiledges in *England*, but the Sea which is made free by the Omnipotent ſtopped, and the trades of his Merchants into *Spaine* by her Highnes Edicts debarred, cōtrary to the law both of *Nature* & of *Nations*: that his Maſter as he could not be moued to diminiſh any part of his loue towards her Maieſty, ſo yet could hee not but relieue his owne ſubiects; and the rather for that it touched all his Nobility; whoſe reuenews conſiſted chiefly vpon the Trade of Merchandizing. That hee had hitherto forborne all meanes of requite, though her Maieſty well knew, of meanes he had no want; and now had ſent to aduertiſe hir Highneſſe in a louing manner by him his Ambaſſador, ſeeing that his letters to that purpoſe hertofore ſent, had not beene regarded; in whoſe name he now required, that the ſeas might bee open, a reſtitution made, and the Trade Weſtward to *Spaine* free, according to equity; otherwiſe his Maſter would no longer neglect his Subiects loſſes, but would take in hand a meanes of redreſſe. As for her Maieſties wars with *Spaine*, that ought not to hinder Nauigation by the common Law of Nature (as hee auouched) nor for her reſpect ſhould the ancient friendſhip betwixt the potent Polonian and the mighty King of *Spaine* bee broken, nor with the houſe of *Auſtria*, whoſe daughter his Prince had now married, which bound him in a double band of loue. But hee truſted (his Maſters requeſt bearing ſuch equity) her Maieſty would regard it, and command ſatisfaction of theſe things forthwith to bee made, to the content of his Prince, & ſafety of her ſelfe; which thing hee wiſhed, & therof warned her Maieſty. And with other like words ended as peremptorily as hee beganne.

The ſumme of the Ambaſſadors Oration.

(287) Vnto which confident Oration, the Queen her ſelf not brooking to be braued by any Prince in the World, preſently made anſwere, preuentiug the Lord Chancellor therein, who was about to doe it, and both roundly and learnedly in the Latine (the ſame language wherein the meſſage was deliuered) replyed: the very words as neere as could bee taken from her mouth were theſe.

Queene *Elizabeths* anſwere to the Polonian.

(284) *Heu quàm decepta fui. Expectaui Nuncium: tu verò querelam mihi adduxiſti; per literas te accepi-*

eſſe

esse Legatum, te verò Heraldum inuenio. Nunquam in vita talem Orationem audiui. Miror, sanè miror, tantam & tam insolutam in publico audaciam; neque puto si Rex tuus adesset, talia verba protulisset: Sin aliquid tale tibi in mandatis commisit (quod quidem valdè dubitio) attribuendum, quòd cùm Rex sit Iuuenis, & non tam at. Sanguinis quàm Electionis, atque etiam nouitèr electus, non tam benè percipiat quid inter Reges conuenit, quam Maiores sui nobiscum obseruarunt, & alij fortasse deinceps obseruabunt. Quod at te attinet, videris multos libros perlegisse, libros tamen Principum non attigisse, neque intelligere quid inter Reges conuenit. Cum verò Ius Naturæ & Gentium commemoras, Hoc scito esse ius naturæ & Gentium, vt cum bellum inter Regis intercedat, liceat alteri alterius vndique allata Presidia intercipere, & ne in damnum suum conuertantur, præuidere: Hoc scito esse Ius Naturæ, & Gentium; Vbi itidem Domum Austriæ narras (quam iam tanti facis) non te lateat ex eadem Domo non defuisse qui Regnum Poloniæ regi tuo intercipere voluissent. De reliquis quæ cum multa sunt, & singulatim deliberanda, non sunt huius loci ac temporis, accipies quod à quibusdam Consiliarijs huic rei designatis deliberandum fuerit. Interim valeas & quiescas.

(288) Oh how was I deceiued! I looked for an Embassage, but thou hast brought me complaints; I vnderstood by thy letters that thou wert a *Legate*; but I find thee an Herauld, neuer since I drew breath heard I such an Oration. I maruell truly, I maruell at so great and such vnaccustomed boldnesse in so publike an assembly; neither doe I think if the King thy Master were present, that hee would say so much: but if peraduenture he hath committed any such thing to thy charge (which surely I do much doubt) it is to be imputed vnto him, that where the King is of yeers vnripe, and not by bloud, but by election (yea and but newly aduanced) hee doth not so perfectly vnderstand the course of negotiating these kind of affaires with other Princes, which either his Ancestors haue obserued with vs, or perhaps others will obserue, who afterwardes shall succeede him. As touching thy selfe, indeede thou seemest to me to haue read many Bookes, but not to haue perused the Bookes of Princes affaires, but vtterly to bee ignorant what is conuenient amongst Kings. And whereas thou makest mention of the Law of *Nature* and *Nations*; know, that this is the Law both Naturall and Nationall, that when Warre is waged among Princes, it is lawfull for one of them to intercept the military helpes of the other, brought from what place soeuer, so to preuent the harms which might otherwise redound on himselfe: And this againe I auow to be the Law of *Nature* and *Nations*. Whereas likewise thou mentionest a new affinity with the *house of Austria*, which now thou makest so famous, and of so deare esteeme, forget not Sir, that there haue beene of that house that would haue bereft the Kingdom of *Polonia* from thy King. As for other points which bee not to be spoken of at this place, and time, because they are many and seuerally to be considered of one after another: thou shalt wait for such further answere as shall bee resolued on by some of my Councell, to whom I will assigne the consideration of this matter: In the meane time farewell and bee quiet. And thus Lion-like rising, daunted the malepert Orator no lesse with her stately port and maiesticall departure, then with the tartnesse of her princely cheekes: and turning to the Traine of her Attendants, thus said; Gods death my Lords (for that was her oath euer in anger) I haue been enforced this day to scowre my old Latine, that hath laine long in rusting.

An Ambassador from the King of Denmarke. Sept. 7.

(289) To entreate a Peace betwixt these Christian Princes of *England* and *Spaine*, the King of *Denmarke* likewise did send an Ambassage vnto Queene *Elizabeth*, as also to deliuer the Garter worn by his Predecessor lately departed this world, with an earnest entreaty to continue the amity betwixt their two Realmes. The man was *Arnald Whitfield Chancellor* of *Denmarke*, iudicious, learned, and wise, who with farre better temper and tearmes well couched, deliuered his oration; which ended, hee most humbly propounded certain requests (wherunto her Maiesty presently replyed) which in effect were these.

The Danish Ambassadors requests.

(290) 1. That the League of peace confirmed betwixt the Crowns of *England* & *Denmarke* might be continued as formerly it had beene in the late deceased Kings dayes; & other his Predecessors, which now the present King his Master did instantly desire: To which shee answered: that she was most willing thereunto, wishing that the now-King would preserue the same amity no worse then his Predecessors had done.

2 That w he reas much Christian bloud was spilt in these continuall warres betwixt *England* & *Spain*, it would please her Maiesty to giue her consent, that the King his Master might make a motion of Peace; and as he found the occasion, so to proceed. Whereunto she replyed, that shee thought his King was too yong, and vnexperienced, to conceiue throughly the cause of breach betwixt her and *Spaine*; and as the League had not been broken on her part, or with her roiall consent, so an accord should not be sought after by her nor by any in her behalfe, for (quoth shee) *I would haue the King of Denmarke, and all Princes* Christian *and* Heathen *to know, that England hath no need to craue Peace; nor my selfe endured one howres feare since I attained the Crowne thereof, being guarded with so valiant and faithfull Subiects.*

An heroicke answere of an vndaunted Queen.

3 His third request was, if it stood with her Maiesties good liking, to permit open traffique, that the Merchants of *Denmarke* might transport their goods into *Spain* without danger on the narrow seas as heretofore some of them had sustained to their great losse. Her Maiesties answere was, that it was to her vnknowne, that any of his Masters good Subiects were in any wise molested, or their goods stayed, & that vpon iust proofe thereof made, a redresse shall be ordained, to the full satisfaction of the King and content of his Subiects.

4 Lastly, he was to returne the *Gartar*, (wherewith her Maiesty had honoured the late deceased King) as the manner is of forraine Princes to doe, which hee with great reuerence there deliuered; Which her Maiesty accepting; yet told him, shee was right sorry to receiue it, for thereby shee was put in mind of the losse of a most Noble Brother, & a most louing friend. But howsoeuer the *Danish Merchants* now complained of losse, the English Marchandize were arrested in the *Sound*, for release whereof, Ambassadors were sent into *Denmarke*, where a restitution was made by the King, with such honour and bounty, as well satisfied her Maiesty, and contented her Merchants.

Tir-Oens rebellion in *Ireland*.

(291) But a more dangerous Agent, working for *Spaine*, was the Irish *Tir-Oen*, who serpent-like lay lurking vpon his aduantage to raise the Standard of *Rome*, and to diuert subiection from the English Crowne. This mans fortunes wee haue formerly declared, how being the sonne of a Bastard, and a banished fugitiue, he was raised by her Maiesties* meer bounty to the dignity of an Earle, and stood in authority ranked with the best; nor so onely, but being twice in danger of capitall crimes (once for a murther, next for vsurping the Title of *O-Neale*) vpon better hopes of her princely clemency, twice got pardon for his life. The times now dangerous, and *Ireland* too ready to receiue forraine powers, it was thought conuenient to imply Sir *Iohn Norris* (that famous Warriour) into those parts, with thirteene hundred of the *Netherland* old Souldiers, newly retired from the wars in *Britaine*.

* See *Cambdens Brit.* in *Ireland*.

Sir *Iohn Norris* sent into *Ireland*.

(292) *Hugh* Baron of *Dungannon*, now Earle of *Tir-Oen*, fearing lest the English would make their nests where himselfe meant to build, namely in some Castle at the mouth of *Lough-Earne*, suddenly assailed the fort of *Black-water*, by which the entry lay into his Country, and got it by surrender. Which done,

Tir-Oens first flying out.

Tir-Oen gets the fort of *Black-water*.

done, he wrote to *Kildare*, to side with him against his wrongs receiued of the Lord Deputy; yea and at the same instant, to Sir *Iohn Norris* (appointed *Lord Generall*) that hee might mildly be dealt with, and not be driuen headlong vpon the dangerous rockes of disloialty.

(293) But how his loyalty stood affected vnto her Maiesty (his railer) was well perceiued by the powers which he retained about him, being alwaies guarded with a thousand horsemen, and sixe thousand two hundred and fourescore foot of *Vlster*, besides two thousand three hūdred of *Conaught*, which euer lay ready at his command; whereupon all of them being proclaimed *Traitors*; the flames of rebellion begann more violently to burst forth, which for a Long time, and not without losse of much bloud could hardly bee quenched: for though the *Lord Generall* were not inferiour in strength of men, yet the aduantages of the enemy were such, that the time was rather spent in taking of booties, and friuolous Parlies, then in any memorable exploit; the one part waiting for fitter opportunities, and the other looking euery day for his promised succours from *Spaine*.

He and his adherents proclaimed.

(294) But to spare the effusion of Christian blood Queen *Elizabeth* who euer minded *Mercy* more then *Iustice*, caused her *Treasurer* & *Chiefe Iusticiar* of that Kingdome, as her *Commissioners* to confer with this discontented Earle, and others his adherents, before whom, *Tir-Oen* complained of wrongs offered him by Sir *Henry Bagnall* Mareshall, aswell to the preiudice of his estate, as of his esteeme with the Queen, the Lord Deputy, Lord Generall, and others, and thereupon exhibited a Petition in humble manner containing these requests; That himself & all his followers might bee pardoned of their crimes, and bee restored to their former estates; that they might frely exercise their Romish Religion without molestation; that no Garrison Souldiers, Shiriffe, or other Officer should interdeale within the iurisdiction of his Earledome; that the company of fifty horsemen with the Queenes pay might be restored to him, in the same State as formerly hee had lead them; that the spoilers of his Country and people might be punished, and that Sir *Henry Bagnall* should pay him a thousand pound promised in Dowry with his sister, whom *Tir-Oen* had married, and who was now deceased. Others likewise laid out their greeuances conceiued; such were *O-Donell*, *Brian Mac-Hugh-Oge*, *Mac Mahun*, and *Euer Mac-Conley*, who receiued most reasonable answeres to all their demands.

Sir *Henry Wallop*. Sir *Rob. Gardiner*.

(295) But vnto them the Commissioners likewise proposed certain Articles: as, That they should forthwith lay downe their Armes, disperse their Forces, acknowledge submissiuely their disloialties, admit the Queenes officers in their Gouernments, reedifie the Forts thy had defaced, suffer the Garrisons to liue without disturbance, make restitutions of spoiles taken, confesse vpon their oath how farre they had dealt with forraine Princes, and finally to renounce all forraine aide. But these propositions not pleasing the palate of those Rebels, they departed with a resolution to maintaine their owne demands. Which mooued *Norris* the *Generall* aided with the Lord Deputy to march with his Army vnto *Armagh*; whose approch (euer dreadfull to his enemies) when *Tir-Oen* heard of, in great perplexity hee forsooke the Fort of *Black-Water*, set on fire the villages about, and plucked downe the Towne of *Dunganon*, with part of his owne house, bewayling his estate to be past recouery; and was so much deiected in minde, as he sought nothing else but where to hide his rebellious head.

Propositions made to the Rebels.

Preparations against *Tyr-oen*.

(296) The Country now wasted, and no victuals to bee had, *Norris* set a Garrison in the Church of *Armagh*, strengthned *Monahan*, and proclaimed *Tir-Oen* Traitor in his owne territories. Which done, hee stayed in *Vlster* without any great deeds of martiall importance, onely *Tir-Oen* to gaine time presented vnto him a fained submission, signed with his owne hand, cast himselfe downe (a rare and vncouth ceremony) at the Queenes pictures feet, vngirt his sword, and craued pardon vpon his knees: and yet in the meane time dealt he for aides out of *Spaine*, and so far preuailed, as that Messengers were sent from King *Philip* with capitulations that the King of *Spaine* at a time prefixed should send them a competent Army to ioine with the Irish, that all conditions of peace with the English should be reiected, and that the Rebels should be furnished with munition from *Spaine*.

(297) Hereupon (though there was a cessation from Armes) he fell to harry and wast the Country, to burne villages, to driue away booties, and hauing done what hee could or would, as it were pricked in conscience, hee once againe put on the vizard of simulation, and sued for pardon and peace: which the better to effect, he sent the letters of king *Philips* promises vnto the L. Deputy, with the causes of his owne discontents, which moued him to doe what he did. And surely such was his dexteritie, or his Destiny, or the English no lesse dangerous, then frequent security, negligence and confidence, or the sparing of money by the grand disbursers, or the inbred lienty of the too-clement Queen, that his faire wordes were euer beleeued, and his foule offences pardoned: but whose fault soeuer, most of *Connaught* was now reuolted, all *Vlster* rebellious, onely seuen Castles kept for the Queene.

(298) In which desperate estate, *Thomas* Lord *Burrough*, a man full of courage, was sent Lord *Deputy* into *Ireland*; who no sooner arriued, but *Norris* either crossed by some higher-swaying Powers or by his fortune in these his proceedings (the seruices there being farre different from those his others, in other parts imployed) through griefe and discontent (the too vsuall guerdon of many a Noble Seruitor) as was thought, ended his life.

(299) The Lord *Deputy* no sooner had receiued the sword, and taken the charge of the kingdome of *Ireland*, but hee made forward to meete with the Rebels, holding it good policy to cut off delayes, which commonly increase the abilities of the enemy. *Tir-Oen* on the other side, as boldly made his resistance, and in a dangerous seruice encountered him at the *Moiry*, where the *Lord Burrough* by his valour made the way, and most valiantly wanne the Fort of *Blackewater*, (repayred and reenforced by the Rebels) the onely strength (besides Woods) that the *Tir-Oen* had. To rescue this Peece, immediately the enemy shewed himselfe: against whom *Henry* Earle of *Kildare* presently marching with a Coronet of Horse, and certaine voluntaries, (Gentlemen of the better sort) where he discomfited the enemy, though with losse of some men of note; as of *Francis Vaughan*, brother to the Lord Deputies wife, *Robert Turner* Sergeant Maior, and the two *Fosterbrethren* of the Earle *Kildare*, whose deaths hee so tooke, as within few dayes after, himselfe dyed for very griefe.

Blackwater again besieged.

(300) The Fort re-enforced with men and Munition, and the Lord Deputy vpon seruice in other parts; *Tir-Oen* now wauering betweene hope, feare, and shame, thought best to assay it by siege, as the place of greatest importance to further his designes: for that lost, hee saw his fortunes must downe, and thereupon with his strongest power, he beleaguered it. The Lord Deputy hearing thereof, prepared straightway to rescue the place, and marching with full pace and assurance of victory, whether through too forward a minde, distemperature of body, ayre, or of bogges, arrested hee was with sickneese, and violently cut off, by vntimely death, leauing to her Maiesty a misse in her *Irish* Estate, and a further security to the ranging Rebels.

The Lord *Burrough* dieth in *Ireland*.

(301) The

A.D. 1598.

The Earle of *Ormond* Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*.

(301) The gouernment of *Ireland* was then committed to the Earle of *Ormond* vnder the Title of Lieutenant Generall of the Army, and vnto the Lord Chancellour Sir *Robert Gardiner*; vnto whom *Tir-Oen* (after his accuſtomed manner) in a long letter recapitulated his great grieuances, leauing not out the leaſt offence of the Souldiers, or actions of the Sheriffes; his breach of couenants with Sir *John Norris* hee coldly excuſeth, and laid his complaints againſt his enemies (the *Engliſh*) who had intercepted and ſuppreſſed his ſubmiſſion to the Queene, that they had raiſed intollerable impoſitions vpon the Nobles, and Commons; and that the reuenues of *Ireland* was ſhared among Counſellers, Lawyers, Souldiers, and Notaries: by which and other like ouertures, it was manifeſt that hee intended to extirpate the *Engliſh* quite out of *Ireland*.

(302) All this while his Siege lay before the Fort, of *Blackewater*; for the raiſing whereof, Sir *Henry Bagnall* (the bittereſt enemy that *Tir oen* euer had) with fourteene Enſignes of the choiſeſt troops were ſent, whom the Earle met neer vnto *Armagh*; and beeing egged on with a fretfull deſire of reuenge, bent all his force againſt the Marſhall, where beganne a bloudy conflict, and was continued with the death of that worthy Souldier (fighting amongſt the thickeſt) whereby *Tir-Oen* obtained not onely a ioyous triumph ouer his priuat enemy, but withall went away with a glorious victory ouer the *Engliſh*, who neuer ſince they firſt ſet footing in *Ireland* receiued ſo great an ouerthrow: for therein thirteene valiant Captaines loſt their liues, fifteene hundred common Souldiers were rowted and put to ſhamefull flight, diſparkled and cut in peeces. Vpon this diſaſter the *Garriſon Souldiers* (hauing with loyall hearts and weapons in hand, vnto extreame famine and exceeding diſtreſſe, held out to the laſt) laſtly ſurrendred the Peece of *Blackwater* vnto the Rebels; by which ouerthrow and ſurrender, the *Iriſh* became furniſhed with armour and munition to maintaine their warres, and *Tir-oen* renowned all the Realme ouer, as their only *Horatius*, and founder of their freedome.

The *Engliſh* foiled at *Blackwater*.

(303) Himſelfe ouer-ioyed with theſe gotten victories, ſwelled aboue meaſure with an haughty arrogancy, commanding all things as ſole Monarch of *Ireland*. Into *Mounſter* hee ſent *Owny Mac-Rory-Og-O More* with foure thouſand preying rogues, to forrage the Country, and the rabble that daily reſorted vnto them, burnt the houſes of the *Engliſh*, ranſacked their ſubſtance, and killed very many; *Iames Fitz-Thomas* one of the family of the *Deſmonds* they ſet vp as Earle of *Deſmund*, yet ſo, that hee ſhould hold as *Tenant in Fee* of the *O-Neale*, (the Earle of *Tir-oen*) and thus after a month, when they had kindled this fire and ſet *Mounſter* in a flame, they returned laded with rich booties and ſpoile. *Tir-oen* in the meane time had ſent his letters to King *Philip* of *Spaine*, wherein hee ſounded his victories with a full trumpet, aſſuring him that hee would heare of no peace with the *Engliſh*, were the conditions neuer ſo indifferent, and would for his part inuiolately keepe his promiſes with the *Spaniſh* King.

Robert Earle of *Eſſex* Lieutenant of *Ireland*.

(304) In this deſperate eſtate ſtood *Ireland* when Queene *Elizabeth* choſe *Robert* Earle of *Eſſex*, to bee Lord Lieutenant and Gouernor Generall thereof: a Peere in regard of his approued wiſdome, fortitude, and fidelity, thought fitteſt to repaire the detriments and loſſes therein ſuſtained, and in ſuch deere eſteeme with his ſoueraigne, and intire loue of the people, as the heauens ſeemed to haue framed him for the delight of man. In whom ſhined all ſparkles of true Nobility and Martiall honor, had not fortune marred all that the other graces had made. His commiſſion was large, and authority great, and led no leſſe then twenty thouſand compleat Souldiers, whereof ſixteen thouſand were foot, and the reſt horſe-men, ſo well furniſhed and prouided, as the like had neuer been ſeen before in *Ireland*.

(305) Thus honourably accompanied with the flower of Engliſh Gallants, and well-wiſhing acclamations of the people, with a ſtrange thunderclap in a cleere Sunne-ſhine day, hee ſet forward from *London*, and arriuing in *Ireland*, receiued the ſword; where (toward the end of *March*) falling in counſell touching his affaires, it was thought fitteſt by wiſe Statiſts, that *Mounſter* ſhould bee cleared of thoſe petty Rebels lying neerer, and of more validity then the remote *Vlſter*, of ſmall wealth and leſſe account. Whereupon contrary to his owne opinion formerly deliuered (whiles hee was in *England*) and his directions from her Maieſty in *Ireland*, hee made firſt into *Mounſter*, and became terrible vnto the Rebelles of thoſe parts, chaſing them before him into the woods, and ſo cleared that Prouince, with more expence of time, and loſſe of men, then was heere well liked by the State.

The Earle of *Eſſex* enters *Mounſter*.

(306) Hence hee made into *Leinſter*, againſt the *O-Conors* and *O-Moiles*, who had gathered head and taken Armes againſt their obedience; whom in light skirmiſhes he fortunately vanquiſhed; whence he ſent Sir *Conyers Clifford* Gouernour of *Conaught* one way towards *Bellike*, whilſt hee himſelfe tooke another way, ſo to diſtract the force of *Tir-Oen*. Sir *Conyers* with a power of fifteene hundred ſtrong marched ouer the Mountaines of *Curlew*, where *O-Roirke* and his Rebels ſuddenly aſſailed them, being out-wearied with trauell, and their powder neere ſpent; in which conflict, amongſt many other ſlaine, Sir *Conyers Clifford* himſelfe, as alſo Sir *Alexander Rateliffe*, ſealed the teſtimony of their valours with the loſſe of their liues.

Sir *Conyers Clifford* incountered with, and ſlaine.

(307) The Lord Geuerall hearing of this ouerthrow, made towards *Vlſter*, and came into the frontiers as farre as *Louth*, where *Tir-Oen*, on the other ſide of the Riuer, from the Hilles made his Bruado: But falling into his wonted vaine of diſſimulation, deſired a parley with the Lord Lieutenant, which hee altogether reiecting, anſwered, that if the Earle would conferre with him, hee ſhould find him the next morning in the head of his troops: on which day, when after a light skirmiſh, a horſeman of *Tir-Ones* troopes, with a loud voyce cried, that the Earle was not willing to fight, but to parley vpon peace with the Lord Generall; it was againe denied him. But the next day, as the Lord Lieutenant was in his March forward, one *Hagan* ſent from *Tir-Oen*, met him, and declared that the Earle moſt humbly deſired to haue the Queenes mercy and peace; and withall beſought, that his Lordſhip would be pleaſed to afford him audience, which if hee would grant, then would hee with all reuerence attend him at the Foord of the Riuer not farre from *Louth*.

He enters *Vlſter*.

Septem. 13.

Tir-oen ſueth for Parley, but is reiected.

(308) To this laſtly the Lord Lieutenant aſſented; and ſent to diſcouer the place, and beſtowing a troope of horſe vpon the next Hill, came downe alone vnto the Riuer; *Tir-Oen* attending on the other ſide, no ſooner ſaw his approach, but forthwith rode his horſe into the Riuer vp to the ſaddle, and with all ſemblances of a dutifull reſpect, moſt reuerently ſaluted his Lordſhippe: where, hauing had conference the ſpace of an houre, they both returned vnto their companies. There followed the Earle of *Eſſex*, *Con*, a baſe ſonne of *Tir-Oen*, inſtantly intreating in his fathers name, that certaine principall men might be admitted to a conference, whereunto his honour condiſcended.

Eſſex and *Tir-oen* meet in Parley.

A further conference.

(309) And taking with him the Earle of *Southampton*, Sir *George Bourchier*, Sir *Warham St. Leger*, Sir *Henry Danuers*, Sir *Edward Wingfield*; and Sir *William Conſtable*, went to the Foord, where *Tir-oen*, with his brother *Cormoc*, *Mac Gennys*, *Mac Guir*, *Euer mac Cowley*, *Henry Ouington*, and *O-Quin*, attended their comming. And falling in conference,

i.

it was concluded that certaine *Commissioners* should the next day meete for a treaty of peace, and in the meane time there should bee a cessation of warres, from sixe weekes to sixe weekes, vntill the first of *May:* yet so, as it might be free on both sides, after foureteene dayes warning giuen, to resume hostility a fresh. And if any of *Tir-Oens* confederates would not thereto consent, to be prosecuted at the Lord Lieutenants pleasure.

Septemb. 8.

An. D. 1599.

Exceptions against *Essex* his seruices.

(310) But howsoeuer these his proceedings pleased the Marshalists, yet was her Maiesty highly incensed, that such expeditions had beene made without her directions, being informed that the Spring, Summer, and Autum, were spent without seruice vpon the Arch-Rebell, that her men were diminished, and large summes of money consumed, without doing that for which he was sent; that by this meanes the Rebels were encouraged, and the Kingdome of *Ireland* laid at hazard to bee lost: Which his defaults (for so they were apprehended) were (as hee conceiued) much aggrauated, by some that were hard against him, in her attentiue eare; vpon which surmize Her Maiesties sharpe Letters receiued (though hee had excused his seruice by others, whom himselfe sent at the same season) so ouer-pressed his troubled thoughts, as leauing his charge to be managed by others, hee made into *England*, well hoping to pacifie his Soueraignes displeasure with satisfaction from his owne mouth, and at *Nonesuch* had accesse to her presence, where after a short welcome, hee was commanded to his Chamber; and soone after was committed to the custody of the Lord Keeper.

A.D. 1599. Sebtem. 28.

Octob. 2.

(311) No sooner almost was the *Lord Generall* departed *Ireland*, but that *Tir-Oen* (notwithstanding the cessation from warre) drawing his Forces together, addressed himselfe for the Field, vnto whom *Sir William Warren* was sent, to charge him with breach of promise; but hee swelling in pride, peremptorily answered, that his doings were according to couenants, hauing giuen warning before, and his cause iust, for that the *Lord Lieutenant* was committed in *England*, vpon whose honour hee reposed his whole Estate; neither would hee haue any thing to doe with the Counsellors of *Ireland*, in whom (as hee said) hee neuer found either safety or truth. And thereupon presuming vpon *Spaine*, and giuing it forth that there would bee shortly an alteration in *England*; hee sends *O Donell* into *Conaught*, receiueth tumultuous persons, strengtheneth the weake, and comforteth the distrustfull, glorying euery where that hee would restore againe the ancient Religion, and liberty of *Ireland*, and expell the *English* from thence; to which end, some Money and Munition were sent him from *Spaine*, with *Indulgences* from *Rome*; and (for an especiall fauour) the Pope sent him a Plume of *Phœnix* Feathers, for a trophey of his victories, as *Vrban* long before him sent a Coronet of Peacocks Tayles vnto King *John*, when hee was first inuested *Lord of Ireland*.

Tir-Oen againe fals off.

The Popes Present bestowed on *Tir-Oen*.

(312) *Tir-Oen* thus feathered for a higher flight, Peacocke-like to shew his owne pride and greatnesse by his personall presence, vnder a religious pretext to worship a peece of the wooden Crosse of *Christ*, reputed to bee kept in the Monastery of the *Holy Crosse* in *Tipperary*, in the mid-winter would thither on Pilgrimage; whence he sent out *Mac-Guir* with a number of rifeling Robbers, to despoyle and prey on the peaceable Subiects; with whom *Sir Warham Saint Leger* met, and at the first Race with his Lance ranne *Mac-Guir* through the body, and was by him runne through himselfe. Whereupon *Tir-Oen* fearing more blowes, made ready to returne from *Mounster* sooner then was expected, or himselfe meant.

The *Lord Mountioy* Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*.

(313) At this time *Charles Blunt*, Lord *Mountioy* (afterwards created Earle of *Deuon-shire*) was sent Lord Lieutenant Generall into *Ireland*, who with small port and little solemnity, entred vpon the Gouernment, the state of that Country lying desperately diseased, and almost past recouery. At his first comming, hearing that *Tir-Oen* was to depart *Mounster*, he hastned to stop his passage in *Fereal*, and there to giue him Battell, which the Earle preuented by taking another way, hauing intelligence of the *Lord Generals* designes; but the Spring drawing on, the Deputy put himselfe on his March towards *Vlster*, with purpose to driue the Earle to a stand, whiles *Sir Henry Docwra* at *Lough-foile*, and *Sir Mathew Morgan* at *Baloshanon* planted the Garrisons, which they with small adoe effected, and suppressed the Rebels in diuers ouerthrowes.

A.D. 1600 In Febru.

In May.

(314) The Lord Generall likewise held *Tir-Oen* very hard, and with light skirmishes euer put him to the worse, so that he now perceiuing his fortune to goe backe, with-drew himselfe backe into his old corners. The Lord Lieutenant then entred into *Lease*, the place of refuge and receit of all the Rebels in *Leinster*, where hee slew *Ony-Mac Rory-Og*, chiefe of the Family of the *O-Mores*, a bloudy, bold, and desperate young man: and so chased out the rest of those his Rake-hels, as that neuer since they were seene in those parts. And although in the commensing of these affaires, the *Equinox* was past, and the Winter weather begun in that Climate, yet marched he forward to the entrance of the *Moyery* three miles beyond *Dundalke*.

(315) The passage into *Vlster* is euery where naturally cumbersome, and this way made more by the Rebels, who had fortified and blocked vp the entrance with fences of stakes stucke in the ground, with hurdles ioyned together, and stones in the midst, with turfes of earth laid betwixt hils, woods, and bogges, and manned the place with a number of Souldiers: notwithstanding, the *English* brake through those *Pallisadoes*, and beating the enemies backe, the Lord Deputy placed a Garrison eight miles from *Armagh*, where in memory of Sir *Iohn Norris*, hee named the Fort *Mount-Norris:* but to omit many other skirmishes in his returne, that at *Carlingford* was most famous, where the enemies assembled to stop his way, were all of them discomfited, and put to fearefull flight.

The *Glinnes* cleered of Rebels.

(316) In the midst of Winter hee entred the glinnes, that is, the Vallies of *Leinster*, a secure receptacle of the Rebels, where he brought into subiection *Donel Spanioh*, *Phelim Mac-Feogh*, and the *O-Tooles*, of whom he tooke hostages. Then went hee to *Fereall*, and draue *Tirell*, the most approued warrier of all the Rebels, from his fastnesse, (that is, his bogges and bushes) into *Vlster*; the Territory of *Fernes* he laid waste, spoyled *Fues*, and in *Breany* placed a Garrison, receiuing such into mercy as deliuered vp hostages. Which done, and the Spring approaching, he marched to *Vlster*, fortified *Armagh*, and went so farre forward, that he remoued *Tir-Oen* from the Fort of *Blacke-water*, who had very artificially encamped himselfe there.

The Pope and *Spaine* busied to hold vp *Tir-Oen*.

(317) As the Lord Generall was thus busied to reduce *Ireland* to obedience, so the Pope and *Spaine* studied to hold vp *Tir-Oen*, and to maintaine the Rebellions; their Agents were a *Spaniard*, elected by the Pope Archbishop of *Dublin*, the Bishop of *Clowfort*, the Bishop of *Killaloe*, and *Archer* a Iesuite. These by Prayer, and promises of *heauenly rewards*, wonne *Philip* to send succours into *Ireland*, which forthwith he did, vnder his Generall *Don Iohn D'Aquila*, a man of a conceited hope that all would be his, as confident of much aid from the titular Earle *Desmond*, and from *Florence Mac-Carty*, a Rebell of great might; wherein hee was deceiued: for Sir *George Carew*, Lord President of *Mounster*, had preuented that designe, and sent them prisoners into *England*, where they were kept sure.

Don John De Aquila sent into *Ireland*.

(318) *Don D'Aquila* with two thousand *Spaniards*, all of them olde trayned Souldiers, with certaine *Irish* Fugitiues, landed at *Kinsale* in *Mounster*, the

Octob. *Vlt.*

Don Iohns Title.

last of *October*, and straightwayes publiſhed a writing, wherein he glorioufly ſtiled himſelfe with this Title, *Maſter Generall, and Captaine of the Catholike King in the Warres of GOD, for holding and keeping the Faith in Ireland*; indeauouring to make the World beleeue, that Queene *Elizabeth*, by the definitiue ſentences of the Popes, was depriued of her Kingdomes, and her Subiects abſolued and freed from their Oath of Allegiance, and that he was come to deliuer them out of the Diuels iawes, and the *Engliſh* tyranny; vpon which ſuggeſtions, many diſtempered and wicked perſons began to bandy on his ſide.

(319) The Lord Deputy gathering his Companies, haſted to *Kinſale*, and encamped neere vnto the Towne on the Land ſide, whiles Sir *Richard Leuiſon* with two of the Queenes Shippes incloſed the Hauen, to forbid all acceſſe to the *Spaniard*; when from both ſides, the thundering Canon played vpon the Towne: but newes being brought that two thouſand *Spaniards* more were arriued at *Bere-hauen*, *Baltimore*, and *Caſtle-Hauen*, Sir *Richard* was imployed vpon them, in which ſeruice hee ſunke fiue of their Shippes.

A new ſupply of Spaniards vnder *Alphonſo O-Campo*

(320) Vnto theſe new landed *Spaniards*, whoſe Leader was *Alphonſo-O-Campo*, *O-Donel* ouer the ice, by ſpeedy iournies and vnknowen by-wayes repaired, vnſeene of the *Engliſh*; and a few dayes after *Tir-Oen* himſelfe, with *O-Roicke*, *Raimund Burke*, *Mac-Mahun*, *Randall Mac Surley*, *Tirrell* the Baron of *Lixnaw*, and the moſt ſelected choyce of all the Rebels came vnto them, who muſtered together, made ſixe thouſand Foot, and fiue hundred Horſe; all confident of victory, as being freſh, ſtrong, and exceeding in number, where, the *Engliſh* were outwearied through Winter ſiege, with ſcarſity of victuall, and their Horſe weake with ſore trauell.

Tir-Oens braues does.

(321) In this hope, *Tir Oen*, vpon an Hill not a mile from the *Engliſh* Campe, made a Brauado two dayes together, intending to haue put theſe new ſupplyes of *Spaniards*, with eight hundred Iriſh, by night into *Kinſale*, as by Letters intercepted from *Don D'Aquila* did appeare. Which to preuent, the Lord Deputy appointed eight Enſignes to keepe watch, and himſelfe with the Preſident of *Mounſter*, and the Marſhall, at the foot of the Hill, choſe out a conuenient plot to giue the Earle battell, who the next morning ſeeing the *Engliſh* ſo forward, by his Bag-pypers ſounded the retreat, whom the Lord Generall followed, and forced them to ſtand in the brinke of a bogge, where their Horſemen were diſordered, and rowted by the Earle of *Clan-Ricard*.

The Rebels rowted.

(322) The maine battell then wauering in feare, was violently charged by the Lord Deputy himſelfe, who in his directions diſcharged the part of a worthy Commander, and in fighting, the Office of a valiant Souldier; for the Rebels not able to withſtand his fury, brake their arrayes, and in diſorder confuſedly fled; in whoſe purſuit many of them felt the reuenging edge of the *Engliſh* Sword. *Tir-Oen*, *O-Donel*, and the reſt flung away their weapons, and ſaued their liues by flight; but *Alphonſo O-Campo*, with three other *Spaniſh* Captaines, and ſixe Enſigne Bearers, were taken priſoners, nine of their Enſignes borne away by the *Engliſh*, and *twelue hundred of his Spaniards ſlaine*, ſuch welcome found theſe new gueſts in *Ireland*. This victory obtained, both quelled the pride of the intruding *Spaniards*, and exceedingly daunted the hearts of the diſloyall Iriſh; ſo that *Tir-oen* was forced into his ſtarting holes in *Vlſter*, *O-Donell* driuen into *Spaine*, and the reſt of that rebellious rabble ſcattered into obſcure places, where their beſt ſuccour was to play leaſt in ſight.

Don *Alphonſo* taken Priſoner.

The Rebels diſparkled.

(323) The Lord Generall returning to the ſiege of *Kinſale*, began to raiſe rampires, and to mount his Canons neerer the Towne, wherein ſixe dayes were ſpent without any impeach from the *Spaniard*, whoſe courage being cut by the loſſe of their fellowes, ſought rather how to get cleare and be gone, then to aduenture reſiſtance againſt ſuch a warlike oppoſer. *D'Aquila* hereupon ſent his Letters by his Drumme Maior to the Lord Deputy, wherein hee craued, that ſome Gentleman of credit might be ſent into the Towne, with whom hee might Parley for a Peace. Whereunto his Lordſhip inclined, and to that end ſent thither Sir *William Godolphin*.

The Spaniards ſue for Peace.

(324) Vnto whom *D'Aquila* ſignified, *that hee had found the Lord Deputy, though his eager enemy, yet an honourable perſon; the Iriſh of no valor, rude and vnskill, yea, and (that which hee ſore feared) perfidious and falſe: That hee was ſent from the King of Spaine his Maſter to aid two Earles, and now hee much doubted whether there were any ſuch in* Rerum natura, *conſidering that one tempeſtuous puffe of warre had blowen the one of them into Spaine, and the other into the North, ſo as they were no more to be ſeene: willing therefore hee was to treat about a Peace, that might be good for the Engliſh, and not hurtfull to the Spaniards; albeit he wanted nothing requiſite to the holding out of the Siege, and expected euery day out of Spaine freſh ſupplies to finde the Engliſh worke and trouble enough.*

(325) The matter thus propoſed, and the *Engliſh* weake and weary through a long Winters ſiege, the Lord Deputy conſented to an agreement, the Articles whereof were theſe.

January 2.

1 That *Iohn D'Aquila* ſhould quit the places which he held in the Kingdome of *Ireland*, aſwell in the Towne of *Kinſale*, as the Forts and Caſtle of *Baltimore*, *Berehauen*, and *Caſtle-hauen*; and ſhould deliuer them vnto the Lord Deputy, or to whom hee ſhould appoint.

Iohn Stow.

Concluſions of Peace.

2 That *Don D'Aquila* and his *Spaniards* ſhould depart with Armes, Money, Munition, and Banners diſplayed; the Souldiers notwithſtanding to beare no Armes againſt the Queene of *England*, till ſuch time as they were vnſhipped in ſome part of *Spaine*.

3 That Shippes and Victuals ſhould bee granted vnto them in their departure, for their Money, and at ſuch reaſonable prizes as the Countrey could affoord.

4 That if contrary winds inforced them into any other Port of *Ireland*, or elſe into *England*, they might be intreated as friends, with ſafety of harbor, and prouiſions neceſſary for their money to further their departure.

5 That a ceſſation ſhould be from warre, a ſecurity from iniuries, and victuall granted at reaſonable rates, whiles they remained in preparing for *Spaine*.

6 That the Ships in which they ſhould bee imbarked, might freely paſſe by other *Engliſh* Shippes without moleſtation; and the Shippes arriued in *Spaine*, might ſafely returne backe without any impeachment of the *Spaniards*: for ſecurity whereof, the ſaid *D'Aquila* ſhould deliuer for hoſtages ſuch three of their Captaines as the Lord Deputy would chuſe. Vnto theſe Articles *Don Iohn* ſolemnely ſwore, on the behalfe of the *Catholike King* his Maſter, and with his hand ſubſcribed his name, *Don Iohn D'Aquila*.

(326) The troubleſome cloude of moſt likely dangers, thus diſſolued in *Mounſters* faire Ayre, the Coaſts of *Ireland* were ſhortly cleared of thoſe forraine intruders, who notwithſtanding their former great bragges, with ſhame and diſhonour embarked themſelues for home, their Companies being much empayred, and proud ſpirits brought downe. And now the *Ben-hadad Tir-Oen*, who had boaſted all *Ireland* was his, with fearefull flights and by-wayes recouered his lurking holes in *Vlſter*; after hee had loſt moſt of his men, whom the ſwelling and violently-running Riuers, by reaſon of Winter flouds, had ſwallowed vp: where his Traytors head, burdened with the dreads of his owne deſerts, could take no reſt, no not ſo much as to breathe without feare, diſtruſting euery ſhadow that he ſaw, and ſhifting out of one by-corner, before hee well knew where to find another.

1 *Kings* 20.

The guilt and feares of *Tir Oen*.

(327) Meane

(327) Meane whiles, the Lord Deputy refreſhed his weary and winter beaten Souldiers, repayred the decayes, and renewed the Garriſons in *Mounſter*; which done, hee departed for *Dublin*, where wearing out the winter ſtormes, towards the Spring, by a gentle and eaſie march, well appointed, he returned into *Vlſter*, meaning to belay the Rebell on euery ſide, by planting his Forts, ſo to take him in his toyle. Thus being approached vnto *Blacke water*, hee tranſported his Army ouer the Foord vpon floates, vpon whoſe banke, beneath the old Fort, he erected a * new, to ſuch terror of the Arch-Rebell, as hee ſet on fire his owne Houſe at *Dungannon*, and got himſelfe further from danger; whether the Lord Deputy immediately marched, and made ſpoyle without any ſpare; the Corne fields were deſtroyed, the Villages fired, and booties brought in on euery ſide. The Forts in *Logh*, *Crew*, *Lough-Reogh*, and *Mogher Lecowd*, were yeelded vp, and Garriſons placed in *Lough Eaugh*, or *Sydney*, and in *Monaghan*, whence with their continuall ſallies, they ſo croſſed the enemies, that ſeeing themſelues inuironed about, and no way open for eſcape, like wilde Beaſts they hid their heads in the thickets, Forreſts, and Woods, muttering complaints againſt their late magnified *Tir-Oen*; exclaiming he had engaged the ruine of the whole Nation, for his owne priuate diſcontents, and that theſe warres, howſoeuer beneficiall to him, yet were they moſt pernicious vnto them; whereupon changing their mindes with their fortunes, began a vie, who ſhould be firſt in ſhewing their alteration, by comming in to the Deputy.

* *Charles Mount.*

Great ſpoyles made in *Vlſter*.

The Rebels exclaime againſt the Arch-Rebell.

(328) The Earle not ignorant how their affections declined, his owne forces ſhaken, and the fidelity of his followers more and more ſuſpected, hee once more determined to preuent the worſt, by his ſubmiſſion, which in humble Letters hee ſent to the Queene, wherein with prayers and teares he craued pardon of his faults: to ſuch an ebbe was the ſwelling tides of his rebellious heart brought. Her Maieſty (whoſe Nature was Mercy) euer diſtaſtiue of bloud, gaue the Lord Deputy authority to pardon his life, though hardly drawne to remit his offences, they being ſo many and great: His friends that affected him, and *Mac Baron* his Brother, daily ſolicited the Deputy for his peace, which laſtly, vpon an abſolute promiſe, to put his life and reuenewes, without any condition, to the will of the Queene, was granted; and at *Mellifont*, accompanied with two perſons and no more, had acceſſe into the *Chamber of Preſence*, where the Lord Deputy ſate in a Chayre of Eſtate, moſt of his Marſhaliſts ſtanding about him.

(329) *Tir-Oen* in baſe and poore array, with a deiected countenance, at the very entrance fell downe vpon his knees, and ſo reſted till he was commanded to ariſe, and come neerer; when ſtepping forward a few paces, he fell againe proſtrate, and like a moſt humble Supplicant, in words well couched (as cunning he was both in ſpeech and action) acknowledged his ſinnes againſt GOD, and fault vnto her Maieſty; and thus began his ſubmiſſion to the Lord Generall.

In the royall clemency of my dread Soueraigne and moſt gracious Queene, I doe onely lay the hope and reſt of my now remaining eſtate; vnto whoſe pleaſure I abſolutely remit my life, and whole reuenewes; and doe moſt ſubmiſſiuely deplore mine owne miſery, beſeeching againe her mercy, whoſe bountifull fauours I haue heretofore, and mighty powers now of late both felt and found; and well hope, that the fountaine of her euer-flowing graces are not drawen drie. Let mee (I pray) bee the ſubiect, whereon her mercy may worke, and an example for euer of her mild clemency, both to diuulge her Princely lenity, and to redeeme in ſome part the honour I haue loſt. For age I am not ſo vnſeruiceable, nor of body ſo vnable, neither in courage ſo deiected, but that my faithfull ſeruice in her behalfe, may expiate and make ſome meaſure of ſatisfaction, for theſe my many and moſt diſloyall Rebellions. And yet I may iuſtly complaine, that through the malitious enuie of ſome, I haue beene hardly and vnfriendly dealt with, which may ſomewhat extenuate my crime and offence; for —— But as hee was enforcing this point further, the Lord Deputy interrupted his ſpeech, and with a few words deliuered with great authority, (which in a Marſhalliſt ſtands in ſtead of *Eloquence*) told him, that there was no excuſe to bee heard, his crimes were too great; and thereupon commanded him to depart the *Preſence*: which hee did with a countenance ſeeming very heauy and ſad. The next day departing for *Dublin*, he tooke *Tir-Oen* thither, meaning to tranſport him for *England*, had not the death of the Queene hindered his deſigne. Theſe things premiſed, and *Ireland* thus recouered that was in hazard to bee loſt, let vs returne to our *Engliſh* affaires, from whence theſe Iriſh bogges haue detayned vs too long.

(330) On what tearmes the Earle of *Eſſex* left *Ireland*, we haue already heard, and to what lamentable ſucceſſe the height of his riſe brought him, is now to be related; wherein he may be the example of Fortunes daliance, and of the vnſtayed felicity had in this life: a man indeed filled with the affection of his Prince and the People, and fraught with honourable abilities to purchaſe both, vntill by his owne vnaduiſedneſſe (for ſo it muſt needs be cenſured) he clouded his honour, wiſdome, and loyalty, with the ſhadowes of his owne diſcontents. Whether his Soueraignes fauours were the wings of his ambitions, or the dependancies of men of Warre, the pillars of his high hopes, I doe not cenſure; but that ſome ſecret vnder-workings gaue fire to his paſſionate diſcontents, I doubt not, hauing ſeene his owne Letters penned in that behalfe. Howſoeuer, ſure it is, the Eye of Ielouſie ſtill attended him, and his doings now laſtly were more noted, then was made ſhew of: for being yet in *Ireland* with an eminent authority, followed with the flower and chiefeſt men of Warre, and ſuſpected to be too well reſpected by the Arch-Rebell *Tir-Oen*, it was held good policy (vpon another pretended occaſion) to muſter Forces, and to make a *Lord Lieutenant Generall of all England*, which was, the Right Honourable *Charles Howard*, Earle of *Nottingham*, Lord high Admirall.

(331) The ſhew of this preparation was a preuenting prouidence (as was pretended) againſt a *Spaniſh Nauy* in new rigging for the Seas; and indeed ſuch preparation in that Summer was made, as the like had not beene in *England* ſince *Queene Elizabeth* came to the *Crowne*. For *London* was allotted to furniſh ſixteene Shippes to the Seas, and ſixe thouſand Souldiers for the Land ſeruice, whereof three thouſand were to reſt euer in a readineſſe, and the other three thouſand (all of them Houſholders) to attend and guard her Maieſties royall Perſon. And out of many Countries adioyning, ſuch numbers of braue Horſe and Horſemen were gathered, as neuer till then had beene ſeene; the fame whereof was ſo farre ſpread, as neither *Spaine*, nor any other, could haue any heart to make attempt this way.

(332) But the Earle of *Eſſex* arriuing in *England*, not onely peaceably, but alſo very priuately and vnaccompanyed (as hath beene ſaide) and now remaining in the Lord Keepers cuſtody, was often and ſeriouſly dealt with, by that truly Honourable and prouident Statiſt (of whom he was intirely affected) ſomewhat to decline his lofty ſoaring, leſt in mounting too high, hee ſhould melt his waxen wings againſt the hot Sunne, and not to ſuffer the ſore to feſter till it were paſt cure; to which purpoſe alſo he afterward wrote him a letter of pithy and ſapient perſwaſions, out of the abundance of his well-wiſhing heart; the coppy whereof wee held worthy to be heere preſented.

The Lord Keeper to the Earle of Essex Iuly 18. An. 1598.

(333) *My very good Lord: It is often seene, that a stander by seeth more then hee that playeth the game; and for the most part euery man in his owne cause, standeth in his owne light, and seeth not so cleerely as hee should. Your Lordshippe hath dealt in other mens causes, and in great and weighty affaires with great wisdome and iudgement; now your owne is in hand, you are not to contemne or refuse the aduice of any that loueth you, how simple soeuer. In this order I range my selfe; of those that loue you none more simple, and none that loueth you with more true and honest affection: which shall pleade mine excuse, if you shall either mistake, or misconster, my words or meaning; but in your Lordships honorable wisdome I neither doubt nor suspect the one or other. I will not presume to aduise you, but I will shoot my bolt, and tell you what I thinke. The beginning and too-long continuing of this vnseasonable discontent you haue seene and prooued, by which you may aime at the end. If you hold still this course (which hitherto you finde to be worse and worse, and the longer you goe, the farther out of the way) there is little hope or likelyhood that the end will bee better. You are not yet so farre gone, but you may well returne; the returne is safe, the progresse dangerous and desperate.*

In this course you hold, if you haue any enemies, you doe that for them which they could neuer doe for themselues. Your friends you leaue open to scorne and contempt; you forsake your selfe, and ouerthrow your fortunes, and ruinate your honour and reputation. You giue that courage and comfort to the forreine enemies, as greater they cannot haue. For what can bee more welcome, or more pleasing newes vnto them, then to heare that her Maiesty and the Realme are maymed of so worthy a member, who hath so often and so valiantly quailed and danted them. You forsake your Country, when it hath most neede of your counsell or helpe. And lastly you faile in that indissoluble dutie which you owe to your most gracious Soueraigne. A duty imposed vpon you, not by nature or policy onely, but by that religious and sacred band, wherein the diuine Maiesty of Almighty God hath by the rule of Christianitie obliged you.

For the foure first, your constant resolution may perhaps moone you to esteeme them as light: but beeing well weighed they are not light, nor lightly to bee regarded. And for the two last, it may bee that the cleerenesse of your inward conscience, may seeme to content your selfe. But that is not enough; these duties stand not onely in contemplation, or in inward meditation: their effects bee externall action, and when that faileth, the substance faileth.

This beeing your present state and condition, what is to be done? what is the remedy? My good Lord I lacke wisdome and iudgement to aduise you; but I will neuer lacke an honest true heart to wish well, nor (being warranted by a good conscience) will feare to speake what I thinke.

I haue begunne plainely, bee not offended if I proceede so. Bene cedit, qui cedit tempori. *Seneca saith well,* Lex si nocentem punit, cedendum est iustitiæ; si innocentem, cedendum est fortunæ. *The medicine and remedy is, not to contend and striue, but humbly to yeelde and submit. Haue you giuen a cause, and yet take a scandall vnto you? then all you can doe, is too little to make satisfaction. Is cause of scandall giuen vnto you? yet policy, duty, and religion, enforce you to sue, yeeld, and submit, to your Soueraigne, betweene whom and you there can bee no proportion of duty. When God requires it as a principall duty and seruice to himselfe; and when it is euident, that great good may ensue of it to your friends, your selfe, your Countrie, and your Soueraigne, and extreame harme by the contrary: there can be no dishonour or hurt to yeeld, but in not doing of it, is dishonor and impiety.*

The difficulty (my good Lord) is to conquer your selfe, which is the height of true valour and fortitude; whereunto all your honorable actions haue intended. Doe it in this, and God will bee pleased, her Maiestie (I doubt not) well satisfied: your Country will take good, and your friends take comfort by it; and your selfe (I mention you last, for I know that of all these, you esteeme your selfe least) shall receiue honour, and your enemies (if you haue any) shall bee disappointed, of their bitter-sweete hopes.

I haue deliuered what I thinke, simply and truly; and leaue you to determine according to your wisdome. If I haue erred, it is Error amoris, *not,* Amor Erroris. *Construe and accept it (I beseech you) as I meane it; not as an aduise, but as an opinion, to bee allowed or cancelled at your pleasure. If I might conueniently haue conferred with your selfe in person, I would not haue troubled you with so many idle blots. Whatsoeuer you iudge of this mine opinion, yet be assured my desire it to further all good meanes that may tend to your good, and so wishing you all honourable happinesse, I rest your Lordshippes most ready and faithfull, though vnable, poore friend.*

The Earles Answere.

(334) *My very good Lord. Though there is not the man this day liuing, whom I would sooner make a Iudge of any question that did concerne mee, then your selfe: yet you must giue me leaue to tell you, that in some cases I must appeale from all earthlie Iudges; and if in any, then surelie in this, when the highest Iudge on earth hath imposed vpon mee the heauiest punishment, without triall or hearing. Since then I must either answere your Lordships arguments, or forsake mine owne iust defence, I will force mine aking head to doe me seruice for an houre.*

I must first deny my discouragement, which was forced to bee an humorous discontentment, and in that it was vnseasonable, and is too long continuing, your Lordshippe should rather condole with me, then expostulate. Naturall seasons are expected here below, but violent and vnseasonable stormes come from aboue: there is no tempest to the passionate indignation of a Prince, nor that at any time so vnseasonable, as when it lighteth on those that might exspect an haruest of their painefull and carefull labours. Hee that is once wounded must feele smart till his hurt is cured, or the part senseless; but cure I expect none, her Maiesties heart being obdurate; and be without sense I cannot. But then (you say) I may aime at end. I doe more then aime, for I see an end of all my fortunes, and haue set an end to all my desires. In this course doe I any thing for mine enemies? when I was present, I found them absolute, and therfore I had rather they should triumph alone, then haue mee attendant vpon their Chariot. Or doe I leaue my friends? when I was a Courtier, I could yeeld them no fruit of my loue to them; now I am an Heremite, they shall beare no enuy for their loue to me. Or doe I forsake my selfe; because I doe enioy my selfe? Or doe I ouerthrow my fortunes, because I build not a fortune of paper walles, which euery puffe of winde blowes downe? Or doe I ruin nat: mine honor because I leaue following the pursuit, or wearing the false marke of the shadow of honour? Doe I giue courage or comfort to the forraine enemies, because I reserue my selfe to encounter them, or because I keepe mine heart from baseneesse, though I cannot keepe my fortune from declining? No, no, I giue euery one of these considerations his due right, and the more I weigh them, the more I find my selfe iustified from offending in any of them. As for the two last obiections, that I forsake my Country when it hath most need of me, and faile in that indissoluble duty which I owe to my Soueraigne: I answere, that if my Country had at this time need of my publike seruice, her Maiesty that gouernes it would not haue driuen me to a priuate life.

I am tied to my Country by two bands; one publike, to discharge carefullie, faithfullie, and industriously, that trust that is committed vnto me; and the other priuate, to sacrifice for it my life and carkase which haue beene nourished in it. Of the first I am free, being dismissed or disabled by her Maiesty. Of the other, nothing can free mee

but

but death, and therefore no occasion of performance shall offer it selfe, but I will meete it halfe way. The indissoluble duety which I owe to her Maiesty, is the duetie of allegiance, which I will neuer, nor can faile in; the duty of attendance is no indissoluble duety. I owe her Maiesty seruice of an Earle, and of a Marshall of England. I haue beene contented to doe her the seruice of a Clerke, but can neuer serue her as a villaine, as a slaue. But yet (you say) I must giue way to time: so I doe, for now I see the storme come I haue put my selfe into the harbour. Seneca *saith, we must giue way to fortune. I know that fortune is blind and strong; and therefore I goe as farre out of the way as I can. You say the remedy is not to striue, I neither striue nor seeke for remedy, but I must yeeld and submit, I can neuer yeeld my selfe to bee guilty, or this imposition lately laide vpon me, to be iust: I owe so much to the Author of truth, as I can neuer yeeld truth to be falshood, or falshood to be truth. Haue I giuen cause (you aske) and take a scandall? No, I gaue not cause to take vp so much as* Fimbrius *his complaint, for I did* totum telum corpore accipere. *I patiently beare all, and sensibly feele all that I then receiued. When this scandall was giuen mee, nay when the vilest of all indignities are done vnto me, doth* Religion *enforce me to serue? doth God require it? is it impiety not to doe it? why? cannot Princes erre? cannot subiects receiue wrong? is an earthly power or authority infinite? Pardon me, pardon mee my Lord, I can neuer subscribe to these principles: but* Salomons *foole laughes when he is stricken: Let these that mean to make their profite by Princes faults, shew to haue no feare of Princes iniuries. Let them acknowledge an infinite absolutenes in earth, that doe not beleeue in an absolute infinitenes in heauen. As for mee, I haue receiued wrong, I feele it, my cause is good I know it, and whatsoeuer come, all the powers on earth can neuer shew more strength and constancy in oppressing, then I can shew in suffering, whatsoeuer shall be imposed vpon me.*

Your Lordship in the beginning of your letter made your selfe a looker on, and mee a player of mine owne game; so you may see more then I: but you must giue mee leaue to tell you in the end of mine, that since you but see and I suffer, I must of necessity feele more then you. I must craue your Lordships patience, to giue him that hath a crabbed fortune leaue to vse a crabbed stile. But whatsoeuer my stile is, there is no heart more humble, nor more affected toward your Lordship, then that of your Lordships poore friend.

R. ESSEX.

(335) The distempered humor discouering in selfe in this letter, argueth both the depth of his setled discontent; and the danger of giuing way to violent passions, which not onely depriue the wisest of the vse of their owne vnderstanding, but also blinde their eyes that they cannot see, nor apprehend the benefit of other mens faithfull counsels. Notwithstanding, it pleased her gracious Highnesse (whom he so censureth as wronging him, for lending a more attentiue eare to his enemies suggestions, then to his owne satisfactions) first, to remitte his durance to his owne house, and then loth to looke into his faults but with her Princely eye of fauor to proceed vnto some moderate censure of his actions, to the end he might see his owne errors, and shee so limit his power as her owne, might be secured.

Essex commanded to his owne house.

(336) To which end shee assigned certein of her Priuy Councell to conuent him concerning the breaking of his former instructions for the North-Irish prosecution, and the manner of his treating with *Tir. Oen*, his comming from Ireland, and leauing that Kingdome contrary to her Maiesties expresse commandement, signed vnder her Royall Hand and Signet. Whereunto his answere was, that the state of Warre held it a *Maxime*, to make good the *Stand* before the *Remoue*, and that it was one thing at Table to direct, but another thing in field to effect, especially in Ireland, whose war was with *Boggs* and *Woods*, aswell as with *Men*. And to the rest of the obiections hee answered with such obedient discretion, and loyall submission, as he well satisfied the Honourable Presence, onely a suspension from the exercise of some of his Offices was decreed, vntill her Maiesties pleasure should otherwise order it. Shortly after he was set at full liberty; the Queene sending him word, that shee well hoped his surest guard would now be his owne discretion.

Essex suspended from the exercise of his office.

(337) But seeing his wonted greatnesse restrained, though the scope of his liberty was thus farre enlarged, hee presently mounted higher with the wings of discontent: for depriued of Offices, neglected in Court, and all his forraine seruices powred into her Maiesties lap, was now (as he imagined) there wrapped vp, and laid in oblinion. Neither were these his grieuances lessened by his military followers, who daily watred these ill set plants with their exasperated complaints, till they were sprung to some height; and still to nourish their sap, many projects were cast, and conferences held how to lop off other branches, which as they feared would hinder their growth; till lastly, at *Drury* House they agreed on the manner (O had it withered before it had blowmed, or dyed in the graffing, before it tooke sappe) which was by violent hand to bring the *Earle* into her Maiesties presence, and to remoue from her such as they deemed his oposites.

The conference at *Drury* house.

(338) The frequent assembly vnto *Essex* house by Noblemen, Knights, Captaines, and others, was presently obserued by the Statists in Court, to stoppe the currant of which confluence before it grew to a floud, Secretary *Herbert* was sent from her Maiesty to require him to repayre before the Lords of her Councell, then assembled at *Salisbury* Court, which hee excusing with sicknesse, neglected to do, and the same night vpon some sinister reports set a double watch about him, ptetending some danger to bee meant to his person. For whose defence the next morning (being Sunday) many repaired vnto his house, among whom, as chiefe were the Earles of *Rutland* and *Southampton*, the Lord *Sandes* and *Monteagle*, accompanied with a Troupe of gallant Gentlemen their followers.

Febr. 8.

(339) Her Maiesty hearing of these disorderly proceedings, in her Princely wisedome thought to cast water vpon this begunne fire, before it brake forth into flame, and thereupon sent foure men of much honour vnto his place, to offer him iustice for any griefs, and to command the assembly to depart. The persons sent were the *L. Keeper of the Great Seale* the Earle of *Worcester*; Sir *Francis Knowles* his vncle, and the Lord *Chiefe Iustice of England*, all of them in high honour and fauour with the Earle himselfe.

The Queen sent foure of her Councell vnto the Earle of *Essex*.

(340) These comming to his house without *Temple-Barre*, were receiued in themselues, but scarse any of their seruants suffered to follow, excepting the Bearer of the Purse and Seale, where finding the Court full of those his followers, the Lord Keeper putting off his hatte, tolde them that *they were sent by her Maiesty to vnderstand the cause of this their assembly, and to let them know, that if they had any particular cause of griefe against any person what soeuer, they should haue hearing and Iustice*, The Earle of *Essex* answered, that his life was sought after, & that hee had beene perfidiously dealt withall. To which the Lord Chief Iustice replyed, that if any such matter was attempted, it was fitte for him to declare it, assuring him of a faithfull relation, and that her Maiesty would doe him Iustice. Which promises the Lord *Keeper* seconded, and desired the Earle to declare his griefes, if not openly, yet in priuate, and he doubted not but to procure him full satisfaction, and then turning towards the multitude, with a louder voice, said; *I do command you all vpon your alleageance, to lay downe your Weapons, and depart.* Whereupon the Earle himselfe went into his Booke-chamber, these foure Councellors following him in hope of priuate conference; but so farre off was he from hearing them further, or answering to their demands

The Earles answere.

A. D. 1600. Sunday, Feb. 8.

mands, that leauing them there vnder ſure cuſtody, he returned to his other attendants.

Eſſex entreth into *London*.

(341) With whom in tumultuous manner, hee made into *London*, his followers crying, that the Earle of *Eſſex* ſhould haue been murthered by *Cobham*, *Cecill*, and *Rawley*, all men amaſed what this did meane. Thus paſt he from *Ludgate* through *Cheapeſide*, into *Fan-church ſtreet*, where he entred the houſe of a *ſuppoſed friend (then one of the Shiriffes)* who ſeeing the multitude, auoided himſelfe out at a backe-dore, when preſently in diuers parts of the City *Eſſex* was proclaimed a Traitor, to the no leſſe griefe of the Citizens, then feares of his followers, and thence returning with a Halbert in his hand, and a table-napkin about his necke, came into *Gracious ſtreet*, where a while he made his ſtand, (the Lord Maior and others being aſſembled at the vpper end towards *Leaden-Hall*) no one Citizen or ſeruant ſhewing him any ſigne of aſſiſtance. The caſe ſo deſperate, one of the principall offenders contriued how by redeeming his fault, to ſaue his owne life; who haſtening into the *Strand* to *Eſſex houſe*, and comming to Sir *John Danis*, as being ſent from the Earle, gat releaſe of the foure Counſellors, vnder whoſe guard they had been hitherto kept.

Thom. Smith.

He returneth, & is forced from *Ludgate*.

(342) *Eſſex* now diſpairing of all ſuccours in *London*, ſaw it was booteleſſe there to make his abode, and therefore retired againe towards *Pauls*; meaning to paſſe *Ludgate* the way that hee came, but being reſiſted by a company of Pikemen, and other forces, made by that ſtout and noble Prelate, the then Lord Biſhoppe of *London*, hee was put backe, Sir *Chriſtopher Blunt* ſore hurt, and young *Tracy* ſlaine; beſides ſome others on the Queenes part, himſelfe narrowly eſcaping, being thruſt through the hatte with a pyke. So hence againe returning, at Queene Hiue hee tooke boate, bidding the City and his fortunes adue.

Taketh boate & fortifieth his houſe in *Strand*.

(343) His enterpriſe thus fruſtrate, with a mind diſtracted hee rowed vp the riuer, and landed at the Water-gate of his owne houſe, which hee preſently fortified; and the Lord Admirall aſſaulted, ſuffering notwithſtanding the Counteſſe of *Eſſex*, the Lady *Rich*, and their Gentlewomen to depart, which done, hee forced the Garden euen to the walles of the houſe. Some reſiſtance was made, and ſome perſons ſlaine vpon either part, which the Earle perceiuing, preſently yeelded, deſiring onely that he might bee ciuilly vſed, and that he might haue an honorable triall; and ſo being firſt brought to *Lambet-houſe*, where an howre or two he remained with the Lord Archbiſhoppe (his euer moſt louing, but then moſt mournefull friend) was thence with ſome other Lords and Gentlemen conuaied by water to the Tower, about ten of the clocke the ſame night: hauing then experience, that *vaine is the loue of the Commons to a Subiect (how great ſoeuer) when it is counterballanced with the dutifull obedience vnto their Prince.*

Eſſex arraigned and condemned.

(344) Vpon the nineteenth of the ſame moneth, the Earle of *Eſſex* and *Southampton* were arraigned at *Weſtminſter*, the Lord *Buckhurſt Lord high Treaſurer of England*, being made *Lord Steward* for the day, where the great reſolution of the one, contemning death, and the ſweet temper of the other well deſeruing life, did breed moſt compaſſionate affections in all men, hearing the ſentence of Law to paſſe vpon them. The one of them remained priſoner in the Tower during the raigne of the Queene, and by the gracious clemency of our ſoueraigne Kord King *Iames* at his comming to the Crown, had pardon of life, and reſtauration of blood, the other (*Eſſex*) the fiue and twentieth of February, being *Aſhwedneſday*, ſuffered vpon the greene within the Tower, rendring his ſoule to God with a moſt penitent and Chriſtian conſtancy, whoſe laſt ſpeeches were to this effect.

Is Executed.

His ſpeech at death.

(345) "My Lords and Chriſtian bretheren, who 'are preſent witneſſes of my iuſt puniſhment, I 'confeſſe (to Gods Glory) my ſelfe a moſt wretched ſinner, and that my ſinnes in number ex "ceed the haires of my head; that good which I "would haue done, that did I not, and the euill "which I would not, that did I. For all which I "beſeech my Sauiour Chriſt to bee a Mediator to "his Father my God, eſpecially for this my laſt "ſinne, this great, this crying, this bloudy, this "infectious ſinne, wherein, through loue of mee, "ſo many haue beene drawen to offend God, their "Soueraigne, and the world. I beſeech God, her "Maieſty, and the State, to forgiue vs; and I be-"ſeech him to bleſſe her with a proſperous raigne, "with a wiſe and vnderſtanding heart, to bleſſe the "Nobles and Miniſters of the Church and State. "I likewiſe beſeech you, and all the world, to hold "a charitable opinion of mee, for my intention "towards her Maieſty, whoſe death (I proteſt) "I neuer meant, nor any violence towards her Per-"ſon. I thanke God, I neuer was Atheiſt, in not "beleeuing the Scriptures: neither Papiſt, truſting "in my owne merits, but am aſſured to bee ſaued "by the mercies and merits of Chriſt Ieſus my "Sauiour. This faith I was brought vp in, and "herein I am now ready to dye; beſeeching you "all to ioyne your ſoules with mee in praier, that "my ſoule may bee lifted vp by faith, aboue all "earthly things; and firſt I deſire forgiueneſſe of "all the world, euen as freely, as from my heart I "forgiue all the world.

(346) And then kneeling downe, ſaid, I haue beene diuers times in places of danger, where death was neither ſo preſent nor ſo certaine, and yet euen then I felt the weakneſſe of my fleſh, and therefore now in this laſt and great conflict, I deſire Gods aſſiſtance by his preſeruing Spirit. And ſo with * a moſt heauenly praier, and faithfull conſtancy, (as if his ſoule were then already in heauenly fruition) hee humbled himſelfe to the blocke, and ſpreading abroad his armes (the ſigne that he had giuen to his headſ-man) his head was with three ſtrokes of the Axe ſeuered from his body, the great heauineſſe of all men, appearing as well by their countenances, as ſpleene againſt his Executioner, who was in danger of his life at his returne, had not the Sheriffes aſſiſted him to his home.

* See this his praier and other his ſpeeches at large in *Stowes Annals p.* 1406.

Others executed

(347) For acceſſaries and chiefe Counſelors in this offence, died at *Tyborne*, Sir *Gilliam Merricke* Knight, and *Henry Cuffe* (for his exquiſite learning much bewailed of all men) and fiue daies after them, vpon the Scaffold on Tower Hill, were beheaded Sir *Charles Daners* and Sir *Chriſtopher Blunt* Knights. And before any of theſe, *Thomas Lee* a Captaine was executed, for words ſpoken touching the Earle of *Eſſex* his deliuerance, to moue, or rather to inforce the Queene thereunto, as his words were conſtrued, who neuertheleſſe confidently tooke his death, that hee neuer had thought of any violent attempt.

The griefe conceiued for the Earle of *Eſſex* his death.

(348) As the death of this Noble-man was much lamented by the ſubiects, (whoſe loue towards him was ſo ingrafted, as I thinke, I may well ſay, neuer ſubiect had more) ſo her Maieſty likewiſe hauing ſuch a Starre fallen from her firmament, was inwardly mooued, and outwardly oftentimes would ſhew paſhons of her griefe, euen till the time of her approaching end, when two yeeres after ſhee laid downe her Head in the Graue, as the moſt reſplendent Sunne ſetteth at laſt in a Weſterne cloud.

A briefe ſhadow of Queene *Elizabeths* due praiſes.

(349) The ſtate of which *Great Queene* throughout the whole courſe of her moſt flouriſhing raigne, was (as in part you haue ſeene ſhadowed already) ſo beautified & ſtrengthened with all honourable perfections, both of *Peace*, and *warre*, as neuer any Monarch raigned with greater obſeruance of her owne, nor ruled with a more obſerued magnanimity toward forraine Nations: inſomuch, as if her incomparable vertues & praiſes were truly and exactly deſcribed (a worke worthy ſome noble ſpirit and penne) wee are verily perſwaded, that future ages will ſome what ſtagger & doubt, whether ſuch celebration

celibration of her, were not rather affectionately Poeticall, then faithfully Hiſtoricall.

Her ſway and eſtimation in forraine Countries.

(350) For, the great affaires of *Europe* mainely depended vpon her directions, who ſitting at the Helme of the Shippe (as *Fronto* ſpake of *Antoninus* the Emperour) arbitrated and guided their eſtates both in peace and warre: *Spaine*, ſeeking to ouerflow all, was beaten backe, & ſcarcely able to maintaine her owne bankes: In *France*, the houſe of *Valoys* vnder-propped by her counſell; that of *Bourboons*, aduanced by her countenance, forces, and treaſure; *Scotland* releeued by her loue; *Neatherlands* by her power; *Portingals* King by her bounty, *Poland* by her commiſeration; likewiſe *Germany*, *Denmarke*, *Sueueland*, often tooke vp and laide downe Armes at her becke and diſpoſe. Neither could the vtmoſt bounds of *Europe*, (the *Ruſſians* and *Tartars*) containe the limits and extent of her great fame; but that the ſame pierced further into the remoter parts of *Aſia*, *Africa*, *Amercia*, among the *Turkes*. (whoſe great Emperour, in honour of ſo great a *Mediatreſſe*, granted peace vnto the *Polonians* outworne with warres,) among the *Perſians*, *Barbarians*, *Indians*, and where not? In moſt of whoſe Dominions to the great enriching of her Kingdome, ſhee ſetled commerce for encreaſe of merchandize, and got large priuiledges for encouragment of her Merchants, whom ſhee cheriſhed as a moſt neceſſary and important part of her Weale-Publike.

Her princely qualities.

(351) Who, for her royall actions and Princely qualities of Minde (ſeated alſo in ſuch a Body as for ſtate, ſtature, beauty, and Maieſty, beſt befitted an Empreſſe,) may be ſingled out for an *Idea* of an abſolute Prince, her *Sex* onely excepted, which yet made her vertues more remarke able, as beeing (and ſo reputed by Strangers) of all the Princes of her time, the moſt exact obſeruer (both for *Action* and *Ceremony*,) of true Regall deportment and magnificence. For her enterprizes as fortunate as *Ceſar*, for life, loue, wiſedome, and magnanimity, another *Auguſtus*; by her peaceable raigne ſhutting the Temple of Warre in *England* (whiles all Nations round about her felt the miſeries of warre) as hee did the doores of *Ianus* in *Rome*. And yet had ſhee Warriers like vnto the Worthies of *Dauid*, her forraine imployments, Nauigations, and diſcoueries, hauing bred ſuch numbers of moſt renowned Captaines, both for Sea and Land, as none of our former Princes haue ſeene the like. With which neceſſary kinde of noble Seruitors, that her owne Kingdome might bee alwaies munified (as foreſeeing the vncertainties and ſudden changes in the Peace-pretending amities of forraine Princes,) ſhee euer imploied many of her Gentry and others, in the warres of Princes abroad, ſo to perfect them for all occurrents of their Country at home; which alſo induced her (ſome Statiſts haue thought) to ſuffer that long lingring protraction of her *Iriſh* warres, the rather, to keepe in vre and exerciſe, the skill and valour of her *Engliſh*. By which meanes, the ſpreading fame and *extent of her Empire was ſuch, that ſhee might ſeeme a ſecond *Traian*, who laid the circuite of the *Romans* the largeſt; hauing not onely ſo powerfull a Nauy ſtill in readineſſe, as whereby ſhee attained the Soueraignty of the Sea, but ſo famous Sea-men alſo, as that, vnder her auſpicious Raigne, *twice was the whole Globe of the Terreſtriall World ſailed round about.

Her Military prouidence.

*Virginea made an Engliſh Colonie. 1585. Guiana, &c.

*By Drake and Candiſh.

(352) Neither leſſe was her renowne for thoſe other vertues which are the attendants of *Peace*; her *Clemency*, *Iuſtice*, and * *Temperance*: touching the laſt of which, as in one kind (of her diet and priuate life,) King *Edward* her brother vſually called her, his *Lady Temper*: ſo of another kinde of *temperance* in this learnedſt of Queenes, the * *learnedſt of Kings* hath giuen this memorable teſtimony, that when as *France* (part of her Royall Title) was in ciuill warres, *Spaine* (her mortall Enemy) enfeebled both in power and purſe, *Netherland* ambitious of her gouernment, and *Scotland* ruled by an Infant, yet in ſuch abundance both of meanes, opportunities, and prouocations, ſo ſuperabundant was her moderation and temper, that ſhee euer religiouſly abſtained from all ambitious deſire of encrochment on the rights or territories of any her neighbour Princes. Beeing in this, and thoſe other her vertuous actions, ſuch as of whom that which was ſpoken of *Antoninus Pius*, may more truly bee verified, that ſcarcely, *in youth ſhee did any thing raſhly, or in her age indiſcreetly*; ſcarcely, I ſay: for as a *Creature*, wee cannot exempt her from all frailties, as a *Woman*, from paſſions, or as a *Prince*, from all errors, whereinto, euen againſt her owne naturall inclination, ſhe might be drawen, either on miſinformation, or on opinion of neceſſity in the State. For her *Court*, it was not onely a frequent Academie, of as Honourable *Councellers*, Illuſtrious *Peeres*, Gallant *Courtiers*, Learned *Profeſſors*, Intelligent *Statiſts*, as euer attended any Chriſtian Prince, but alſo a Nurſery, where yongue Nobles and others might bee trained vp to the managing of greateſt affaires, and a *Sanctuary* where the meaneſt might finde releeſe againſt the mightieſt; becauſe as the Wiſeſt in her Councell were content to learne wiſdome from her directions, ſo the Greateſt were drawne to practiſe Equity, both by her example and command. Yea, which is more admirable in her *Sex*, ſo reſerued was ſhee from giuing any man too-much intereſt, or being lead and ouerſwaied by any of her Great ones about her, that they all ſtood in a reuerent awe of her very preſence and aſpect; but much more of her leaſt frowne or checke, wherewith ſome of them who thought they might beſt preſume of her fauor, haue been ſo ſuddenly daunted and Planet-ſtricken, that they could not lay downe their griefe thereof, but in their graues. A thing ſo much the ſtranger, conſidering otherwiſe her incomparable meekneſſe, and gracious countenance and demeanours towards her people, who neuer ſatiated with her ſight and preſence, were no otherwiſe affected with ioy and wondering thereat, (though they beheld her neuer ſo often) then if they had beheld ſome Angelicall Creature.

Her Court.

Her Councell.

Her awe.

Her Meekneſſe.

Her loue amongſt her ſubiects.

Her Learning.

(353) Theſe *Soueraigne Arts* of Maieſticall rule, were maruellouſly poliſhed and perfected by her exquiſite learning, and inſight in the *Arts Liberall*: for which if the Emperour *Hadrian* bee ſo highly commended, much more muſt this *learned Empreſſe*, who further to perfect her ſolid knowledge, read euery Authour in his owne Originall, and anſwered moſt Nations Ambaſſadours in their owne languages. Yea, ſo farre was ſhee deuoted to learning and the profeſſors thereof, that in honour of it and them, ſhee purpoſely went to the Vniuerſity of *Offord* twice, and once to *Cambridge*, at each time there ſpending many whole dayes together, at the Academicall Exerciſes, and diſputations of their chiefeſt learned men in all faculties. In both which noble Academies, ſhee left not onely the deare remembrances of her gracious loue, deliuered to them publikely in her Princely and Eloquent Orations, but much more teſtified in her Princely bounty, by enacting a Law for the doubling (almoſt) of the yeerely reuenewes of all their noble foundations. Thus ſpent ſhe her time and cares in cheriſhing wiſdome in others, and like *Sabaes* Queene ſeeking to increaſe it in her ſelfe, eſteeming a day ſpent otherwiſe (as *Titus* was wont to ſay of himſelfe) quite loſt. For which purpoſe euery day all other affaires laide aſide, ſhee ſet apart ſome howres, either to reade, or heare her learned Readers; one of which number, (a* man of excellent learning) profeſſed, that her Inſtructers as oft as they came to her preſence about ſuch employments, receiued ſuch admirable documents from her, that they ſeemed rather to learne of her, then to bring learning to her; and that the learnedſt Authors, as *Diuine Plato*, and the like, were made more diuine by the learned Commentaries which

Regina in liberalibus omnibus Diſciplinis, rariſſimo omnibus ſeculis exemplo, eruaita; veterum Scriptorum tum Græcorum, tum Latinorum libros conſueta volutare, &c. Beza Ep. præfix. Comment. in Iob.

Her Languages. Her fauor to the Learned.

Her ſtudiouſnes.

* Sir *Henry Sauill in orat. habit. coram Regina Oxonie.*

*King Edward the Sixt vſed to call her, his *Lady Temperance.*

*King *Iames* in a ſpeech to the Parliament.

which ſhee wrote vpon them. In which reſpects, both of noble actions and arts, well may ſhee be paralelled with that euer-renowned *Zenobia*, who hauing both perfectly read the Roman Story in Greek and alſo her ſelfe abridged the *Alexandrian*, and all the *Orientall* hiſtory, thereby attained to ſo high a pitch of wiſdome and authority, that ſhee not onely inſulted vpon the *Romans*, but held the *Arabians*, *Sarazens*, *Armenians*, and other fierce and intractable people in ſuch obedience, that they neuer durſt ſtirre againſt her.

Her Piety.

(354) But amongſt her volumes (which were very many and choiſeſt) the *Booke of God* was firſt in her eſteeme, nor laſt in her readings; the pious fruites whereof ſhined brightly throughout the whole courſe aſwell of her priuate life, as publike actions.

Priuate.

In her *Priuate*; Piety, Sobriety, Purity, Charity, and Chaſtity (maugre the venemous tongues of all *Hellborn Slanderers*) were her vnſeparable Companions, neuer ſuffering any Lady to approch her ſacred preſence, of whoſe ſtaine ſhe had but the leaſt ſuſpition.

Publike.

For the *Publike*, the diſtreſſed ſhee releeued, the oppreſſed ſhee ſuccoured, the ouer-borne Princes ſhee aided, the proud ſhee amated, and alwayes ouermaſtered to her laſting memory, and *England's* glory. But moſt eſpecially ſhined her *zeale* to God (on whoſe onely *Prouidence* and reflexe of her owne vnſtained *Conſcience*, ſhee repoſed againſt all affronts of the world) in preſeruing his true Church and worſhip, both from the pollutions of Idolatry, and frenzies of *Noueliſts*; her Kingdome being a receptacle, and Court a Sanctuary for the baniſhed *Proteſtants*, as was the Pallace of *Conſtantius* (the husband of our *Helena*) for the perſecuted *Chriſtians*, when he ſate *Emperour* of the *weſt* in this Iland of *Britaine*. Whereby as in her life time ſhee attained to be ſtyled by forraine Churches; ſo at here death was ſhee by them generally lamented, as the *Nurſing mother of the French, Dutch, Italian, Exiles for Chriſts name, & the vnconquered Defendereſſe of the whole true Chriſtian Religion.*

Beza in Ep. præfix Comment. in Iob.

(355) Thus ſhe liued, raigned, and dyed in Peace, and full of glory, celebrated by the tongues and pennes of the rareſt ſpirits of all Nations (yea euen enemies) of her time: till laſtly the God of Peace called her to a farre higher glory, by his vnpartiall meſſenger death, who ſeized on her at her Manour of *Richmond*. Her ſickeneſſe was accompanied with a deepe melancholy, wherein, as ſhee gaue ſignes of death vnto the learned Phyſitians, ſo great aſſurance of her eternall life, vnto all the worthy Prelates emploied about her: manifeſting (euen when ſilence oppreſſed her tongue) by liuely ſignes at their praiers and ſpeeches, how ſhe reioyced with the Apoſtle, that ſhe *had fought a good fight, finiſhed her courſe, and kept the faith, hoping for the Crowne of righteouſneſſe, that the Lord the righteous Iudge had laid vp for her againſt that great day.* And ſo her ſoule departed this fleſh (the earthen veſſell wherein ſo many heauenly endowments had beene treaſured) beeing borne vp by the Angels vnto the fruitions of endleſſe bliſſe, the twentie fourth of March, the yeere of Saluation 1602, of her owne age, ſixty nine, ſixe moneths, and ſeuenteene dayes, and of her glorious Raigne the forty fourth yeere, foure moneths, and ſeuenth day; as well beloued and as much lamented as euer was Prince; admired, fauoured, and feared as the worlds wonder and heauens darling: being the laſt in order of thoſe Monarchs who had long raigned ouer the Southpart of this Iland, and the greateſt in fame that euer ruled before her, as if all their vertues had made a confluence in her, that ſo glorious a Monarchy might not haue ended but with ſo glorious a period.

Her diſeaſe.

L. *Whitgift* Arch-Biſhop of *Cant.* L. *Bancroft* Biſhop of *London.* L. *Watſon* Biſhop of *Chicheſter.* D. *Parry* now Biſhop of *Worceſter* and others.

Her age.

Her raigne.

(356) Her body was embalmed, wrapped in lead, and brought vnto *white-Hall*, from whence (her Statue beeing made according to life, in her Parliament Robes with a Crowne on the Head, and Scepter in the Hand) it was vpon Thurſday the twenty eight of Aprill carried in a Charriot (drawen by foure Horſes) couered with Purple Veluet, attended vpon by the Nobility, and with ſolemnities befitting ſo great a Prince, brought into the Collegiate Church of St. *Peters* at *Weſtminſter*, was there interred in the Vault of her Grandfather *Henry the ſeuenth*, in his moſt magnificent and beautifull Cappell; where our renowned Soueraigne, *King Iames*, in admiration of *Her* rare vertues and excellencies, hath built *Her* (neere the place of her Siſter Queene *Maries* Buriall,) a Princely Monument, inſcribed with theſe enſuing Epitaphs of her *Greatneſſe*, and the Actions of her Raigne, to the propagating of her renowne vnto all ſucceeding ages.

Her Funerals.

Memoriæ Sacrum.

RELIGIONE AD PRIMÆ VAM SINCERITATEM RESTAVRATA, PACE FVNDATA, MONETA AD IVSTVM VALOREM REDVCTA, REBELLIONE DOMESTICA VINDICATA; GALLIA MALIS INTESTINIS PRÆCIPITI SVBLEVATA, BELGIO SVSTENTATO, HISPANICA CLASSE PROFLIGATA, HIBERNIA PVLSIS HISPANIS, ET REBELLIBVS AD DEDITIONEM COACTIS PACATA, REDITIBVS VTRIVSQVE ACADEMIÆ LEGE ANNONARIA PLVRIMVM ADAVCTIS, TOTA DENIQVE ANGLIA DITATA, PRVDENTISSIME QVE ANNOS XLV. ADMINISTRATA ELIZABETHA REGINA VICTRIX, TRIVMPHATRIX, PIETATIS STVDIOSISSIMA, FOELICISSIMA, PLACIDA MORTE SEPTVAGENARIA SOLVTA, MORTALES RELIQVIAS DVM CHRISTO IVBENTE RESVRGANT IMMORTALES, IN HAC ECCLESIA CELEBERRIMA AB IPSA CONSERVATA, ET DENVO FVNDATA, DEPOSVIT.

Obijt xxiiij. Martij, Anno ſalutis MDCII. Regni XLV. Ætatis LXX.

Memoriæ Æternæ.

ELLIZABETHÆ ANGLIÆ, FRANCIÆ, ET HIBERNIÆ REGINÆ, R. HENRICI VIII. FILIÆ, R. HEN. VII. NEPTI, R. ED. IIII. PRONEPTI, PATRIÆ PARENTI, RELIGIONIS ET BONARVM ARTIVM ALTRICI, PLVRIMARVM LINGVARVM PERITIA, PRÆCLARIS TVM ANIMI TVM CORPORIS DOTIBVS REGIISQVE VIRTVTIBVS SVPRA SEXVM

PRINCIPI INCOMPARABILI

IACOBVS MAGNAE BRITANNIAE, FRANCIAE, ET HIBERNIAE REX, VIRTVTVM, ET REGNORVM HAERES, BENE MERENTI PIE POSVIT.

REGNO CONSORTES ET VRNA, HIC OBDORMIMVS, ELIZABETHA ET MARIA SORORES, IN SPE RESVRRECTIONIS.

Sacred vnto Memorie:

RELIGION TO ITS PRIMITIVE SINCERITY RESTORED, PAECE THROVGHLY SETLED COINE TO THE TRVE VALVE REFINED; REBEL

REBELLION AT HOME EXTINGVISHED; FRANCE, NEERE RVINE BY INTESTINE MISCHIEFES, RELEEVED; NETHERLAND SVPPORTED; SPAINES ARMADO VANQVISHED; IRELAND, VVITH SPANIARDS EXPVLSION AND TRAITORS COERCION, QVIETED; BOTH VNIVERSITIES REVENEVVES, BY A LAVV OF PROVISION, EXCEEDINGLY AVGMENTED; FINALLY, ALL ENGLAND ENRICHED, AND XLV. YEERES MOST PRVDENTLY GOVERNED: ELIZABETH, A QVEENE; A CONQVERESSE; A TRIVMPHER, THE MOST DEVOTED TO PIETY; THE MOST HAPPY, AFTER LXX. YEERES OF HER LIFE, QVIETLY BY DEATH DEPARTED, HATH LEFT HERE (IN THIS MOST FAMOVS COLLEGIAT CHVRCH, VVHICH BY HER VVAS ESTABLISHED AND RE-FOVNDED) THESE REMAINES OF HER MORTALITY, VNTILL AT CHRISTS CALL THEY SHALL AGAINE RISE IMMORTALL.

She died xxiiij. of March, the yeere of Salvation MDCII. of her Raigne XLV. of her Age LXX.

For an Eternall Memoriall.

VNTO ELIZABETH, QVEENE OF ENGLAND, FRANCE, AND IRELAND; DAVGHTER OF KING HENRY THE VIII. GRANDCHILD TO K. HENRY THE VII. GREAT-GRANDCHILD TO K. ED. THE IIII. THE MOTHER OF THIS HER COVNTRY; THE NVRSE OF RELIGION, AND LEARNING; FOR PERFECT SKILL OF VERY MANY LANGVAGES, FOR GLORIOVS ENDOVVMENTS AS VVELL OF MIND AS BODY, AND FOR REGALL VERTVES BEYOND HER SEX,

A PRINCE INCOMPARABLE;

IAMES OF GREAT BRITAINE, FRANCE, AND IRELAND KING, INHERITOR BOTH OF HER VERTVES AND KINGDOMES, TO HER SOVVEL DESERVING, PIOVSLY HATH THIS ERECTED.

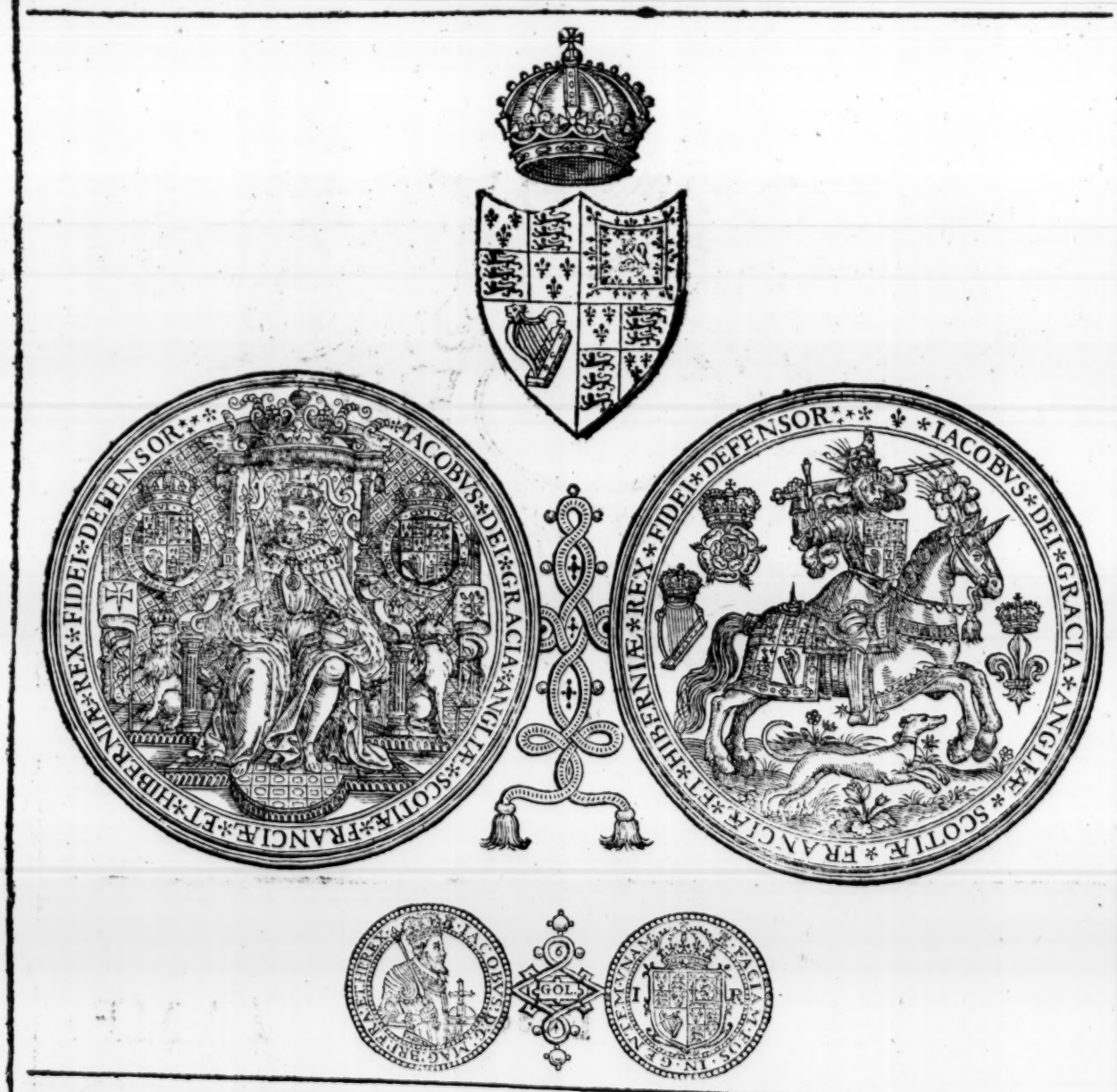
CONSORTS BOTH IN THRONE, AND IN GRAVE, NEERE REST VVE TVVO SISTERS; ELIZABETH MARY, AND IN HOPE OF OVR RESVRRECTION.

King Iames.

IAMES, OF THAT NAME THE FIRST, AND FIRST MONARCH OF THE VVHOLE ILAND OF GREAT BRITAINE, VNITING VNDER ONE, AND THE SAME HIS MOST GLORIOVS CROWNE, THE KINGDOMES OF ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, FRANCE, AND IRELAND, GODS IMMEDIATE VICEGERENT, SVPREAME HEAD OF ALL PERSONS, AND DEFENDER OF THE ANCIENT AND TRVE CHRISTIAN FAITH, IN THESE HIS EMPIRE AND DOMINIONS. HIS PEACEABLE ENTRANCE, AND MOST HAPPY BEGVN RAIGNE.

Monarch I.

THE TENTH BOOKE.



CHAPTER I.

A.D. 1602.

BEfore the conceiued ſorrowes, for the death of the late renowned *Queen* could fully bee diſſolued into teares, or thoſe get paſſage from the heart to the eyes, the conduit was ſtopped with a ſudden ioy, and all faces cleared, before that ſad penſiueneſſe had therein ſet her full print. The ſtate of *England* ſtanding that day, like vnto that of *Iudah*, wherein the foundation of the *ſecond Temple* was laid, whoſe ancient men mourned, as doubting the glory thereof could not be anſwerable to that of *Salomons*; but as they were comforted by a Prophet from GOD, *That the glory of the later ſhould ſurmount the former*, ſo all *Engliſh hearts* by a diuine bleſſing from GOD, were preſently cheered, when they ſaw their *Morning Starre* ariſe in the *North*, whoſe *Pole* with *His* attractiue *Power*, long

Ezra 3. 12.

Hag. 2. 4. The ioy of the *Engliſh* for the *Scotiſh* Kings entrance.

long before had drawne the *Needle* of the *Southerne Compaſſe* vnto that *One* point.

March 24. (2) Immediately vpon the death of the *Queene*, the Lords of the Land gaue full ſatisfaction vnto the people, in proclaimiug IAMES *the Sixt*, King of *Scotland*, by the name of *Iames the Firſt, King of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith*, &c. to the vnſpeakeable comfort of all true *Engliſh*, as well for his vnqueſtionable claime, as for that hee profeſſed the ſame true Religion (whoſe preſeruation was their tender care) as alſo for his ſingular learning and experience, whereby hee was accompliſhed to vndergoe the managing of ſo great an *Empire*, hauing now attained to thirty ſixe yeeres, nine moneths, and fiue dayes, exerciſed altogether in the practiſe of Kingly gouernement, from the very firſt dayes of his infancy.

King *James* proclaymed.

(3) That his Title was moſt iuſt, no man can denie, being ſprung from the vnited Roſes of *Lancaſter* and *Yorke*, *King Henry the ſeauenth, and Queene Elizabeth his wife*: whoſe Iſſue by the Male, failing in the late deceaſed *Queene Elizabeth* of glorious memory, the off-ſpring of *Margaret* their eldeſt daughter, was the next Heire, which Lady married vnto *Iames, the fourth King of Scotland*; by him had iſſue *King Iames the fifth*, whoſe onely Daughter *Queene Mary* was Mother of this our mighty Monarch. Let *Doleman* therefore dote vpon his owne dreames, and other like Traytors faſhion their barres vpon the Popes forge; yet hath *God and his right* ſet him on the Throne of his moſt lawfull inheritance, ſo to vnite the two Crownes into one: Gods omnipotent arme bringing at laſt that to paſſe, which had often beene aſſayed, but could not bee effected by any power of man. For, did not *Edward our firſt*, the terror of *Syria*, and *Edward the ſixt*, our godly *Ioſias*, both of them diſtreſſe *Scotland* with their warres, onely to haue made an vnion by the marriages of their next Heires. But the time being not come, and all other preceding Princes failing of their purpoſes, the peaceable vnion of thoſe two Kingdomes, *England* and *Scotland*, as alſo of two other, *France* and *Ireland*, was reſerued for *Him*, who is a patterne of all Princely Learning and Piety, vnto all other Monarchs vpon the ſurface of the Earth.

King *Iames* his iuſt title to the Crowne of *England*.

King *James* appointed by God to vnite the two Kingdomes.

(4) But theſe calme proceedings without any oppugnancy, as they were moſt ioyfull to the *Engliſh*, ſo were they admirable vnto other forraine Nations, yea, and enuied at of ſome, eſpecially ſuch as hoped for an alteration, or at leaſt-wiſe a toleration of Religion. And ſo much the rather, for that *Pope Clement* the eight, had ſent the yeere before vnto *Henry Garnet, Superior* of the Ieſuites in *England*, two *Bulles* to the contrary; one to the *Clergy*, and the other to the *Laity*. The Title of the former was, *Dilectis filijs Archipresbytero, & reliquo Clero Anglicano, &c.* the later, *Dilectis filijs, Principibus, & Nobilibus, Catholicis Anglicanis, ſalutem & Apoſtolicam Benedictionem*: the ſumme of both, thus. *To our beloued ſonnes, the Arch-Prieſt and the Clergy, the Peeres and Nobles, Catholikes of England, greeting, and Apoſtolicall Benediction, &c.* The tenor was, that after the death of her Maieſty, whether by courſe of Nature, or otherwiſe: *Whoſoeuer ſhould lay claime or title to the Crowne of England, though neuer ſo directly, and neerely intereſſed by diſcent, ſhould not be admitted vnto the Throne; vnleſſe he would firſt tolerate the Romiſh Religion, and by all his beſt endeauours promote the Catholike cauſe, vnto which, by a ſolemne and ſacred Oath, he ſhould religiouſly ſubſcribe, after the death of that Miſerable Woman*: for ſo it pleaſed his Holineſſe to tearme *Elizabeth*, that *moſt great and happy Queene*. By vertue of which *Buls*, (if vertue may be in any ſuch vicious Libels) the Ieſuites diſſwaded the Romiſh-minded Subiects from yeelding (in any wiſe) obedience vnto *King Iames*, as being not an obedient *Catholike ſonne*; but this not working to their wiſhed effect, and *He* now ſolemnly proclaimed with an vniuerſall applauſe, loue, and peace, their hopes began to grow cold, and

The Romaniſts hopes for a tolleration in Religion.

Ex Libro Inſcript. Proceedings againſt Traytors.

The *Popes Buls* ſent to *Garnet* to prohibite ſucceſſion, vnleſſe hee were a Catholike.

Chriſt would not bee Iudge of the inheritance betwixt Brethren: his Vicar will againſt all right.

no ſuccours from *Spaine* being now to be expected, *Garnet*, the *Superiour*, to auoid further dangers, ſacrificed theſe hunger-ſtarued Buls to *Vulcan* the fiery God.

A. D. 1603 *King Iames* commeth to *London*

(5) *King Iames* in *Scotland*, receiuing intelligence of the moſt plauſible paſſages to this enlargement of his Stile and Dominions, prepared himſelfe hitherward, and vpon the ſixt of *Aprill* came to *Barwicke*, thence to *Wytherington, Newcaſtle, Durham, Yorke, Dancaſter, Newarke, Burleigh, Roiſton, Theobalds*, and thence to *London* vpon the ſeuenth of *May*. In all which places hee was moſt royally and ioyouſly receiued, with all demonſtrations of trueſt loyalty, loue, and obedience, which was no leſſe benignely accepted of by his Maieſty, who the better to manifeſt his royall diſpoſition, in all ſuch places as hee came, where Gayoles for offenders were kept, out of his clemency moſt graciouſly ſet free the Priſoners, (thoſe onely excepted, who lay for treaſon, murther, or Romiſh diſloyalty) diſburſing alſo large ſummes of money for releaſe of many others from their creditors.

His Progreſſe and places of entertainement.

His Mercy extended to the Priſoners.

(6) In all which progreſſe, admirable was the confluence of people, which with haſte to meete him, ſeemed rather to flie then to runne, and ſuch were their ſhoutes of ioy, that the hils reſounded the Echo thereof, euen vp to the Heauens, which had beene ſo propitious, as to beſtow on them ſo *good a King*, which moſt abundantly appeared the day that his Maieſty remoued from *Theobalds* to *London*, when at *Stanford-hill*, neere vnto *Totnam-high Croſſe* in *Middleſex*, the City of *London* (repreſented in the *L. Maior*, the *Aldermen*, with fiue hundred choyce *Citizens*, all in Chaines of gold, and very well mounted) met his Maieſty, and with all ſolemne obſeruance attended *Him* vnto the *Charter-Houſe* neere *Smithfield*, which was moſt ſumptuouſly furniſhed for his royall entertainement. On which very day, a *Proclamation* came forth againſt all griping *Monopolies* that hindred commerce, and *Protections* that ſtopped the due proceedings of Law, as alſo againſt other abuſes in other inferiour carriages. All which were ſo acceptable to the *People* and *Common-wealth*, (which had been too much eaten-out with ſuch Locuſts and Caterpillers) as neuer any King wanne himſelfe more loue: theſe being accepted as the auſpicious beginnings, promiſing moſt happy ſequels. So that *His* entrance was as another *Conſtantine*, whoſe perſon euery man prayed for, and deſired to ſee: and for Peace, another *Octauius*, hauing ruled peaceably a ſtout ſtirring Nation, euen from his yonger yeeres, and liued in peace with all the Princes and Kings of the Earth: in which peace now laſtly hee brought the Crowne and Kingdome of *Scotland* to augment the glory, circuit and ſtrength of this Realme of *England*, in whoſe vnited body, as a faire branched Tree, euen at the firſt hee began to engraft the Scyences of his Princely vertues, which by the ſappe and Sunne-ſhine of his iuſt gouernement ſtill ſpread more and more, like vnto the Cedars that grow vpon *Lebanon*.

The ioy that was conceiued at the ſight of his Maieſty.

His Maieſties comming to *London*.

His Maieſties firſt proceedings to maintaine law and commerce.

(7) The Engliſh Empire thus peaceably eſtabliſhed, both by, and vnto this peaceable Monarch: from ſundry forraine Princes were ſent Ambaſſadors, to congratulate his entrance; as namely, from the *Palſgraue of the Rheine*, *one of the Princes Electors for the Emperour of the Romans*: from the *French King Mounſieur de Roſny*, Great Treaſurer of *France*: from the *Spaniſh King, Don Iohn de Taſſis*: from the *States* of *Holland* and *Zeland*: from the *Arch-Duke* of *Auſtria*: from the *Signiory* of *Venice*: from the *Duke* of *Florence*, and from others.

Diuers Ambaſſadors came into *England* to congratulate his entrance.

(8) But among all new-commers, none was more admired, nor gazed on, then was *Hugh Oneal*, Earle of *Tir-Oen*, that perfidious, (but very valiant) ſubtile, and ſmooth-tongued Traytor, and *Boutefeu* of *Ireland*, that had beene the death of many a worthy man: who hauing (as we haue ſhewed) yeelded himſelfe to the Lord Generall *Mountioy*, in the

Tir-Oen brought into *England*.

Much gazed at.

sickeneſſe of the late Queene, was now by him brought vnto *Englands* Court, to the Generals great honour, and *Tir-Oens* great good, if he could haue had grace to containe himſelfe. For not onely was hee taken vpon his lowly ſubmiſſion into fauour with his dread Soueraigne, and reſtored to his former eſtate and dignity, (a very great fauour to ſo great an offender) but a *Proclamation* was alſo made in his behalfe, and for his ſecurity, that hee ſhould of all men bee honourably vſed, (a grace ſeldome ſhewed a Traytor) becauſe as it ſeemed, his guilty conſcience ſurcharged with bloud, feared the hand of euery man that beheld his face; and indeed many Women enraged for loſſe of their Husbands, and Sonnes, furiouſly deſired and aſſayed to quench their hatred with his bloud: in which perplexity wee will leaue him for a reſtleſſe Rebell, who laſtly like a fugitiue left againe both his loyalty, and his owne Countrey.

And hated.

Trophies ſet vp in *London* ſtood long vnfiniſhed.

(9) In the meane while the ſolemnities for the Coronation were prepared, and many ſtately Trophies (no leſſe due to the conſeruation of Peace, then to the atchieuings of Warre) in *London* ſtreets ſet vp, which by reaſon of the great ſickneſſe in that City then cruelly raging, ſtood a long time rather like the ruines of ſome old decay, then the Princely Pageants of a new Triumph. For before the appointed day of Coronation (which was the twenty fifth of *Iuly*, being the Feaſt day of *Saint Iames* the *Apoſtle*) a Proclamation came forth, that no *Londoner* ſhould preſume to approach to the Court, the City hauing buried that weeke aboue a thouſand of the plague. But yet a greater plague to the Land then this, was intended ſome weekes before, had not the prouidence of a good GOD preuented the deſignes of mercileſſe men. For, certaine *Italianated* Prieſts, boyling in reuengefull rancor, becauſe their plots and hopes (which they vainely promiſed themſelues for aduancement of their Religion) were now paſt all appearance of poſſibility or ſucceſſe, and combining with ſome other of better Ranke and Note, whom priuate diſcontents had whetted on to a publike miſchiefe; contriued together a deſperate deſigne, for ſurprize of the Kings Perſon, and Prince *Henry* his Sonne. Of forces to effect it, they made no doubt, meaning to retaine them priſoners in the Tower, and with the Treaſures therein to maintaine their intent, or, if the Tower were impugnable, then to carry them to *Douer* Caſtle, and there by violence either to obtaine their owne pardons, a toleration in Religion, and a remouall of ſome Counſellors of the State, or elſe to put ſome further proiect in execution. To conceale this Treaſon, *Watſon* the Prieſt deuiſed Oaths for ſecrecy, and himſelfe with *Clarke* (another Prieſt alſo) taught, that the act was lawfull, being done before the Coronation, for that the King was no King, before hee was Annointed, and the Crowne ſolemnely ſet on his head.

Conſpiracies intended and reuealed.

Iohn Stow.

The intents of the Conſpirators

A Doctrine well ſitting ſuch Doctors.

(10) The other perſons whoſe loyalty was likewiſe called into queſtion, as inuolued in the attempt, were *Henry Brooke*, *Lord Cobham*, and *Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports*, *Thomas Lord Gray of Wilton*, *Sir Walter Raughley*, *Lord Warden of the Stanneries*, *Sir Griffin Markham*, and *Sir Edward Parham* Knights, *George Brooke*, and *Bartholmew Brooksby* Eſquires, and *Anthony Copley*, a Gentleman; all which parties being apprehended, were committed ſome to the Gate-Houſe at *Weſtminſter*, others to the *Tower* of *London*. Meane while (notwithſtanding the raging ſickneſſe) the day for the Coronation (being the Feaſt of Saint *Iames*) was celebriouſly kept, with all ſolemne performance, and ancient Rites of the Engliſh Kings, in the Collegiate Church of *Saint Peter* in *weſtminſter*. Where, the antique *Regall Chaire* of Inthronation, did bleſſedly receiue, with the Perſon of his Maieſty, the full accompliſhment alſo of that Propheticall prediction of this

The Coronation of the King and Queene.

Iuly 25.

His comming to the Crowne, which Antiquity hath recorded to haue beene therein inſcribed thus.

The Regal *Chaire* brought out of *Scotland*, wherein is a ſtone called *Saxum Iacobi*, ſaid to be of high eſteeme with the *Scots*.

Ni fallat Fatum Scoti hunc quocunq; locatum
Inuenient Lapidem, regnare tenentur ibidem.

If Fates goe right, this Stone, where e're tis pight,
The Scot ſhall find, and there his Raigne aſſign'd.

For euen there now the ſacred Oyle was powred vpon the Royall Perſons of *King Iames* and *Queene Anne*, by the moſt Reuerend Prelate, *Iohn Whitgift*, *Lord Arch-Biſhop of Canterbury*, the Princeſſe and Peeres wearing their Robes and Coronets, the Officers giuing attendance in their places, and the *Lord Maior* of *London* in a Gowne of Crimſon Veluet, with the Aldermen in Scarlet: twelue principall Citizens were admitted to attend them, all other forbidden becauſe of the plague.

(11) As the great ſolitude of the City of *London* by reaſon of this infection, and the retiredneſſe both of his Maieſty and all his Nobles, gaue ſome hopes to the fore-mentioned Prieſts and their Abettors, for the eaſier accompliſhing their plots: ſo was it alſo ſome occaſion of the delay of Iuſtice on them, after their treaſonous deſignes were now fully brought to light. Wherefore, *London* continuing ſtill vnfit for ſuch a tryall, and requiſite concourſe of Peeres and people, *Wincheſter*, the Tearme being there kept, was the place deſigned for their arraignement, whether they were all conueyed vnder ſtrong guard. The firſt who there * came to their tryall, were *George Brooke*, Brother to the Lord *Cobham*, Sir *Griffith Markham*, and Sir *Edward Parham*, *Brooksby*, *Copley*, *Watſon*, and *Clarke*; whoſe inditement was, that they had conſpired; firſt, to deſtroy the King; ſecondly, to raiſe Rebellion; thirdly, to alter Religion; fourthly, to ſubuert the State; and laſtly, to procure forraine Inuaſion. That theſe their intents they had made knowne vnto the *Lord Gray*, whom they meant ſhould haue beene Earle Marſhall of *England*, *Watſon* Lord Chancellor, *George Brooke* Lord Treaſurer, and Sir *Griffin Markham* Secretary. That with the King, the Lords alſo ſhould bee ſurprized in their Chambers at *Greenewich*, and the Lord Maior and Aldermen of *London* ſhould be ſent for, and ſo be ſhut vp in the Tower.

The Conſpirators conueyed to *Wincheſter*.

*Nouem. 15

Their inditements and condemnations.

(12) *George Brooke* hereunto anſwered (with a colour and pretext as lewd as the attempt) that hee had Commiſſion from the King to doe what he did, onely to try faithfull Subiects; which commiſſion hee could not produce. Sir *Griffin Markham* (excepting onely the imputation of bloud) confeſſed his offence very penitently, alleaging it was through a diſcontented mind, and deſired the Lords to bee a meane to the King for mercy. *Watſon* and *Clarke* (the former of which confeſſed he had drawen all thoſe Gentlemen into theſe plots) did vainely and ignorantly auerre, that they held the King no King, vntill he was Crowned; and that therefore it could not be Treaſon: alleaging, that *Saul* was not King, vntill he was choſen in *Mizpeh*, though he had beene Annointed in *Ramah* by *Samuel* the Prophet; neither *Ieroboam*, who in the dayes of *Salomon*, had beene confirmed by the Prophet to raigne ouer *Iſrael*, vntill the people made him King vpon the fooliſh anſweres of *Rehoboam*. Thus theſe great Rabbies made no difference betwixt the mediate and ordinary ſucceſſion of lawfull Princes, ordained by God to be his Vice-gerents in fully eſtabliſhed Common-weales, and thoſe Kings which himſelfe extraordinarily aduanced, and erected to be the whips in his hand; as the firſt manifeſtly proued, when they had caſt off *Samuel*, and the larter allotted to no other end, as by the Prophet is apparant, where God to him ſaith, *I gaue them a King in mine anger, and I tooke*

M. *George Brooke* condemned.

1 *Sam.* 9.

Watſon and *Clarke* apply Scripture to maintaine Treaſon.

Hoſea 13. 11.

tooke *him away in my wrath*; but the more learned enformed them, that in *England* is no *Inter regnum*, becauſe the King neuer dieth, and that the coronation is but a Ceremony to ſhew the King to the people.

November 17.

Sir *Walter Raughley* arraigned and condemned.

(13) Two dayes after was *Sir Walter Raughley* brought to the Barre, beeing indited for combining with the Lord *Cobham* (his accuſar) in the foreſaid deſignes. Whereunto he pleaded not guilty, and ſo ſtood for his purgation, as hee held argument from morning till night, to the hearers no little admiration, that a man of ſo exquiſite vnderſtanding and experience ſhould giue conſent vnto ſuch a plot, no leſſe foule, then fooliſh. Yet in fine hee was found guilty, and had ſentence of death.

The Lords *Cobham* and *Gray* arraigned and condemned.

(14) The like iudgement, a few dayes after, paſſed vpon the Lords, *Cobham* and *Grey*, arraigned on two ſeuerall dayes. The former being indited, for combining with Sir *Walter Raughley* & *George Brooke*, to procure forces from the King of *Spaine* and the Arch-Duke, for an Inuaſion, &c, the other for ioyning with the foreſaid Prieſts, Knights, and Gentlemen, in their fore-mentioned conſpiracies. The Lord Chancellor of *England*, beeing *Lord Steward* for that ſeruice, ſate vnder a *Cloth of Eſtate* in the vpper end of the *Hall*, the Nobles ſitting (as their Peeres and Iudges) on benches vpon both ſides. Thoſe at the Barre he willed to bee hold, and to anſwere without feare: the Kings learned Councell he intreated not to confound the memory of the priſoners with vnneceſſary matters: and the Peeres, though vnſworne, hee aduiſed to try indifferently betwixt the King and the arraigned; who both pleading not guilty, were yet found otherwiſe by the Court, and receiued iudgement of death.

Watſon and *Clarke* vpon the 29. of Nouember.

(15) Of all theſe arraigned, Sir *Edward Parham* only was acquitted by the Iury, and of all the reſt onely three died, which were *Watſon*, *Clarke*, and Maſter *George Brooke*: the firſt of which, hauing at large laid open in Print, the Treaſons and vnſufferable machinations of the Ieſuiticall Order, left this ſuſpition on them at his death, that they, in reuenge, had cunningly and couertly drawen him into this Action, which brought him to this ſhamefull end. After whoſe death, his Maieſty then at *Wilton*, (hauing commanded his Lords, to deliuer the true narration vnto him of the whole proceeding in the arraignements and anſweres of all the reſt) ſigned alſo a warrant for the execution of the Lords *Cobham* and *Gray*, as alſo *Markham*, to be performed the Friday following before ten of the clock in the morning. Notwithſtanding his Maieſty more mooued to milde mercy, then the high ſtraine of Iuſtice, of his Princely and free clemency, gaue life vnto thoſe perſons, expecting preſent Death, and thus with his owne hand wrote to counterchecke his former Warrant.

Mr. *George Brooke*. vpon the 5. of December being Tueſday.

Iohn Stow.

The Kings Letters for ſtay of the Execution.

(16) *Although it bee true, that all vell gouernid and flooriſhing Kingdomes and Common vealthis aire eſtabliſhid by Iuſtice, and that theſe tuo Noblemen by birth, that aire now vpon the point of execution, aire for their treaſonable practiſes condemnid by the Law, and adiudgit voorthy of the execution thaireof, to the exemple and terror of otheris: The one of thaim hauing filthily practiſed the ouerthrow of the quhole Kingdome, and the other for the ſurpriſe of our owin Perſonne: yet in regaird that this is the firſt yere of our Raigne in this Kingdome, and that neuer King was ſo farre obleiſhid to his People as ve haue beene to this, by our entry here vith ſo hairty and generall an applauſe of all ſorts. Among quhom all the kinne, friendis, and allies of the ſaidis condemnid perſonis, vaire as forduart and duetifull as any other our good Subiectis, as alſo that at the very time of thair Arrainement none did more freely and readily giue thair aſſent to thair conuiction, and to deliuer thaim into the handis of Iuſtice, then ſo many of thair neereſt Kinſmen and Allies (as beeing Peeris) vaiere vpon thair Iury; as likeuaiſe in regard that Iuſtice hath in ſome ſort gottin courſe already, by the execution of the tuo Prieſtis, and* George Brooke, *that vaire the principall plottars and intiſairs of all the reſt, to the embraſing of the ſaidis treaſonabill Machinations, vee therefore (being reſolued to mixe Clemency vith Iuſtice) aire contented, and by theſe Preſentis command you, our preſent Sheriffe of Hampſhire to ſuperſeid the Execution of the ſaidis tuo Noblemen and to take thaim backe to thair priſon againe, quhile our further pleaſure be knowin. And ſince ve vill not haue our Lawis to haue reſpect to perſonis in ſparing the great, and ſtrikking the meaner ſort; It is our pleaſure, that the like courſe be alſo taken vith* Marckham, *beeing ſorry from our hairt, that ſuch is, not onely the heynous nature of the ſaidis condemnid perſonis crime, but euen the corruption is ſo great of thair naturall diſpoſition, as the care ve haue for the ſafety and quiet of our State and good Subiectis, vill not permit vs to vſe that Clemency towardis thaim, quhich in our owin naturall inclination, vee micht very eaſily be perſvadid vnto.*

The Kings mercifull repriue of the Priſoners ready to dy.

(17) This Letter thus framed, the deliuery thereof his Maieſty committed vnto one *Iohn Gibb* a *Scottiſh* Gentleman, a diſcreet perſon, and free from dependancy of any Noble man or Counſellor, neither was he of any extraordinary ranke, as well that the by-ſtanders ſhould not obſerue any alteration for the execution, as the delinquents themſelues take any apprehenſion by his preſence, to the end that each of them ſeuerally ſhould prepare to breth out their laſt breath, with a true confeſſion of their ſecret conſciences. The time approching, Sir *Griffin Markham* brought to the Scaffold, (to that end erected on the Caſtle Greene) made himſelfe ready for the ſtroke of the Axe, when ſecretly Maſter *Gibb* deliuered vnto the high * Sheriffe of the Shire the Kings Warrant to the contrary, who ſoone perceiuing his Maieſties intent tooke backe the priſoner, (as if he were firſt to confront the two Lords in the Hall vpon ſome ſeruice to the King,) from the Scaffold, and brought him into the Caſtle Hall. Then was the Lord *Gray* brought forth, who hauing powred out his prayers vnto God, at length kneeling downe for the ſtroke of death, the Sheriffe bad ſtay, telling the Lord that ſome further ſeruice was expected of him, and thereupon likewiſe led him againe into the Caſtle. The Lord *Cobham* then was broght to the Scaffold, who being in prayers and preparation for death, the Lord *Gray* and Sir *Griffin* were brought backe againe, where the priſoners all three appearing together on the Scaffold, the Sheriffe notified his Maieſties Warrant for the ſtay of their Executions, and that as then they ſhould not dy. Vpon which rare Clemency, vnexpected both of priſoners and ſpectators, aroſe ſuch ſhouts of the people as was wonderfull, crying *God ſaue the King*, and the condemned ouercome with his Clemency, wiſhed they might ſacrifice their liues to redeem their own faults, and to repurchaſe ſo mercifull a Princes loue.

* Sir *Ia. Tichborn.*

Sir *Griffin Markham* returned from the Scaffold

The Lord *Cobham* Lord *Gray* and Sir *Griffin Markham* reprieued.

(18) This buſineſſe thus tranſacted, for the ſafety of the Kings Perſon and whole Kingdome; his Maieſty, (who well conſidered, that the quiet of a *Weale-Publike* cannot poſſiblie ſubſiſt long, without the peace and well managed gouernment of the *Church*,) hauing among many other *Petitions* which were preſented to *Him* at his firſt entrance, receiued one from certaine perſons of ouer zealous ſpirits, againſt the eſtabliſhed Gouernment and Liturgy in the *Engliſh* Church, reſolued now by his Princely iudgement, as another *Hezekiah* to break the Brazen Serpent, if Idolatry were thereunto committed, and like a ſecond *Ioſiah*, to reade the law of the Lord himſelfe: whereupon by *Proclamation* hee commanded an aſſembly of ſelected Diuines, ſuch as could beſt deliuer the minds of both parts, to appeare in his Royall preſence, at his Mannor of *Hampton-Court*: whither the ſummoned accordingly repayred. For the maintained Churchſtate, where the Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Biſhops of *London*, *Durham*, *Winchester*, *Worceſter*, *Saint Dauids*, *Chicheſter*, *Carliol* and *Peterborow*: the Deanes of the Chappell *Chriſt-*

The Miniſters petition to the King againſt the booke of Common Prayer.

2 *King.* 18. 2. *King.* 24.

A Proclamation for a conference to bee held at *Hampton* Court, * On Thurſday Ianuary 12.

The perſons ſommoned.

Christs Church, Worcester, Westminster, Paules, Chester, and *Windsor*, with Docter *Field*, & Docter *King*, the now Lord Bishop of *London*. To deliuer the Plaintiffes desires, where summoned, & appeared Docter *Reynolds* and Docter *Sparkes* of *Oxford*, *M. Knewstubs*, and *M. Chaderton* of *Cambridge*.

(19) The first sitting was vpon Saterday, the foureteenth of Ianuary, in his Maiesties Priuy-chamber at *Hampton-Court*, whereinto the *Church-Gouernours* onely being admitted (by his Maiesties commaund) in the presence of his *Priuy Councell*, he made a most godly and Princely declaration of his intent, in sommoning this Assembly, in effect, thus; That "this his proceeding was no nouell deuise, but ac- "cording to the example of all Christian Princes, "who in the commencement of their raignes, vsual- "ly take the first course for the establishing of the "Church both for doctrine and Policy, to which "the very Heathen themselues had relation in this "their Prouerbe, *á Ioue Principium*. And particu- "larly in this land, King *Henry* the eight, towards the "end of his raig ne, after him King *Edward* the sixt, "who altred more; after him Queene *Mary*, who "reuersed all; and the last Queen of famous memo- "ry, who setled the Church state as now it stan- "deth. Wherein yet his Maiesty deemed himselfe "happier then they, in that they were faine to alter "those things which they found established, where- "as himselfe saw yet no cause, so much to change a- "ny thing, as to confirme that which *He* found so "well setled already. Which State so affected his "Royall heart, that it pleased him, both to enter in- "to a gratulation to almighty God, (at which words "he put off his hat) for bringing him into the land "of Promise, where Religion was purely professed, "where he sate among graue, learned, and reuerend "Diuines, who better knew what belonged to the "State of a King, to the honor and order of a king- "dom, then some other Nations did, and withall to "assure the Prelacy there present, that *Hee* inten- "ded not any Innouation, acknowledging the Go- "uernement Eccleasiasticall to haue beene approued "by manifold blessings from God himself, both for "the encrease of the Gospell, and with a most happy "and glorious peace. Yet, becaus nothing could "be so absolutely ordered, but that somwhat might "be added, and in any State, as in the body of man, "Corruptions like il humors might insensibly grow "either through time or persons; his purpose was, "after the example of a good Phisitian, to make "search into the supposed diseases, and to examine "the complaints, so to remoue the occasions there- "of, if they proue scandalous, or to cure them, if "they were dangerous, or if but friuolous, yet to take "knowledge of them, thereby at once both to cast "a sop into the mouth of *Cerberus*, and of all facti- "ous spirits, and withall to giue satisfaction to all "quiet and sober minded men.

His Maiesties Oration vnto the Clergy.

Many alterations in the church since K. *Henry* 8.

No State without corruption.

(20) His Maiesty concluding this his generall aduertisement, entred more particular discourse with the Bishops (for his owne priuate information) concerning the *Booke of Common Prayer*, *Excommunication* in the Ecclesiasticall Courts, and the prouision; of fitte and able Ministers for *Ireland*. Touching matters in the saide Booke, hee desired satisfaction. First, for *Confirmation*, which if it were held & so called, as if the Sacrament of *Baptisme* were therby *confirmed*, & were inualidous without it, then was it in his iudgement blasphemous: but if it were only that Children, who at their Baptisme made profession of their faith by the mouthes of others, might before the Bishoppes professe it in their owne persons, and so receiue Episcopall Benediction by prayer, and imposition of hands, then was it of very sacred vse in Gods Church. Secondly, for *Absolution*, which his Maiesty had heard compared to the Pops pardons. Thirdly, for *Priuate Baptisme*, which hee vtrerly disliked to be administred, but by a lawfull Minister. His second point was *Excommunication*, wherein hee moued two especiall considerations; the one of the *Matter*, that the sentence being so waighty, was not to bee pronounced vpon enery slight cause: the other of the *Persons*, why *Lay-men* as Chancellors & Commissaries, and not rather the *Deane* and *Chapter*, or other graue Ministers and Chaplaines should bee assumed by the Bishops for their assistants therein. The last, which was touching a sufficient Ministery in *Ireland*, his Maiesty referred to another day.

His Maiesties demands touching some supposed abuses.

Confirmation.

Absolution.

Priuate Baptisme

Excommunication.

(21) But his Maiesty receiued ful satisfaction and contentment by the seuerall answeres to all his demands. Touching *Confirmation*, that the Church of *England* held it no essentiall part of the Sacrament of *Baptisme*, but a * practise of the *Primitiue Church*, yea of the * *Apostles*, (as * *Caluin* himselfe expounds their meaning; who also wished the restitution thereof in such Churches where it had beene abolished,) and for imposition of hands on children, warranted by * Christ himselfe, a Custome still retained in our Church, as very godly and necessary for those very reasons and vses, which his Maiesty had mentioned, and truly obserued. Touching *Absolution*, it was answered, that as Christ desired not the death of sinners, so he hath giuen power and commandement to his Ministers, to pronounce his mercy with remission of sinnes vnto all Penitents, that the practise hereof in the English Church, is so farre from Popery, as that the Reformed Churches of *Augusta*, *Boheme*, and *Saxony*, doe both allow it, and retaine it, yea, and *Caluin* himselfe approues it. Of *Priuate Baptisme* it was answered, that though the words seemed somwhat doubtfull, yet the practise of the English Church did contradict all administration of it by *Laickes* and *women*, in censuring them in that case: whereupon it was concluded, that a lawfull Minister only should be imployed in times of necessity, when the Infant was in danger of life; yet so vnderstood, that the person was in no wise to be reputed of the Essence of the Sacrament. And finally, for *Excommunication*, it was there resolued, that the abuses (if any such there were) being remoued and amended, that sacred censure should retaine its necessary vigour in the Church; and so for that day his Maiesty dismissed the Assembly of his Prelates.

The Prelates satisfaction to his Maiesties demands.

Of confirmation

* *Cyprian Ep.73. Hieron. aduers. Luciferian.*

* *Heb.6.v.2.*

* *Caluin in Heb. 6.2. & Fulk in Act.c.8.v.27.*

* *Mat.19.13.*

Of Absolution.

Of Priuate Baptisme.

Of Excommunication.

(22) Vpon Munday following, being the sixteenth of Ianuary, those other Doctors, who were to relate the dislikes of the Opposites, were called likewise into the Priuy Chamber, where in presence of his Prelates and Peeres, his Maiesty deliuered vnto them, a pithy & Princely declaration of his mind, "That *He* intended not to innouate the gouerne- "ment now established, which by long experience "he had found accomplished with so singular bles- "sings of God forty fiue yeeres, as that no Church "vpon the face of the earth hath more flourished "then this of *England*. But rather his meaning, and "earnest desire was, first to setle vniformity through "the whole, for the more quiet and flourishing e- "state thereof: secondly, to plant vnity for the sup- "pression of Papists, and enemies of Religion: third- "ly to amend abuses, as incident to *Bodies Politicke*, "as the shadow to the body Naturall; which once "getting entrance, hold on as a Wheele doth his "motion, when it is once set on going. Among the "complaints therefore of many greeuances made "since his entrance into *England*, none was more "weighty, nor himselfe more willing to heare and "amend, then such a might conceme the state of "the Church, if the same did in any wise decline "from the ancient and Apostolicall ruse. For which "cause he had sent for them, whom hee vnderstood "to be graue, learned, & modest Diuines, to heare "by them those greeuances, and seuerall obiections "at large, and desired them boldly to declare the "same.

The other Doctors appeare before his Maiesty.

The Kings Religious speech vnto them.

His Maiesty most willing to amend abuses.

(23) Whereupon Docter *Reinolds*; a very learned man, after a preamble gratulatory (vpon his knees) with acknowledgement of Gods mercy in giuing vs so

D. *Reynold* the Speaker for the Complainants.

so godly, so learned, so carefull a King, reduced all matters, either desired or disliked amongst *the weake Brethren* (whose *Spokesman* hee protested hee would not haue been, but onely vpon his Maiesties mandatory Summons) vnto those foure heades: 1. for preseruation of true doctrine, 2. for placing of good Pastors, 3. for sincere administration of the Church gouernement; 4 for explanation of some clauses in the Common-prayer Booke. It would bee here too impertinent, to force an historicall Narration with those Theologicall particulars, which vpon those seuerall points were then produced, and are *elsewhere to be found exactly related. Yet as wee cannot but commend the iudgement of these foure Diuines (as touching the third point) in that, finding no iust exception to the *Episcopall Hierarchie* of our Church, in no one word they impugned or dispaproued the same; so much more must we celebrate the admirall dexterity, iudgement and learning of his sacred Maiesty, ioyned with so rare industry and patience, whose owne accurate search and exquisite expositions of Scriptures, Fathers, and primitiue practises, did there both breed wonder & astonishment in that noble and learned audience, and also giue singular satisfaction (euen to the * agents for the *Opposites*) touching al the exceptions taken to the Church-state; which his Maiesty now found to be no other then the phantasmes of a scrupulous indiscretion.

The Conference at *Hampton court*, printed 1604.

*They all promised obedience and Doctor *Sparke* writ a booke to perswade vnto conformity.

(24) The Wednesday following, being the 18 of Ianuary (appointed for the next meeting) his Maiesty againe, with most of the Lords of his Priuy Councell, entred the Chamber; where the Reuerend *Prelates* with such others onely as the L. Archbishoppe appointed, (for so his Maiesty cõmanded) being admitted to his Royal presence, after some conference about the *High Commission court Subscription, Oath ex officio*, and the like, his Maiesty (causing the other foure Diuines to bee then called in) was pleased to declare what formerly had past; and for a conclusion, shut vp all with a godly ex-
"hortation, like another *Constantine*, perswading
"euery man to vnity, and to a diligent discharge of
"their duties, in their seueral places; the superiors to
"gouerne without violence, the inferiors to obey
"without murmuring, and all of them to builde
"Gods Temple without sound of discord; desi-
"ring and commanding all present, not onely them-
"selues to labour that way, but to bee a meanes to
"draw on all others vnto a peaceable conformity,
"the matters being no other (as now hee saw plaine-
"ly) but of meere weakenesse: wherein persons
"*discreet* would doubtlesse bee easily henceforward
"reclaimed, and for the *vndiscreet* & reluctant, their
"roomes were more behoueful then their seruices:
"by their fruites therefore *Hee* should discerne and
"iudge them; Obedience and Humility being the
"markes of honest and good men, which thence-
"forth hee would expect from as many as would be
"held well affected to his Maiesty and his State.
Which Princely exhortation (deliuered with much more feeling words, and mouing earnestnesse) was so piercing, as it fetched teares from some of both sides, and all vnanimously protested their most dutifull obedience to those his Royall commands.

The conclusion of the Conference.

(25) Besides this maine fruit of this famous conference, the setling of the *Church-peace*, sundry other important matters (not here to be pretermitted, because necessarily tending to that noble end) were therein also proiected, and by his *Maiesties* euer prouident care had then their conception, though after-times brought the births to perfection. The first (both in due ranke and vse) was his sacred Decree for a new Translation of the holy Scriptures, vpon a Princely and pious care of Gods eternall Truth according to the Originals, as also for an vniforme reading thereof in the Churches. To which end three selected Companies from *Oxford*, *Cambridge*, and in *London*, most iudicious in the languages and learning being imployed, after long conference, much reading, and diligent comparing of all translations with the ancient originals, it is now most exactly and happily published, as a witnesse to the World both of Gods constant promise, that *Heauen and Earth should perish, but his Word should neuer*: and also of the Religious care of this his Vice-gerent, in seeking euen at the first, the first thing that man is commanded to seeke after, whose praise shall stand for euer in the Record of that godly worke, and the worke shall iustifie it selfe against all gaine-sayers to Gods eternall glory, and many soules great comfort.

The translation of the Bible intented and commanded.

(26) His second sacred proiect was, that as now in *England*, so also in *Ireland*, *Wales*, and the *Northerne parts*, *true Religion* (which *Hee* there auowed to be *the onely band of true obedience*) might be throughly planted. Which religious purpose *He* so zealously prosecuted, especially for the *North* and all *Scotland*, as that *Hee* held it not sufficient to haue ioyned these two Kingdomes into one Temporall Monarchy, vnlesse *He* might see them both vnited also in the Doctrine, Regiment and Rites of one spirituall *Hierarchy*. Neither was his *Princely wisdome* for the meanes lesse conspicuous, then his zeale in the intendment, in making so heedfull choyce of such *English Diuines*, as were (not long after) in this imployment sent into *Scotland*; the very first, in which Apostolike Ambassage for establishing those Neighbour-Churches was he, whose eminency both for *Place* and *Piety*, is now worthily formost in guiding our owne; and whose blessed trauels in that seruice, as they were acceptable to God, his Maiesty, and that Nation; so are they a document to others, how powerfull and admirably successefull true *Learning* is, where it is guided with true *Prudence*, and where *Piety* and loue of Gods glory is linked with *Charity*, and zeale of mans good.

The Kings second religious proiect at the Conference.

(27) This great businesse and conference so royally accomplished, his Maiesties next care was (herein also as another *Constantine*) to perpetuate the maintenance of this flourishing Church (whose peaceable estate he had thus prouided for) with the reuenewes of her ancient foundations, as also to establish salutary lawes for the peaceable gouernment of his people; to which purpose, a Parliament was assembled at *westminster*, the 19. of *March*, wherein, for the Church it was enacted, that neither *Archbishop* nor *Bishop* should alienate, assure, giue, grant, demise, or in any sort conuay, no not to the King himselfe, his Heires, or Successors, any of the Honors, Castles, Manors, Lands, Tenements, or Hereditaments, being parcell of the possessions of his Archbishopricke, or Bishopricke; and if any so were, to be vterly voide and of none effect, notwithstanding any former Law, Statute, Act, or Ordinance to the contrary.

The now Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*, (D. *George Abbot*) the first preacher sent into *Scotland*.

A Parliament held March 19. The Church Lands not to be alienated.

Ex Parliament. Iacobi primi.

(28) Foure dayes before this *Parliament* commenced, it pleased his Maiesty, with the most Noble *Queene Anne*, and the most Illustrious *Prince Henry*, attended with glorious troupes of great Peeres, Prelates, and Courtiers, to ride in triumph through the City of *London* to *Westminster*, the Houses beautified with rich hangings, the streetes adorned with goodly Trophees and Pageants, of seuerall Nations inhabiting, the Rayles on both sides couered with blew Cloth, the seuerall Companies Honourably addressed, and ranked vnder the displayed Ensignes and Armes of their seuerall Trades and Sciences; the one shewing the wealth and state of the City; the other, the body of the Citizens and gouernement; and all making manifest the vnspeakeable ioy they conceiued to receiue their great Soueraigne into this *His* City, and Imperiall Chamber. In pledge of which their excessiue ioy, vnfained loue, and vowed fidelity, the *Recorder* at the *Crosse* in *Cheape*, both gratulated his Maiesty with a * pithy speech in the Name of the City, and wishing him a golden Raigne, presented his Greatnesse with a Cup

March 15. The Kings triumphant passage through *London*.

Sir *Henry Montague*.
* See *Iohn Stowes* Annales.

Cup of Gold; deliuering another likewiſe to the Queene, and a third to the Prince, which were all no leſſe graciouſly accepted, then moſt louingly preſented.

(29) Neither leſſe was his Maieſties deſire to retaliate the Citizens and other his Subiects true affections, when recounting the great hinderances of Merchandizing and Nauigations of trafficke, by reaſon of the long continued breach betwixt *England* and *Spaine*, his royall heart tendring his Subiects tranquility, endeauoured to ſalue againe thoſe wounds of diſcord with the * ſweet balme of Peace; which was ſolemnly proclaimed in *London*, *Auguſt* 19. the Sea being made open to Merchants for their free commerce.

Pſal. 141. 6.

The two Kingdomes vnited vnder the name of *Great Britain*.

(30) Both Domeſticke and forraine affaires thus plauſibly compoſed, as his Maieſty was the firſt, who in this laſt age of the World held the Scepter of the whole Iland in his royall hand, ſo to vnite the two ſtiles vnder the name of one entire Empire, and the two Nations into a ioynt bleſſed vnity; He cauſed himſelfe by Proclamation to be enſtiled, *King of great Britaine*, according to the ancient name of this Iſle before the Saxons Conqueſt; the reſtoring of which name againe, many fore-dooming ſpirits had anciently preſaged, as now we ſee effected. Vnto which Imperiall ſtile, are rightly annexed the Kingdomes of *France* and *Ireland*, rightfully belonging by birth and Conqueſt vnto the *Crowne of England*.

Ieſuites and Seminary Prieſts baniſhed.

(31) Two other Proclamations afterwards came forth; the one for the Baniſhment of all Ieſuites and Seminary Prieſts, out of the Land; and the other, to confirme the Eccleſiaſticall gouernment, and Booke of *Common Prayer*, in the ſame forme and eſtate, as *Queene Elizabeth* left them, to the no little griefe of the workers for *Rome*, whoſe deſignes began now to ſucke in ſuch poyſon, as in the venting whereof, not onely the Earth might haue trembled vnder the weight of ſuch Monſters, but euen the Heauens bee aſtonied and confounded, to giue thoſe Serpents the breath or benefit of Ayre. Vnto which bloudy, horrible, and odious act to God and man, my Stile muſt now turne: a matter indeed ſo diſtaſtiue for me to remember, or to write of, that it abhorres my very ſoule to fill the Pen with Inke, or to blot the Paper with theſe blacke ſpots of darkneſſe, and deformers of *Englands* faire face.

Ier. 2. 12. The treaſon cõceiued againſt the State.

The heatheniſh cruelty of the 1. unpowder Treaſon.

(32) The Plot was to vndermine the Parliament Houſe, and with Gunpowder to blow vp the King, the Prince, Clergy, Nobles, Knights, and Burgeſſes, the very confluence of all the flower of Glory, Pietty, Learning, Prudence, Authority in the Land, Fathers, Sonnes, Brothers, Allyes, Friends, Foes, Papiſts, and Proteſtants, all at one blaſt. A ſtratagem inuented by him that blowes the bellowes of deſtruction; faſhioned in the forge of the bottomleſſe pitte; put in practiſe in a vault of darkeneſſe; and forwarded by him that is the Father of darkneſſe; and in darkneſſe I could wiſh it might euer dwell: whoſe like was neuer reuealed to the light of the Sunne. Their intent, when that irreligious atchieuement had beene performed, was, to ſurprize the remainder of the Kings Iſſue; to alter Religion and the State, and to bring in forraine Power. *Sir Edmund Baynam* an attainted perſon (who ſtyled himſelfe Prince of the damned Crew) was ſent vnto the Pope, as hee was a temporall Prince, to acquaint him with the *Gunpowder-Treaſon*; a fit Poſte indeed to be imployed betwixt the Pope and the Diuell.

The Traytors intents.

Proceedings againſt Traytors. Page 19.

Baynam appointed the Poſt. Pag. 133.

(33) This Treaſon was firſt ſet on foot in the laſt yeere of the late *Queenes Raigne*, when *Henry Garnet* the Superiour of the Ieſuites, *Catesby* and others ſent *Thomas Winter* into *Spaine* to negociate with *King Philip* in the name of the *Engliſh Catholikes*; firſt, to ſend an Army vnto them, who now were in a readineſſe to ioyne their Forces with his: ſecondly, to grant ſome Penſions vnto ſundry perſons deuoted to his ſeruice in *England*: and thirdly, to giue aduertiſement of the diſcontents that the young Gentlemen and Souldiers had conceiued vpon the death of *Eſſex*, whereby a moſt fit occaſion was then offered to forward the common cauſe. To proſecute which buſineſſe, hee made for his meanes Father *Creſwell* the Leiger Ieſuite in *Spaine*, *Don Petro Franceſa* ſecond Secretary to the State, and the Duke of *Lerma* a great Counſellor to the King; all of them aſſuring this ill commiſſioned Ambaſſador, that the Office of his imployment would bee very gratefull to their Maſter.

Winter ſent into *Spaine*.

(34) The place for landing concluded vpon by theſe wiſe Statiſts, was *Kent* or *Eſſex*, if the Kings Army were great; if otherwiſe, then *Milford Hauen* in *Wales* was held fitteſt: with theſe and other like complots, *Winter* all that Summer followed the King in his Progreſſe, and laſtly had anſwer by the Count *Miranda*, that his King would beſtow a hundred thouſand Crownes towards the expedition, halfe hereof to be paid that preſent yeere, and the reſt in the next Spring, when (at the fartheſt) he meant to ſet foot in *England*; on whoſe behalfe hee willed the *Engliſh Catholikes* to maintaine their promiſe, whom hee reſpected (as was auowed) as his owne proper Caſtilians: And further defired their continuall aduertiſements, if in the meane time it chanced the old Queene to die.

The plots determined for the Inuaſion of *England*.

King *Philips* anſwer and offer.

(35) *Winter* thus laden with hopes, returneth from *Spain*, and emptieth his male into the boſomes of *Garnet*, *Catesby*, and *Treſham*, and they vnto others, all of them tickled to heare the newes, reſted fully ſatisfied, expecting the day. But before the Spring-time was fully approached, that *Morning Starre*, and Mirror of her Sexe, did ſet in our *Weſt*, the thrice-glorious *Elizabeth*, who had now iudged *Iſrael* full forty foure yeeres in admirable tranquility, as in her Raigne we haue ſufficiently ſeene. To ſignifie whoſe death, *Chriſtopher Wright* was from *Catesby* and others ſent into *Spaine*, and *Guy Fawkes* likewiſe was poſted thither from *Bruxels*, by *Sir William Stanley*, both of them to proſecute the former negotiation, aſſuring the *Spaniſh* King, that *King Iames* meant to runne the ſame courſe, and to proceede as rigorouſly againſt the Catholikes, as the late Queene had done: for whoſe defence they inſtantly deſired that ſome *Spaniards* might bee tranſported vnto *Milford Hauen*, where the Romiſh-minded would bee forward to aſſiſt them, hauing in a readineſſe two thouſand horſe furniſhed for the enterpriſe. But King *Philip* aſwell poizing his honour, as his zeale for Religion, and obſeruing a great difference betwixt States in hoſtility, and of Kings raigning in friendſhip, in no wiſe would liſten to inuade *England*, or further to proceed in any forcible enterpriſe.

The hopes of the *Engliſh* Catholikes.

Chriſtopher Wright ſent into *Spaine*, to ſignifie the death of the Queene.

Proceedings againſt Traytors, pag. 72.

King *Philip* refuſeth all hoſtile attempts againſt *England*.

(36) In the meane while the Ieſuites had been tampering to diſſwade the acceptance of King *Iames* into *England*, vrging it for a Maxime, that death was to bee endured, rather then to admit an heretike (ſo it pleaſed them to tearme the Lords annointed) and thoſe that gaue him conſent they held lyable to Excommunication by the cenſure of Pope *Clement* the eight, who had liberally beſtowed vpon his ſacred Perſon, the names of a Puritan, an Heretike, a Caluiniſt, a perſecutor of *Proteſtants*, and another *Iulian Apoſtata*.

(37) The Romaniſts thus looſened from their Ankor-hold of *Spaine*, and left by that Pylote to ſhift for themſelues, now perceiued their owne error in their long expectation, *That change of State*, *would change Religion*: but ſhee now gone, whoſe life they had often laid for, and her godly Succeſſour no whit inferior to her for aduancing the Goſpell: their hopes grew deſperate (as theſe deſperates alleaged) and no other meanes now left them but onely to kill the King, whom they falſly calumniated to haue broken his promiſe for a tolleration in Religion, as *Watſon* and *Percy* had diuulged among them; yea, and a fraudulent meſſage was ſent to the Pope

The deſperate attempts of the Papiſts.

King *Iames* ſcandalized by the Papiſts.

Pope by the Scotiſh Secretary, that K. *Iames* would become his obedient ſonne. But how farre his religious heart was from theſe aſperſions, appeared both by *Watſon* himſelfe, who, condemned to die, *tooke it vpon the ſaluation of his ſoule, that hee could not draw the ſmalleſt comfort from the King for a toleration of the Catholikes, but that himſelfe had imparted his words in a milder tune then his Maieſty meant them, onely to keepe* (as hee excuſed the matter) *the Catholikes in loue and duty vnto the King*: and ſince by the Lord of *Balmerinoth* (Secretary to the King in *Scotland*) who acknowledging his offence, hath beene arraigned and found guilty of death, for deuiſing letters, and ſending them to *Rome*, which himſelfe cunningly got ſigned in ſhufling them amongſt others, his Maieſty being vtterly ignorant of the Contents.

Biſhop of *Lincoln* page 194. Letters ſigned by the King againſt the Kings knowledge.

(38) Vpon which falſe ſuggeſtions, the Athieſticall poſition of *Catesby* was grounded, who held it for an *Axiome*, as Father *Parſons* had taught: That the whole Schoole both of Diuines and Lawyers make it a poſition certaine, and to be vndoubtedly beleeued, *That if any Chriſtian Prince whatſoeuer, ſhall manifeſtly turne from the Catholike Religion, and deſire or ſeeke to reclaime other men from the ſame, he preſently falleth from all Princely power and dignity, and that alſo by vertue and power of the Law it ſelfe both diuine and humane, euen before any ſentence pronounced againſt him by the ſupreme Paſtor and Iudge.* And that his Subiects of what eſtate or condition ſoeuer, are freed from all bond of Oath of Alleagiance, which at any time they had made vnto him as to their lawfull Prince. Nay, that they both may and ought (prouided they haue competent ſtrength and force) caſt out ſuch a man from bearing rule among Chriſtians, as an *Apoſtata*, an *Heretike*, a *Backe-ſlider*, and *Reuolter* from our *Lord Ieſus Chriſt*, and an enemy to his own State and Common-wealth, leſt perhaps hee might infect others, or by his example or command, turne them from the faith. Yea, one ſtep further elſewhere is ſtood vpon, that if any Prince ſhall but fauour or ſhew countenance to an Hereticke, he preſently looſeth his Kingdome. And thus they conclude, that for *Hereſie* a Prince is to bee depoſed, and his Kingdome to bee beſtowed at the pleaſure of the Pope, for whom the people vpon paine of damnation are to take part and fight: out of which deteſtable concluſions, aroſe the firſt ſmoake of the *Gunpowder Treaſon*.

In his Booke *Philopater*, Sect. 2.

De officio Principis Chriſtiani, Cap. 5.

(39) For the Parliament diſſolued the ſeuenth of Iuly, and prorogued vntill the ſeuenth of *February* following, *Catesby* being at *Lambeth*, ſent for *Thomas Winter*, who before had beene imployed into *Spaine*, and brake with him then for blowing vp of the *Parliament Houſe*: who readily apprehending it, ſaid, *that (indeede) ſtrake at the roote:* only theſe helpes were wanting, a Houſe for reſidence, and a man of skill to carry the Mine: but the firſt, *Catesby* aſſured him was eaſily to bee got, and for the man hee commended *Guy Fawkes*, a ſufficient Souldier, and a moſt forward Catholike. *But firſt* (quoth hee) *becauſe no peaceable way ſhall bee vntred, you ſhall ouer to the Conſtable, and intreate him to ſollicite his Maieſty at his comming into* England, *that the penall Lawes may here bee repealed, and the Catholikes tolerated and ranked with his other Subiects.*

Thomas Winters Confeſſion.

Thomas Winter ſent into the *Low Countries.* See the Booke intituled, A diſcourſe of the intended Treaſons

(40) *Winter* thus poſted to negotiate with the *Conſtable*, found him at *Bergen* neere *Dunkirke*, and by the meanes of *Owen* the fugitiue Traytor, deliuered his meſſage; whoſe anſwere was, that *hee had a ſtrict command from his Maſter to doe all good Offices for the Catholikes, and for his owne part he found himſelfe bound in conſcience not to omit any good occaſion that might forward their cauſe*: although indeed hee did but temporize, as Sir *William Stanley* told *Winter*, for the great deſire which the *Spaniards* had that the Peace might proceed with *England*. Whereupon *Winter* (hopeleſſe that way) returned for *England*, bringing with him the fore-ſaid *Fawkes*, a fit inſtrument for ſo diueliſh a deſigne; and comming to *Lambeth*, told *Catesby* that the *Conſtable* was not the man whatſoeuer were his words, and that all now in thoſe parts were bent for a concluſion of Peace; which ſounded ſo harſhly in his ill-tuned eares, that his braines became more buſied about his impious Proiect, and his mind in continuall trauell to bring forth that ſinne, which he had moſt vnnaturally conceiued.

See *Winters* Confeſſions.

The Conſtable diſſembleth.

The great deſire the Spaniards had of Peace.

(41) *Robert Catesby*, *Iohn Wright*, *Thomas Winter*, and *Guy Fawkes* holding a community in their miſchiefes ſtill about *London*; about the middeſt of *Eaſter-Terme*, *Thomas Percy* as hote as the *Hotſpur* himſelfe to forward Rebellion, came puffing to *Catesbies* lodging in *Lambeth*, and the firſt word hee ſpake, was this: *what Gentlemen, ſhall wee alwayes be talking, and neuer doe any thing? you perceiue (I know) how things doe proceede.* To whom *Catesby* anſwered, *that ſomething was reſolued vpon, but firſt an Oath for ſecreſie was to bee miniſtred.* For which purpoſe they appointed to meete ſome three dayes after behind Saint *Clements* Church without *Temple-Barre*, where being met, and falling in Conference, *Catesby* alleaged that this laſt Parliament had left the Catholikes in as much danger as they ſtood before, and that now the peace with *Spaine* was rather a meane for harder Lawes to proceed, then thoſe in force againſt them to be abrogated; ſo that the ancient Romiſh Religion, and the Catholike profeſſors thereof, muſt now be enforced to bid *England* adue, if Gentlemen of power and repute ſhould thus giue way to the contrary proceedings, or thus make nice how to helpe, or where to beginne: At which ſpeech *Percy* made preſent anſwer, *Himſelfe was the man that would vndergoe the Catholike cauſe, were it with the ſlaughter of the King, which hee was there ready to vndertake and doe.*

Percies ſpeech to the Conſpirators

The conference of the Conſpirators behind S. *Clements* Church.

Percies reſolute and diueliſh anſwere.

(42) No, *Tom* (ſaid *Catesby*) thou ſhalt not aduenture thy ſelfe to ſo ſmall purpoſe, if thou wilt bee a Traytor, there is a Plot to greater aduantage, and ſuch a one as can neuer be diſcouered: and thereupon all of them taking the *Oath of ſecreſie*, hearing the *Maſſe*, and receiuing the *Sacrament*, *Catesby* tolde them his diueliſh deuice, which was by *Mine* and *Gunpowder* to blow vp the *Parliament Houſe*, and at one ſtroke with the deſtruction of many, effect that at once, which had been many yeeres in attempting. A matter eaſily performed (as hee vrged) if men of reſolution would thereunto beſtow their purſe and their paines; and moſt ſure from ſuſpition of diſcouery, the deſigne being ſo eſtranged from the conceit of man: wherein he alſo obſerued that religious *Iuſtice* was thirſty of reuenge, euen vpon the ſame perſons, and in the ſame place, whence ſhee firſt receiued the vniuſt Lawes enacted againſt her. For caſe of conſcience to kill the Innocent, with the nocent; he told them it was warrantable by the authority of *Garnet* himſelfe, the Superiour of the *Engliſh Ieſuites*, and of *Gerrard*, and *Teſmond* (Ieſuiticall Prieſts likewiſe) who by their Apoſtolicall Power did abſolue and commend the fact, which for the aduantage of the Catholikes was to be executed (they ſaid) though with the death of ſome Innocents, rather then the ſeruice ſhould quaile, the neceſſity of time and occaſion ſo requiring it. The Oath was giuen them by the ſaid *Gerrard* (the Diuels Atturney in this buſineſſe) the forme whereof was as followeth.

The Gunpowder Plot reuealed among the Conſpirators.

Catesbies obſeruations for Iuſtice.

> *You ſhall ſweare by the bleſſed Trinitie, and by the Sacrament you now purpoſe to receiue, neuer to diſcloſe directly, nor indirectly, by word or circumſtance, the matter that ſhall bee propoſed to you to keepe ſecret, nor deſiſt from the execution thereof, vntill the reſt ſhall giue you leaue.*

Proceedings againſt Traytors.

The Oath of ſecreſie miniſtred to the Traytors.

(43) The proiect thus farre paſſed, the practiſe was to proceed; and the firſt thing ſought after was for a houſe wherein they might begin their worke, to which purpoſe, no place was held fitter then a

The proviſion how and where to begin the horrible Treaſon.

certaine edifice adioyning to the wall of the Parliament House, which serued for with-drawing roomes for the Assembled Lords; and out of Parliament was at the dispose of the Keeper of the place and Wardrobe thereunto belonging. These did *Percy* hier for his lodgings, entertaining *Fawkes* (as most vnknowen by face) for his man, who changing his name into *Iohnson*, had the Keyes and keeping of the roomes. Neither was this enough, but a house must be also had to supply *Percies* lodgings for prouision of Powder, and to frame and fit wood for the carriage of the Mine, which *Catesby* prouided at *Lambeth*, and swate *Robert Keyes* into their Conspiracies, making him the Keeper of those his prouisions, who in the night as occasion serued, conueyed the same vnto the custody of *Fawkes*.

Fawkes changed his name into *Iohnson*.

(44) The appointed day for the Parliament being the 7. of *February*; in *October* before, it was thought fit to beginne the worke, whereupon *Fawkes* returning forth of the Countrey, found *Percies* roomes appointed for the *Scotish* Lords to meet in, there to conferre touching the *Vnion* of the two Kingdomes: so that they feared (for that present) to iniate their attempt. But that honourable Assembly dissolued, vpon the eleuenth of *December* late in the night, they entred into their *worke of Darkenesse*, and begun their Mine; hauing tooles prepared, and baked meates prouided, the better to auoid suspition by sending abroad.

Percies House imployed by the Scotish Lords.

(45) The Moles that first vnderwent these vndermings, were *Robert Catesby* Esquire, the mouing Arch-Traytor, and ruine of his name, *Thomas Percy* Esquire, kinsman and attendant vpon the Earle of *Northumberland*, *Thomas Winter*, *Iohn Wright*, and *Guy Fawkes*, Gentlemen, and *Thomas Bates*, *Catesbies* man, all of them grounded Schollers of the Romish Schoole, and such earnest labourers in this their Vault of Villany, that by *Christmas Eue* (which very day might haue remembred them of more Christian workes) they had brought the worke vnder an entry, vnto the wall of the Parliament House, vnderpropping still as they went the earth with their framed Timber, nor till that day were they seene abroad of any man.

Robert Catesby.
Thomas Percy.
Thomas Winter.
Iohn Wright.
Guy Fawkes.
Thomas Bates.

(46) During this vndermining, much consultation was had how to fashion the rest of the businesse, after the deed should be accomplished, and many questions propounded and argued at full, before they could pitch on a setled resolution. The first was how to surprize the next heire to the Crowne; for though they doubted not, but Prince *Henry* would accompany his Father, and take his lot with him, yet they feared lest D. *Charles* (being absent, as too yong to attend at Parliament) would escape their train, and perchance be so carefully guarded, and attended vpon at Court, that hee would hardly bee gotten into their hands. Of which first rub in their way, *Percy* offered himselfe to be the first remouer, and shewed his meanes, which was, that with some other Gentlemen, hee would enter the Dukes Chamber, which by reason of his acquaintance hee very well might doe without any suspition: and others of his like acquaintance should bee placed at seuerall dores in the Court: so that when the blow was giuen, and all men in a maze, then would he carry away the Duke, which hee presumed would be easily done, the most of the Court being then absent, and they present altogether vnprouided for to make resistance.

The Traytors conference how to proceed after their Treasons.

Duke *Charles* intended to be surprized.

(47) For the surprize of the Lady *Elizabeth*, it was held a matter of farre lesse difficulty, shee remaining at the Lord *Haringtons*, and *Abby* (*Catesbies* House) neer vnto her, whether vnder a shew of Hunting, diuers Catholikes should bee gathered, who hauing the aduantage in knowing for what purpose they were assembled, had the full liberty of that distracted time, to prouide money, horses, armour, and other abiliments of war, vnder pretence of strength to guard and secure the Heire apparant.

The Lady *Elizabeth* intended to be taken from the Lord *Harrington*.

(48) Then it was discussed, what Lords they should saue from the Parliament; where it was agreed, that they should keepe thence as many as they could that were Catholikes, or that way fauouring: all others to feele the smart, and the imputation of the Treason to be cast vpon the Puritanes, to make them more odious to the World.

(49) Next it was controuersed what forraine Princes shold be made priuy to these their purposes; for to enioyne them to secresie, or to obliege them by oath, was not in their power: and to assay their likes or dislikes, would proue dangerous. For if any of them approued the designe, their preparation might beget suspition: if not, then the feares of discouery would extinguish the enterprize, no man daring to proceed further therein. *Spaine* was held the fittest to second their attempts, but he was too slow in his preparations, and *France* too neere, and too dangerous to be dealt with; and how *Holland* stood affected to *England* they all very well knew. But in the midst of these turmoiles and minings vnderground, the Parliament was againe adiourned till the fift of *October* ensuing. Vpon which Proclamation they brake off both discourse and worke till the Feast of Saint *Maries Purification*. At which time they laide in powder and other prouisions, and then began againe to worke, hauing taken into their company *Christopher Wright* and *Robert Winter*, both of them swome, and receiuing the Sacrament for secresie. The wall (which was very hard, and nine foot thicke) with great labour they wrought halfe through, *Fawkes* being their Centinell to giue warning when any came neere, that the noyse in digging might not be heard.

The feares conceiued to open the Treasons to forraine Princes.

The Parliament againe prorogued.

Robert Winter, Christopher Wright taken into consort.

The worke again begun.

(50) The labourers thus working into the wall, were suddenly surprized with a great feare, and casting from them their digging Tooles, tooke to their weapons, hauing sufficient of shot and powder in the house, being fully resolued, rather to die in the place, then to yeeld or be taken. The cause of their feare, was a noyse they heard in a roome vnder the Parliament House, vnder which they meant to haue mined, directly vnder the Chaire of *Estate*. But all now at a stand, and their countenance cast each vpon other, as doubtfull what would be the issue of this their enterprize: *Fawkes* scowted forth to descry (if he could) what was done abroad, and finding all safe and free from suspect, returned, and told them, the noyse was onely a remouall of coales there now vpon sale, and that the Cellar was to bee let, which would bee more commodious to their purpose, and would also spare the labour in the Mine. Whereupon *Thomas Percy* vnder pretence for stowage of his winter prouision of wood and coales, went and hired the Cellar, which done, a new conference was had.

The feare of the Traytors.

(51) Wherein *Catesby* found the weight of the whole too heauy for himselfe alone to support; for besides the maintenance of so many persons, and the seuerall houses for seuerall vses, hired and paide for by him, the Gunpowder and other prouisions would rise to a very great summe, and indeed too much for one mans purse. Therefore he desired that himselfe, *Percy*, and some one more might call in such others as they thought fit to helpe to maintaine the charge, alleaging that they knew men of worth and wealth, that would willingly assist, but were not willing their names should be knowen to the rest. This his request they approued as necessary, and withall surceasing further to digge in the Vault, knowing the Cellar would be of better vse for their designes, they remoued twenty Barrels of Gunpowder into that roome, which they couered with a thousand of Billets, and fiue hundred of Faggots, so that now the lodging roomes were cleered of all suspitious prouisions, and freely might be entred without danger of descry.

(52) But the Parliament being againe prorogued vntill the fifth of *November* following, these foresaid vnderminers of our *State* and happinesse, thought fit they should againe (for a while) disperse them-

themſelues (matters being already in ſo good forwardnes) and that *Guy Fawkes* ſhould go ouer to acquaint Sir *William Stanley*, and *Maſter Hugh Owen* with theſe their proceedings, yet ſo as the oath of ſecreſie ſhould be taken of them. For their policy was to haue Sir *William Stanleys* preſence ſo ſoone as the diſmall blow ſhould be giuen, to be a leader to their intended ſtratagems, whereof (as they thought) they ſhould haue great need, and that *Owen* ſhould remaine where he was, to hold correſpondency with forraine Princes, to allay (aſmuch as hee might) the odiouſnes of the fact, or to impute the Treaſon to the Puritanes diſcontents.

(53) *Fawkes* comming into *Flanders* found *Owen*, vnto whom, after the oath, hee declared the plotte, which hee very well approued. But Sir *William Stanley* (at that time in *Spaine*) *Owen* ſaid would be hardly drawne into the buſineſſe, for that hee had ſuits in the Engliſh Court himſelfe, yet hee promiſed to forward him in all that hee could, and to ſend him into *England* with the firſt, when their proiect had taken effect. Whereupon *Fawkes* to auoid further ſuſpition, kept ſtill in *Flanders* vntill the beginning of September, and then returning, receiued the keys of the Cellar, and laid in more powder, billets and fagots; which done, hee retired into the Countrey and there kept till the end of October.

(54) In the meane while *Catesby* and *Percy* meeting at the *Bathe*, it was there concluded, becauſe their number were but few, that *Catesby* himſelfe ſhould haue power to call in whom hee would to aide their deſigne: by which authority he tooke in Sir *Euerard Digby* of *Rutlandſhiere* knight, and *Francis Treſham of Northamptonſhire* Eſquier, both of them of ſufficient eſtate and wealth, had they not abuſed both to their owne deſtruction: for Sir *Euerard* offered fifteene hundred pounds to forward the action, and *Treſham* two thouſand. But *Percy* diſdaining that any ſhould outrun him in euill, promiſed foure thouſand pounds out of the Earle of *Northumberlands* rents, and tenne horſes of ſpeed to ſteed them when the blow was paſt. Againſt which time to prouide munition, *Catesby* likewiſe tooke in *Ambroſe Rookewood* and *Iohn Grant* two Recuſant Gentlemen, and vndoubtedly others were written in the ſame Roll, had theſe two grand Electors beene apprehended aliue, whoſe owne tongues only could vnfold their Catalogues Record.

(55) The buſineſſe thus forwarded by their complices abroad, their *Inmates* did not neglect theſe pplies at home. For *Percy*, *Winter*, and *Fawkes* had ſtored the Cellar with thirty ſixe Barrels of Gunpowder, and vpon them beſtowed (in ſteed of ſhot) Barres of Iron, logges of timber, maſſie ſtones, Iron Crowes, Picke-axes, and all their working tooles, and (to couer all) great ſtore of Billets and fagots, ſo that nothing was wanting but all in a readineſſe, attending that great and terrible day. Neither were the Ieſuiticall Prieſts ſlacke on their parts, who vſually concluded their Maſſes and oblatory Sacrifices, with their prayers for the good ſucces of their expected hopes, as by the ſe verſes, made and vſed by *Garnet* is to be ſeene.

Gentem auferte perfidam credentium de finibus,
Vt Chriſto laudes debitas perſoluamus alacriter.

And others thus, *Proſper Lord their paines that labour in thy cauſe day and night, let Hereſie vaniſh away like ſmoake, let their memory periſh with a cracke, like the ruine and fall of a broken houſe*: Alluſions doubtleſſe to the labours in the Vault, the mounting ſmoake of powder, and the fall of the Parliament Houſe, which if it had happened, they might haue ſaid to haue beene Prophetically fore-told by their high Prieſts for that yeere.

(56) But the Lord that neuer ſlipt the deliuerance of his elect, kept this his *Iſrael* as the Apple of his owne eye, and this pit digged for the deſtruction of others, they fell into themſelues: ſo that wee may well ſay, *If the Lord had not been on our ſides when men roſe vp againſt vs, they had ſwallowed vs vp quicke, when their wrath was kindled againſt vs; but praiſed be the Lord which hath not giuen vs a prey vnto their teeth: our ſoule is eſcaped euen as a Bird out of the ſnare of the Fowler, the ſnare is broken, and we are deliuered.* For this Cockatrice egge hatched by themſelues, proued a Serpent onely to themſelues, and themſelues (by Gods hand) made the onely Inſtruments to breake the ſhell of their owne Treaſon. Pſal. 124.

(57) For vpon *Thurſday* in the euening, ten dayes before the intended Parliament, a Letter directed to the Lord *Monteagle*, was deliuered by an vnknowen perſon vnto his footman in the ſtreet, with a ſtraight charge giuen, to giue it into his Lords owne hand, which accordingly he did. The Letter was without date and ſubſcription, and ſomewhat vnlegible, ſo as the Nobleman called for one of his ſeruants to aſſiſt him therein, the ſtrange contents whereof much perplexed the true conſtruction, as whether writ by ſome *Paſquill* to ſcarre him from attendance, or as matter of conſequence from aduiſe of ſome friend. Howſoeuer, though it were Supper time, and the night as darke as the purport of the Letter; yet to diſcharge his loyall duty, he forth-with repayred to the Kings Palace at *White-Hall*, where hee imparted the Letter to the Earle of *Salisbury*, Principall Secretary, and they both preſently acquainted the Lord Chamberlaine therewith, who deemed the matter not a little to concerne himſelfe, the charge of his Office being to ouer-ſee all places whether his Maieſty was to repaire; theſe two Counſellors ſhewed the ſame Letter to the Earles of *Worceſter* & *Northampton*, who together concluded (how ſleight ſoeuer the contents ſeemed to appeare, as proceeding from ſome ſurmiſes of an idle and light braine) to acquaint the King himſelfe with the ſame, which accordingly was done, and was as followeth.

The Letter ſent to the Lord *Monteagle*.

My Lord, out of the loue I beare to ſome of your friends, I haue a care of your preſeruation. Therefore I would aduiſe you, as you tender your life, to deuiſe ſome exteuſe to ſhift off your attendance at this Parliament. For God and man haue concurred to puniſh the wickedneſſe of this time. And thinke not ſleightly of this aduertiſement, but retire your ſelfe into your Countrey, where you may expect the euent in ſafety. For though there be no appearance of any ſtirre, yet I ſay, they ſhall receiue a terrible blow this Parliament, and yet they ſhall not ſee who hurts them. This counſell is not to be contemned, becauſe it may doe you good, and can doe you no harme; for the danger is paſt ſo ſoone as you haue burnt the Letter. And I hope God will giue you the grace to make good vſe of it: to whoſe holy protection I commend you.

(58) His Maieſty a while pauſing, and then re-reading the letter, deliuered his iudgement, that the ſtile thereof was too quicke and pithy to bee a libel bred from the ſuperfluities of an idle braine, and on the inſtant did apprehend by theſe words; *that they ſhould receiue a terrible blow at this Parliament, and yet ſhould not ſee who hurt them*; that a ſudden danger by blaſt of Gunpowder ſhould be intended by ſome baſe villaine in a corner, no inſurrection, rebellion, or deſperate attempt appearing. And therefore wiſhed that the vnder roomes of the *Parliament Houſe* might be throughly ſearched, before himſelfe, or Peeres ſhould ſit therein. To which purpoſe it was then concluded, that the *Lord Chamberlaine* ſhould (according to his Office & place) view all the rooms aboue and below: but as well to ſtay idle rumors, as to let things ripen to reueale their own myſteries, this his ſearch ſhould be deferred vntill Munday, the day immediately before the Parliament, and then to be with a ſeeming ſleight eye, to auoid ſuſpect.

(59) The Earle of *Suffolke*, Lord Chamberlaine, according to the concluſion, vpon Munday in the afternoone (being accompanied with the L. *Monteagle*, who ſtill thirſted to ſee the iſſue) repaired vnto thoſe vnder-roomes, and finding the Sellar ſo ſuffi- Nouemb. 4.

ciently ſtored with wood and coales, demanded of *Fawkes* (the counterfeit *Iohnſon*, who ſtood there attending as a ſeruant of ſmall repute) who owed the place: his anſwere was, that the lodgings belonged to Maſter *Thomas Percy*, and the Sellar likewiſe, to lay in his winter prouiſion, himſelfe being the Keeper and Maſter *Pereies* ſeruant. Whereunto the Earle as void of any other ſuſpition, preſently replied, that his Maſter was well prouided againſt Winters blaſts: but being come forth, the Lord *Montegle* told him, that hee did much ſuſpect *Percy* to bee the inditer of the letter, knowing his affection in religion, and the friendſhip betwixt them profeſſed, ſo as his heart gaue him (hee ſaid) when hee heard *Percy* named, that his hand was in the act.

(60) The Lord Chamberlaine returning, related to the King in preſence of ſome Counſellors, what hee had ſeene: and the ſuſpition that the Lord *Montegle* had of *Percy*, and himſelfe of *Iohnſon* his man; which preſently increaſed his Maieſties apprehenſion and iealouſie, whereupon hee inſiſted, that a narrow ſearch ſhould be made, and thoſe billets and coales ſhould be turned to the bottome, which as he confidently ſuppoſed was the couering of ſome notable intended treaſon. But ſome moued the doubt how this ſearch ſhould be made: for albeit no caution could be too much in ſo great a danger, yet the inducement thereunto, being no more then a nameleſſe inſcript, ſhufled no man knew whence, and might well be the euaporation of an idle brain, wold ſeeme (if nothing were found) ſome ſcandall vnto the State, to bee ouer ſuſpicious of ſo friuolous a toy, & withall might leaue ſome ſad imputation on a great counſellor of the land. Notwithſtanding, his Maieſty ſtill perſiſting in his former opinion, willed that the ſearch ſhould be throughly made, and no poſſibility of danger left vnexamined, vnleſſe they meant to goe to the Parliament, and leaue the hazard to the euent, which hee thought they in conſcience were loth to doe. Whereupon it was concluded, that the ſearch ſhould be made; but vnder color of ſearching for certaine hangings belonging to the houſe which were miſſing, and conuaied away.

(61) Sir *Thomas Kneuet*, (now Lord *Kneuet*, then a Gentleman of his Maieſties Priuy Chamber) was imployed herein, and about midnight (before the very morning when the Parliament was to beginne) went vnto the place with a ſmall but well affected company. At the dore of entrance into the Cellar, finding one (which was *Guy Fawkes*) at ſo vnſeaſonable a time, cloaked and booted, hee thought fitte to apprehend him, and entring the place, ouerturned the billets and coales, when preſently hee found the Serpents neſt, ſtored with thirty ſixe barrels (ſmall and great) of gunpowder, then ſearching the villaine that ſhould haue hatched theſe egges, found about him a darke lanterne, three matches and other inſtruments for blowing vp the powder: who no whit daunted, inſtantly confeſſed his guiltines, and was ſo farre from contrition or repentance, as hee vowed, that had hee been found within the houſe (as indeed he was then but immediately come foorth from his worke) hee certainely would haue blowne vp the houſe with himſelfe, and them all: and was ſo obdurate in his Romiſh reſolution, that being brought before the Lords of the Councell, hee lamented nothing ſo much, as that the deed had not been done, ſaying, *that the Diuell and not God was the diſcouerer of the plot.*

(62) As deſperate were *Catesby*, *Percy*, and the reſt, who hauing notice that the Lord *Montegles* letter giue ſome ouerture of ſuſpition, yet would they ſtay to ſee the ſucceſſe, and forſooke not *London* vntill the ſame day wherein the deed ſhould haue beene done: *Catesby*, *Percy*, *Rookewood*, both the *Wrights*, and *Thomas Winter*, poſted all into *Warwickſhiere*, where *Grant* and his aſſociates had taken certaine great horſes out of a ſtable, to forward their hoped great day. Theſe meeting at *Dunchurch*, where Sir *Enerard Digby* had made a match for a ſet hunting, not with hounds for the hare (which was only the colour,) but with *Nimrod* for bloud, and ſurprize of the moſt vertuous young Princeſſe Lady *Elizabeth*, were told (by the eſcaped) of their certaine diſcouery, and preſent purſuit; when ſtrucke with terrour, not knowing where to make ſtay, or whither to ſtir, they deſperately beganne an open rebellion, pretending the cauſe was Religion, and affirming for truth, that all the Catholikes throates were appointed to bee cut. And ſo trouping together, wandred through *Warwickſhire*, the edges of *Worceſter*, and borders of *Stafford ſhieres*, their ſeruants and aiders beeing about foureſcore men, and thoſe euer ready to ſteale away from them, more care was in keeping, then truſt repoſed either in their faith or defence. Yet thus ranging, and finding no reſiſtance, they rifled the Lord *Windſors* houſe of all the Armour, ſhot, powder, and other warlike prouiſions, but the weather rainy, and the waters ſomewhat high, the powder in carriage tooke wet, and thereby became vnſeruiceable. God in his iuſtice ſo ordering the ſucceſſes, that the element of water, and accident of fire, fought againſt them, as the ſtars in their courſes did againſt *Siſera*. Iudge. 5. 20.

(63) For their laſt fort of refuge; being *Holbach* in *Staffordſhiere* (the houſe of *Stephen Littleton*,) whither Sir *Richard walſh* (high Shiriffe of *Worceſterſhire*) purſued them, who thinking the ſtirre no greater (though ſo great enough) then ſom fray or riot, ſent his Trumpet vnto them, commanding to render themſelues vnto him his Maieſties Miniſter, with promiſe of his beſt meanes (if they ſo did) to allay the offence. But their owne conſciences witneſſing what the Sheriffe knew not, told them the fault was too waighty to leaue them any hope of fauour: and thereupon returned anſwere, that *hee had neede of greater aſſiſtance then of thoſe few numbers that were with him: before hee could be able to command or controll them.* So preparing for reſiſtance, they made ready their weapons, and hauing laid two pound of the ſaid powder in a platter to drie in the chimney, one (a Millar) comming to amend the fire, threw in a billet, wherewith a ſparke flying out, chanced to fall on the powder, whoſe ſuddaine blaſt was ſo violent, that (though being of ſo ſmall a quantity) it blew vp the roofe of the houſe, and ſcortched the bodies and faces of *Catesby*, *Rookewood* and *Grant*, with ſome others, whoſe conſciences then ſtrucken with the guilt of their ſinne, made them ſee Gods ſearching iuſtice in puniſhing like with like. Thus being deiected with the accident, and now knowing that all was loſt, like deſperate men, they there reſolued to die together, ſet open the gate, ſuffered the Sheriffes followers to ruſh in among them, and by valour (as they tearmed it) fought for their owne deſtruction; for both the *Wrights* were therein ſhot downe dead, *Ambroſe Rookewood*, and *Thomas Winter* were very ſore wounded; and laſtly *Catesby* and *Percy* reſolutly fighting, backe to backe, were both of them ſlaine with one bullet of musket-ſhot.

Fire-working Traitors puniſhed by fire.

(64) Thus theſe high aſpiring ſpirits, deceiued with the ſpirit of illuſion, vnder opinion of religion, and dreaming of no leſſe then deſtruction of King, Princes and people, with alterations of kingdomes, Church and State, were miſerably defeated, not by humane prouidence, but diuine mercy. Some preſently ſlaine in heate of Rebellion, others deadly wounded, were taken aliue, the reſt either whole or but lightly hurt, were led priſoners to *London*, and to other places, all the way gazed at, reuiled and deteſted by the common people, as ſome ſtrange Monſters of the world, for this their helliſh and horriole Treaſon; and laſtly condemned & executed as they moſt worthily deſerued; whoſe inditements, arraignments and confeſſions, I refer to be read in the true Relations already printed thereof, with ſundry other weighty matters thereto incident, in that learned diſcourſe, written by the moſt honourable Lord

Henry

Henry Howard, Earle of *Northampton*, Lord Priuy Seale.

An.D.1605. (65) In memory of which great deliuerance, the *fifth of Nouember* (the day appointed for merciless destruction) was by authority of the same Parliament enacted to bee for euer celebrated with thanksgiuing, praise and prayers vnto our heauenly Preseruer, & to be kept holy vnto the Lord through our generations, which we wish may bee obserued, with no lesse acknowledgement of Gods infinite mercies to vs-ward, then was among the Iewes, the institution of their Purim, for their deliuerance from the practise of wicked *Haman*, that so our Temples being thus freed from their prophane Idolatry, wee may euer make this day as the feast of our dedication, like to the *Maccabees*, who in the same moneth did institute theirs, by cleansing Gods Temple of heathenish pollutions. So shall Christ with his spirituall approch, beautifie this Church of ours, as with his humane presence in the Temple at *Ierusalem* he celebrated that Winters feast of theirs: wherein hee taught that himselfe was the true son of God, and the only dore by which all must enter. Through which therefore let vs with *Ieremy*, approch his Altar, to make supplications for the Kings peace: and with *Baruch* to pray for the Kings life, and life of his sonne, that their daies may be vpon the earth as the dayes of heauen, their branches as the beauteous Oliue, and their roots fastned as the cedars of *Lebanon*.

Hest. 9.

1. Maccab 4.

Iohn 10. 22.

Ier. 29. 7.

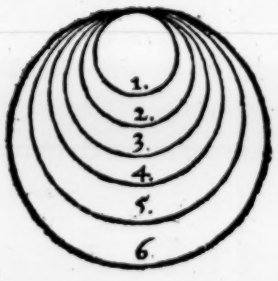
Baruch. 1. 11.

Hosea. 14. 6.

(67) In offering of which Sacrifice my selfe (his Maiesties loyall seruant) hold vp my handes towardes Heauen, for His continuall preseruation, His Royall Issues prosperity, our Churches Peace, and Great *Britaines* euer flourishing State: and doe at this place (as of most note and eminency) end my many yeeres trauels, hitherto purposely continued, that this last foule blot of infamy, though it cannot viterly be wiped away, yet may it be somewhat vailed, and lie obscured in this hindermost frame of our now finished Theatre, that so, when any more noble, and more enabled spirit and pen, shall attempt to continue and enlarge the life and raigne of this mighty Monarch, our learned and wise Soueraigne, he may adorne the frontispice of so glorious a worke, with some porch and entrance of more pleasing aspect. For my part, I haue here onely pointed at His Maiesties first entrance and acts, rather to shew a liberty of writing the Kingdomes affaires, which neuer is permitted, sauing vnder good Princes, then by my vnable performance to enter into that which requires the pen of some iudicious *Tacitus*, or eloquent *Zenophon*, and conclude with the aduise of *Amianus Marcellinus*, the famous Historian: *Let our men for experience more sufficient, and for learning better known, write the rest, whom, if it shall please them to enter thereupon, I aduise to frame their pennes vnto an higher Stile.*

Amm. a. lib. 31. cap. 17.

The Circumferences of these ancient Monies, being diuers and different, we haue in this Sculpture obserued, by shewing three Diameters, whose Circles import the bigneſſe of their Mintage, and their figures compared with these, direct their proportions to be of the same, as thou seest.



THE

A ſummary Concluſion of the whole.

BY the aſſiſtance of the *All-Sufficient* (the onely defence and Preſeruer of man) my inſufficient abilities, haue attained the end of this worke, and my weake vnable Perſon brought to a Period this large Edifice of GREAT BRITAINS THEATRE. How acceptable to others, I know not; but with what paines and trauile to my ſelfe, my decaied ſtrength too manifeſtly haue felt, & with what care of truth, the *Authorities* alleaged through the whole Proceſſe, are my witneſſes; whoſe lines haue been the meaſures, and Antiquities the matter, that hath raiſed the *Fabrick* vnto this height. The attempt was great, and farre vnfit (I muſt confeſſe) for me to vndergoe; which, euen at the firſt entrance was ſo cenſured by the Iudicious, and in the continuance hath ſo proued: that now it being finiſhed, as the Silke-worme endeth her life in her long wrought clew, ſo I in this *Theatre* haue built my own Graue; whoſe Architecture howſoeuer defectiue it may be ſaid to be, yet the proiect is good: and the coſt great though my ſelfe haue freely beſtowed this paines to the Preſſe, without preſſing a penny from any mans purſe. For me to ſhew the vtility of Hiſtory, were to light a dimme candle before the bright Sunne; or to preſcribe a methode for their vſes, were, with *Phormio* to reade a Lecture of Chiualry vnto great *Hannibal*, warres experienced Conquerour: But, as our owne concerneth vs neereſt (wherein my pen hath taken the freeſt acceſſe) ſo let me abridge the whole in a ſmall Circle and incompaſſe that briefly, which hath beene related in a far wider circumference.

(2) Our Land, peopled from *Iaphet* the firſt ſonne of *Noah*, fell vnto thoſe ſonnes of *Gomer* and *Iauan* (the firſt and fourth ſonnes of *Iaphet*) which inhabited theſe parts of *Europe*, whoſe Iſſue were moſt famouſly knowne by the name of *Britaines*. At firſt, naked, rude, and ignorant of the true God; yet no ſooner were frequented with the ciuill *Romanes*, but that they couered their Cut-painted bodies with Garments, and ſhortly imitated them euen in their moſt ciuilized actions; yea, ſcarcely was Chriſt taken downe from his *Croſſe*, but they became *Chriſtians*, (the greateſt glory of any Nation) and among them the *Goſpell* had her firſt progreſſe by eſtabliſhed authority. Their Gouernment was vnder Kings, and thoſe of as honourable a reſpect, as were any other in theſe Weſt-parts of the World, both in training their Subiects vnto due obedience, and miniſtring of Lawes for the maintainance of eſtate. Their warres domeſticke and forraine were ſo managed with Policy and valour, as in the one they valiantly defended themſelues againſt their aſſaults, and in the other ſteeded the *Romanes* in moſt of their Conqueſts: which coſt them laſtly their owne ſubuerſions, when their warriers and virgins were conſumed and tranſported into other parts, whilſt their natiue Land lay expoſed to the will of Inuaders.

The firſt Inhabitants.

Their ciuilitie.

Chriſtianity.

Gouernmont.

Warres.

(3) The glory-thirſting *Romanes* (from a crew of lawleſſe Shepheards, now lately become Lords of the World) were the firſt that ſet foot, with diſplaied Enſigne,

Their firſt Conquerors.

Enſigne, for the Conqueſt of *Britaine*, and the ſame firſt aſſaied by *Iulius Cæſar* from the Coaſts of *Gallia*. Which his attempt was ſo honourable in eſteeme of their Emperors, that *Claudius* (the 5. in ſucceſſiō) holding the Triumph but baſe, that attends vpon authority without action of Price, made choiſe of *Britaine* to adorne his triumphant Chariot, that this Iland (ſited, as was thought, in another World, and but part thereof ſhewed by *Cæſar* to the *Romans*) might adde remembrance of name to his forgetfull Perſon: and to that end, hauing made hither himſelfe, ſtamped his Conqueſt vpon his Coines thus, DE BRITANN: and vpon his aged knees crept vp the ſteps of the *Capitoll*, to giue thankes of victory vnto his gods on the day of his *Triumph*; which, though for a ſmall part of this Ilands ſubiection, was yet accompliſhed with more then ordinary magnificence, and the ſhewes greater then vſually had been ſeene, for the Conqueſts of farre larger and better knowne Kingdoms. And with as great a care was it kept, whilſt the *Romans* kept their owne greatnes. But when their high-mounted Pillar ouerſwayed her owne Baſe, and the farre-ſpread boughs were growne to weighty for the ſtemme, many hands at once graſped at the Emperiall Crown, and all of them together tare the Branches from the Body of that faire Tree. By whom alſo the faire & flouriſhing Cedars of *Britain* were ſhaken, and left naked both of fruite, and leafe. So that now the glory of the one declined, and the beauty of the other vtterly defaced, and neither of them able any longer to ſupport their owne ſtandings, gaue place vnto *deſtiny* that would now haue both downe; whereby the *Iewell* ſo much deſired, and which had been kept with ſuch care, was now laid at ſtake to them that could winne it, and *Britain* abandoned by the *Romans*, without further claime, after they had been Lords thereof the ſpace of fiue hundred yeeres.

(4) The next Actors vpon *Britaines* faire Stage, were the *Saxons*, a people of *Germany*, fierce, bold, and irreligious, as, for the moſt part, the reſt of Nations in thoſe daies were. Theſe infeſting with Piracies the Coaſts of *Britaine* & *Gallia*, grew both fearefull and famous in profeſſion of military ſeruices. In *France* they ſeized vpon the Country of * *Baiocaſſes*; in *Germany* by intruſion they vnſeated the *Suenians*; in *Holland* and *Frieſland*, they incroached vpon the *Batauians*, and *Cimbrica Cherſoneſus* (now a continent of *Denmarke*) they made the place of their aboad. From whence they often aſſailed the Coaſts of this Iland, euen whilſt the *Romans* held it for theirs, and were often put backe by *Stilicho* and others, whoſe praiſes the *Poet Claudian* chaunted aloud. But the *Romans* departed, and *Britaine* left bare of men, their land waſted by famine, tumultuous vprores, and by bandings of Great-ones who ſhould be greateſt; the *Scots* and *Picts* (ancient Enemies to their Peace) tooke the aduantage, and continually made bloody incurſions into their Land. And albeit a ſtone-wal was raiſed athwart the whole Continent, to impeach their inroades, yet that auailed little, their aſſaults were ſo great. Whereupon the *Saxons* were ſent for; and in their firſt ſeruice freed the *Britaines* from thoſe raging *Picts*; The Lands defence they then vndertooke, and the Inhabitants conſented to maintaine the charge; which whilſt it was in giuing was thankefully receiued, but once receiued was vngratefully forgot. And they (like the Rauens of *Arabia*, who ſo long as they are full, yeeld a pleaſant noiſe, but being empty make a horrible cry) emptied faſter then the *Britaines* could fill, and euer complained they had not enough, till laſtly by ſurprize they got all into their own clawes. Then diuided they among themſelues the beſt of the Land, and droue their receiuers into the worſt and waſte mountaines of *Wales*, euery of their Captaines ſharing a part to himſelfe, and of one Emperiall Crowne made ſeauen *Diademes* to adorne their owne heads; which long were not worne, without

Their Triumphs.

Their eſteeme.

Their ruine.

Abandoned by the *Romans*.

Inuaded by *Saxons*.

* *Baiocaſſes*.

By *Picts* & *Scots*.

The occaſion of *Saxons* comming.

Their vſurping on the Land.

Their diuiding the Land into an Heptarchie.

inteſtine warres, each of them ſtriuing to inlarge his owne, vpon his next, till God and deſtiny againe brought all vnto *One*, euen to great *Egbert*, who forbade the Ilands old Name, and commanded theſe now vnited Prouinces to be called *Anglia*. Yet no ſooner was this accompliſhed, with aſſured hopes conceiued, that the *Saxons* glory ſhould thence forward aſcend and ſpread forth with peace, but that a ſauage nation, as fierce as the *Scythians*, caſt their eies of deſire vpon that Beautifull Crowne, and preſently attempted, but neuer intermitted any bloody cruelties that could forward the ſame, till they had ſet it on their owne *Helmets*; and theſe *Saxons* worn out with reſiſtance, gaue place to the *Danes*, when time had worne out fiue hundred ſixty three yeeres of their Gouernment.

(5) Theſe *Danes* thus ſucceeding (though with no better right to enioy) were a ſtout ſturdy Nation, whoſe many Piracies both *France* and *Bretaigne* had many times felt, before they attained the end of this their Goale. For theſe, multiplying like *Bees* in the Hiue, the land of their owne natiuity was too little for each to haue a part: vpon which occaſion a cuſtome was practiſed to baniſh ſome, that the reſt might haue roome. Theſe Exiles therefore (chiefely conſiſting of their youth) fell vpon other Lands with no leſſe danger, then the falling of a ſword out of the ſheath, and greeuouſly wounded whereſoeuer they fell; but no where more deadly then in *England*. Which for two hundred and eighteene yeeres continuance, they vnceſſantly aſſaulted; ſometimes harrowing the Countrey before them, and carrying away great Booties to their Ships: ſometimes impoſe iſhing the People, by exacting great ſummes of money for compoſition of Peace: ſometimes expelling the Inhabitants, and ſeating themſelues in their places: and ſometimes ſharing the Country with their Kings, and taking vnto themſelues none of the worſt; but not as other Conquerors, to build, ſow, and plant, but to lay waſt, caſt downe, and deſtroy, ſparing neither Erections for ciuill vſe, nor places of Oratory dedicated to diuine. Yet the Garland once gotten by their King *Canut*, was worne with great glory, and by three of thoſe *Daniſh* Kings, *Englands Crowne* was enioyed. The firſt of them Potent, religious, wiſe and iuſt. The ſecond, illegitimate, an vſurper very agill, but idle: And the third a Tyrant, a Taxe-raiſer, laſciuious and a glutton, in which exceſſe at *Lambeth* he ſuddainely ended his life, when the Land became cleared of the *Danes* ſore oppreſſions, after they had a long time attempted, and their Kings for fiue and twenty yeeres ſpace worne the royall diademe of this Realme.

(6) Theſe foure Nations fulfilling their times by Heauens aſignement, in gaining, keeping, and againe looſing, the rich Garland of GREAT BRITAINES gouernment: a fift, inferiour to none, made thereunto a double claime, and by a third (more ſure then both) which was, their *conquering ſword*, got it. Theſe laſt (which I pray may be laſt) were the *Normans*, a people fierce and valorous, whoſe many Sea-aduentures were ſo great, in the daies of *Charles the Great*, as that hee wept to for-ſee the harmes they would doe to his in *France*, which proued ſo many, that *Charles the Bald* (his Grand-Child) was forced to part with the Earledome of *Charters* vnto *Haſting* a Norman; *Charles the Groſſe* with the County *Newſtria*, vnto *Godfrey* their Chieftaine: and *Charles the Simple*, with all the Conntryes which lay betwixt the Riuer *Seine* and *Loyre*, vnto *Rollo* their Leader, whereof hee became Duke, and that Dutchie from him named *Normandy*. Whence *William the Baſtard* the ſeuenth in diſcent, in a bloody field at *Battell* in *Suſſex*, wan the Engliſh Crowne from King *Harold* that held it; when, by changing of Lawes, diſheriting of Nobles, and beſtowing the Lands Reuenewes vpon his, he laid the foundation of a glorious Monarchy. At firſt, ſomewhat bloody, (as Conqueſts commonly proue) and the Crown-

The Heptarcie againe reuolued to a Monarchie

Egbert firſt named *England*.

The *Saxons* confuſion.

The *Danes* intruſion.

The occaſion thereof.

Their continuance here.

Their deuaſtations here.

Their three Kings.

Their end.

The *Normans*.

Their title to *England*.

Their attempts and ſeatings in *France*.

William the Conquerors victory.

The ſucceſſion of the Crowne vnduely ſwaied.

Crowne banded for, among brethren and kindred (as what will not the deſire of a Diademe doe?) the two yonger brethren ſucceſſiuely wearing it, to the preiudice of their* Elder, and *Stephen* hauing no right, but ſuch as Intruders pretend. But *Henrie Plantagenet* placed on the Throne, and three hundred thirty one yeeres taken vp in the Raignes of foureteene Kings of his line, their Acts afford matter of more Princely conſequence, their Dominions ſpread wider, themſelues being the lawfull Inheritors to the third part of *France*, and to the *Whole* by the *Title* of their *third Edward*, and by the *Conqueſt* of their *fifth Henry*. And ſurely had not the ciuill diſſenentions of *Lancaſter* and *Yorke* ſpent their weapons in the wounds of themſelues, thoſe Kings and their Succeſſours vndoubtedly had been douole crowned euen to this day. But theſe *Roſes* pluckt off by diſſentious hands, and their branches torne downe in home-bred broyles, their royall roots lay as it were dead in the Earth, till *Tender of Lancaſter* with *Plantagenet* of *Yorke*, gaue them vigor and ſappe by binding both together in wedlockes golden band. Whereby alſo the long dead ſtemme of the ancient Britiſh Kings began againe to bud forth, and fiue renowned Princes of that Sirname ſucceeded in *Englands Throne*.* The *firſt* of them, the richeſt, & wiſeſt King of this Weſterne-world:* The *Second*, the foreſt wonder of the Papall authority;* The *third*, the forwardeſt in all pious actions.* The *fourth* the feruenteſt for the Religion of *Rome*;* And the *fifth* a *Mayden-Queen*, the moſt famouſly renowned among the Worlds Monarkes, vnder whoſe raignes on hundred and ſixteen yeeres were fully compleat & run. And were it not that the *Engliſh* are taxed to be ouermuch addicted vnto vaine Propheſies, and that *Merlins* was prohibited by decree of Councell, I might alledge his, and that of *Aquila* at *Shaftesbury*, both of them foreſhewing that the *Britiſh Empire* after the *Saxons* and *Normans*, ſhould returne againe to her ancient *Stocke* and *Name*. Notwithſtanding Truth bids vs acknowledge, how farre God hath accompliſhed both theſe in the royall Perſon of our now-*Soueraigne*, the one by his diſcent from the loines of that Royall *Tuder* King *Henry the Seuenth*; and the other, by his *Edict*, in reſtoring to the *Iland* her ancient Name, *Brittania*: himſelfe being the *firſt Monarch* of the two Kingdomes Vnion, and the greateſt of Command, ſince *Canutus the Dane*. The Cordes of whoſe *Royall Tents*, we pray, may be further extended, that thoſe naked *Virginians* may be couered vnder the Curtains of his moſt Chriſtian Gouernmēt; and that the *Scepter* of his *Peace* may bud, as *Aarons Rod* in his hand, and in the hand of his Sonne, and Son Sonnes, ſo long as the *Sun* and *Moone* endureth.

(7) Theſe then (worthy Reader) are the Heads, whence haue iſſued ſuch plentifull Springs, that now met together in one Body, the Streame is grown very bigge, which thing I euer feared, but could neuer preuent; offending rather with the *Niggard* who thinketh euery mite too-much, then ſinning with the *Prodiall* in ſuperfluous exceſſe; ſo plenteous is our Story, and ſo largely requires it to be writ. Through all which my weake body with many yeeres labour hath alone trauelled, aſwell in the reuiewing of the Geographical parts of the Land as in the compiling of the ſucceeding Hiſtory, though farre vnable to perfect either according to their own worths. But leſt the waight of the whole ſhould reſt vpon ſo ſlender a proppe as my ſelfe: I haue laid my buildings vpon far ſtronger arches, as by the many alleaged authorities may appeare. For firſt, the Chards for the moſt part traced by others, and moſt of them diuuilged vnto view, were the foundations of my begun paines; in ſupplying their wants with my many additions, & dimenſions of the Shire-townes, and Cities true platformes. The further deſcriptions of ſundry prouinces, I haue gleaned from the famous workes of the moſt worthy and learned *Cambden*, whoſe often ſowed ſeedes in that Soile, hath laſtly brought forth a moſt plenteous harueſt. For the body of the Hiſtory, many were the manuſcripts, notes, and Records, wherewith my honoured and learned friends ſupplied me; but none more (or ſo many) as did the worthy repairer of eating Times ruines, the learned *Sir Robert Cotten* Knight Banoret, another *Philadelphus* in preſeruing old Monuments and ancient Records: whoſe Cabinets were vnlocked, and Library crntinually ſet open to my free acceſſe; & from whence the chiefeſt garniſhments of this worke haue been enlarged and brought: ſuch as are the antique altars, & Trophies in Stone, by him preſerued from periſhing obliuion; the Coines of gold, ſiluer, alcumy, and copper, of the *Britaines*, *Romans*, *Saxons*, *Danes*, and *Engliſh*, with the Broad Seales of thoſe Kings ſince the ſame were in vſe: all of them ſo followed from the originall moddles, and moneyes, by the moſt exquiſit and curious hand of our age, as any eie may witnes they are the true prints from thoſe ſtamps. The like moſt acceptable helpes, both of Bookes and Collections, (eſpicially in matters remoter from our times) I continually receiued from that worthy *Diuine*, *Maſter Iohn Barkham*, a gentleman compoſed of *Learning*, *Vertue* & *Curteſie*, as being no leſſe ingeniouſly willing, then learnedly able, to aduance and forward all vertuous endeauors. Laſtly for the matters of *Herauldrie*, the willing and ready paines of Maſter *William Smith*, *Rough Dragon*, (an Officer at Armes) was euer at hand: and by theſe hands this building is mounted ſo ſuch an height as thou ſeeſt; which thus now finiſhed, this ſcanted Epitome may well ſerue thy foote ſteppes, as ſtaires to aſcend theſe fiue nationall Stories already finiſhed, and lead thee into the ſixth now moſt happily begun. Where from thoſe thou maieſt behold, how *Time* hath ſquared the mounted heights, Stones of theſe buildings: how *Fortune* hath varied in contriuing the Worke: and how the *Fates* haue erected, poliſhed, & puld down the ſupporting Pillars of GREAT BRITAINES THEATRE. From whoſe *Tarras* with *Dauid* caſt not thy luſting eie vpon vnlawfull delights: nor with *Babels* King boaſt, that his was built by thy owne might: But with *Moſes* confeſſe, that from a ſmall ſtocke (as a graft of the Lords planting) thou art now growen into a great Nation, mighty, and full of people: And with *Salomon* make ſupplication vnto thy great *Iehouah*, that the *Arke of his ſtrength* may euer reſt in this Houſe, & his eies be euer open thereon day and night. With the *Prophet* pray that this building may be as beauteous as his, the Foundations laid with *Saphires*, her Windowes with the *Emerands*, and her Gates with the *Carbuncles*: That the deſarts of this *choſen Zion* may be as *Eden*, and her wildernes like the *Garden of God*, *watered in due time with the firſt and latter raine*; Deut. 11. 13. her Gouernment *Peace*, her People the *Saints of Salnation*, and her Kings the *Signets on Gods right hand*, ſucceſſiuely to ſit on this Royall Throne, till *Chriſt the King of Kings* ſhall come in the Clowdes, and from the Raine-Bow the Throne of his Maieſty pronounce vs bleſſed, and make vs heires with himſelfe of that Kingdome which neuer ſhall haue end. *Vnto which* CHRIST, *with his* FATHER, *and* HOLY SPIRIT, *three in Perſons, but* ONE GOD *eternal, vndiuidable in Deity, be aſcribed all Praiſe, Honour, Glory, Wiſdome, Power and Might for euermore. Amen.*

* *Robert Curthoſe.*

The Plantagenets ſucceſſion.

Their large inheritance.

Their ciuill diſſentions.

The *Tuders* ſucceſſion.

Fiue Princes of that ſirname.

* *Henry 7.*
* *Henry 8.*
* *Edward 6.*
* *Mary Q.*
* *Elizabeth Q.*

Comin. lib. 4. cap. 10.

The Crowne returned to the old *Britaines*, and *Britaine* to her olde Name.

The vnion of the whole Iland in the perſon of our Soueraigne.

L. Har. Chriſt. Saxton. Iohn Norden. Wil. White.

Chriſt. Swiſſer.

Deu. 26.

2. Chro. 6.

Iſaith. 54. 11.

Iſaiah 51. 3.

Hag. 2.

FINIS.

THE SECOND INDEX, OR ALPHABETICALL TABLE, CONTAINING THE PRINCIPALL MATTERS IN THIS HISTORY.

The first Number noting the Page, the second the Section.

A

Fol. Sect.

Aaron, a Martyr in *Britaine*. 206.19
From *Abraham* to the law, what time. 278.2
Abbey of Saint *Albans* guelded by King *William* Conqueror. 429.25
Abbot of S. *Albans* his answere to *Lewis* of *France* demaunding homage. 520.4
Abbot of *Hales* hanged. 776.46
George Abbot (after Archbishop of *Canterbury*) the first Preacher sent into *Scotland*, for an vnion in the Hierarchy. 919.26
Abbot of *Lewis* with others taken prisoners by the French. 605.4
Absolution by the Minister how allowable. 914.20
Academies or Vniuersities in *Britaine*. 168.8
Acon or *Acres*, the same that *Ptolomais*. 485.30
Besieged by Christian Princes. 486.31
Rendred vnto the Christians, and sacked. *ibid.*32
Deliuered from the siege of the Sultan of *Babylon*. 553.3
Adam d'Orlton or *Torleton* Bishop of *Hereford*, sideth with Queene *Isabell* against the *Spensers*. 573.6
His equiuocating writ for the death of King *Edward* the 2. 578.7
Adda King of *Bernicia*. 315.2
Adela, *Adelicia*, *Adeliza*, or *Alice*, third daughter of *William Conquerour*. 436.1
Adela, *Adelicia*, *Adeliza*, or *Alice*, daughter of *Ieffrey* Duke of *Louaine*, second wife to K. *Henry* the first. 450.42
Remarried to *William Daubeney* Earle of *Arundell*. 452.61
Adelme a rebell, vanquished by King *Cuthred*. 307.13
His victory and restoring to fauour. *ibid.*
Adminius a King of the *Britans* his Coine. 175.17
Being banished, flyeth to *Caligula Cæsar*. 192.3
Ælianus an vsurper of the *Romane* Empire. 246.3
L. *Ælius Cæsar* to *Adrianus*. 218.1
His Coine. *ibid.*
Ælphegus Archbishop of *Canterbury* martired by the Danes. 395.16
Æmilianus Maurus defeateth the *Goths*. 343.5
Is made Emperour. *ibid.*
His descent. *ibid.*1
Murdred by his Souldiers. 243.4
His short raigne. *ibid.*
C. *Iulius Æmilianus* his coine. 243
Æquinoctium, what it is. 185.16
Æsar, left in the name of *Cæsar*, what it signified. 761.70
Æthelgida King *Seberts* Wife, where entombed. 311.3
Æthelmere, elect Bishop of *Winchester*. 540.76
Ætius Gouernour in *France*, vnder *Valentinian* the third. 279.5
Sent vnto from the *Britaines*. 281.11
Agatha Wife to *Edward* the *Out-law*, both parents to *Edgar Etheling*. 401.21
Agincourt, See *Azincourt*.
Agreement betweene King *Stephen*, & *Henry Fitz-Empresse*. 463.47
Agreement betweene *Richard* 1. King of *England*, and *Philip* King of *France*, at the setting forth to the Holy-land. 484 14
Agreement betweene King *Richard* the first, and King *Tancred* of *Sicilie*. *ibid.*19
Iul. Agricola made *Britaine* a Prouince. 172.5
Found it to be an Iland. *ibid.*
Iul. Agricola Lieutenant vnder the *Romans* in *Britain*. 212.10
He vanquisheth the *Ordouices* *ibid.*
Not vainglorious. 212.12
Good to the poore. *ibid.*
Cureth blind and lame miraculously. *ibid.*14
Iul. Agricola enlarged the *Roman* Empire. 213.6
His opinion of *Ireland*. 213.6
He searcheth out the limits of *Britaine*. *ibid.*6
Winneth the field against *Galgacus*. 215.12
Receiueth triumphall ornaments. *ibid.*16
Agrippina Wife to *Claudius Cæsar*, worketh his death. 196.2
A monster of the femall sexe. 199.19
Aidan a Christian Bishoppe in *Scotland*. 353.4
Aimerie de Valence putteth King *Robert Bruce* to flight. 660.51
Alane D. of *Britaigne* in *France*, sideth with K. *Stephen*. 458.25
His description. *ibid.*
Alaricus a valiant *Goth* the scourge of *Rome*. 276.4
Albane Martyr in *Britaine*. 206.19
Beheaded. 255.11
Canonized a Saint. 255.11
S. *Albans* Monastery built. *ibid.*
Founded by K. *Offa*. 362.11
Battell at S. *Albans*, the first. 679.64
Battell at S. *Albans*, the second. 685.93
Duke of *Albanie* offereth battell to the Earle of *Surrey* with all curtesie. 772.49
His answere to the Scottish Nobility, disswading offensiue warre. 773 51
Albemarle Earle sideth with K. *Stephen*. 499.25
Albertus Cardinall, and Arch-Duke of *Austria*, Gouernour in the Low-Countries. 894.262
Albigenses, what manner of Heretikes. 525.21
Warred vpon by King *Lewis* of *France*. *ibid.*
Albina the beautifull daughter of *Diocletian*. 158.4
Clod. Albinus Lieutenant in *Britaine*. 225.8
Entituled *Cæsar*. 227.3
His Coines. 127.4
Made successour in the Empire. 228.2
His death plotted. *ibid.*
Proclaimed Traitor. *ibid.*
Vanquished by *Septim. Seuerus*. 228.3
A valiant Captaine. *ibid.*
Saint *Albins* battell in *France*. 746.24
Albinus the Abbot an Historiographer. 163.15
Albion a name of *Britaine*, imposed by the *Gracians*. 158.4
Whereof so called. *ibid.*
A name of long continuance. *ibid.*
Albion a Giant. *ibid.*
Albion, whence deriued. *ibid.*
Alcharon of *Mahomet*. 323
Alcibiades, faire, being old 204.7
Alcuinus borne in *Yorke*, instructer to *Charles* the Great. 398.10
Aldred Archbishop of *Yorke*, 426.5
Aldulfe King of the *East-Angles*. 327.10
His Coine. *ibid.*
His raigne. *ibid.*
Alectus his treachery. 255.8
His Coine. *ibid.*
Slaine. *ibid.*9
Alen Cardinall, his traiterous libell. 883.187
Alexander Abbot of the *Benedictines* hearteneth King *Iohn* against Pope *Innocentius*. 507.40
Depriued by the Pope. *ibid.*
Alexander Bishoppe of *Chester*, cleareth himselfe of disloyalty. 531.45
K. *Alexander* the Great, whither hee came into *Britaine*. 168.9
His picture in *Gades*. 143.1
Alexander K. of Scots a peacemaker betwixt *Henry* the 3. King of *England*, and his LL. 523.57
Alexander the third, K. of Scots, espouseth *Margaret* daughter of *Henry* the third, King of *England*. 541.79
His witty insinuation to king *Henry* the third, in the behalfe of *Philip Louell*. *ibid.*
Hee with his Queene highly entertained in *England*. 544.86
Alexander Seuerus made Emperour of *Rome*. 235 1
His parentage and breeding. *ibid.*
A louer of Liberall Sciences, & a fauourer of Christians. *ib.*

His

His iuſtice. *ibid.* 3
His martiall proweſſe. *ibid.*
His bounty. *ibid.*
His Coine. 235.1
Murdered. 236.4
His raigne and age. *ibid.*
Alexander king of *Scots* dieth of a fall from his horſe. 556.18
Alexander king of *Scots* marrieth the Lady *Ioan*, ſiſter to *Henry* the third. 522.12
Alexander Neuil Archbiſhop of *Yorke*, remoued from king *Richard* the ſecond. 616.77
Alexander the 5. Pope, choſen in lieu of the two *Antipapes*. 632.47
Alexander Prince of *Scotland* knighted by *Iohn* king of *England*. 509.45
Alexander Seton ſlaine by *Edward Baliol*. 580.24
Alexianus, *Cæſar* to *Heliogabalus*. 235.1
Named afterwards *Alexander Seuerus*. *ibid.*
Alfonſus, or *Alphonſus*, ſonne of K. *Edward* the firſt, his death and buriall. 563.60
Alfonſe king of *Spaine* claimeth *Gaſcoigne*. 542.82
He quitteth his claime. *ibid.* 83
His good aduiſe to K. *Henry* the third. 542.83
Alfwald king of *Northumberland* murdred. 318.21
His raigne and Iſſue. *ibid.*
Algitha the wife of K. *Edmund Ironſide*. 401.20
Alfgiua wife of king *Canutus* barren, yet ſeemed fruitfull. 402.19
Prince *Alfred*, King *Canute* his Sonne, right heire to the Crowne of *England*, entrapped by fraud, bereft of his eyes, and cruelly tormented. 405.6.7
Algar, *Leofricks* ſonne baniſhed. 403.3
Algith, Widdow of *Gruffith Ap Lhewelin*, king of North-*Wales*, King *Haralds* Wife. 418.53
After *Harald* was ſlaine, liued in *Weſtcheſter* priuate. *ibid.*
Alice, See *Adela*.
Alice daughter to king *William* the Conquerour. 436.74
Her Iſſue. *ibid.*
At laſt a profeſſed Nunne *ibid.*
Alice daughter of *Lewis* king of *France*, married to *Richard* K. *Henry* the ſecond his Son. 477.85
Alice Siſter to *Philip* king of *France*, contracted to *Richard* the firſt, king of *England*. 485.22
Suppoſed to haue had a child by his Father king *Henry* the ſecond. *ibid.*
Reſtored to her Brother. 490.62
Married to *Iohn* Earle of *Pontif*, or *Ponthieu*. *ibid.*
Alice daughter of king *Edward* the firſt. 564.66
Dame *Alice Piers* abuſeth the old age of king *Edward* the third, as his Concubine. 600.148
A moſt inſolent woman. *ibi.* 149
Alice Piers baniſhed. 603.1
Alipius Lieutenant vnder the *Romans* in *Brtaine*. 265.7
Interrupted by fearefull fires in reedifying of *Ieruſalem*. 265.7
Alkfrid king of *Northumberland* an excellent Philoſopher. 317.12
His life, raigne, death, and Iſſue. *ibid.*
Alphon what it ſignifieth. 158.4
Alphonſo K. of *Galacia* firſt founder of *Portugall* much renowned. 902.320
Alphonſo O-Campo leader of *Spaniards* to inuade *Ireland*. 902.320
Taken priſoner. *ibid.* 322
Alpion. 158.4
Alricke king of *Kent*, the laſt in lineall ſucceſſion. 298.14
His raigne and death. 299.
An Altar-ſtone portraied. 239.
Altar to the Goddeſſe *Suria*. 222.5
To Goddeſſe *Fortuna*. 222.4
Alured, alias *Alfred* conuerteth the *Danes* to Chriſtianity. 205.17
Alured, murdreth his Soueraigne, and becommeth king of *Northumberland*. 318.20
His deſcent and iſſue. *ibid.*
Expelled out of his Kingdome. *ibid.*
Ambition and emulation of the ancient States of *Britaine*, 172.3
Ambresbury Abbey founded, 389.17
Ambresbury, whence it tooke the name. 315
Saint *Ambroſe* Biſhop of *Millaine* excommunicateth and abſolueth *Theodoſius* the Emperour. 275.8
America firſt diſcouered. 758.62
Amity ſolemnely made between *William* King of the Scots, and *Iohn* King of *England*. 497.14
The ſame renewed by two croſſe marriages. 507.41
Amity betweene King *Philip* of *France*, and K. *Iohn* of *England*. 498.14
Amity betweene *Henry* the fifth King of *England*, and *Charles* the ſixt King of *France*, vpon what conditions. 653.52
Amond a King of the *Danes*. 398.4
Amphibalus a Martyr, Saint *Albans* teacher. 206,19.255,11
Anarchy in *France*. 595.120
Ancalites where ſeated. 173.4
An Anchorits counſell to the Britiſh Biſhops and Doctors touching *Auſtin* the Monke. 347.11
Andates Goddeſſe of victory. 167.8
Andragathius a murderer droweth himſelfe. 273.7
S. *Andrewes* Church in *Welles* founded. 307.15
Androgorius, is *Mandrubacius*. 173.5
Angiers wonne by a ſtratagem. 503.28
Ruined. 484.4
Angle-lond, i. *England*, whence the name is deriued, impoſed firſt by *Egbert*. 160.9
Angles, what Nation. 287.6
Angleſey inuaded, and the Inhabitants cruelly vſed. 441.29
Anglia, whence it tooke name. 287.10,11
Old *Anglia*. 288.10
Anlafe, ſonne of Daniſh *Gurmo* baptized. 383.9
Anlafe Sithricks ſonne chaſed into *Ireland*. 381.5
Called by Writers King of the Iriſh. 381.7
His ſtratagem. *ibid.*
His ſouldiers fidelity. *ibid.*
His Coine. 383.9
Called out of *Ireland* to bee King of the *Danes* in *Northumberland*. 382.2
Baptized. 393.9
Sent backe againe into *Ireland*. 384.3
Anlafe King of *Norway* baptized. 393.9
Anlafe a leader of the *Danes*. 395.23
Anne Dutcheſſe of *Britaine* married by *Proxie*, with what Ceremonies. 748.28
Queene *Anne* wife to King *Richard* the ſecond dyeth, with many other great Ladies. 617.90
Buried in *Weſtminſter*. 622.119
Queene *Anne* King *Richard* the third his wife, dyeth. 734.42
Her buriall. *ibid.*
Her parentage, and double marriage. 738.61
Anne Askew burned in *Smithfield* for Religion. 793.112
Put on the racke. *ibid.*
Her tormenting diſpleaſed K. *Henry* the 8. 793.113
Her commendable parts. 793.112
Scandalized and ſlandered by a Romaniſt Writer. 793.112
Anne Bullen ſecond wife to king *Henry* the eight, her deſcent. 782.80.785,137
Her Religion. 783.81
Inueſted Marchioneſſe of *Pembroke*. 783.82
Married to King *Henry* the eight. *ibid.*
Crowned Queene of *England*. 784.85
A great louer of the Goſpell, *ibid.*86
Deliuered of a dead childe. *ibid.*87
Charged with high Treaſon, and ſent to the Tower. *ibid.*
Defended. 784.88
Condemned for adultery, & inceſt, & beheaded. 784.89
Thought to dye guiltleſſe of the crime. 784.92
Her penancy. 785.93
Her godly life. *ibid.*
Where enterred. 784.90
Anne of *Cleue* married to king *Henry* the 8. 791.105
Anne of *Cleue* vpon diſlike only diuorced from king *Henry* the eight. 798.139
Her parentage. *ibid.*
The fourth wife of K. *Henry* the eight. *ibid.*
No more to be ſtiled Queene *Anne*. 798.139
Aniballianus his coine. 262
Anſelme Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. 441.19
Held guilty of high Treaſon. 442.33
Recalled home. 445.5
Hee ſtandeth againſt married Prieſts. 446.13
Anſelme Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* goeth to *Rome*. 436.13
His death. 448.29
Anna King of the *Eaſt-Angles*, ſlaine in battell by *Penda*, 327.7
His raigne, iſſue, and buriall. *ibid.*
Anthun a Duke of the South-Saxons. 311.4
Antioches Primacy before *Romes* 535.60
Antona a riuer in *Britan*. 194.12
M. Antony his gouernment, ouer what Prouinces. 188.2
Proclaimed enemy to the State. *ibid.*
Diſcomfited. *ibid.*
Don Antonio the expulſed king of *Portugall*, ſeeketh Queene *Elizabeths* protection, 890.230
His title to *Portugall*, *ibid.*
Antoninus a gracious name among the Romans. 231.1
The name aboliſhed. 235.6
Antoninus Caracalla, the ſame that *Baſſianus* the Emperour, 231.1
Hee ſeeketh to Aſtrologers, 232.7
Is murthered. *ibid.*
His coine, together with his brother *Geta*. 231.1
His naturall properties, 232.5
His inceſt with *Iulia* his fathers wife, *ibid.*6
His time of raigne. *ibid.*8
Slaine. *ibid.*7,8
Antoninus Pius Emperour. 220.1
His coine. *ibid.*
His birth and commendation. *ibid.*
A great defender of the Chriſtians. *ibid.*4
His Edict for their protection *ibid.*5
His Apophthegme. 221.5
His perſonage and commendable parts. *ibid.*6
His raigne, age, & death. *ibid.*
Anzazim an Aſſaſine traiterouſly woundeth Prince *Edward* after king *Edward* the firſt. 553.5
Ap-Arthur a fabulous Writer. 317
Twelue Apoſtles of the king of *Spaine*. 269.266
Apprentiſe of the Law, what he is. 615.21
Apulder Caſtle built by the *Danes*. 375.20
Don Iohn d'Aquila ſent out of *Spaine* into *Ireland*. 875.318
Aquitaine how large a Dutchie. 674.60
Reuolteth from the Engliſh, 600.147
L. *Arabella* her parentage. 764.75
Arbogaſtes a traiterous murderer of *Valentinian* the yonger Emperour. 273.10
He killeth himſelfe. 274.5
Arcadius and *Honorius* Emperours. Their Coines. 275
Arcadius fellow-Emperour with his father *Theodoſius*. 272.4
Arcadius Emperour in the Eaſt, 274.6
His raigne and death. 277.11
Arch of victory on a Coin. 193
Archers Engliſh how forcible in times paſt. 628.28
Ariſtides a Philoſopher of *Athens*, fauoureth Chriſtianity. 219.8
Arletta, the mother of K. *William* the Conquerour, meanely deſcended. 423.26
Armes of King *Arthur*. 661.85
Armes of the Dukes of *Brunſwicke*. 291.6
Armes of *Brutus* and the KK. of *Troy*. 163.13
Armes of *England* ſet before thoſe of *France* at firſt. 584.52

Armes

Armes of *Hengiſt*, and *Horſa*, 291.6
Armes of the Princes & Dukes of *Sauoy*. 292.6
Armenia the fountaine Region of all Nations. 162.6
Armorica, *i.* Little-*Britaine* in *France*. 179.6
Giuen to Britiſh Souldiers, 279.8,9
Conquered. *ibid.*
Armorica, a Prouince deſcribed. 279.9
The diuiſion thereof. *ibid.*
It retaineth the Britiſh Dialect. 280.9
Earle of *Arraine*, Lord Gouernour of *Scotland*. 782.121
Arrianiſme repugned by Chriſtian Biſhops. 206.19
Arrius Aper murdereth *Numerianus*. 253.4
Executed. *ibid.*
Iames or *Iaques d' Arteuile*, a Burger of *Gaunt*, ſupporteth king *Edward* the third his quarrell in *France*. 582.41
See more in *Iaques*.
Arthur King of the Britaines, begotten of Dame *Igren*, by *Vter Pendragon*. 333.16
His battels againſt the Saxons. *ibid.*
His Acts. 334.16
A benefactor to *Glaſtenbury* Abbey. *ibid.*20,21
Of Roman bloud. *ibid.*
Slaine by *Mordred*. *ibid.*
His raigne. *ibid.*
His buriall. *ibid.*
His body found interred. *ibid*
His Monument. 335
His Enſigne or Arms. 206,20 207,21.333,1
Arthur ſonne of *Geffrey*, fourth ſonne of King *Henry* the ſecond, heire apparant to king *Richard* 1. 481.105
Suppoſed to bee made away by King *Iohn* his Vncle. *ibid.*
Arthur Nephew to King *Richard* the firſt D. of *Britaine*. 481.106
Arthur Duke of *Britaigne*, and *Iohn*, competitors for the Crowne of *England*. 494.2
Arthur his adherents. *ibid.* 3
Committed by his Mother to the protection of *Philip* King of *France*. *ibid.* 3
Reconciled to King *Iohn*. 495.7
He flieth from him for feare. *ibid.*
Committed to ſtrait cuſtody in the Caſtle of *Roan*. 500. 18
His death. *ibid.* 19,20
Arthur Earle of *Richmond*, made Conſtable of *France*. 666. 10
Arthur Lord *Liſle*, baſe ſonne to King *Edward* the fourth. 704 150
Dieth of an exceſſiue ioy. *ibid.*
Arthur eldeſt ſonne of King *Henry* the ſeauenth, Prince of *Wales*, weddeth *Katherine* of *Spaine*. 759.63
A Prince of great towardneſſe. *ibid.*
His death, bookes and learning. *ibid.*
Whether he did conſummate actually the marriage with his wife *Katherine*. 750.93
Duke alſo of *Cornewall*, and Earle of *Cheſter*. 763.72
His birth. 742.11
Life, death and place of buriall. 763.72
Articles of attonement betwixt *Iohn* K. of *England*, and *Philip* King of *France*. 496.8
Articles of peace betweene K. *Henry* the third, and *Lewis* of *France*. 521.8
Articles agreed vpon by the Rebels in *Cornwall*, ſent vnto K. *Edward* the ſixt. 806.22
Anſwere of the King to them. *ibid.*23
Sir *Robert d' Artois* ſolliciteth K. *Edward* the third to claime the Crown of *France*. 692.37
Aruiragus a famous Britiſh king. 177.14
He weddeth *Claudius* the Emperour his daughter. 177.14
His Coine. *ibid.* 216
King *Aruiragus* in the time of *Domitian*. 194.12
His Coine. 216
Hee reſiſteth the *Romans* proceedings. *ibid.*
Thomas Arundell Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* perſecuteth *Wickliſians*. 637.12
His ſtrange death. 638.14
Thomas Arundell Biſhop of *Ely*, ſtoutly maintaineth Biſhops temporalties. 612.57
Earle of *Arundell* ſlaine. 669.22
Aſhdon field in *Eſſex* loſt by the Engliſh againſt the *Danes*. 400.13
Robert Aske Generall in the *Yorkſhire* inſurrection. 786.96
His letters. *ibid.*
His haughty ſpirit. *ibid.*
Executed with others vpon a ſecond inſurrection of his. 790.98
Aſſaſines a ſect of Sarazens in the Eaſt. 486,43.523,5
Aſſendon-field won againſt the *Danes*. 372.8
Aſper a Captaine vnder *Valentinian* the third Emperour. 279 5
He ſlew *Iohn* the vſurper. *ibid.*
Aſtrologers, what kind of people. 202.5
Thomas Aſtwood executed. 346. 60
Athanaſius Biſhop baniſhed by *Conſtantius*. 264.9
Recalled from exile by *Iouianus*. 268.4
King *Athelſtan* his ſtile. 157.13
Athelſtan, See *Gormond*.
Athens kingdome of what continuance. 278.2
Atrius a Gouernour vnder *Iulius Caſar*. 186.3
Aualon, i. *Glaſtenbury*. 202.2
Andentius refuſeth to be Emperour. 233.2
Auguſta, i. *London*. 270.4
Auguſtus Caſar his raigne. 190. 7
His vertues. *ibid.*
His fault. *ibid.*
His deuotion euen towards Chriſt. *ibidem.*
His ſtature and endowments of body. *ibid.*
His death. *ibid.*
See more in *Octauian*.
Auguſt the moneth, why ſo called. 190.7
Auguſtus a name ſacred. *ibid.*
S. *Auguſtines* Arme at *Couentree* at an high price. 402.14
Auguſtines or *Auſtines* Oake. 206.20
See more in *Auſten*.
Auitall cuſtomes maintained. 470.36
Aumbelliers a Caſtell in *Normandy* wonne. 642.42
Sir *Iohn Aunſley* Knight, entreth combate with *Katrington*, and is victor. 610.44
M. Aurelius Emperour. 221.1
His Coine. *ibid.*
See more in *Marcus*.
Aurelius Ambroſius a valiant captaine of the Britans. 331. 3
Dieth of poyſon. *ibid.*
His raigne. *ibid.*
Enterred in *Stoneheng*. *ibid.*
Aurelius Conanus King of the Britans. 336.7
Reproued by *Gildas*. *ibid.*
Aurelius Victorinus and his ſon vſurpers. 246.3
Murthered. *ibid.*
Marcus Aurelius Emperour, his Coine. 220
Aurelianus Emperour. 248.1
His parentage. *ibid.*
His riſing. *ibid.*
Named *Sword-bearer*. *ibid.*
His employments. *ibid.*
His valour. *ibid.*
His Coine. 249.6
His indulgence to Chriſtians. 249.8
Becomes a perſecutor of Chriſtians. *ibid.*
Scared with a thunderbolt. *ibid.*
His perſon & ſeuerity. 249.9
Aureolus vſurpeth in *Illyria*. 245.1
Auſtin or *Auguſtine* the Monke. 207.20
Sent into *England*. 346.
Saint *Auſtins* Church and Monaſtery in *Canterbury*. 347.
His queſtions to the Pope. *ibid.*
See more in *Auguſtine*.
An ayde granted for marriage of *Mawde* to *Henry* the 4. Emperour. 448.33
Azincourt, alias *Agincourt* battell. 645.60

B

B No firſt radicall letter in any Britiſh word. 158.6
Babel-Tower the cauſe of ſundry languages, and diſperſion of people. 161.2
Babila Martyr. 266.5
Anthony Babington principall of a traiterous conſpiracy, with others executed. 874. 111
Rob. Bacon a Preacher. 528.37
His franke ſermons & ſpeech to King *Henry* the third. *ibid.*
Roger Bacon his errour as touching *Iulius Caſar* his perſpectiue glaſſes. 183.2
Roger Bacon his witty Apoph. thegme. 528.37
Badge of the Earle of *Warwicke*. 694.55
Badge of *Richard* Duke of *Gloceſter*, the white Bore. 736.59
Lord *Baddleſmere* executed at *Canterbury*. 571.41
Sir *Henry Bagnall* Marſhall in *Ireland*, ſlaine valiantly fighting. 900
Iohn Bailiol crowned King of *Scotland*. 557.23
Doth homage to *Edward* the firſt King of *England*, for the Kingdome of *Scotland*. *ibid.*
Diſloyall to king *Edward* the firſt. 557.25
He renounceth his homage. 558.27
Reſigneth the Crowne of *Scotland* to king *Edward* the firſt. 558.30
Sent to the Tower of *London*. 558.31
Deliuered to the Popes nuncios. 559.38
Edward Bailiol ſonne of *Iohn Bailiol*, and his heire, claymeth the Crowne of *Scotland* againſt *Dauid*, ſecond ſon to *Robert Bruce*. 580.24
Edward Baliol inuadeth *Scotland*. 580.24
His two victories againſt *Dauid* 2. King of *Scots*. *ibid.* 24
Crowned King of *Scotland* at *Scone*. *ibid.*26
Eſtabliſhed in the kingdome of *Scotland*. 581.31
He ſubmitteth to *Edward* the third king of *England*. 581. 32
He conueyeth his Title to the Crowne of *Scotland* vnto King *Edward* the third. 593. 113
Iohn Ball a Prieſt, Chaplaine to *Wat Tiler*, and *Iacke Straw*. 607.20
Balbinus See *Clod. Balbinus*.
Roger Baldocke Biſhop of *Norwich*, and Lord Chancellour, with *Spenſers* rule all. 573.58
Walter Baldocke Prior of *Laund*, drawne and hanged. 628.26
Roger, alias *Robert Baldocke* Lord Chancellor put into Newgate, where he dyed. 628.68
Baldred laſt King of *Kent*. 299. 17
Forced out of his kingdome. *ibid.*
Baldwin firſt Earle of *Flanders*. 449
Slaine. *ibid.*38
Baldwin de Redners reſiſteth King *Stephen*. 456.6
Diſherited and expulſed the Land. *ibid.*
Baldwin Fitz-Gilbert his ſpeech before battaile. 460.27
Baldwin ſonne of King *Stephen*, his birth, death, and buriall. 464.51
Baldwin Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury* crowneth King *Richard* the firſt. 483.5
Dieth in *Paleſtine*, in the holy voyage. 483.8
Iohn Ballard a Seminary Prieſt, executed for treaſon. 874.111
Lord of *Balmerinoth* found guilty of death, for deuiſing letters in King *Iames* his name, and ſending them to *Rome*. 917.37
Bambrough Caſtle built. 381.
Ban, alias *Bag* and *Bun*, a place in *Ireland*, what it ſignifieth. 473.54
Banner of *Conſtantine* againſt *Maxentius*, &c. 260.5
Banner with a golden Dragon, loſt by *Ethelbald*. 360.2
Banchor, alias *Bangor* in *Wales*, the firſt Monaſtery in the world. 206.20
Founded by King *Lucius*. 207.20
The mother of all other. 315. 7
Bangor, or *Banchor* Monaſtery, and the Monkes there deſcribed. *ibid.*
Humfrey Baniſter betrayeth his Lord and Maſter, *Henry* D. of *Buckingham*. 732.35

How hee was rewarded for his treachery. *ibidem.*
Banocksborne battell in *Scotland.* 570,25. 735,27
Baptisme priuate, how allowable. 914.20
L. *Bardolfe* wounded to death. 632.46
Monsieur *de Barbason*, or *Brabason* sentenced to death, escapeth by a quirke of Heraldry. 657.62
Robert Barnes burnt for Religion. 780.111
His Prayer. *ibid.*
Barnet field wonne by K. *Edward* the fourth, by what errour. 695.64
Barons forsake King *Iohn*, and deny their helpe. 511.51
511.52
Their disloyalty to K. *Iohn.* 513.55
They come into the field in armes against King *Iohn.* *ibid.*
Shew themselues in open rebellion. 514.56
Cursed and excommunicated from the Pope. 514.57
They raile on the Pope. 514 58
They plotte to betray the Crown of *England* to *Lewis* Daulphin of *France.* 515.58
They demand their liberties of King *Henry* the third. 523.15
Their rebellious message to King *Henry* the third. 526.24
They contemne King *Henry* the third his summons to Parliament. 529.37
Their traiterous errand to him. *ibid.* 38
Barons and Bishoppes capitulate with King *Henry* the 3. in Parliament at *Oxford.* 546.93
Their coniuration or mutuall oath. *ibidem.*
Come armed to the Parliament. 546.93
Barons send twice to king *Henry* the third for a Pacification. 548.100
Barons hanged, drawne and quartered. 571.41
What Barons at once perished by hatchet and halter, vnder King *Edward* the second. 572.43
Barrham-Downe, the place of *Iulius Cæsars* Campe. 184.6
Andrew Barton a Scot slaine, maketh quarrell betweene King *Iames* the fourth, and King *Henry* the eight. 766.6
Gilbert Lord *Basset* rebelleth, 530.39
Receiued into fauour. 531.48
Bassianus sonne of *Seuerus* gouerneth the South-part of *Britaine.* 229.6
His disloyalty. 229.10
Surnamed *Antoninus*, and made Emperour. 230.14
Styled *Britannicus Maximus.* 231.1.
Surnamed *Caracalla.* 231.1
His Coine. *ibid.* 1
Bassianus the yonger, surnamed *Heliogabalus* Emperour. 234.11
Battell at *Basing* on the Danes side. 372.9
Battell, or Battell-field betweene King *Harold* & *William* the bastard, Duke of *Normandy.* 417.38
Battell-Abbey founded. 434.63
A Sanctuary or priuiledge place. 435.64
Battell betweene *Lewis* King of *France*, and *Henry* the first King of *England.* 449.38
Battell betweene King *Stephen*, and his Barons. 460.28
Battell of *Bouines.* 513.55
Battell at *Cressy.* 589.87.&c.
Battell of *Poitiers.* 594.116
Battell at *Blore*, where the Lancastrians lost the day. 680.72
Battell of *Shrewsbury.* 629.36
Battell of Spurres. 754.8
Sir *Henry de Bath*, a bribing Iusticiar. 541.78
Sir *Henry de Bath* proscribed by King *Henry* the third his own mouth. 541.78
Beati Pacifici, the *Mot* of *Iames* King of *Great-Britaine*, &c. 161.11
Beatrice or *Beatrix* Countesse of *Prouince*, landeth at *Douer.* 537.67
Mother to 5. Queenes. *ibid.*
Beatrice daughter to King *Edward* the first. 564 69
Thomas Beauchampe Earle of *Warwicke*, his valour & death. 598.139
Richard Beauchampe Earle of *Warwicke*, Regent of *France.* 672.36
His death. *ibid.*
Henry Beauford sonne of *Edmund* Duke of *Somerset*, standeth for King *Henry* the sixt. 679.66
Beaufort, a surname, how imposed first. 618.94
Whence it came. *ibid.*
Thomas Beaufort, halfe brother to King *Henry* the fourth, L. Chancellor. 632.47
Henry Beaufort Bishop of *Winchester*, his dignities and Titles. 635.3
He perswadeth warre against *France.* 648.39
Hee taketh the Crowne to pawne of King *Henry* the fifth. 658.39
The rich Cardinall. 658.65
Henry Beaufort Duke of *Sommerset* taken, and beheaded. 688.15
Beaulieu-Abbey built. 497.11
A Sanctuary. *ibid.*
Bishoppe of *Beauois* taken prisoner in fight, all armed. 490.60
What answere hee had from the Pope. *ibid.*
Beaumont, King *Henry* the first his Pallace at *Oxford.* 452.59
Iohn L. *Beaumont*, high Constable of *England.* 674.41
Thomas Becket Chancellor of *England.* 466.3
His birth, profession, rising, and aduancement. 467.11
Reputed a Martyr. *ibid.*
Archbishoppe of *Canterbury* vpon the death of *Theobald.* *ibid.*
Debate betweene *Thomas Becket*, and King *Henry* the second, vpon what occasions. 467.12
He opposeth and contesteth with the King, and claimeth regalities. 467.13
What points hee would not yeeld vnto. 467.15
Promiseth to obserue the Kings lawes, *bona fide*, &c. 468.19
He relapseth from his promises. 468.20
He sweares in *verbo Sacerdotali*, to keepe *constitutiones auitas.* 468.21
He would not subscribe. *ibid.*
Called to account, and sundry wayes molested. 468.23
Adiudged of periury & treason. 468.469.23
He disguiseth himselfe vnder the name of *Dereman*, & goeth into *Flanders.* *ibid.*
All his kindred banished the Realme. 469.26
Hee excommunicateth *Gilbert* Bishop of *London.* 470.32
An accord treated betwixt the King and *Thomas Becket.* 470.34
Thomas Becket publisheth the Popes Letters of suspension against *Roger* Archbishoppe of *Yorke*, and *Hugh* Bishoppe of *Durham.* 471.40
Murdered in the Church of *Canterbury* by foure knights. 471.41
Censured after his death diuersly. 471. 42,43
His murderers flie. 471.44
Thomas Becket canonized a Saint by Pope *Alexander.* 474.63
His rich shrine defaced. 790.100
Beda his historie. 163.15
What he was. 317.16
His story dedicated to King *Ceolnulph.* *ibid.*
Beda a Saxon Monke writeth partially. 338
Sir *Simon de Bedford* hanged with *Roger Mortimer.* 580.23
Bedford Castle forced by siege, and demolished. 538.18
Beech trees grow plentifully in *Britaine.* 160.7
Beleos Cimbros. 161.7
Belenus the Kings habergeon. *ibid.*
Belga 1. *Welles.* 207.21
Robert Beliasme against K. *Henry* the first. 446.12
Hee and his associates abiure the land. *ibid.*
A bloudy and vnnaturall wretch. 448.30
Taken and emprisoned. *ibid.*
Robert Belknap his saying when he subscribed to humor king *Richard* the second, against the popular and reforming Lords. 615.72
Robert Belknap with other Iudges and chiefe Lawyers arrested vpon the Bench, and sent to the Tower. 616.78
Sir *Walter de Bendley* his fortunate seruice in little *Britaine.* 592.11
Saint *Bennets* Abbey in *Norfolke.* 402.14
Sir *Henry Bennisield* Lieutenant of the Tower, a straite Iayler to Lady *Elizabeth.* 849.60
Beorn King of the East-Angles. 327.12
Beorn Bocadors wife, in the case of *Lucretia.* 401.34
Himselfe allyed vnto the Danish royall bloud. 408.6
Berengaria daughter of *Sanches* the fourth King of *Nauarre*, her descent. 492.7
Married to King *Richard* the first. 485.25
Her loue to him, and her other vertues. 489.54
Berengaria daughter to King *Edward* the first. 564.65
Berenice the beautifull Queene of *Iewry.* 212.4
Bericus a British fugitiue. 193.3
Bericke his murther & falshood to his Prince. 398.7,8
Saint *Berin* an Italian Diuine, 327.7
Bishop of *Dorchester.* *ibid.*
Berking Abbey built. 327.7
Bernardus Andreas of *Tholous* a Poet Laureat. 740.4
Instructer to Prince *Arthur*, King *Henry* the seauenth his eldest sonne. 740. *ibid.*
Bernicia a Prouince in the Kingdome of *Northumberland.* 313.1
Bernulph King of *Mercia* by vsurpation. 322.16
His Coine. *ibid.*
Slaine in skirmish. *ib.* 365.7
Berosus a writer late come forth, suspected and reiected. 158.3
A forged Author. 162.9
Berta a vertuous Christian Lady, espoused to King *Ethelbert.* 346.3
Where buried. 349.15
Bertfrid a sonne of King *Edred.* 385.7
Berthulfe King of *Mercia*, as tributary. 323.19
His Coine. *ibid.*
Berthun a Duke of the South-Saxons slaine. 301.4
Bertram de Glequin, or *Glesquin*, a braue warriour. 596.133
Faileth the English. 597.140
Made Constable of *France.* 587.143
Marshall of *France* taken prisoner by Sir *Iohn Chandois.* 588.128
Bertram de Gurdon killeth King *Richard* the first. 491.69
Fleyed quicke and hanged, *ibid.*
Perregrin Bertu, L. *Willoughby*, Generall of the aides for *Henry* king of *Nauarre* in *France* 894.259.
Berwicke wonne by the English 557.26
Recouered by the Scots. 569 3
Lost, and regained by *Henry Percy* Earle of *Northumberland.* 610.45
Surprised and regained by the Scots. 593.113
Burnt and dismanteled, *ibid.*
Deliuered vp to the English. 701.111
Surprised by the Scots, and recouered within 9. dayes. 606.9
Bethlem a Monastery erected, 660.83
Beton Archbishop of S. *Andrews.* 794.121
Iohn of *Beuerley* a godly Preacher of *Wickclifs* doctrine. 638.15
Executed as an Hereticke. *ib.*
Bible in English commanded to be read in Churches. 790.101
Bible presented to Queene *Elizabeth*, and graciously receiued. 858.3
Bible torne by the Rebels of the North. 868.65

New

New tranſlation of the Bible in Engliſh intended, and commanded by *Iames* King of Great *Britaine*,&c. 915.25
The ſame publiſhed. 915.25
Bibroces, what Inhabitants. 173.2
Hugh Bigot, or *Bigod*, Earle of *Norfolke*, ſideth with King *Henry* the younger, againſt King *Henry* the ſecond his father. 472.73
Hugh Bigod, or *Bigot*, chiefe Iuſticiar of *England*. 456.63
Hugh Bigot, or *Bigod*, holdeth the Caſtle of *Norwich* againſt all but King *Stephen*. 456.8
Sideth with King *Stephen*, & is deſcribed. 485.25
Francis Bigot in the *Yorkeſhire* Commotion, or holy Pilgrimage. 786.97
Hugh Bigod, or *Bigot*, Duke of *Norfolke*, rendreth vp his Caſtle to king *Henry* the ſecond. 466.7
Biſhops and Archbiſhoppes erected in *England*. 571.18
Archbiſhoppe of *Bourges* his proud ſpeech in Ambaſſe to King *Henry* the 5. 789.27
Biſhops remoued, and others in their Sees placed. 843.15
Biſhops how they were buried. 497.11
Biſhops temporalities reſtored. 612.57
Biſhoppe an additament of honour in the Romane Emperours ſtile. 251.1
Bithrike, or *Brithicke*, King of Weſt-Saxons his Coine. 308.16
Poiſoned vnwittingly by his owne wife. *ibid.*
Blacke Croſſe of *Scotland*, a Iewell. 579.13
Blacke Prince, See in *Edward*.
Blacke-Heath field. 754.47
Blackelow, a place where *Piers Gauceſton* loſt his head. 568.14
Blanch Queene-mother of *France*, her policy to hinder the Engliſh deſignes. 525.23
Blanch daughter to King *Edward* the firſt. 564.70
Blanch Taque a fourd in the riuer of *Some*. 589.85
Blazing-ſtarre. 390.2
Walter Blewet executed. 758.60
Blore battell. 680.72
Bloudy-toure in the Tower of *London*, why ſo called. 703.120
Charles Blunt Lord *Montioy*, Lord Lieutenant Generall of *Ireland*. 901.310
His exployts in *Vlſter*, and *Leaſe*. 901.311
In the *Glinues*. 902.313
See more in *Montioy*.
Sir *Chriſtopher Blunt* beheaded on Tower-hill. 906.244
Boadicea or *Boudicea*, Queene of the Icenians. 170.2
Body a Commiſſioner for pulling downe Images, killed 831.19
Bodno, i. *Boadicea* Queene of the *Iceni*. 176.13
Wife to *Praſutagus*, King of the *Iceni*. 176,13.198,9
Choſen leader of the *Iceni*. 198.13
Surpriſeth the *Colonie*, *Camalodunum*. 198.14
Putteth *Petilius Cerealis* to flight. 198.15
Slew ſeauenty thouſand Romane Citizens, and Prouinciall confederates together 176,13.198,16
Surueyeth in perſon the troupes of her Army. 199.18
Queene *Boadicea* or *Bodno*, her attire. *ibid.*
Her ſpeech to her Army. 199.19
Her victory of the Romanes. 176.13
Poyſoneth her ſelfe. 177.13 200.21
Her Coine. *ibid.*
Bodotria, i. *Edenburgh Frith*. 212.6
Boduni yeeld to *Plautius*. 193.5
Bohemians lament the death of *Iohn Hus*, & *Ierome* of *Prage*. 642.36
Humfrey de Bohun Earle of *Hereford* taken priſoner, and recouered by exchange. 570.25
Slain by a Welſhman. 571.39
Boier Maior of *Bodmin* hanged by Martiall law. 853.28
Bologne or *Bullen*, beſieged by King *Henry* the ſeauenth. 749.31
Sir *Thomas Boleine* or *Bullen*, Viſcount *Rochford*, Earle of *Wiltſhire*, &c. his deſcent. 783.80
Sir *Godfrey Boleine* or *Bullen*, Lord Mayor of *London*. 783.80
His graue-ſtone. *ibid.*
Boleins or *Bulsens*, an ancient family in *Norfolke*. *ibid.*
His charity. *ibid.*
Sir *Godfrey Boleine* anceſtor to Queene *Anne Boleine*, and to Queene *Elizabeth* of famous memory. 679.69
Hee keepeth *London* quiet, notwithſtanding the great troupes of Yorkiſts, & Lancaſtrians. *ibid.*
George Bolein or *Bullen* Lord *Rochford* beheaded. 784.89
Bolton Prior of Saint *Bartholmewes* in *London*, buildeth on the toppe of *Harrow* hill, Wherefore. 783.83
Bonifacius Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. 536.62
Bononia, i. *Buloigne*. 263.6
Bonoſus rebelleth againſt *Probus*. 252.6
His birth. *ibid.*
A mighty drinker. *ibid.*
He hangeth himſelfe. *ibid.*
Doctor *Borne* aſſaulted with a dagger at *Paules Croſſe*. 851.75
Boſworth field. 737.58
Bouines battell. 513.55
Bradney Monaſtery in *Lincolneſhire* founded. 358.3
Sir *Robert Brakenbury* Lieutenant of the Tower, denyeth to murther King *Edward* the fifth, and his brother *Richard*. 727.16
Sir *Nicholas Brambre* late Lord Mayor of *London* plotteth to deſtroy *Thomas* of *Woodſtocke* Duke of *Glouceſter*. 614.68
Duke of *New Troy* executed, 616.78
Charles Brandon Duke of *Suffolke* marrieth Queene *Mary*, widdow to King *Lewis* the 12. of *France*. 768.22
His two ſonnes dyed of the Engliſh ſweat. 811.605
See more in *Charles Brandon*.
Sir *William Brandon* Standard-bearer to *Henry* Earle of *Richmond*, ſlaine by King *Richard* the third. 737.57
Rainold Bray, employed about the marriage of *Henry* Earle of *Richmond*, with *Elizabeth* daughter to king *Edward* the fourth. 730.28
He maketh a faction againſt King *Richard* the third. 731.31
Henry de Braybrooke, Iuſticiar Itenerant, impriſoned in *Bedford* Caſtle. 524.18
Nicholas Brainbre, alias *Brambre*, Alderman of *London*, Knighted, & endowed with lands. 608.25
Brennus a Britaine or Cimbrian. 162.5
Fulcaſius, alias *Foulke de Brent*, vſurpeth Earledomes, & holdeth Caſtles. 522.11
His outrage and rebellion. 524.18
A Norman, his birth and riſing. 524.18
Vpon ſubmiſſion pardoned, & baniſhed. *ibid.*
Lieutenant of *Bedford* Caſtle. *ibid.*
Taken and hanged. *ibid.*
Bretta a Spaniſh word. 159.6
William de Bruſe, diſloyall to K. *Iohn*, flieth into *France*. 508.42
His wife raileth vpon King *Iohn*. *ibid.*
Her ſtrange preſent to the Queene, King *Iohns* wife. *ibid.*
Bridania. 159.6
Bridewell an houſe of correction, giuen to the City of *London*. 840.85
Bridgenorth, more truely *Brugenorth*. 466.4
M. *Bridges* Lieutenant of the Tower, his fauour to the Lady *Elizabeth*. 849.60
Brigants, what people. 220.3
They make an Inſurrection. *ibidem.*
Subdued by *Petilius Cerealis*. 211.8
Brightnod ſlaine by the Danes. 381.7
Brightwold, Monke of *Glaſtenbury* his viſion. 408.2
Bridgit an holy maid, canonized a Saint. 642.35
Briget or *Brigit* a Monaſtery erected. 660.83
Briſtow a fugitiue maintaineth *Pius Quintus* his Bull againſt Queene *Elizabeth*. 871.76
Brit or *Brith* 159.7. the originall radix or primitiue of Britany. *ibid.*
What it ſignifieth. *ibid.*
Britaine Admirall of the ſeas. 155.1
A Garden of pleaſure. *ibid.*
Store-houſe of profit. *ibid.*
Lady of all other Ilands, *ibid.*
Another world. 155.2
The great Iland. *ibid.*
Compared to a diſh, or two-headed Axe. 155.3
Diſcouered to be an Iland. *ibid.*
Thought to haue beene one continent with *France*. 155.4
The bounds thereof. 155.5
The length. *ibid.*
The bredth. 156.5
The ſite of *Britaine*. 156.6
The aire and ſoile. 156.6.7
Britiſh ſeas warme. 156.8
Britiſh ſea-winds. *ibid.*
Britiſh ſeas fit for trafficke. *ibid.*
The commodities thereof. *ibid.*
Britaine aboundeth with all ſorts of graine. 156.9
The ſeat of Queene *Ceres*. *ibid.*
Well ſtored with timber. *ib.*
A Paradiſe of pleaſure. *ibid.*
Britaine firſt diſcouered to be an Iland. 172.3
In *Britaine* the nights not voide of light. 156.10
Britaine full of mettall mines. *ibid.*
Taken for the fortunate Ilands. 156.11
Suſtained eleauen Kings. 157.12
Britiſh Empire limited with the *Orcades* and *Pyrenean* mountaines. 157.13
Britaines firſt names and inhabitants not diſcouered. 157.1
How anciently ſtamped. 158.4
Firſt peopled from the *Galls*, or *Gaule*. 162.6
Britaine ſo named, firſt by the Grecians. 158.5
Why ſo named. *ibid.*
Britaine firſt mentioned by what Greeke writers. 160.7
Peopled before *Noahs* floud. 161.1
Diuided into three Kingdomes. 160.9
Britaine Sea coaſts peopled out of *Belgia* and *Gallia*. 162.6
Conquered by the Romans and reduced to a Monarchy. 177.15
Without forrain garriſon, & gouernment in *Tiberius Cæſars* dayes. 191.4
Britaine eaten by her own vipers. 199.20
Britaine the faireſt plume in the Romane Diadem. 280.13
Exhauſted of her Natiues, & very flowre. 280.11
Britaigne or *Britaine* in *France*, annexed to the Crowne of *France*. 747.25
Britain or *Bretaign* in *France*, defended by King *Henry* the ſeauenth againſt the French. 747.25
Britaines downefall. 281.1
Britaine abandoned of Roman Garriſons. 281.1
Conuerted her Conquerours to the faith of Chriſt. 205.14
The firſt Prouince that by publicke ordinance receiued the faith. 205,18.222,6
Wholly diſcouered by *Iulius Agricola*. 215.15
Britannus the father of *Celtice*. 159.6
Britaines aſſiſted the *Galles* againſt *Cæſar*. 162.8
Their multiplicity, and communion of wiues. 167.6
More giuen to warre then to husbandry. 200.22
Their Diet. 167.7
Slaine to the number of 80. thouſand men. 200.20
Profeſſed Chriſtianity, before it came from *Rome*. 207.22
Their Barley drinke. 167.7
Conuerted many Countries, & by what Preachers. 207.22

Vnskilfull in making cheese, 167.7
Ciuilized by *Iul. Agricola*, 211.13
Their persons. 166
Britans the first Conuerts, 104.9
Their customes and manners in old time. 166.167
Britans sore infested by Scots and Picts. 279.6
Forsaken quite of the *Romans*, *ibid.*
Britaines flie into *Wales*, and there remaine. 338.10
Transported out of the Ilands to the Roman wars. 279.8
Their Religion and Learning 167.8
Sent into *Armorica*. 280.9
Flie into *Armorica*. 280.10
Flie diuers waies, and are oppressed with famine. 282.3,4
Their commerce & trafficke, 169.10
Trusting in God, vanquish Irish and Picts. 282.4
Their shipping. 169.11
In time of plenty multiply sinnes. 282.4,5
Their manner of warre. 169 13
Britans debarred passing ouer *Offaes* Ditch. 349.17
Britans liued long. 167.4
Their conditions and dispositions. *ibid.*
Their domesticke matters, 167.5
Britans driuen into the West-Angle of the Isle. 306.9
Their townes and manner of building. 167.5
Their Ambassage and speech to the Saxons. 283.7
Abandon the land. 290.12
They dyed and painted their bare bodies, and wore no garments. 167.2
Britans and *Galls* like in many respects. 162.8
They coloured themselues with Woad. 159.7
The ofspring of *Gomer*. 162.6
Their ornaments. 162.7
Some *Britans* clad in leather, *ibid.*
Britans submission to *Cesar*, generally pretended by a second Ambassage. 184.7
Their haire. 167.3
They wauer in performance, 184.9
They reuolt. *ibid.*
Their complexions. 167.3
Their maner of fight. 185.13
Their wit. 167.3
They assemble a great power 185.15
Their horses, footmen, and armour. 169.13
Leaue the field, and retire into their seuerall Prouinces, 186.8
They sweare fealty to *Augustus Cæsar*, and become subiect to the *Romans*. 189.5
Pay tolls and customes to the Roman state. *ibid.*
Detaine tribute and reuolt, 189.3
Take heart againe. *ibid.*
Rebell in *Neroes* time. 198. 9
Britans wall, the Sea. 195.15
Britan house in *Holland*. 192.3
Brithricke or *Bithricke* King of the West-Saxons, his coine, 308
Brithia, a drinke. 159.6
British gouernement in olde time. 170.1
Not meere Monarchicall, somewhat Aristocraticall, 170.1
British States submit to *Cæsar*, 183,3.186,9
British women valourous in fight. 169.1
British Nobility massacred, 287 8
British women faire, & of good feature. 167.3
British writers vary from *Cæsars* reports. 287.12
British companies seruing *Cæsar* in the warres. 280.11
British Princes that withstood the Saxons from *Vortigern*, to *Cadwallader*. 329
Ralph Briton Treasurer of the Kings Chamber displaced. 528.31
Briton. 159.6
Britona a Nimph. 159.7
Britons in *France*, came from the *Britaines*. 159.6
Britons dislike of the French Kings gouernment. 606.9
George Brooke executed for treason. 913.15
Sir *George Browne* beheaded. 732.36
Robert Bruce or *Bruse*, maketh head against King *Edward* 2. 569.21
Purposeth to make himselfe King of Scots. 562.49
His escape and stratageme. *ibid.*
He killeth *Cumin*. 567.49
Crowned King of *Scotland*. *ibid.*
Put to flight. 562.5
His misery. *ibid.*51
His magnanimity. 564.51
He maketh head againe, *ibid.* 53
His modest and deuout carriage against the battell. 569. 21
Hee inuadeth *Northumberland*. 569.18
Hee dieth of the Lepry. 579 12
His worthy praise. *ibid.*
William de Bruse, or *Brausia*, intercepted by the Welsh. 526. 25
Hanged by *Llewelin*, & wherfore. *ibid.*
Thomas Broughton an abettor to *Lambert* against King *Henry* the seauenth. 744.18
Slaine in battell at *Stoke*. 745 22
Bruno supposed to bee the first progenitor of those in *Brunswicke*. 286.1
Brute after some, gaue name to Britaine. 158.6
Brute descended from *Iupiter*. 163.11
Brute the imaginary Stocke-father of the Britaines, neuer raigned in this world. 164. 18
His conquest of *Britain* confuted. 165.20
He with his Troians supposed to haue conquered *Britaine*. 162.11
Brutij, a rouing people in *Italy*. 159.6
Henry Duke of *Buckingham* refuseth to come to K. *Richard* the 3. 731.32
His forward affection to *Richard* Duke of *Glouceſter*. 728.21
Falleth in dislike of him being King. 728.21
The occasions thereof. 728. 21,22
Prepareth war against King *Richard* 3. 731.33
He is beheaded. 332.35
Henry Duke of *Buckingham* his Oration in *Guild-hall* to the Commons of *London*. 718.56
The onely *Dedalus* & raiser of K. *Richard* 3. 722.2
Bulloigne besieged & wonne by K. *Henry* the eight himselfe in person. 793.128
Bulloigne with other towns surrendred to the French. 837. 65
Charles Duke of *Burbon* his desperate attempt. 773.53
Slaine before *Rome*. *ibid.*
Bastard of *Burbon* taken prisoner. 646.37
At *Burdeaux* a stratagem against the French. 585.55
Burdeaux deliuered to the English. 678.60
Thomas Burdet Esquier beheaded for words wrested. 700, 701.56
Burdred the last Mercian King. 323.20
He flyeth the land, and lyeth buried at *Rome*. *ibid.*
His Coine. 308
Burgenhild K. *Kenwolfes* daughter. 364.8
Hubert de Burgh, the mirrour of constant loyalty. 521.3
Gouernour of K. *Henry* the third his person, and chiefe Iusticiar of *England*. 577.11
Hee weddeth *Margaret* sister to *Alexander* King of Scots 577.12
Hubert de Burgo, or *Burgh* Earle of *Kent*, incurreth the enuy of the Barons. 526.24
In the Kings displeasure. 526 27
His fall. 527.30
He taketh a Church, is rescued by his friends, and conuaied into *Wales*. 530.39
Reconciled to the King. 531. 48
Hubert de Burgh Earle, put from his place of chiefe Iusticiar, 528.31
Called to a strict account. *ib.*
Articled against in points of treason, &c. 528.32,33
He taketh Sanctuary. 528.33,34
Haled out of Sanctuary, restored to Sanctuary. 528.35
Yeeldeth himselfe prisoner, & is committed to the Tower. *ibid.*
His treasure deliuered to king *Henry* the third. *ibid.*
In free prison at the Castle of *Deuises*. 629
Duke of *Burgundy* sends for aide to K. *Henry* the fourth against the Duke of *Orleance*. 632. 48
Duke of *Burgoigne* or *Burgundy* doth homage to *Sigismund* the Emperour, for *Flanders*, and *Artois*. 646.39
He taketh truce with K. *Henry* the fift. 648.39
He maketh a league with *France* contrary to his oath. 648.39
Charles Duke of *Burgundy* sollicited by K. *Edward* the 4. for aide. 694.56
Disswaded by the Duke of *Somerset*. *ibid.*
Charles Duke of *Burgundy* temporizeth with King *Edward* the fourth, and with *Edmund* Duke of *Somerset*. 694.57
Vnder-hand he helpeth King *Edward* the fourth. *ibid.*
Burgundians sent to inhabite *Britaine*. 252.8
Buriall first allowed within the walls of Cities. 307.13
Thomas Lord *Burrough* Lord Deputy of *Ireland*. 899.295
His death. *ibid.* 297
Henry Burwash Bishop of *Lincolne*, ioyneth with Queene *Isabell* against the *Spensers*. 573.51
Piers Butler Lord of *Osory*, made Lord Deputy of *Ireland*. 774 55
Eleanor Butler supposed to haue beene contracted to King *Edward* the fourth. 724. 3.

C

CStrucken out of *Cæsars* name by lightning, what it portended. 676.70
Iacke Cade rebelleth. 676.50
Stiled *Iohn Amend-all*, by the contrary, i. *Marre-all*, also Captaine of *Kent*. *ibid.*
His demands. *ibid.*
He entreth *London*. 676.52
His behauiour there. *ibid.*
Proscribed and killed by *Alexander Eden*. 676.53
Cadiz voyage. 826.266
Cadiz assaulted and surprised. 896.272
Cadwallader last King of the Britans. 340
His Armes. *ibid.*
Dyeth at *Rome* in religious habite. 340.
There buried. *ibid.*
Cadwallader a valiant & victorious Prince. 341
His raigne. *ibid.*
Cadwallader Prince of *Wales*, when he raigned. 340.6
His story doubtfull. *ibid.*
Cadwallo, or *Cadwallin* King of the Britans. 339
Ioyned in amity with *Penda* King of the Mercians. *ibid.*
A most wicked Prince, *ibid.*
Slaine in battell. 339
Buried in *London*. *ibid.*
His cast Image of Brasse vpon *Ludgate*. *ibid.*
Throwne downe by *Egbert*, 365.6
Cadwan King, or Ruler of the Britans in *Wales*. 339
His raigne. *ibid.*
Caen in *Normandy* won by king *Henry* the 5. 646.43
Celestine the Pope dashed the Emperours Crowne to the ground. 485.24
Celestius Scholler to *Pelagius*. 277.10
Cæsar a glorious name. 190.7
Iulius Cæsar first enterer, but not conquerour of *Britaine*. 172. 3
See more in *Iulius*.
Calabria sometimes named *Pryania*. 159.6
Calais besieged by K. *Edward* the third. 591.102
In *Calais* a Colony of English planted, 592.108
Yeelded to King *Edward* 3. *ibid.*

Besieged

Beſieged by *Philip* Duke of *Burgundy*. 671.30
The ſiege raiſed by *Humfrey* Duke of *Gloceſter*. 671.30
Callis harboreth the Yorkiſts. 681.76
Callis beſieged by the Duke of *Guize*. 855.114
Surrendred to the French with great diſhonour of the Engliſh. 856.117
See more in *Callais*, or *Callus*.
Calamities in *England* during *William Conquerour* his raigne. 431.47
Caledonians a German deſcent. 162.7
Caledonians craue peace. 229.7
Rebell, and are maſſacred by *Severus*. 229.11
Caledonians in *Britaine* moſt puiſſant. 213.5
C. Caligula Cæſar his parents, 191.1
His Coines. *ibid.*
His ridiculous expedition & letters. 175.7
His prodigality. 191.1
His contrary conditions. *ibi.*
He was cruel and libidinous. *ibid.*
His vile actions. *ibid.*
His glorious vanity. 192.3
He deludeth the Senate. *ibid.*
Hee intended to inuade *Britaine*. 192.2
His warre with the Sea. 192.3
His ridiculous victory. *ibid.*
His ambition and cruelty. 192.5
His death how complotted. *ibid.*
Hated after death. 192.6
Calpurnius, or *Calphurnius Agricola* his inſcription vpon the Picts wall. 222.5
Lieutenant in *Britaine*. 221.5
Callis claimed by Queene *Elizabeth*. 858.7
Callais ſurpriſed, and turnes Spaniſh. 894.260
See more in *Calais*.
Camalodunum, i. *Maldon* in *Eſſex*. 174
Surpriſed by *Claudius Cæſar*. 174.10
Made a Colony of Romane Citizens. *ibid.*
Cambria, i. *Wales*. 160.9
The partition thereof. *ibid.*
Cambridge Vniuerſity ſuppoſed to bee founded by *Sigebert* King of the Eaſt-Angles. 326.5
Goeth beyonde all other Schooles. *ibid.*
Laurence Campeius Cardinall, in Commiſſion with Cardinall *Wolſey*, about the diuorce betweene King *Henry* the 8. and *Katherine* of *Spaine*. 780.69
He ſtayeth ſentence of diuorce and departeth. 781.74
Suſpected of theeuery and ſearched. *ibid.*
Cardinall *Campeius* ſent into *England*, as Legate from Pope *Leo* the tenth. 769.31
His honourable receiuing, and ſtately riding to *London*. 769.31
His treaſures ſhewed with ſhame in *Cheapſide* 769.32
Campobachi Earles in the Kingdome of *Naples*, whence deſcended, 519.70
Cangi a people in *Britain*. 195,12
First Canons Regular in *England*. 464.52
Canterbury giuen to *Auſten* the Monke. 347.8
Canutus King of *Denmarke*, and *England*. 396.32
Winneth the loue of the Engliſh. 396.34
Diſmembreth the Engliſh hoſtages. *ibid.*
Canutus with *Harold* inuade *England*, and compound for a tribute. 396.35,36
Eſpouſeth Queene *Emma*. 396.34
Hee refuſeth to weare the Regall Crowne. 402.39
His pilgrimage to *Rome*. 401.11
His letters from *Rome* to the Biſhops and Nobles of *England*. 401.12
Complaineth of the Popes extortions. *ibid.*
His Apothegme to conuince his flatterers. 402.15
His humility. 402.15.16
Canutus his care of iuſtice and Religion. 401.12
His Munificence. 401.13
His buildings. 402.13,14
His bounty to Monaſteries. *ibid.*
His deſcent and pedigree. 402.17
His raigne, death and ſepulture. *ibid.*
Hee crowneth the Crucifixe with the Crowne that hee wore. 402.17
Canutus the Dane, Monarch of *England*. 400.1
His armes and coine. *ibid.*
Crowned at *London*. 400.2
His good lawes. 401.7
His expedition into *Scotland* againſt King *Malcolme*. 401.11
Sir *William Capell* Alderman of *London* commanded to the Tower of *London*, by *Edmund Dudley* a Promoter. 762.70
Caractacus a renowned Prince of the *Silures*, his Coine. 161.13
His manner of encamping. *ib.*
His reſolution, and animating of his Souldiers. 195.13
Put to flight. 195.14
His wife, daughter and brethren taken priſoners. *ibid.*
Reſiſted the Romans nine yeares. *ibid.*
Betrayed by Queene *Cartiſmandua*. *ibid.* 14
Led in triumph. *ibid.*
His habite and attire. *ibid.*
His vndaunted ſpirit. *ibid.*
His Oration to *Claudius Cæſar*. 195.15
Pardoned by *Claudius Cæſar*. 195.16
Caraffa Cardinall accuſeth Cardinall *Poole*, and asketh him forgiuenеſſe. 852.80,83
Pope by the name of *Paul* the fourth. 852.84
Carauſius a Britaine, rebelleth. 254.4
His Coine. 255.8
His parentage. 254.5
His policy to become rich. *ib.*
Vſurpeth and enioyeth the Empire 7. yeares. 255.7
Maketh peace with *Maximianus*. 255.8
His good gouernment in *Britaine*. *ibid.*
Murdered perfidiouſly by *Alectus*. *ibid.*
Cardigan-field loſt by the Engliſh againſt the Welſh. 456.6
Cardinals two, ſent from Pope *Benedict* the 12. to treate about a peace between *France* and *England*, but in vaine. 583.45
Cardinals Hat deliuered to Cardinall *Wolſey* in great pompe. 769.26
Cardinals not well learned. 450 43
Carentine in *Normandy* burnt to aſhes by K. *Edward* the third. 588.73
Carinus, *Cæſar*, and *Auguſtus*, with his father *Carus*. 253.2
Slaine. *ibid.*
Carleil reedified. 439.18
Endowed with priuiledges. *ibid.*
Carleil in the Scots hand. 457.7
Carlingford skirmiſh diſaſterous to the Iriſh rebels. 902.312
Carrucage what it is. 537.68
Carter his good ſeruice at *Bulloigneberg*. 837.63
Carthage when built by *Dido*. 165.21
Cartiſmandua Queen of the Brigantes. 170.2
Falleth in loue with *Vellocatus*. 176.20
Her adultery, diſloyalty and treachery. 176.12
Carvil a King in *Kent*. 173.3
Carus Emperour with *Carinus*, and *Numerianus*. 253.2
His birth. *ibid.*
Their Coines. *ibid.*
Killed with a thunderbolt. 253.3
Caſcais Caſtle in *Portugall* ſurpriſed by Sir *Francis Drake*. 892,243
Caſſan King of *Tartars* giues the Turkes a great ouerthrow, and is baptized. 560.41
Caſſians, what Country they inhabited. 173.2
Caſſibelan a Britiſh Prince. 173.3
His Seignory and Coine. *ibi.* 173.5
Brother to King *Lud*. 186.6
Generall of the warre againſt *Iulius Cæſar*. 186.6
Caſſibelan beſieged in *Verolam*. 186.9
He repulſed *Cæſar* twice. 187.12
His Coine. 186.5
Caſſius Poſthumus an vſurper in the Romane Empire. 146.3
His death & his ſonnes. *ibid.*
Lord of *Caſtell* a Briton, burnt *Plimmouth*, and is ſlaine by the people of *Deuonſhire*. 630 40
Caſtles raſed by King *Henry* the ſecond. 465.3
Caſtles caſt downe. 467.83
Caſtles generally both raiſed, & razed in *England*. 477.5
Caſtra exploratorum. i. old *Carleil*. 238.2
Catacratus, the ſonne of *Kimbeline*, or *Cunobeline*, taken priſoner. 193.5
Lead captiue in *Rome*. 175.8.
A Catalogue of pecuniary ayds in 28. yeares ſpace of K. *Henry* the third. 537.68
Sir *William Catesby* a Counſellor to King *Richard* the third beheaded. 737.58
Catesby a deepe Lawyer and diſſembler, to *William* L. *Haſtings* Lord Chamberlaine. 714.41
Set to ſound the L. *Haſtings*. *ibid.*
Falſe to the Lord *Haſtings* his founder. *ibid.*
Catesby a Conſpirator & chiefe plotter of the Gunpowder treaſon. 917.41
Catharine, See *Katharine*.
Cathari, what heretickes. 206.19
Catti in *Germany* from whence the Saxons ſhould come. 287 8
Catus, See *Decianus*.
Caurſini, certain Roman Vſurers in *England*. 533.52
Cauſeys or high-wayes in *Britaine* made by *Traianus*. 218.7
Cautionary townes and forts in the *Low-Countries* deliuered into Queen *Elizabeths* hands. 882.166
Ceadwall, or *Ceadwald*, a glorious King of the Weſt-Saxons 307.10
His deſcent and exploits. *ibid.*
His vow to God. *ibid.*
His bloud-ſhed in *Kent*. 306.10
Ceadwall his repentance, baptiſm death, buriall and Epitaph. *ibid.*
He killeth *Edilwach*. 307.6
Cearlick or *Ceorlick* king of the Weſt-Saxons his raigne. 305 5
Ceaulin or *Cheaulin* King of the Weſt-Saxons diſpoſſeſſed, & ſlaine. 305.4
Ceaulin or *Cheulin* Monarch of the Engliſh. 345.
His Armes. *ibid.*
His victories. *ibid.*
Flieth out of the field. *ibid.*
His raigne and death in exile. 346
His iſſue. *ibid.*
Cecilie daughter of *William Conquerour*, a vailed Nunne, and Abbeſſe of *Caen* Nunnery. 436.72
Celts and *Gaules* our Fathers. 162.8
Celtæ, whence ſo called. 159 6
Cenimagnes, a people where they dwelt. 173.2
Ceolnothus Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* his Coine. 387.14
Ceolnulph King of *Northumberland*, a peaceable and victorious Prince. 317.16
Became a Monke in *Lindeſfiern* Iſle, or holy *Iland*. *ibid.*
Ceolwolph the laſt lineall King of the *Mercians*. 322.15
Expelled out of his kingdom. *ibid.*
Ceorl King of the *Mercians*. 321.3
Cheramon Biſhop of *Nilus*. 242.3
Chaire of Marble tranſlated out of *Scotland* vnto *Weſtminſter*. 558.31
The propheſie of it now fulfilled. 885.10
Chaluz Caſtle wonne by King *Richard* the firſt. 491.69
Cham his of-ſpring ſeated in *Africa*. 161.2
His poſterity vntruely ſuppoſed to haue conquered & inhabited *Britaine*. 162.10
Sir *John Chandois* an expert Captaine ſlaine. 599.143
Chardford a Towne, why ſo called. 330.2
Chariot fight vſed by *Britans*. 169.13

Charity to the poore regarded of God by a miracnlous example. 532.50

Charles the great his Speare sent vnto *Ethelstane* or *Athelstane*. 381.12

Charles the Prince of *Achaia* redeemed out of Captiuity by K. *Edward* the first. 558.16

Charles K. of *Sicilie*, perisheth at Sea. 553 3

Charles de Blois taken prisoner. 592 106

Charles Earle of *Blois*, a titler for the Dukedome of *Britaigne Armorica*, slaine. 596.128

His claime vnto that Dutchy. 586.69

Charles the Daulphin, Regent of *France* whiles King *Iohn* his Father was prisoner in *England*. 595.122

Charles the Daulphin, disabled for succession to the crowne of *France*. 655;54. 655;55. 655;56

His complots to vphold himselfe. *ibid.*

Enstiled king of *Berry*. 663.2

Charles, a third sonne of *Mathew* Earle of *Lenox*, by *Margaret* daughter of *Archibald Duglas*, and father of the Lady *Arabella*. 764.75

Charles Duke of *Burbon*, King *Henry* the eight his Champion and Captaine generall, against *Francis* the French King. 770.35

Condemned in *France* of treason. 773.54

Charles Brandon Duke of *Suffolke*, entreth *France* in hostility, and winneth diuers places. 772.48

See more in *Brandon*.

Charles the sonne of *Philip* Duke of *Burgundy* promiseth to side with King *Henry* the sixt. 694.55

His hot speech vnto K. *Edward* the fourth. 699.94

Slaine at the battle of *Maury*. 701.105

Charles Duke of *Burgundy*, weddeth *Margaret* sister to *Edward* the fourth King of *England*. 690.27

Bends himselfe against *Richard Nenill* Earle of *Warwicke*. 690.42

See more in *Burgundy* at the letter *B*.

Charles Duke of *Orleance* long time prisoner in *England*. 672.37

Set at liberty for a ransome. *ibid.*

His inlargement opposed by *Humfrey* D. of *Glocester*. *ibid.*

Charles the fifth, Emperour, his greatnesse and many Dominions. 775.61

He pretendeth marriage with the Lady *Mary* K. *Henry* 8. his daughter. 776.62

He with the Queene of *Arragon* commeth into *England*, to breake peace with *France*. 770.33

He commeth into *England* againe, & affianceth Lady *Mary* K. *Henry* the 8. his daughter. 770.37

He departeth out of *England*, and saileth for *Spaine*. 772.42

Sore aggrieued at the Popes Captiuity. 773.54

Charles the fift K. of *France*, surnamed the wise, his cunning practises against the English. 596.135

He quarrelleth with *Edward* the second king of *England*. 573.49

Hee summoneth *Edward* the blacke Prince to *Paris*. 598. 136

Charles the sixth King of *France* a young, foolish, and vaine glorious Prince, intendeth the inuasion of *England*. 611. 48

Phrenticke. 624.9

Stricken into a Lunacy. 652. 25

Vpon what occasion, & how 652.44,45, &c.

He seeth a spectre in the forrest of *Meaux*. 652 46

His death. 663.2

Charles the seauenth crowned King of *France*. 667.17

His dishonorable association with *Philip* Duke of *Burgundy*. 669.24

Charles the eighth K. of *France*, practiseth to ioyne *Britaine Armorica* to his Crowne. 746.24

He pretendeth marriage with *Margaret* daughter of *Maximilian* the Emperour, but intendeth to marry *Anne* Dutchesse and heire of *Britaigne*. 748.28

He marrieth *Anne* Dutchesse of *Britaigne*, and annexeth it to the Crowne of *France*. 748.29

Charles Cardinal of *Burbon* proclaimed Lieutenant gouernor of *France*, and stiled *Charles* the tenth. 797.255

Charles-Mount, a Fort erected in *Vlster*, by *Charles Blount*, Lord *Montioy*. 900.324

Magna Charta confirmed. 584. 54

Confirmed twelue times by King *Edward* 3. 596.126

Charta de foresta confirmed. *ibid.*

Charter of *William* Conquerour to *Normans* hunter. 434 59

Charter of *London* by K. *William* Conquerour. 434.6

Charters and Liberties granted by K. *Henry* 3. 523.15

Reuoked and cancelled. 525. 23

Chastilion Admirall of *France*, wounded. 862.35

Treacherously & barbarously murdered. *ibid.*

Mounsieur Chastilion raiseth a bastilion before *Bulloigne*. 795. 132

Repelled with losse from *Bullogneberg*. *ibid.* 62

Sir *Geffrey Chaucer* our Laureat Poet. 601.154

When he liued. 589.154

Chedwal, or *Ceadwal* the most famous King of the West-*Saxons*. 306.7

Cheirburgh in *Normandy* morgaged to King *Richard* the second. 605.6

Chelred K. of *Mercia* and Monarch of the English. 359.6 365.2

His armes. 359

His wife, raigne, and death. 359. *ibid.*

His buriall. *ibid.*

He fighteth a battel with *Inas* *ibid.*

Chelwolfe King of the West-*Saxons*, his raigne and death. 305.6

Cherdick entreth *Britaine*. 343.

His Armes. *ibid.*

The first King of the West-*Saxons*. *ibid.* 1

His raigne, issue, & death. *ibid.*

His Genealogie. 326

Cherdick shore. 343.2

Cherdickeford now *Chardford*. *ibid.*

Cheuline King of West-*Saxons*, and Monarch of the English. 348.

His Armes. *ibid.*

Henry Chicheley Archbishop of *Canterbury*, a stout Champion against *Wickliffs* doctrine. 638.17

His pollicy to diuert the king and State from looking into the Cleargy. 638.19

Chichester built by King *Cissa*. 301.2

Children, Martyrs. 242.37

Chilham Castle in *Kent*, by whom built. 589.74

Chinon besieged and surprised. 504.33

Chisbury a fort, founded. 301.2

Christ suffered death in *Tiberius Cæsars* time. 191.5

Christian Bishops. 206 19

Christians sinnes cause of their miseries. 256.16

Christianissimus, the French king his title sent vnto King *Lewis* the 12. from Pope *Iulius* the second. 768.20

Christian king of *Denmarke*, with his Queene come into *England*. 772.47

A counterfeit Christ, or Pseudo-Christ detected and executed by immuration. 523.13

Christiana, daughter of *Edward* the outlaw, a Nunne in *Ramsey* in *Hampshire*. 401.21

Christian and Turkish Captiues beheaded. 486.35

Christian Religion groweth vp at *Rome* in *Neroes* Court. 197. 4

Christians persecuted by *Nero*. *ibid.*

Christians obtain raine by prayer. 221.3

Chrysanthus, Lieutenant of *Britaine*, made Bishop of *Constantinople*. 277.10

Chrysanthus a Christian *British* professor. 206.19

Church-lands with-holde bring a curse to the with-holders. 539.71

Church-lands not to bee alienated. 853.27

Cimbrica Chersonesus. 161.6

The originall of the *English*, and *Brtish*. *ibid.*

The wombe that brought forth Nations that conquered vs. 421.3

Cimbri, or *Combri*, a Colony led into *Italy*. 161

Cimbri, or *Cimeri*, a name common to *Britans* and their neighbours. 159

Cincia, *Cynthia*, or *Scientia*, sister to King *Henry* the third, his wife. 526.67

Married most sumptuously to *Richard* Earle of *Cornewall*. *ibid.*

Cingetorix a King in *Kent*. 173

Taken prisoner. 186

A. Cinna murdered by *Titus* Emperour. 212.4

Cissa King of the South-*Saxons*. 322.2

His raigne. 322.2

Cistertian Abbots denie ayde to King *Iohn*. 497.11

Cits-Cotihouse, *Catigerne* his monument. 311.9

Civilis Lieutenant of *Britaine*. 270.5

Ciuill warre betweene *Yorke* and *Lancaster*, reuiued by occasion of a fray. 660.70

Iohn Clapham his stratageme. 691.34

Clarendon Councell in *Wiltshire*. 468.18

Clarence and *Clarentieux*, titles whence they come. 601 158

Duke of *Clarence* slaine in fight by the Scots. 658.67

Richard Claringdon, reputed base sonne of *Edward* the blacke Prince. 628.26

Hanged for his affection to his brother King *Richard* the second. *ibid.*

Dutchesse of *Clarence*, deliuered of child vpon shipboord.

Clarke a Priest condemned for treason, executed. 913.15

Classicianus the Receiuer, & *Suetonius* the Generall at oddes in *Britaine*. 200.23

Claudius Drusus Cæsar. 193

His parentage and right to the Empire. *ibid.* 1

His coines. 194.5

Entreth *Britaine* in person with a great Army. 175.194. 10

His clemency to *Britans*. 194 10

Honoured of the *Britans* as a God. *ibid.*

Entreth *Rome* in triumph of *Britaine*. *ibid.* 11

Claudius Cæsar his words, occasion of his death. 196.22

He dyeth of poison. 196.23

His endowment of body. *ibi.*

His imperfections. *ibid.*

First Conquerour of the *Britanes*. 196.24

His triumph for the conquest of *Britanes*. *ibid.*

Claudius Emperour. See *Tacitus*.

Claudia Rufina, a Lady that embraced the Faith. 203.7

The same that Saint *Paul*, and the Poet Martiall doe speake of. 203.15

Cleber a Schoolemaster, raiseth rebellion in *Norfolke*. 854. 104

Clemens Maximus rebelleth, and is stiled Emperour. 273.5

His Coine. *ibid.*

He is beheaded. *ibid.* 7

Clement the 7. Pope his Bull for nullifying the second marriage of King *Henry* 8. 778.67

Clement the Pope with his Cardinals, besieged in the Castle of S. *Angello*. 773.54

Pope *Clement* the eighth his Bulles to prohibite succession in the Crowne of *England*, to any after the death of Q. *Elizabeth*, vnlesse hee were a Catholicke. 911.4

Burned by *Garnet*. *ibid.*

Saint *Clements-Danes*, a Church without *Temple-Barre*, why so called. 406.3

Cleopatra Queene of *Ægypt*. 199.19

Clergy vntrue to King *Edmund*, and sweare fealty to *Canutus*. 399.1

Clergy-men Commotioners executed. 787.99

Clergy-mens dissolute life and impunity, in king *Henry* the second

second his time. 467.12,13
Clergy men degenerate, as well as tame fowle, become wilde in *William Conqueror* his time. 431.47
Clergies exceſſe complained of in Parliament. 638.18
Clergy giuen to fleſhly delights. 442.35
Lord *Clifford* ſlaine with an headleſſe arrow. 687.6
Walter Clifford forceth an Officer to eate his Writ, &c. 540. 75
Sir *Roger Clifford* beheaded for attempting againſt king *Richard* the third. 732.36
Robert de Clifford ſlaine at *Bannockbourne*. 570.25
Sir *Robert Clifford* ioyneth with the Dutcheſſe of *Burgundy*, in ſetting vp *Perkin Warbecke*. 750.50
Clito, an Addition proper to the kings ſonnes of *England*. 568.6
Clodius Balbinus Emperour with *Pupienus Max.* 237
His deſcent. *ibid.*2
Cl. Balbinus his coine. 237
Cloth-workers, and Cloth-making in *England*, much eſteemed of by king *Edward* the third. 583.43
Lord *Cobham* aſſailed by *Wiat* in *Cowling* Caſtle. 845.33
Henry Brooke Lord *Cobham*, arraigned and condemned for treaſon. 913.14
Repriued. *ibid.*17
Captaine *Cobler* a Prieſt executed. 790.99
Cochricus a King of the Danes, ſlaine. 361.4
Coggeſhall Abbey founded. 464. 49
Cogidunus, a Britiſh King. 175. He raigned ouer certaine Cities in *Britaine*. *ibid.* 194.4
Coiſy a Biſhop diſtroyeth Idols, Altars, &c. 344.7
Coilus a Britiſh King. 217.3
Coines of *Britaines*. 164. By what forme knowne. 280. 12
Coiners of falſe monty how puniſhed. 445.4
Coines made purer. 860.11
Coines firſt ſtamped in *Britaine*. 189.6
William Collingbourne cruelly executed for making a Rhime. 732.37
Colman his ſpeech as touching the celebration of *Eaſter*. 348.12
Colonie Engliſh the firſt in *Ireland*. 473.55
Colonies of *Romans* the ſeede-plots of all our Cities. 232. 7
Chriſtopher Columbus diſcoureth *America*. 758.62
Columnes or Pillars ſet vpon the Cauſeis in *Britaine*. 218. 7
Combat betweene *Iohn Vpton* and *Iohn Down* in *Smithfield*. 667.19
Iohn Cumberton, alias *Cumbertowne*. See *Iohn Northampton*. 610.43
Combri, See *Cimbri*. 12
A Comet or blazing ſtarre for thirty daies in *England*. 583.44
A Comet or blazing ſtarre. 679 64
Comets prodigious. 305.1
A Comet in King *Harolds* time. 404.18
Iohn Comin Lord of *Strabogie*, ſubmitteth to King *Edward* the firſt. 414.30
Philip Comines ſent frō *Charles* Duke of *Burgundy* vnto *Calais* to ſound *Vanclere*. 694. 55
Comius of *Arras* his coine. 172. 1
The firſt in *Britaine*. *ibi.* 183.3
King of the *Atrebati* in *Britaine*. *ibid.*
Commodus Emperour. 224.1
His coine. *ibid.*
His q ualities. 224.2
His death plotted. *ibid.*3
Murdered by his wife and others. 225.8
His raigne and age. *ibid.*
His portraict. *ibid.*9
Styled *Hoſtis humani generis*. *ibid.*
Commons ſpared in the Subſidy. 606.10
Commotion in *Cornewall* for maintainance of Popery. 851.20
Commotions for Encloſures. 853.30
Commotion in *Norfolke* for Encloſures vnder *Ket*. *ibid.*31
Cardinall *Como* his letter to *Parry*, confirming him in his intended treaſon. 873. 101
Competitors for the Crowne of *Scotland*. 557.27
They ſubmit to the awarde of King *Edward* the 1. 557. 20
Compoſition betweene *Saxons*, and *Britans*. 291.2
Betweene *Robert Curthois* and King *Henry* the firſt his brother. 445.9
Compoſition treated of at *Arras*, betweene French, Engliſh, and Burgognians. 669. 23
Computation of yeares by the Scripture, moſt certaine. 166. 23
Computation of yeares much different in Writers. 165.23
Con-Oneal a right Iriſh. 863.38
Submitteth to King *Henry* the eight. 863.39
Surnamed *Bacco*, wherefore. *ibid.*38
King of *Conaught* rebelleth, and is taken priſoner. 527.28
Conference of Diuines about gouernment of the Church, and the Liturgy. 866.18
Conference as touching points of Religion. 866.5
Confirmation of children, how allowable. 867.20
Sir *Coniers Clifford* Gouernour of *Conaught*, ſlaine in fight. 900.303
Coniers a Chaplaine in *Kets* rebellion. 833.34
Sir *Iohn Coniers* rebelleth againſt King *Edward* the fourth. 692.
Conan planteth *Armorica* with Britons. 229.9
Conqueſt, a Caſtle in *Normandy* won. 644.42
Conrad a Marqueſſe murdered at *Tyre*, wherefore. 487.43
Conſpiracy againſt K. *Iames* of *Great Britain* reuealed. 912.9
Conſpiracy for the deliuery of King *Richard* the ſecond depoſed begun. 625.12
Chiefe Conſpirators, who they were. *ibid.*13
Diſcouered, by whom. *ibid.*
Conſpirators againſt K. *Iames*, who they were. 912.10
Endited and condemned. 912.11
Conſtance Wife to *Geffrey*, ſonne to King *Henry* the ſecond. 481.105
Conſtance daughter of *William Conquerour*. 436.73
Wife to *Ranulph* Earle of *Cheſter*, leaues her husband, and is married to one *Guido*. 445. 5
Conſtans the ſonne of one *Conſtantine*, of a Monke became Emperour. 276.6
Slaine. *ibid.*7
Conſtance his part of the Empire. 262.2
Conſtantince ſon of *Cador*, King of the Britans. 335.
His wicked life deſcribed by *Gildas*. 336.
Slaine. *ibid.*
Conſtantine the Great, Emperour. 259.1
The firſt chriſtian Emperour of Britaine. 259.13
Conſtantine the Great, *Cæſar* to his Father *Conſtantius Chlorus*. 257.3
His birth & parentage. 249.9 259.2
His attributes. 260.8
His affaires in *Britaine*. *ibid.*9
His ſword. 260.12
His coine. 259.
He altereth the forme of gouernment. 260.11
Hee drew the Prouinces forces to *Conſtantinople*. 261.14
He eſtabliſhed Chriſtianity. 261.15
His Baptiſme. 261.18
His death and ſepulture. 261. 17
His three ſonnes ſucceſſors. 261.18
Their coines. 262
Conſtantinople built by *Conſtantine* the Great. 261.12
Loſt by a *Conſtantine*. 261.13
Conſtantine the younger his ſon, what part hee had in the Empire. 262.1
Slaine. *ibid.*
Conſtantine of a common ſouldier for names-ſake made Emperour. 276.6
Allowed by *Honorius*. *ibid.*7
Beheaded. *ibid.*
Conſtantius ſonne of *Conſtantine* the Great, what part hee had in the Empire. 262.1
Slaine. *ibid.*2
Sole Emperour. 263.4
Diſquieted with an apparition. 263.2
His death, age & raigne 264. 9
He fauoureth *Arrians*. *ibid.*
His vertues and vices. *ibid.*
His perſonage. 264.11
The place of his buriall. *ibid.*
Conſtantine the younger. } 262.
Conſtans. }
Conſtantius the younger. }
Their Coines. *ibid.*
Conſtantius Chlorus, *Cæſar* to *Maximianus* Emperour. 254. 4
His Coine. 257.
Emperour with *Galerius*, 257.3
Why called *Chlorus*. 257.4
His vertues. *ibid.*
His ſmall port and frugality. 257.5
His policy to trie true Chriſtians. 258.6
His ſpeech at *Yorke* vpon his death-bed. 258.11
His raigne and death. *ibid.*
Hee permitted the profeſſion of the Goſpell in *Britaine*. 205.15.
Houſe of Conuerts, now the Rolls in *Chancery-lane* in *London* founded. 530.42
Conuerts, what they were. *ibid.*
Iohn Copland Eſquier, taketh priſoner *Dauid* the 2. King of Scots. 592.104
Made Knight-Baneret. 592. 105
He rendreth his priſoner K. *Dauid* to Queene *Philip*, wife to King *Edward* the third. *ibid.*
Cornelius Agrippa a great learned man. 782 79
Cornelius Biſhop of *Rome* Martyr. 242.3
Corniſhmen rebell vnder Lord *Audley*. 754 44
Vnder *Perkin Warbecke*. 755.50
Cornewall Dukedome inueſted vpon the Kings eldeſt ſonne at his Natiuity. 685.95
Richard de Cornewall ſlaine in *Berwicke*. 558.20
Sir *Thomas Cornewallis* taken priſoner by *Ket*, &c. 834.39
Coronation of King *Richard* the ſecond, with all the complements and circumſtances thereof. 603.2
Corporation of Cities, if not firſt inſtituted, yet ſet forward by King *Iohn*. 517.63
Corpus Chriſti Colledge in *Oxford* founded. 733.40
Corraghs a kinde of ſhips. 169. 11
Sir *Robert Cotton* of *Cunington* a ſtorer of Antiquities. 169.12
At *Conentree* a Parliament. 681. 75
The Councell ſit in the Tower about *Edward* the fift his Coronation. 714.42
Councell of the States of *England* held at *Oxford*. 458.17
Councell at *Ariminum* in fauour of the *Arrians*. 264.9
Councell at *Sardica* againſt *Arrians*. 262.2
Courts of Iuſtice remooued backe from *Yorke* to *London*. 551.46
Iohn Courtney Earle of *Deuonſhire* ſlaine in the battell at *Tewkesbury*. 883.71
William de Courtney Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and the Clergy, giue voluntary to the King a Tenth. 612.55
Edw. Lord *Courtney* made Earle of *Deuonſhire*. 843.15
Henry Courtney Marqueſſe of *Exceſter*, and Earle of *Deuonſhire*, with others, beheaded. 791.104
Ordained heire-apparant by King *Henry* the 8. *ibid.*
William Courtney Earle of *Deuonſhire* troubled for *Edmond de la Pole* Earle of *Suffolke*. 760. 67
Court factions in *England*. 665.
Appeaſed at *Leiceſter*. 665. 11
Couure-few, called Curfew, firſt inſtituted. 427.13
Cow-backe, alias *Tarſons*. 874. 113
Cowilfus a Daniſh King ſlaine. 364.6
Thomas Cranmer Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* burnt in *Oxford*.

ford. 850.66
Thomas Cranmer diſableth the Biſhop of *Romes* authority, againſt the word of God. 782.78.
Graced by the Pope with the office of Penitentiarſhip. 782.79
Cranmere Caſtle erected by King *Stephen.* 467.43
Petie-Craon King *Charles* the ſixth his Minion, makes debate betweene the Duke of *Orleance* and his Dutcheſſe. 652.44
Diſmiſſed the Court, flyeth into *Bretaigne.* *ibid.*
Credington, alias *Cridington*, a Biſhops See remoued to *Exceſter.* 428.25
Cardinall *Cremenſis* the Popes Legate, reſtraineth Prieſts of marriage. 450.46
Himſelfe taken with a whore, *ibid.*
Returneth home with ſhame. *ibid.*
Creſcy battell. 589.86,&c.
Creſwell a Ieſuite his traiterous Booke. 875.113
Crida firſt King of the Mercians his deſcent, raigne and Iſſue. 321.
Criſpus, *Conſtantine* the Great his baſe ſonne put to death. 260.8
His Coine. *ibid.*
Sir *Iames Croft* arraigned for *Wiats* conſpiracy and pardoned. 847.47
Cromer, high Shiriffe beheaded by *Eſſex* Rebels. 676.53
Thomas Lord Cromwell, his riſing. 785.94.
A Blacke-Smiths ſonne. *ibid.*
Thomas Cromwell maketh the marriage between K. *Henry* the eight, and *Anne* of *Cleue.* 791.105
Lord *Cromwell* impriſoned. 792.106
After his death attainted in Parliament. 792.106
Himſelf made an Act, occaſiō of his owne death. 792.107
Beheaded, *ibid.*108
Cauſe of his death, his diſlike of *Katherine Howard*, and defence of *Anne* of *Cleue.* 792.107
Croſſes of ſundry colours, badges of Chriſt his Souldiers. 479.95.
The Croſſe in *Decentius* his time. 263.3
The Croſſe what forme it had. 259.4
Croſſes erected in honour of Queene *Elianor*, King *Edward* the 1. his wife. 593.56
Croſſe, the firſt erected in *England.* 353.3
The Croſſe at *Wincheſter* of great value. 410.19
Croſſebacke, or Croleſhed, whence it came. 287.8, 551.107
Crowched or Croſſed Fryers, why ſo called. 287 8
Crowland Monaſtery founded. 322.10
Crowne-lands in the poſſeſſion of the Barons, how K. *Henry* the third recouered. 523.16
Crownes of *England* and *Ireland* entailed by Parliament vpon King *Henry* the 6. his heires males lawfully begotten. 693.53
In remainder vpon the heires of *George* Duke of *Clarence.* 694.53
Crucifixion forbidden by *Conſtantine* the Great. 523.13
Henry Cuffe executed at *Tiburne* 906.344
Thomas Culpepper hanged at *Tiburne* for adultery with Queene *Katherine Howard.* 792.109
Cumbra a faithfull Counſellor to King *Sigebert*, murdered by him. 307.14
Cumbri, i. Welchmen, 161.5
Rob. Cumin with his Normans ſlaine in *Durham.* 427.15.
John Cumin Earle of *Bucquhan*, Gouernour of *Scotland* vnder King *Edward* the ſecond. 569.18
Vanquiſhed, *ibid.*
Choſen of the *Scots* their Gouernour. 551.42
Cuneglaſius a Prince of the Britans. 344.
Deſcribed by *Gidas*, *ibid.*
Cunobelin or *Kimbeline* King of the Trinobants. 189.6
His Coines. 174.
In his time Ieſus Chriſt our Sauiour borne. 174.
John Curcy Earle of *Vlſter*, his rough and rude ſpeech to K. *John* of *England.* 502.28
A mighty ſtrong Champion. 502.26
After long impriſonment ſet at liberty by King *John.* 502.26
He neuer could recouer *Ireland* though oft attempted. 502.26
Curſat, alias *Iſacius* Emperour of the Griffons, a Tyrant, ſpoyleth King *Richard* the firſt of his ſhippes. 485.26
His inhumane demeanor to Queene *Berengaria* and other Ladies. *ibid.*
Put into fetters of ſiluer and gold, with his onely daughter, and led into Captiuity by King *Richard* the firſt. *ibid.*27
Sent to *Tripolis* in *Syria*, *ibid.*29
His Imperiall Standerd offered vp by K. *Richard* the firſt, at the Abbey of Saint *Edmunds.* 489.54
Sir *Robert Curſon* Captaine of the Caſtle of *Hammes* neere *Calais*, like a *Synon*, betrayeth *Edmund de la Pole* Earle of *Suffolke.* 760.67
Cuſtomes called *Auita.* 468.20
Cuth a valiant warriour. 297.4
Slaine. *ibid.*
Cuthburga King *Ofricks* wife becommeth a Nunne. 306.11
Cuthburga King *Ofreds* wife, a Nunne. 307.13
Cuthred King of Weſt-Saxons. 307.13
His Coine. *ibid.*
His raigne, death and Iſſue. *ibid.*
Cuthred King of *Kent.* 299.16
Cuthwin ſonne of *Cheaulin.* 346.
Cymbertus. 163.
Cyprus the Iſle, with ſome prouinces of *Syria*, ſubdued by King *Richard* the firſt. 157.20
Cyprus committed in truſt to *Richard de Camuile*, and *Robert de Turnham*, King *Richard* his Viceroys. 485.30

D

Sir *Thomas Dagworth* his valiant exploits in Little *Britaigne.* 592.106
Slaine by *Richard Raoul de Cahors.* 593.111
Damianus, alias *Dimianus*, a great Clerke. 206.18
Danes compound with the *Engliſh.* 373.8
Sue to *Elfred* for peace. 374.15
Firſt arriuall in *Britaine.* 308.16
Baptized. 374.16
Inuade and infeſt this Iland, 308.19
Arriued vpon the coaſt of *Kent* in King *Ethelred* his dayes. 375.3
They doe much harme in *Deuonſhire.* *ibid.*
Diſcomfite the *Engliſh.* 362.12
Inuade ſundry parts of *England* at once. 393.7
Sent out of the land by King *Canutus.* 401.5
Haue money paide at diuers times. 394.
Maſſacred. 416.16
Vanquiſhed by King *Egbert.* 366.13
They take and fire diuers Cities and Townes. 395.24, 25
The *Danes* fift Inuaſion. 369.2
They take *Elphegus* Archbiſhoppe of *Canterbury*, and ſlay 900. Monks. 395.26
Their maner of Tithing men to ſlaughter. *ibid.*
Deſtroy Monaſteries, and murder all in them. 371.5
Poſſeſſed of the Crowne of *England.* 396.23
Diſcomfited in ſundry places. 367.4,5
From whence deſcended 395.4
Danegilt. 393.30.399.13
To what ſumme it aroſe. 399.13
Remitted. 409.7
Danes whence deriued. 396.6
Giuen to Piracies from the firſt. 396.8
Therefore called *Wiccingi.* *ibid.*
Named alſo Pagans, Deniſcan and Heathen men. *ibid.*
Their ancient religion or ſuperſtition. 396.9
Danes firſt arriued at *Teignemouth* in *Deuonſhire.* 397.1
Danes, vpon what motiues firſt they attempted *England.* 399.5,6
Their murderous facts at ſundry times. 399.12
Caſheered and diſabled from raigning any more. 409.3
A *Dane* of great valour. 423.22
Danes conuerted firſt to Chriſtianity here in *Britaine.* 205.17
Danes with *Engliſh* fugitiues inuade *England* in *Williams Conquerours* daies. 427.16
Put to flight. 428.17
Daniel Biſhop of *Weſt-Saxons.* 163.
Daniels propheſie fulfilled. 256.13
William Daubeney beheaded for *Perkin Warbecke* his conſpiracy. 751.37
Danciones, ſuppoſed anceſtors of the *Danes.* 395.4
Sir *Philip d' Arcy* alias *Darcy* appeacheth Sr. *Henry de Bath*, a bribing Iudge, of Treaſon. 541.78
Sir *Charles Daners* beheaded on Tower-hill. 906.347
Dauid King of Scots inuadeth *England.* 456.7
Winneth *Carleil* and *Newcaſtle.* *ibid.*
Re-inuadeth *Northumberland* 457.114
His Souldiers inhumane cruelty. *ibid.*
Dauid brother to the King of *Scots* taketh part againſt K. *Henry* the 2. 475.65
Dauid Prince of *Wales*, inuadeth the *Engliſh* Marches. 537.67
Seeketh to draw his head out of the yoake, from the King of *England.* 537 67
Dauid Prince *Llewelins* brother ſurpriſeth *Hawardin* Caſtle 555.13
Hanged, headed, and quartered. 558.15
Dauid Bruſe King of *Scotland*, while he was Prince, married *Ioan*, daughter to King *Edward* the ſecond. 576.13
King *Dauid* the ſecond with his Queene, flye into *France.* 580.26
They returne into *England.* 582.38
He inuadeth *England*, whiles *Calais* is beſieged by the *Engliſh.* 592.104
Vanquiſhed and taken priſoner. *ibid.*
Lodged vnder ſure guard in the Tower of *London.* 592.105
Set at liberty vpon a ranſome 594.119
From King *Dauid* vnto *Zedechiah* what time. 278.2
Earle of *Deane* taken priſoner, and freed by leauing his ſon hoſtage. 605.7
Earle of *Deanes* ſonne his rare fidelitie and honeſty. 606,11
Dearth and Death in *Cadwalladers* time. 340.
Dearth and mortality. 393.5
Debate betweene *Simon Montford* Earle of *Leiceſter*, and *Richard* Earle of *Gloceſter.* 549 102
Decentius Cæſar hangeth himſelfe. 262.3
Decimus his oppreſſion in *Britaine.* 198.9
Flyeth into *Gallia.* *ibid.*15
Decius murdereth *Philips*, Father and ſonne. 241.3
His birth. 241.2
Perſecuteth Chriſtians. *ibid.*
Decius enforced to bee Emperour. 241.5
His ignoble death. 242.4
Defender of the Church, a title giuen to *Charles* the fifth Emperour, vpon what occaſion. 770.39
Defender of the faith, a title giuen to K. *Henry* the 8. wherefore. 770.39
Deification of *Roman* Emperours. 231.4
Deira, a Prouince in the Kingdome of *Northumberland.* 313.11
Michael de la Pole, Lord Chancellour

cellour disgraced, and the Seale taken from him. 614. 67
Dieth in exile at *Paris*. 616. 82
By-named in scorne *Michael* at the *Pole*. 615.74
See more in letter *P*.
Delmatius, alias *Dalmatius Annibalianus* his coine. 254. 1
Delphi spoiled by *Brennus*. 161. 5
Saint *Denis* Abbey at *Wilton*, founded. 389 21
Den-marc, whence it tooke the name and originall. 395.5
Deposition of K. *Iohn* of *England* decreed by Pope *Innocentius*. 509.46
Francis Dereham dyeth at Tyborne for adultery with *Katharine Howard* before shee was Queene. 792.109
Dermot Mac-Murrgh King of *Leinster* secretly stole away King *Rotherickes* Wife. 472. 47
Pursued by *Rotherick*. *ibid* 50
Flyeth for succour to K. *Henry* the second. *ibid.*
His perswasiue oration to *Richard Strongbow*, for to ayde him. 472.53
He dieth at *Fernis*. 474.58
Earle of *Desmond* well hoped to be King of *Ireland*. 880. 153
Beheaded. *ibid.*
Deucalidones, Westerne *Picts*. 269.4
Deuenter traiterously sold to the *Spaniard*. 883.177
Iohn Deuerel Esquire executed with *Roger Mortimer*. 580. 23
Walter Deuereux slaine before *Roan*. 894.260
Robert Deuereux Earle of *Essex*, Comander in a Fleet against *Spaine*. 895.264
Robert Deuereux Earle of *Essex*, Lord Lieutenant and gouernour Generall of *Ireland*. 900 304
He entreth *Mounster*, & cleareth it of Rebels. *ibid.*362
He vanquisheth *O-Coners* and *O-Moiles* in *Leinster*. *ibid.* 306
He entreth *Vlster*. *ibid.*307
He and *Ter-Oen* meet in parley. 900.308
His proceedings in *Ireland* distasted at home in *England*. *ibid.*308
Hee returneth into *England*. 901
Committed to the custody of Sir *Thomas Egerton* L. Keeper. *ibid.*
His discontent bewrayed in a letter to the Lord Keeper. 905.334
Suspended from exercise of his offices. *ibid.*333
He detaineth 4. of the Councell vnder sure custody in his owne house. 905.337
Hee entreth tumultuously into *London*. 906.340
Proclaimed Traitour in *London*. *ibid.*
Resisted by *Richard Bancroft* the stout Bishop of *London*. *ibid.*343
Fortifieth his house in the *Strand*. *ibid.*343
Conueyed to the Tower of *London*. *ibid.*
Arraigned at *Westminster*, and condemned to death. *ibi.*344
Beheaded. *ibid.*
His speech at his death. 906 345
Diuell appearing in the habite of a Fryer Minorite. 626.12
Denises Castle, fortified against King *Stephen*. 458.17
By whom built. *ibid.*
Accounted the goodliest Castle in *Europe*. *ibid.*18
Deuonshire men and women behaue themselues valiantly against the French at *Dortmouth*. 630.40
Diadumenus Cæsar, son to *Macrinus*, proclaimed Emperour. 233.5
Put to death. *ibid.*
Dictator Perpetuus the highest title of honour in *Rome*. 189. 11
A. Didius Lieutenant in *Britaine*, 196.19
Didius Iulianus buyeth the Empire. 227.2
His coine. 226.3
Slaine by his Souldiers. 227.5
Iohn Dighton one of the murderers of King *Edward* the fift, and his brother. 727.18
Sir *Thomas Dimocke* beheaded. 692.39
Diocletian Emperour. 253.5
His coine. *ibid.*
His parentage. *ibid.*
Killeth *Arrius Aper* with his owne hands. *ibid.*
His tyrannical edicts. 256.15
Resigneth vp the Empire. *ibi.* 18
Poisoneth himselfe. *ibid.*19
Dissembling betweene *Richard* L. Protector and the Duke of *Buckingham*. 720.59
Diuine Seruice in the English tongue. 830.10
Diuitiacus gouerned part of *Gaule* and of *Britaine*. 162.7
Dobuni yeeld to the *Romans*. 175 8
Robert Doily Father of *Henry Doily* by *Edith* Widow of *Robert* the fourth naturall sonne of King *Henry* the first. 453.69
Dolman, alias *Parsons*. 874. 113
Domesday, or *Domus Dei* Booke. 431.42
Domitian Emperour his youth. 213.1
Escapeth murdering. *ibid.*
Dedicateth a Temple to *Iupiter*. *ibid.*
His ambition. 213.2
His vaine mispending of time *ibid.*3
Enuieth *Agricola* his victories 215.16
His vaine-glory, and other vices. 215.17
By whom murdered. 216.19
His personage. *ibid.*20
His age and raigne. *ibid.*
His coine. 213
Domneua, *Dompneua*, or *Domnew* foundresse of *Minster* Abbey in *Thanet*. 349.19
First Abbesse of *Minster*. *ibid.*
Doryphorus, a youth, *Nero* his Wife. 201.2
A Doue presaging good successe in the Admirals ship at *Cadiz* voyage. 896.267
Douer Castle shut against King *Henry* the third, and his brother *Richard* by the Barons. 547.96
Archimbald or *Archibald Dowglasse*, with other Nobles of *Scotland*, slaine at *Hallydonhill*. 581.28
Raiseth spoiles in *England*. *ibi.*
Taken prisoner. *ibid.*
Archibald Dowglasse prisoner, without ransome, hath *Bermicke* alotted vnto him after a conceited victory. 628.33
Sir *Iames Dowglasse* his resolute attempt vpon K. *Edward* the third his pauilion in the night 578.11
William Dowglasse taken prisoner by the English. 581.26
Sir *William Dowglasse* slaine by *Henry Piercy*, alias *Hotspurre*. 616.79
Dragon-Gules the Standard of King *Edward* the third at the battell of *Cressy*. 591.92
Dragon in Standards against Infidels. 317.13
Sir *Francis Drake* his voyage. 878.179
His ship kept as a monument. *ibid.*
Sir *Francis Drake* Vice-Admirall of the English against the Inuincible Armado of the *Spaniard*. 887.203
Dreames presaging King *Henry* the first his death. 451.53
A *Dromond*. i. a great *Argosey* of *Saracens* conquered by K. *Richard* the first. 485.30
Druides in *Britaine* the onely learned Clergy and instructers of *Britanes*. 168.8
Priuiledged in *Britaine*. *ibid.*
Allowed no Images, nor visible forme of the Godhead. 204.10
Edmund Dudley Esquire, an instrument for King *Henry* the seuenth his auarice. 762.70
His descent & quality. 766.3
See more in *Empson*.
Iohn Dudley Earle of *Warwicke* entreth *Norwich* against *Ket* and the Rebels of *Norfolke*. 834.41
His noble heart and loue. 834.45,46
Created Duke of *Northumberland*. 837.66
Appointed L. Lieutenant for Queene *Iane* against Lady *Mary*. 842.7
Arrested in *Cambridge* by a Serieant at Armes. 843.12
Arrested by *Henry Fitz-Alen* Earle of *Arundell*. 843.13
He, with others, committed to the Tower. 843.14
Hee recanted, and was beheaded. 843.17
Ambrose Dudley Earle of *Warwicke*, Generall of the English at *Newhauen*. 862.29
Robert Dudley Earle of *Leicester*, Deputy Generall in the Low-Countries enstalled at *Dunhage*. 882.175
His proud carriage mistrusted by the States. *ibid.*176
His doings moue grudges & grieuances in the States. 883.182
Hee returned into *England*, for what cause. 883.186
Discharged of his gouernement of the Low-Countries. 883.183
Lieutenant of the English forces at *Tilbury* Campe. 886.221
His death. 889.225
Duell or combat intended betweene *Paramour* Defendant, and *Low* & *Kyme* Plaintiffes. 878.140
Duell or single fight offered by a French man, who would not stand to it. 502.26
Betweene *Newton* and *Hamilton* about words. 837. 61
Duell or combat betweene *Iohn Welsh* Esquier, English, and *Martilet*, a Gentleman Nauarrois. 610.44
Dukes place in *London* within *Algate*. See Priory of the *Trinity*.
Dulcitius a renowned Captaine. 270.5
Dunbar Castle yeelded to King *Edward* the first. 558.28
Dunmaile King of *Cumberland*. 383.4
Dunstan Abbot of *Glastenbury*, had a great hand ouer King *Eadred*. 384.5
Banished by King *Edwy*. 385 2
His iugling miracles and delusions. 391.4
His Prophesie. 493.3
Dussin-Dale, a valley where *Ket* and his Rebels entrenched themselues. 834.44

E

Eadred Monarch of *England*. 384
His Armes and coine. *ibid.*
His lenity and iustice. *ibid.*5
His workes. 385.6
His death and sepulture. *ibid.*
His issue. *ibid.*
Eagle the Romans maine Ensigne. 184.5
Eanfled King *Edwins* daughter. 352.17
First baptized in *Northumberland*. 351.5
Eanfrith, or *Eanfrid* King of *Bernicia*. 316.9
An *Apostata*. *ibid.*
Slaine. *ibid.*
Earthquakes. 431,46.432,39
Easter, when it should be celebrated, breedeth a long dissention. 348.11,12,&c.
The question argued to and fro. *ibid.*
East-*Angles* kingdome, with the circuit. 324.1
The Armes of it. *ibid.*
East-*Saxons* Kingdome and circuit. 309.1
East-*Saxons* neither affected, nor attained to the Monarchy. 395.2
Eaton Colledge founded. 697. 82
Ebbe Abbesse of *Coldingham*, disfigured her selfe, wherefore. 399.13
Ebissa a Saxon Captaine sent for by *Hengist*. 315.7
Eclipse of the Sonne. 235.6
Eclipses strange of Sunne, and Moone. 317.17
Eclipse of the Sunne a little before King *Henry* the first his death. 452.55
Edanade King of Scots enuieth *Ethelfred*. 315.7
Is ouerthrowne. *ibid.*
Edbald King of *Kent*. 297.6
Refuseth Christianity, and marrieth his Fathers Wife. *ibid.*
Often plagued. 298.6
Conuerted. *ibid.*

Liberall to the Church. *ibid.*
His issue, raigne, death and buriall. *ibid.*
Edburga Abbesse of *Minster* in the Isle of *Thanet*. 332.19
Edburga daughter of King *Edward* the elder, loueth good bookes, and leadeth a Monasticall life. 363.26
Edelingsey Monastery built. 376 25
Edelingsey Isle where King *Elfred* abode. 374.11
Edenburgh burnt by the English. 795.125
Edenburgh Castle surrendred to the English for K. *Iames* the sixt his vse. 878.144
Edenburgh rendred to King *Edward* the first. 558.29
Edfrid King *Edwins* sonne murdred by *Penda*. 321.14
Edgar Monarch of *England* his Armes and his coine. 386.
Sonne of King *Edmund*. *ibid.*
His stile. 386
Surnamed the peaceable. 387 3
Fauourable to Monkish profession. *ibid.*
An enemy to married Clerks. *ibid.*
To drunkennesse. 387.4
Fauourable to Danes. *ibid.*
His Nauy-Royall, and scowring of the seas. *ibid.*6
His gestes in Winter, and circuits through the Countrey for executiō of Iustice. 387.7
He bindeth diuers Princes to his allegiance. 387.8
His Magnanimity and Deuotion. 387.9,10
How many Monasteries hee built and repaired. *ibid.*
His cruelty and incontinency. 387.10
Deceiued with a maid-seruant brought into his bed. 388.13
His person, raigne, and buriall. 389.15
Edgar a sixt sonne of K. *Ethelred*. 397 57
Edgar Atheling, or *Etheling*, leaueth *England*. 427.11
Set vp against *William Conquerour*. 428 2
Courteously vsed by King *William* the *Conqueror*. 429.33
Heire apparant to the Crown of *England*. 426.10
Edgar Etheling Englands darling. 425.21
He with the Bishops and others, yeeld to *William* of *Normandy*. 429.23
Edgar Etheling his parentage. 425.21
Elgith a daughter of *Algar*, wife to King *Harold*. 419.10
Edgith a daughter of King *Ethelred* the vnready, married to *Edricke* a traitor. 398.49
Edgith the naturall or base daughter of King *Edgar*. 389 21
A veiled Nunne, beautifull and chast: *ibid.*
Her answer to Bishop *Ethelwold*. *ibid.*
Her buriall. *ibid.*
Edgith a daughter to King *Edward* the elder. 379.21
Edgith alias *Edith* King *Egberts* daughter died, and buried at *Polleswerth*. 366.20
Saint *Edgithes* or *Edithes* of *Polleswerth*. *ibid.*
Egina the 11. daughter of King *Edward* the elder. 380.27
Egina wife to King *Edward* the elder. 378.1
Her death. *ibid.*
Edhild daughter to K. *Edward* the elder. 379.21
Edilwach, See *Ethelwolfe*. 367
Edilwald or *Mollo* King of *Northumberland* slaine. 329. 19
Edith Swanshalse, or Swansnecke, King *Harold* his sweetheart before hee was King. 418.52
Editha or *Egitha* wife to King *Edward* Confessor, Earle *Goodwins* daughter. 412 25
Her buriall. *ibid.*
Saint *Edith* the Chast, begotten by King *Edgar*. 387.11
Edith alias *Beatrice* daughter of King *Edward* the elder. 379. 15
Foundeth a Nunnery at *Tamworth*. *ibid.*
Edmund sonne of King *Edward* the elder, King of the West-Saxons, and Monarch of *England*, his Armes and coine. 382
Edmond a third sonne of *Ethelred* the vnready. 397 44
Commonly called *Ironside*, his Armes and coine. 399.1
Edmond sonne of *Edmond Ironside* liueth priuate in exile. 402.22
Edmund or *Edmond* King of the East-Angles. 328.15
Most cruelly put to death by the Danes. 328.
His raigne. *ibid.*
Edmund sonne of King *Edward* the elder, Monarch of *England*. 397.1
Hee vanquisheth the rebellious Danes, and ioyneth *Northumberland* to his Dominions. 383.3
His Laws translated into Latine by *Lambert*. 383 4
S. *Edmondsbury* giuen by him to the Monkes there. 383. 4
His vntimely and vnfortunate death. 383.5
His issue. *ibid.*
Saint *Edmondsbury*, why so called. 328.15
S. *Edmondsbury* Church built. *ibid.*
Burnt by the Danes. *ibid.*
Reedified and enriched by K. *Canutus*. 402.14
Saint *Edmonds* ditch. 377.4
Edmond second sonne of King *Edgar*. 389.19
Edmond, second sonne of King *Edward* the first: his marriage, and issue. 565.72
Earle of *Kent*. *ibid.*
Beheaded. *ibid.*
Edmund Crouchbacke Earle of *Lancaster*. 550.107
Edmund Crouchbacke, why so termed. *ibid.*
Titular king of *Sicilia* and *Apulia*. *ibid.*
His other honours. *ibid.*
His wiues and issue. *ibid.*
Henry the third his second sonne. 543.85
His broad Seale. *ibid.*
Deluded by the Pope. *ibid.*86
Edmund the second sonne of K. *Henry* the third commended to the Parliament from his Father. 545.91
Edmund Crouchbacke, the originall of the contention betweene *Yorke* and *Lancaster*. 550.107
His death and buriall. *ibid.*
Not deformed. 545.91
Edmund Earle of *Arundell*, beheaded, with others, to satisfie *Roger Mortimer*. 575.66
Edmund Earle of *Kent*, halfe Vncle to K. *Edward* the third, opposing the Queene *Dowager* and *Mortimer*, beheaded. 579.19
Edmond of *Langley* created Earle of *Cambridge*, and Duke of *Yorke*. 601.56
Sent with an Army into *Portugall*. 606.17.
Edmond Archbishop of *Canterbury* dealeth with King *Henry* the third, about redressing of the State. 531.45
A Saint, and dieth in voluntary exile. 536.62
Edmond Earle of *March* detecteth a conspiracy of *Richard* Earle of *Cambridge* and others. 641.30
Edmund Beaufort Duke of *Somerset* taken forth of Sanctuary at *Tewkesbury*. 696.72
Edmond Beaufort Duke of *Somerset* arrested of high treason, and sent to the Tower. 676.61
Edmond Beaufort Duke of *Somerset*, a vigilant Counsellor to King *Henry* the 6. and true to his Countrey. 677.54
Regent of English *France*. 673.39
Commanded prisoner to his owne house. 677.57
Accuseth *Richard* Duke of *Yorke* of treason. *ibid.*
Flyeth from *Barnet*-field into *Wales*. 695.65
Slaine at the battell of S. *Albans*. 679.64
Edmond Ironside Monarch of *England*, his coine. 399.1
He profereth King *Canute* single fight. 399.2
Hee putteth Danes to flight. 400.3
Edmund and *Canute* at single fight. 401.16
Murdred by *Edricke*. 401.17
His raigne and burial. 401.18
His personage and valour. *ibi.* 19
Edmond Earle of *Kent*, wounded to death at the siege of *Briant* in Little-*Britaigne*. 632. 46
Edmund sonne of King *Harold* from out of *Ireland* inuadeth *England*. 427.13
Edmond Prince, K. *Etheldreds* sonne, punisheth Reuolters. 396.37
Edmund de la Pole, Earle or D. of *Suffolke*, excommunicated by a Bull from Pope *Alexander* the 6. 761.69
Deliuered vp to the Tower of *London*. 761.70
See more in *P.* at *de la Pole*.
Edmond third sonne of King *Henry* the seauenth, Duke of *Somerset*, his birth, death and place of buriall. 763.74
Edred a fourth sonne of King *Ethelred* the vnready. 397. 45
Edred sonne to King *Edward* the elder. 379.25
Edred another sonne, his Armes and Coine. 384
Edricke King of *Kent*. 298.10
Slaine. *ibid.*
Edricke the Dane murdered. 381.9
Edricke Sylvaticus taketh Armes with the Welshmen against King *William Conquerour*. 426.9
Edricke the Kings sonne reuolteth to the Danes. 396.36
Earle *Edrich*, surnamed *Streton* for his auarice. 394.17
His traiterous stratageme. 400.6
His wicked counsell. *ibid.* 400.11
Surnamed also *Streona*.
Beheaded as a traitour, & his head set on the highest gate in *London*. 401.17
An vntrusty Counsellor to his Soueraigne. 394.20
His treachery. *ibid.*21
He goeth to the enemy. 400. 13
Edsine Archbishop of *Canterbury*. 409.6
Edward the elder, Monarch of the English. 377.
His Armes and Coine. *ibid.*
His humility. 378
Taketh a Votaresse to wife. *ibid.*3
His death, and issue. 378.10
King *Edward* the Confessor his death, buriall, and raigne. 411.25
His personage. *ibid.*
Called Saint *Edward*. 409.6
Monarch of *England*. 408
His Seale, Coine, and Armes. 408
Vaine predictions of his raigne. 408.2
His lawes the fountain of our common lawes in *England*. 409.7
His lawes reuiued. 445.4
His troubles by forrainers, & domesticke enemies. 409.11, 12
His raign troubled with calamities of the land. 410.20
He refraineth from the bed of his vertuous wife. *ibid.*21
Vnkind and cruell to his wife and mother. *ibid.*22
Edward Out-Law dyeth. 401. 10
Sonne of *Edmond Ironside* liueth priuate in exile. 402.22
Edward the seuenth sonne of K. *Ethelred* the vnready. 398.52
King *Edward* the Martyr, Monarch of *England*. 390
His Armes and Coine. *ibid.*
Murdered by his stepmother *Elfrida*. 391.8
His buriall. *ibid.*
King *Edward* the first his birth. 537 65
Edward Prince, after K. *Edward* the first, marrieth *Elianor*, *Alphonsius* the King of *Spaine* his sister. 543.84
His estate which the King gaue him presently. *ibid.*
Hee holdeth with the Barons against his father. 547.98
Prince *Edward* auenged of the Londoners for abuse to the Queene his mother. 548. 101
Prince *Edward*, after King *Edward* the first, taken prisoner by *Simon Montfort*, and imprisoned in *Douer*. 549.102
Remoued to *Hereford* Castle. 549.102
Escapeth out of prison, and raiseth a power against *Simon Montfort*. *ibid.*

He

He with his brother *Edmund* and others take the Crosse for the Holy-Land. 550.105
He killeth an *Assasine*. 553.5
Wounded and healed by his wiues tongue. *ibid.*
King *Edward* the first his Arms, Broad-Seale,& coine. 552
Why named *Longshanke*.550.106
His valour and resolution. 553.3.4
His single fight being Prince with Sir *Ada Gourdon*. *ibid.*4
Hee sorroweth more for his Fathers death then his Sons. 554.6
His wonderfull strength of body. *ibid* 7
His honorable passage homeward from the Holy-Land. *ibid.*
Homager to *Philip* King of *France*, for territories in *France*. *ibid.*8
Crowned king at *Westminster*. *ibid.*9
Discomfited by the Welsh. 555.14
Edward of *Caernaruon* borne. 558.15
King *Edward* the first claimeth Soueraignety ouer *Scotland*. 558.19
Dispossessed of *Gascoigne*. 557.24
Intendeth the Conquest of *Scotland*. 557.25
Purposeth to vnite *Scotland* to the Crowne of *England*. 558.31
Taketh truce with *France*. 559.33
Weddeth *Margaret* the French Kings Sister. 559.36
He granteth Charters and Liberties to his subiects.559.36
Renounceth his grant. 562.52
Edward of *Caernaruon* made Prince of *Wales*, and Earle of *Chester*. 560.40
First Prince of royall race. 562.61
K. *Edward* the first cast from his horse, had two ribs broken; 559.34
One of our greatest English Monarchs. 562.48
Wholly possessed of *Scotland*. *ibid.*
Duke of *Aquitaine*. *ibid.*
His last speeches on his death-bed to Prince *Edward*. 563.54
Sick of a dissentery,or bloudy fluxe, whereof hee dyed. *ibid.*55
His commendation. *ibid.*
His wiues and issue. *ibid.*
King *Edward* the second, his Armes, Broad-Seale, and Coine. 566
Hee taketh reuenge of *Walter Langton* Bishop of *Chichester*. 567.3
Weddeth *Isabel* daughter of *Philip* the *Faire*, King of *France*. *ibid.*
He with his Queen crowned. *ibid.*6
Edward of *Windsor*, after King *Edward* the third,borne.568.16
Made high-Keeper or Warden of *England* in his fathers dayes. 574.63
Duke of *Aquitaine*, and Earle of *Ponthieu*. 573.52
Ensured by the Queene to *Philip* daughter to *Iohn* Earle of *Henault*. 573.57
Crowned King by the name of *Edward* the third. 576.78
K. *Edward* the second entreth *Scotland* with a puissant Army. 569.19
The dissolute behauiour in his Campe. *ibid.*21
He and his power defeated by *Rob.Bruce*. 569.22,23
Hee vpbraideth bitterly the death of *Thomas* Earle of *Lancaster*. 570.46
Flyeth into *Wales* vnto the Abbey of *Neath*. 574.61
Recalled by Proclamation. *ibid.*63
King *Edward* the second deposed, and committed to two merciless Knights. 578.5
Murdered by his two Keepers. *ibid.*6
His murderers out-lawed,and brought to confusion. *ibid.*8
His murdered Corps laid to view. *ibid.*9
His repentance and reformation of life after his deposing. *ibid.*
King *Edward* the second prisoner at *Kenelworth* Castle.575.69
Sollicited to resigne vp the Crowne vnto his sonne *Edward*. 575.73
He resigneth it. *ibid.*
His Issue. 576.78
Edward the third, his Armes, Broad-Seale, & coine. 577
Crowned by *Walter* Archb. of *Canterbury*. 578.3
Prouideth for the publike peace of the Realme. *ibid.*2
For warres with *Scotland*.578.3
He besiegeth *Berwicke*. 580.27
He reputeth the Acts and releases to the Scot. at *Northampton* in his Minority to be void. 581.27
Warreth vpon *Scotland*, on what ground. *ibid.*
Edward the *Blacke Prince* borne at *Woodstocke*. 579.20
Why by-named *Black Prince*. *ibid.*
Created Prince of *Wales*. 587.75
His commendation. *ibid.*
The first Duke of *Cornewall* created. 590.95
In great danger at the battell of *Cressi*. *ibid.*94
Saileth into *France* to take possession of the Dukedome of *Aquitaine*. 593 113
His high atchieuements in *France*. *ibid.*114
His commendable behauiour vpon the victory at the battell of *Poitiers*. 494.117
Returneth into *England* in triumph. *ibid.*118
Hee doth homage to his Father for the Dukedome of *Aquitaine*. 596.125
He passeth with an Army into *Spaine*,in the quarrel of *Peter* King of *Castile* disseized of his kingdome. *ibid.*133
Poisoned in his iourney to *Spaine*. *ibid.*134
He demandeth a fowage at a Parliament in *Gascoigne*.598.136
His death and commendation. 600.150
Enterred with a Monument in *Canterbury*. *ibid.*
His Issue. 601.156
Edward the third doth homage to *Philip de Valois* for the Dutchy of *Gascoigne*. 579.20
His ouerture for the holy-Land. 581.33
Entreth with an Army into *Scotland* to aide K. *Edward Baliol*. *ibid.*34,35
Createth sundry great States. 582.36
He supporteth the *Baliols* possession of *Scotland* against the *Bruce*. *ibid.*38
His claime to the Crowne of *France* iustified. 582.40
How he fortified himselfe for the conquest of *France*. *ibid.*41
His manner of doing homage for the Dutchy of *Aquitaine*. 583.47
Saileth to *Antwerpe* for *France*. 584.47
Constituted Vicegerent vnto *Lewis* the Emperour. *ibid.*
Why hee refused to kisse the Popes foot. 584.49
His Broad-Seale. 584.50
Hee publisheth his title to *France*. *ibid.*53
His victory at Sea against the French. 585.56
His puissant Army. *ibid.*57
His challenge sent to *Philip de Valois*. *ibid.*59
He is at a default for want of Treasure 385.62
He punisheth Officers about his treasure. 586.64
His answere to *Lewis* of *Bauarre* the Emperour his reuocatory lines. *ibid.*67
Saileth againe into *France*, for the conquest thereof.589.83
King *Edward* the third his resolute valour at the foord *Blanche Taque*. 589.85
His answere when the *Blacke Prince* was in danger. 590.63
His victory at the battell of *Cressy*. 591.97
His charity to the poore of *Calais* by him besieged. 591.102
His deuout thankesgiuing to God for victory. 594.118
Hee inuadeth *France* againe. 595.121
King *Edward* 3. lieth with a puissant Army before *Paris*. *ibid.*122
His hoast much hurt by tempest. *ibid.*
His cruelty in *France*. *ibid.*
He yeeldeth to a peace. *ibid.*
His death. 601.154
His Epitaph. *ibid.*
His workes of deuotion. *ibid.*
His issue. 601,&c.
His raigne and age. 601.154
Edward Earle of *March* & Duke of *Yorke*, sheweth his right to the Crowne. 686.1
King *Edward* the fourth, his Armes, Seale, and Coine. 686.1
Proclaimed King. 687.2
He denieth repaiment of money borrowed of the *Staplers* Merchants. 687.4
Crowned King in *Westminster*. 688.11
Sitteth personally in the Kings Bench court. *ibid.*17
His proiects for a marriage. 688.18,19
Enamoured vpon Dame *Elizabeth Grey*. 689.21
Disswaded by his mother Dutches of *Yorke*, but in vaine, from that marriage with *Elizabeth Grey*.689.23
He marrieth Dame *Elizabeth Grey*. 690.24
Taken prisoner by *Richard Neuill* Earle of *Warwicke*.691.36
Committed prisoner to *George Neuill* Archbishop of *Yorke*. *ibid.*
He escapeth from his keepers. *ibid.*37
Leaueth *England*, and setteth saile toward *Burgundy*. 694.56
King *Edward* the fourth, in Parliament declared Traitor to his country, and an Vsurper: and his goods to be confiscate. 693.53
He landeth with a power at *Rauenspur* in *Yorkeshire*. 694.57
Sweareth to be true to King *Henry* the sixth. *ibid.*
Encampeth neere to *Couentree* against *Richard Neuill* Earle of *Warwicke*, and challengeth him to battell. 649.59
Encountreth *George* Duke of *Clarence* his brother, and are both reconciled. 694.60
Marcheth towards *Barnet*,to *Gladmore-heath*, with King *Henry* the sixth in his traine. 695.62
His victory and triumph for *Barnet*-field. 695.66
Offereth his Banner in Saint *Pauls* Church. 695.66
His reply to *Charles* Duke of *Burgundy* who married his sister. 699.95
He sendeth into *Britaigne* for *Iasper* Earle of *Pembroke*, and *Henry* Earle of *Richmont*.698.89
His expedition into *France* against *Lewis* the French king. 698.91
Sendeth defiance to *Lewis* king of *France*. *ibid.*
He loueth his Subiects,and is beloued againe. 700.101
Sendeth for the Lord Maior, and Aldermen of *London* to his huntings. *ibid.*
Wantonly giuen. *ibid.*102
His sicknesse and speeches at his death. 702.113,114
His *Apophthegme* of his three Concubines. 700.102
His death, raigne and state of buriall. 702.115
King *Edward* the fourth his personage, feature, and other parts. 702.116
His issue by *Elizabeth* his wife 703,&c.
His Concubines. 703.129
His naturall issue. 704.150
His care to set peace between his owne kindred and the Queenes. 706.9
His children made bastards by *Richard* his brother, Lord Protector, and Doctor *Shaa* his Chaplaine,vpon what colour. 717.53
Himselfe, with his brother *George* D. of *Clarence* made bastards by their brother *Richard*, Lord Protector. 717.54

His

His iſſue held Baſtardy. 723.3
King *Edward* the fourth accuſed to haue beene contracted to Dame *Butler*, before his marriage with *Elizabeth Grey* 724.3
Edward Bruce crowneth himſelfe king of *Scotland*, and is ſlaine in battell. 570.33
King *Edward* the fift, his armes and ſeale. 705
Attended by his Mothers friends repaireth towards *London* vpon his Fathers death. 707.10
Met by the Citizens of *London* and accompanied into the City. 709.24
Smothered to death with his brother in the Tower. 721.65
His ſhort raigne, without Crowne, Scepter, or Ball. 721.64
What he ſaid when he heard that his Vncle was crowned king. 727.18
His body and his brothers where firſt buried. 727.19
King *Edward* the fifth his body with his brothers, taken vp and buried againe no man knoweth where. *ibid.*
Edward the laſt childe of king *Henry* the eight, when borne. 798.147
Created Prince of *Wales*. *ibid.*
Hee is king of *England* vnder the name of king *Edward* the ſixth. 829
His Armes, broad-Seale, and Coine. *ibid.*
The beginning of his raigne and Coronation. 830.3
Compared to king *Ioſiah* in godly zeale. 830.5
His marriage with Queene *Mary* of *Scotland* deſired of the Engliſh. 830.7
Falleth ſicke of a cough and conſumption of the lungs. 838.73
His prayer at the poynt of death. 838.76
His death. *ibid.*
His vertues. 839.77
His learning and memory. *ibid.*
His care and mercy. *ibid.* 78
His zeale to the Goſpell. *ibid.* 79
His letter to the Lady *Mary* his ſiſter. *ibid.* 80
His workes of mercy. *ibid.* 81
His liberality to the poore of *London*. 839.85
His age, raigne, and place of buriall. 840.86
Prince *Edward* firſt ſonne of king *Henry* the ſixth, borne. 678.60
Prince *Edward*, king *Henry* the ſixth his ſonne apprehended after *Tewkſbury* field. 696. 73
Prince of *Wales*. *ibid.* 95
His ſtout anſwere to K. *Edward* the fourth. *ibid.*
Shamefully ſlaine by *Richard* Duke of *Gloceſter*. 696. 73
A Prince of great hope. 699. 95
He had beene contracted to Laday *Anne*, daughter to *Richard Neuill* Earle of *Warwicke*. 693.44
His corps meanely buried at *Tewkesbury*. 896.59
Edward Earle of *Warwicke*, ſon to *George* Duke of *Clarence* beheaded. 751.107
Edward Earle of *Warwicke* in the Tower, as a new Titler to the Crowne. 757.59
Edward Duke of *Buckingham* plotteth with *Richard* Duke of *Gloceſter* to remoue from King *Edward* the fifth the Queene-Mothers friends. 707.12
Edward Plantagenet Earle of *March*, after King *Edward* the fourth, his victory at *Mortimers* Croſſe. 684.92
Hee with *Richard Neuill* the ſtout Earle of *Warwicke* haſten to *London*. 686.11
Edward, ſonne to King *Richard* the third, made heire apparant by Parliament. 724.4
Created Earle of *Salisbury*, & Prince of *Wales*. 738.62
Edward Duke of *Yorke* ſlaine at the battell of *Agincourt*. 645. 61
Enterred in the Colledge at *Fothring-hay*. 646.30
Edward Seymer Earle of *Hertford*, and Duke of *Somerſet*, ordained Lord Protector during the minority of K. *Edward* the 6. 830.4
His expedition into *Scotland*. 830.8
Hee and his brother *Thomas Seymer*, Lord Admiral, at ods. 834.52
See more in *Seymer*.
Edward Lord *Stafford* Duke of *Buckingham* beheaded for treaſon. 783.83
Seduced by a Monke. *ibid.*
Edwin King *Edward* the elder his ſonne caſteth himſelfe into the ſea for ſorrow. 373.17
Edwin the valiant Prince of *Deira* King of *Northumberland*. 316.7
Of his preſeruation, a ſtrange ſtory. *ibid.*
His death and raigne. *ibid.*
Edwin King of Churles, ſonne of King *Ethelred*, baniſhed and murdered. 393.2
Edwin the great Monarch of Engliſhmen. 350.1
His Armes. *ibid.*
He renounceth his Idols. 351 5
His magnificent Port. 351.8
Slaine in *Hethfield* battell. 352.10
His raigne, buriall, wiues and Iſſue. 352
Edwin and *Morcar* Rebels reſiſt the Normans. 427.11
They affect the Crowne of *England*. 431.44
Edwin Earle of *Yorkeſhire* ſlaine by his owne Souldiers. 429. 274
Edwy Monarch of *England* his Armes, and his coine. 385
Sonne to K. *Edmund*. *ibid.*
An enemy to Monkiſh orders, therfore by them noted for vicious life. 386.2
His raigne, death, and buriall. *ibid.* 3
Edwy a fift ſonne of *Ethelred* the vnready. 397.46
Murdered. *ibid.*
Egbert king of *Kent*. 298.8
Murdereth his Nephews. *ibid.*
His raigne, death, and iſſue. *ibid.*
Egbert ſonne of *Withred* king of *Kent*, his raigne, and death. 298.12
Egbert king of *Northumberland*. 317.17
Became a Monke. *ibid.*
His iſſue. *ibid.*
From *Egbert* the firſt Monarch vnto king *Edward* the Confeſſor, what time. 278.2
Egbert king of the Weſt-Saxons, his Armes and coine. 365
The firſt abſolute Monarch of *England*. 318.24
His Armes and coine. *ibid.*
His exploits. *ibid.*
His deſcent, perſonage, raign, ſepulture, Epitaph, and iſſue. 318
Egbert Archbiſhop of *Yorke* erecteth a Library. 318.17
Egbert ſonne of *Ethelbert* the vnready. 397 43
Egelwine Biſhoppe of *Durham* hunger-ſterued. 429.29
Egfride K. of *Northumberland*. 317.11
Inuadeth the Iriſh. *ibid.*
Slaine by the Picts or Redſhankes. *ibid.*
Egfride King of *Mercia*, and Monarch of the Engliſh. 322 12
His Armes. *ibid.*
His ſhort raigne and buriall. *ibid.*
Egfride king *Offa* his onely ſonne, Monarch of *England*. *ibid.*
His ſhort raigne and buriall. *ibid.*
Egitha the vertuous wife of K. *Edward* the Confeſſor. 411. 24
Her praiſe. *ibid.*
Egl. ſine a Politicke and ſtout Abbot of Saint *Auſtin* in *Canterbury*. 426.6
Sir *Iohn Egremond* rebelleth. 747.26
Flyeth to the Dutcheſſe of *Burgundy*. *ibid.*
Egricke king of the Eaſt-Angles ſlaine in battell. 326.6
Eguina daughter of king *Edward* the elder, wife to *Charles* the ſimple, king of *France*. 379.19
Her Iſſue. *ibid.*
Eguina wife to King *Edward* the elder. 378.
Ela daughter of *William Conqueror* contracted to *Harold*, after king of *England*. 436.76
Elappea king of *Lernicia*. 315. 3
Eldol Duke of *Gloceſter* his valour. 292.12
Eleazar a Iew of an huge height. 236.1
Eleonor or *Eleanor*, or *Elenor* King *Edward* the firſt his wife, while hee was Prince, deliuered of her daughter *Ioan* at *Acon*. 553.5
She landeth at *Douer*. 554. 8
Her rare affection to her huſband. *ibid.*
Dieth at *Lincolne*. 558.18
Her Corps how conducted to *Weſtminſter*. *ibid.*
Her death and Tombe. 563. 56
Eleanor the ſecond daughter of King *Iohn*, her marriage, Iſſue, death and buriall. 518. 70
Eleanor daughter to king *Edward* the firſt, and *Elenor* his wife, her marriages, and iſſue. 564.68
Her death, and burial. *ibid.*
Eleanor, daughter to K. *Edward* the firſt, and *Margaret* his wife, her buriall. 565.73
Eleanor or *Elenor* diuorced from *Lodowicke* king of *France*. 475.42
Elenor king *Henry* the ſecond his wife, conſpireth againſt the King. 475.65
With her two younger ſons taketh part with *Henry* the young King againſt the huſband and father. *ibid.*
In ſafe cuſtody. 476.77
Her deſcent. 480.101
She is the cauſe of warres and troubles betwixt *France* and *England*. *ibid.*
Kept in long captiuity by her husband, and releaſed by King *Richard* her ſonne. 482. 2
Elenor called the Damoſell of *Britaigne*, daughter to *Geffrey* K. *Henry* the ſecond his ſon. 481.105
Elenor ſecond daughter of King *Henry* the ſecond married to *Alphonſe* the good K. of *Caſtile* and *Spaine*. 481.109
Her iſſue. *ibid.*
Queene *Eleanor*, or *Elenor* King *Iohns* mother, a wiſe Princeſſe. 500.19
Her death. *ibid.*
Eleanor, *Alphonſo* the King of *Spaine* his ſiſter. 543.85
Eleanor Cobham Dutcheſſe of *Gloceſter* arraigned of ſorcery and treaſon. 673.40
Put to publike penance, and in perpetuall priſon. 674 41
Elenor daughter to K. *Edward* the ſecond, wedded to *Reinald* ſecond Earle of *Gelder*, and after Duke of *Gelder*. 576 81
Eleanor Wife of King *Henry* 3. her death and buriall. 550. 105
Election of the Emperour in *Probus* his time. 251.1
Elephants firſt brought into *England*. 194 9
Their late found bones. *ibid.*
Eleutherius Biſhop of *Rome* his originall Epiſtle to King *Lucius*. 222.8
This Epiſtle auerred againſt Papiſts obiections. 223.9
Elfgina, alias *Elfleda* firſt wife to King *Ethelred* the vnready. 397.40
Elfgiue King *Edmonds* wife, a vertuous Lady, and reputed a Saint. 383.6
Elfgiue the wife of King *Edwy* ſeparated from him. 386. 4
Elfgiue daughter of King *Ethelred* the vnready, married to *Vtred* the *Bold*. 381.50
Elfgiua, or *Elgiua* a daughter of King *Edward* the elder. 398. 24
Elfleda King *Elfred*, or *Alfred* his daughter, Dutcheſſe or Gouerneſſe of *Mercia*. 376
Another *Zenobia*. *ibid.*
Elfleda winneth *Brecknocke* and *Darby*. 398.8
Her death and buriall. *ibid.*
Elfleda wife of King *Edward* the elder. 378.10,11
Elfleda daughter of K. *Edward* the elder, Abbeſſe of *Ramſey* in the County of *Southampton*. 379.18

Elfleda Abeſſe of Streanſhall. 355.12

Elfleda King *Offa* his daughter 362.17

Elfred ſonne of *Ethelwolfe* alias *Alfred* Monarch of *England*, his Armes and Coine. 373.

His noble vertues. 373.2, 378.25

Styled firſt abſolute Monarch. 373.2

How he employed the houres of the day Naturall. *ibid.*

How he diuided his Kingdome. *ibid.*

Hardly diſtreſſed and almoſt turned out of all by the *Danes*. 372.10

His care of Iuſtice. 375.

His good ſtudies. *ibid.*

He diſguiſeth himſelfe in *Edelingſey* Iſle. 374.12

His care of the Clergy, Orphanes, & widdowes. 375.

His ſtratagems againſt the *Danes*. 374.12

His loue to learning. 375.

Surpriſeth the *Danes* Campe. 374.13

His buildings. 376.25

His kingdome how confined. 374.16

His iſſue. 376.28

His death, raigne, and vertues. 376.

Elfred, ſonne of King *Eadred*. 385.7.

Elfred ſonne of King *Edward* the elder, crowned in his fathers time. 379.14

Elfred a Nobleman, but a periured Traitor, fell ſodainely downe and ſo dyed. 380.2

Elfred the 8. ſonne of King *Ethelred* the vnready, betrayed by King *Harold Harefoote*, and depriued of his eye-ſight. His buriall. 398.53

Elfride a beautifull Lady eſpouſed to *Ethelbert*, voweth chaſtitie. 327.14

Elfrida Duke *Ordgars* daughter. 388.14

Her diſloyalty to her huſband *Ethelwold*. *ibid.*

Second wife to King *Edgar*. 389.17

Elfride daughter of King *Offa*, ſorroweth for the death of her ſpouſe King *Ethelbert*. 362.18

Elfrida ſtepmother to King *Edward* the Martyr murdereth him. 391.8

She repenteth of her fact. *ibi.*

Her buriall. *ibid.*

Elfrike Earle of *Mercia*, a Traitor. 393.8

Elfride daughter of King *Elfride*. 376.

Elfride Abbeſſe of Streanſhall. 355.9

Elgiua. See *Elgiua*.

Elie Abbey founded. 317.11

Elie Iſle beſieged. 549.104

Elie Monkes ſue for mercy to *William Conquerour*, and betray the Iſle. 429.29

Hardly intreated by *William Conquerour*. *ibid.*30

Sir *Thomas Eliot* a learned Knight. 844.

Elizabeth the ſeauenth naturall daughter of King *Henry* the firſt, he deſcent by the Mothers ſide. 454.79

Elizabeth Barton, the holy maide of *Kent*. 783.83

A counterfeit oracle. *ibid.*

Detected by *Cranmer*, *Cromwell* and *Latimer*. *ibid.*

Elizabeth Queene of *Spaine*, wife to *Ferdinando* troubled by a counterfeit inheritrix. 755.49

Lady *Elizabeth Grey*, widdow to Sir *Iohn Grey*, her behauiour to King *Edward* the 4. 689.21

Her deſcent and her kindred highly aduanced. 690.25

Crowned Queene at *Weſtminſter*. *ibid.*

Queene *Dowager* to King *Edward* the fourth, eſcapeth out of the Tower, and taketh Sanctuary at *Weſtminſter* with her Sonne the Duke of *Yorke*. 708.19

Deliuered of Prince *Edward* in Sanctuary. 693.15

Condemned to forfeit all her lands and goods. 743.15

Shee and her mother ſlandered of witchcraft. 723.3

Confined to a Monaſtery. 743.16

Her parentage. 690.117

Her meane life in *Bermondſey* Monaſtery, her death and place of buriall. *ibid.*

Elizabeth Lucy concubine to King *Edward* the fourth. 703.149

Dame *Elizabeth Lucy*, ſuppoſed to be wife to King *Edward* the fourth. 718.54

Elizabeth, eldeſt daughter to King *Edward* the fourth, her commendable parts. 741.54

Her chaſte meditation about marriage. 741.8

Wife to K. *Henry* the ſeuenth, Crowned Queene. 763. 71

Her death and buriall. 763. 71

Elizabeth daughter to King *Edward* the fourth, vpon a contract with the *Daulphin* of *France*, called Madame the *Daulphin*. 603.108

Lady *ELIZABETH*, after Queene and Monarch of *England*, borne 784. 86

The wonder of her Sex. 798.

The ſecond daughter of K. *Henry* the eight. 798.145

Succeedeth Queene after her ſiſter Queene *Mary*. *ibid.*

Lady *Elizabeth* ſent to the Tower. 847.47

Conueied as a priſoner to the Court. 848.50

Her manifold feares. 849.62

In danger to be murdered at *Woodſtocke*. 849.

Brought in preſence of Qu. *Mary* her ſiſter. 854.98

Diſcharged of impriſonment. 854.99

Lady *Elizabeth* proclaimed Queene & Monarch of *England*. 857.1

Her Armes, broad-Seale, and Coine. *ibid.*

The beginning of her raigne. 857.2

Her zealous deuotion. 858.3

Her coronation. *ibid.*4

Moued in Parliament to marriage; by way of Petition. 858.6

Her reply deliuered vnto it. *ibid.*

Claimeth reſtitution of *Calis* *ibid.*8

Aſſiſteth the *Scottiſh* Lords againſt the *French*. 860.18

Laboureth for peace in *France*, betwene *Guiſe* and *Conde*. 861.26

Shee demaundeth *Calis* of *Charles* the 9. the *French* King according to couenants. 864.47

She ſoliciteth the *Scots* in behalfe of *Mary* their Queene, fled, and landed in *England*. 807.61

The Maieſtie of Queene *Elizabeths* preſence, often daſhed *Parries* attempt to kill her. 872.96

Her vndaunted confidence. 873.102

Her ſingular clemency to offenders. 873.103

Her gracious loue to her people in generall. 871.103

Queene *Elizabeths* great care for her land. 857.141

Shee moueth *Philip* 2. King of *Spaine* for the *Low-Countries*. 881.164

She vndertaketh the protection of the *Low-Countries*. 882.170

The motiues and reaſons of her protection. *ibid.*170

Her anſwer to printed libels againſt her. 882.172

Her magnanimity & courage at *Tilbury Campe*. 886.201

Her ſolemne thankeſgiuing for defeating the *Spaniſh* inuincible *Armado*. 889.226

Her praier for proſpering her Fleet ſet forth againſt *Spaine*. 895.267

Her anſwer in Latine to the *Polonian* Embaſſadours meſſage. 897.284

Her vſuall oath in anger. 906.285

In paſſion for the death of *Robert Deuereux*, Earle of *Eſſex*. 907.345

Her praiſes in briefe. 906.349, &c.

Her ſway in forraine parts. 907.350

Her Princely qualities. *ibid.* 351

Her feature and lineaments of body. *ibid.*351

Her military prouidence *ibid*

Her Nauy, and maintenance of Nauigation. *ibid.*

Her peaceable vertues. *ibid.* 352

Named Lady Temperence, or Temper, by her brother K. *Edward* the 6. *ibid.*

Her moderation. *ibid.*

Her Court. 907.352

Her Counſell. *ibid.*

Her awe ouer her Courtiers. *ibid.*

Her meekeneſſe. 307.349

Her loue among her Subiects *ibid.*

Her learning. *ibid.*350

Her languages. *ibid.*

Her fauor to the learned. *ibid.*

Her ſtudiouſneſſe. *ibid.*

Paralleled with Queene *Zenobia*. 908.

Her godlineſſe & piety. *ibid.* 353

Her priuate and politike vertues. *ibid.*

Her maintenance of true Religion. *ibid.*

How ſtiled by forrain Churches. *ibid.*

Her ſicknes & death. *ibid.*

Her funerals. *ibid.*353

Her Monument. *ibid*

Her Epitaphes 908.&c.

Ella Monarch of *Engliſhmen*. 328.325

His deſcent, iſſue, and raigne. *ibid.*

His armes. *ibid.*

Ella the firſt King of the South-*Saxons*. 341.1

His armes. *ibid.*

His raigne and death. *ibid.*

Ella the firſt King of *Deira*, or *Northumberland*. 315.1

His armes. *ibid.*

His raigne and iſſue. *ibid.*

Elle-croſt, who ſo called. 318.24

Elnothus Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. 404.2

Elphegus Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, ſtoned to death by the *Danes*. 395.26

Elſwine ſlaine in battell. 338

Elſwith wife to King *Elfred*. 376.28

Elſwolfe King of the *Eaſt-Angles*. 327.310

Eluanus Auallonius. i. of *Glaſtenbury*, a learned Diuine. 206.18

Elward, alias *Ethelward*, a diligent ſearcher of Antiquities. 163.16

When he liued. *ibid.*

Elfward the ſonne of King *Edward* the elder. 379.16

Embaſſage out of *France*, how anſwered by *Chicheley* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. 640.26

From King *Iohn* to *Philip* K. of *France*. 502.25

To *Iames* the third King of *Scotland*, for ſetling of Peace. 745.23

Out of *Denmarke* vnto Qu. *Elizabeth*. 899.289

Out of *Scotland*, demaunding the Lady *Margaret* King *Henry* the ſeuenth his daughter for *Iames* the 4. 759.64

Emerita Martyr. 206.18

Queene *Emma* tried for adultery. 289.6, 414.23

A very prudent Lady. 397.4

Wife to *Ethelred* the vnready and king *Canutus*. 397.20

Emma called alſo *Elfgiue*. 397.20

Alſo the flower of *Normandy*. *ibid.*41

Encomium Emmæ, a Booke in praiſe of Queene *Emma*. 403.4

Baniſhed the realme. *ibid.*8

Emperors of *Rome* many die violent deathes. 256.14

Diuers at one time choſen. 227.3

Emperors of *Rome*, how elected after *Nero*. 201.1

Empire of *Rome* declineth. 273.9

In *Port Sale*. 227.2

Richard Empſon an Inſtrument for king *Henry* the 7. his auarice. 762.70

His deſcent & quality. 766.3

Empſon and *Dudley*, their wicked courſes and practiſes to impouriſh the people. 762.70

Sent to the Tower & attainted of Treaſon. 766.2

Beheaded. 766.3

Eneon rebelleth againſt *Rees ap Tewdor*. 439.15

England whence it tooke name. 366.10

When firſt ſo named. 366.10

Reduced to the name of *Britaine*. 161.11
In wofull plight during the raigne of *H.* the 6. 663.21
The Mother Monaſtery of *Europe*. 207.22
Full of ſinne in K. *Edward* the Confeſſors dayes. 410.21
Twice Schoole-Miſtreſſe to *France*. 207.22
Changeth not name vpon Conqueſts. 161.11
England the South of *Britaine*. 366.10
Continueth the name 783. yeares. 161.11
Forced to abiure Pope *Alexander* and *Thomas Becket*. 470.35
A prey to the *Danes*. 388.14
In a combuſtion. 514.56
Betweene King *Henry* the 3. and the Barons. 516.98
At the point to be inuaded by the *French*. 613.64
Diuided betweene *Canute* & *Edmond Ironſide*. 401.16
A nation in ranke before *Spaine*. 642.35
To be ſhared, betweene *Edmond Mortimer*, *Henry Percie*, and *Owen Glendour*. 629. 32
Engliſhmen obtaine a victory at Sea of the *Normans*. 557. 22
Conuerted to Chriſtianitie, and had baptized ten thouſand in one day. 347.8
Conuerted 8. Nations to Chriſt. 347.13
Their Lands giuen to *Normans*. 426.10
Engliſh Monarches of *Wales*. 440.23
Engliſhmen expelled out of *Scotland*. 837.62
Enthralled to the *Danes*. 394 15
All *Engliſh* footing loſt in *France*, in a ſhort ſpace. 856. 116
Engliſhmens Chriſtian and honourable deportement at the winning of *Cadiz*. 896. 273
Engliſhmen of old, expert Warriours. 377.5
Their modeſt and deuout behauiour after their victory at *Creſcy*. 591.98
Engliſh-Pale in *France* how limited. 547.97
Scriptures read by Authoritie in *Engliſh*. 353.4
Engliſhmen proceed from *Cimbrica Cherſoneſus*. 161.4
They faſhion themſelues like to ſtrangers. 427.10
Engliſh voluntaries their valour in forraine parts. 596.129
Sir *Francis Engleſield* an *Engliſh* fugitiue and Traitour. 872.91
Engloen a part of *Denmarke*. 160. 9
Enteruiew betweene *Philip* K. of *France* and King *Iohn*. 495 6
Endeth in diſcord. *ibid.*
Entrailes of beaſts and men peered into by *Britaines*. 168.8
Eoſter a Goddeſſe of the *Saxons*. 290.7
Eoſter Moneth. i. *April*. *ibid.*
Erchenwine or *Erkenwine* King of the *Eaſt-Saxons* his ſhield of armes. 311.8
First King of *Eaſt-Saxons* as feodary to the Kings of *Kent*. *ibid.* 1
His deſcent. *ibid.* 2
Ercombert K. of *Kent*, a religious Prince. 298.7
His iſſue, raigne and death. *ibid.*
Ericus Prince, and after King of *Sweden*, ſeeketh twice for marriage with Queene *Elizabeth*. 861.25
Erkenwald Abbot of *Chertſide*, and Biſhop of *London*. 327.7
Earle of *Powerty*. 766.96
Erminheld King *Wolfehers* wife. 357.5
Became a Nun in *Ely*. *ibid.* 6
An *Eremites* propheſie of King *Iohn*. 509.45
Erneſtus Archduke of *Auſtria*, Gouernour in the *Low-Countries*. 892.258
Erpenwald King of the *Eaſt-Angels*. 326.4
His armes. *ibid.* 1
The firſt of this Prouince that publikely profeſſed Chriſtianitie. *ibid.*
Murdered therefore. *ibid.*
Eſcuage, what it is. 537.68
Eſk the ſonne of *Hengiſt* raigneth ſecond King of *Kent*. 293.16
Eſk and *Ocla Saxons*, ſlaine by *Pendragon* in battell. 333.
Eſk his raigne and death. 293.2
Eſketel, a King of the *Danes*. 401.4
Eskings, who they are. 297.2
Eskwin King of the *Weſt-Saxons*. 306.8
Eſſex Rebels. 676.51
Encamped on *Mile-end*, by *London*. *ibid.*
Henry de Eſſex, leaueth *King Henry* the ſecond his ſtanderd. 466.8
Vanquiſht in combate. *ibid.*
Shorne a Monke, and dyeth. *ibid.*
Eſſius an Abbot. 163.15
Eſtates and Monarchies within what time they haue their periods. 278.2
Eſtridge or *Oſtrich* feather, liuery of Prince *Edward* king *Henry* the ſixt his ſonne. 677. 58
Ethelard K. of the *Weſt-Saxons*, his Coine and deſcent. 307 12
Terrified with two blaſing ſtarres. *ibid.*
Ethelbald Monarch of *Engliſhmen*. 360.
His armes. *ibid.*
His looſe life, remorſe, and raigne. 160.
Murdered at *Secondon*. 360.5
His buriall. *ibid.*
Ethelbald the ſonne of *Ethelwolfe* rebelleth, and raigneth with his father. 368.7
His wiues. 369.10
His Iſſue. *ibid.* 11,12
Ethelbald King of the *Mercians*, and Monarch of *England*. 322.10
Vitious. *ibid.*
Repentance. *ibid.*
Slaine in battell. *ibid.*
His raigne and buriall. *ibid.*
Ethelbert king of the *Eaſt-Angles*, murdered by *Offa* the *Mercian*. 327.14
Buried at *Merden*, and tranſlated to *Hereford*. *ibid.*
Ethelbert, Monarch of the *Engliſhmen*. 292.1
His Armes and Coine. *ibid.*
Maintaineth *Auſtin* the Monk & his company. 347.7
Ethelherts Tower in *Caterbury*, yet ſtanding. *ibid.* 9
A great furtherer of Chriſtianity. 346.4
Aſſiſtant to K. *Sebert* in the building of S. *Pauls* Church in *London* and S. *Peters* in *Weſtminſter*. *ibid.* 13
His raigne, death and buriall. 349.4
His Iſſue. *ibid.* 5. &c.
Ethelbert King of *Kent* enlargeth his kingdome. 297. 5
The firſt Chriſtian *Saxon* K. 297
His wiues and Iſſue. *ibid.*
His raigne, death, buriall, and Epitaph. *ibid.*
His vices. *ibid.*
Ethelbert Pren King of *Kent*, by vſurpation. 299.15
Taken priſoner, and is depoſed. *ibid.*
Ethelbert murdered by *Egbert*, and reputed a Martyr. 298.9
Ethelburga wife to King *Ine*, Abbeſſe of *Berking*. 307.11
King *Anaes* daughter. 306 7
Ethelburga K. *Offaes* daughter wife to K. *Bithricke*, poyſoneth her husband vnwittingly. 308.16
Committeth adultery in the habite of a Nun. *ibid* 16
Dyeth in miſery. *ibid.*
Ethelburga Tace wife to *Edwin*, King of *Northumberland*. 316.18
Dyeth in a Nunnery. *ibid.* 12
A Chriſtian and vertuous Lady. *ibid.*
Etheldred Muchel. i. great Earle of the *Mercians*. 376.28
Ethildred Monarch of the *Engliſhmen*. 371.
His armes. *ibid.*
His remorſe & good works. 372.4
Reſigneth vp his Crowne to *Kenred*. 372.4
Becomes a Monke. *ibid.* 4
Etheldred or *Ethilred* K. of the *Eaſt-Angles*, his long raigne. 327.13
Etheldreda wife to *Egfrid*, yet continued a virgine. 317. 11
Profeſſed a Nun in *Coldingham* Abbey. *ibid.*
Abbeſſe of *Ely* Monaſtery. 317.7
Entombed there. 317.
Commonly called Saint *Audre*. 317.7
Queene *Etheldred*, or *Audrees* tombe. 317.5
Ethelared, or *Etheldrid*, K. *Edwins* daughter. 352.17
Ethelfleda the White, abuſed by King *Edgar*. 387.12
Daughter of *Odmar*, Duke of the *Eaſt-Angles*. *ibid.* 15
King *Edgars* firſt wife. *ibid.*
Ethelfrid King of *Northumberland*. 315.7
Thirſty of fame. *ibid.*
Surnamed the Wild. *ibid.*
Maketh ſlaughter of *Britans* at *Caer-legion*, & of Monkes at *Bangor*. *ibid.*
Slaine. 316.
His raigne and iſſue. *ibid.*
Ethelgeda King *Elfrids* daughter, a votary in *Shaftsbury* Nunnery her buriall. 377. 29
Ethelherd King of the *Eaſt-Angles*, ſlaine worthily. 327.8
Ethelhild daughter of King *Edward* the elder. 379.20
Ethelme, ſonne of King *Edwin*. 352.15
Ethelred 3. ſonne of King *Edgar*. 389.20
Monarch of *England*. 392.
His Coine. *ibid.*
Surnamed vnready. *ibid.*
His life malitiouſly taxed by *Dunſtan* and the Monkes. *ibid.*
Hee compoundeth with the *Danes*. 393.9
His oration to the *Engliſh*. 395.30
Forſaketh his Nation. 396.3
Returneth into *England*, *ibid.*
His death, raigne, & tombe. 397.
His perſonage and good qualities. 397.39
Ethelred murdered by *Egbert*, reputed a Martyr. 327.9
Ethelred the vnready, King *Edgars* ſonne, his Armes and Coine. 392.11.
Ethelred ſonne of *Mollo*, King of *Northumberland*. 318.21
Fled his countrey. *ibid.*
Reſtored to his Crowne. *ibid.* 23
Putteth away his wife *Elfleda*, without cauſe. *ibid.*
Slaine by his ſubiects. *ibid.*
Ethelred King of the *Eaſt-Angles*, his long raigne. 327.13
Ethelred ſonne of *Penda*, King of the *Mercians*. 321.7
His Armes. 329.
Became a Monke in *Bradney* Monaſtery. *ibid.*
His wife, death, and iſſue, *ibid.*
Ethelred ſonne of King *Ethelwolph* Monarch of *England*. 371.1
Slaine by the *Danes*. 372.12
His Armes. 371.
His battels againſt the *Danes*. 372.11
His Tombe, Epitaph, Armes and iſſue. *ibid.* 12
Ethelricke King of *Northumberland*. 315.6
Slaine. *ibid.*
His raigne and iſſue. *ibid.*
Ethelſtan ſonne of King *Ethelred* the vnready. 397.42
Ethelſtan, that married one of King *Ethelreds* daughters, ſlaine. 397.48
Ethelſtane alias *Ædelſtan*, Monarch of *England*, crowned with great ſolemnitie, his Armes and Coine. 381.1
Maketh *Wales* tributary. 381. 11
Confineth the *Britaines*. *ibid.* 12
His dominion large, & fame great with forraine Princes. 381.12
Ethelſtane, alias *Ædelſtane* conſenteth to the death of his brother *Edwin*. 380.3
His repentance. *ibid.*
His Cup-bearer worthily by him put to death. 381.3
Conſtraineth *Anlafe* & *Godfrey Sithricks* ſonne to ſubmit, & reſtoreth them. *ibid.* 5
His *Apothegme*. *ibid.*
Hardly eſcapeth killing. 381. 8
Ioyneth *Northumberland* to his owne Monarchy. *ibid.* 10
He receiueth preſents from ſundry Princes. 381.12
Ethelſtan King *Edward* the elder, his ſonne Knighted by his

his father. 378.13
His armes and Coine. 380.
King *Ethelstan* his benificence to the Church and to Cities. 382.13
His personage and vertues. *ibid.*15
His raigne, death and buriall. *ibid.*
Ethelstane sonne of King *Egbert* repelleth the *Danes*. 366. 19
Ethelwald King *Oswalds* sonne. 354.9
Ethelwald Clito slaine. 354.4
Ethelwald rebelleth against K. *Edward* the elder. 377.3
Created the *Danes* King 377 4
Ethelward King *Elfrids* sonne, a great Philosopher. 376.28
Dyed. *ibid.*
Ethelwold dealeth double in wooing *Elfrida Ordgars* daughter, for King *Edgar*. 388.14
His speech to her, his owne wife. *ibid.*
Slaine by King *Edgar*. 389
Ethelwolfe, alias *Edelwach*, or *Athelwold* king of the South *Saxons*. 301.3
First Christian King of that name. *ibid.*
Slaine. 301.3
His raigne. *ibid.*
Ethelwolfe, or *Edelwolfe*, Monarch of *England*. 367.
His armes and coine. *ibid.*
Ethelwolfe a Deacon first elected, and consecrated Bishop of *Winchester*. 367.1
King of the *West-Saxons*, *ibid.* 2
His Armes and Coine. *ibid.*
He goeth to *Rome*. 368.6
He weddeth *Iudith* the Faire, daughter of *Charles* the *Bald*, King of *France*. 368.7
His raigne and death. *ibid.*8
Ethelswith, K. *Burthred* his wife in her latter dayes a Nunne. 323.20
Euesham battell. 549.103
Euseme, or *Eupheme*, daughter of King *Henry* the first. 453 65
Eugenius a Grammarian, one that murdered *Valentinian* the younger. 273.10
Vsurpeth the Empire. 274.2
His Coine. *ibid.*
Beheaded. 274.5
L. *Eure*, Lord Warden of the East Marches, slaine by the *Scots*. 795.129
Eurgaine, sister of *Ioseph* of *Arimathia* wedded to a *Britain*. 203.4
Eustace King *Stephens* second sonne, Duke of *Normandy*. 457.9
Sodainely franticke dyeth. 463.46
His wife and buriall. 464.52
Eustace Earle of *Mortaigne*, and *Bologne* maketh a frey in *Canterbury*. 409.12
Eustace the Ruffianly *Apostata* defeated at Sea, and beheaded. 521.8
Exceester a great part razed by the *Danes*. 393.17
Exceester besieged by *William* the Conquerour, yeeldeth. 427. 14
Besieged by *Cornish* Rebels. 831.20
Loyall to the King, and therfore highly esteemed. *ibid.*
Exceester holdeth out against *Perkin Warbecke*. 755.50
Exchequer of Queene *Mary* in danger to bee robbed. 854.103
Excommunication, how farre forth allowable. 887.11
Executions for *Edmond de la Pole*, the Earle of *Suffolkes* cause. 758.61
Excommunication among the ancient *Britons*. 168.

F

Fabianus Bishop of *Rome* conuerteth *Iul. Philip* Emperour. 240.2
Suffereth Martyrdome. *ibid.*3
Factions betweene the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Orleance*, how they arose. 633.48
Factions in *Scotland* raised by the *French* King. 795.121
Faganus, alias *Fagatius*, or *Fugatius* a great Clerke. 206.18
Falco conspireth the death of *Pertinax*. 226.5
Fallais-towne in *Normandy* besieged by King *Henry* the fifth. 653.50
Vpon what conditions to be surrendred. *ibid.*
Deliuered vp. *ibid.*50
Fallais Castle vpon what conditions rendred vp to King *Henry* the fifth. 653.51
Famine. 311.3
Famine in *England*. 570.27 29
Famine in king *Henry* the third his time. 532.50
Famine at Castle *Galiard*. 504. 32
Fastidius a learned *Brittish* Bishop. 206.19
Lord *Fauconbridge* his stratagem at the battell of *Towton*. 687.8
Earle of *Kent* a great supporter of King *Edward* the fourth his Crowne. 696.75
Bastard *Fauconbridge* proclaimeth *Henry* the sixth, King in the West. 693.49
Bastard *Fauconbridge*, *Thomas Neuil*, Admirall to the Earle of *Warwicke*, *Richard Neuill*, Captaine of the *Lancastrians*, roueth at Sea. 696. 75
He assayleth *London*, and is withstood. 697.76
He fireth *London*, and is forced to his ships. 697.77
Knighted by *Edward* the 4. and made Vice-Admirall. 698.85
Fausta wife to *Constantine* the great, a good Lady. 259.7
Put to death. 260.8
Faustus the sonne of *Vortiger* by his owne daughter. 330.
His vertuous and deuout life. *ibid.*
Felons about 12. yeares of age, and Felony stealing aboue twelue pence. 387.4
Ferdinand Earle of *Flaunders*, against King *Philips* intrusion for the Crowne of *England*. 511.50
A true confederate to king *Iohn*. *ibid.*
Ferdinando king of *Spaine* his parentage and noble Acts. 758 62
Surnamed the Catholicke *King*. *ibid.*
Fernham battell lost by the *Danes*. 375.20
Robert Ferrers Earle of *Darby* sideth with young *King Henry* against his father. 476. 73
Burneth & sacketh *Nottingham*, and killeth the townsmen. *ibid.*
William Fetherston, alias *Constable*, a counterfeit *Edward* the sixth. 854.100
Hanged at Tiburne. *ibid.*
Feuersham Monastery founded. 471.43
Fight at Sea betweene the *Spanish* inuincible Nauy, and the *English*. 887.208
Thomas Fines, Lord *Dacres*, executed at Tiburne, for killing of a man in a fray. 792. 109.
Florentinus the Popes Legate in *England* nick-named *Ferentinus*. 505.35
Fire-trees for Masts, grow plentifully in the North-West of *Scotland*. 160.7
Fish not eaten by *Britans*. 167.7
Iohn Fisher Bishop of *Rochester* agreeth not to the diuorce of king *Henry* the eight, from Queene *Katherine* of *Spaine*. 780.70
Executed. 792.111
Constantine Fitz-Arnulph his seditious proclamation and rebellion. 223.14
He with others hanged. 523. 14
Fitz Geralds or *Giralds*, whence descended. 453.72
Maurice Fitz-Gerald with others saile into *Ireland*. 473. 54
Robert Fitz-Hamon assisteth *Eneon* against *Rhees ap Tewdor*. 439.15
Obtaineth to himselfe, and his followers possessions in *Wales*. 439.15
His followers names. *ibid.*
William Fitz-Petre agent for K. *Iohn* created Earle of *Essex*. 495.5
Fitz Stephens whence descended. 453.72
Robert Fitz-stephen or *Stephanides*, ioyneth with *Dermot Mac-Murgh*. 472.52
He with a power saileth into *Ireland*. 473.54
Iames Fitz-Thomas is set vp Earle of *Desmond* by the Rebels vnder *Ter-Oen*. 900.303
Robert Fitzwalter, a stout Rebell and Marshall of Gods Army. 515.58
He claimeth the custody of *Hereford* Castle, how answered by *Lewis* of *France*. 520.4
Lord *Fitzwalter* a conspirator about *Perkin Warbecke* beheaded. 715.37
The Lord *Fitzwalter* slaine. 687.5
Flamins and *Archflamins* put downe in *Britaine*. 206.18
Conuerted into Bishops and Archbishops. 223.10
Thomas Flamocke a Captaine of *Cornish* Rebels. 753.44
Executed. 754.47
Sir *Andrew Flamocke* the Kings Standard-bearer at *Musklebrough* field, his valour. 831. 15
Flauius Claudius Emperour. 247 2
His descent. *ibid.*
His vertues. *ibid.*
His letter to the Senate. 247.5
His victory ouer the *Gothes*. 247.6
He dyeth a naturall death. *ibi.*
His personage and qualities. *ibid.*7
His honour after death. *ibid.*
Flaunders vnder interdict by Pope *Benedict* the 12. 586. 65
Flaunders offered to King *Richard* the second. 610.46
Flemings planted in *Wales*. 447. 25
They doe King *Henry* the first good seruice. *ibid.*
Flemings mercinary Souldiers driuen out of the Realme. 466.3
Attempt by treachery to surprise *Henry Fitz-Empresse*. 463.48
Flemings in league with King *Edward* the third against *France*. 582.42
Flemish Nauy vanquished at sea by the *English*. 593.145
Flodden field. 767.13
Florentius of *Worcester* an Historiographer, when hee liued. 163.16
Florianus vsurpeth the Empire of *Rome*. 251.1
His death. *ibid.*
His Coine. *ibid.*
Flowres de-lis, or *Lillies of France*, how borne in King *Edward* the third his time. 584.51
Fogge reconciled to K. *Richard* the third. 725.6
Fryar *Forest* burnt. 792.111
Miles Forrest one of the murderers of *Edward* the fift, and the Duke of *Yorke* his brother. 727.18
He dyeth miserably. 728.21
Fort-dil-Ore in *Ireland*. 879. 147
William de Fortibus Earle of *Aumarle*, manneth the Castle of *Biham*, & entreth rebelliously into *Rotots*. 522.11
He with his complices pardoned. *ibid.*
Foulke Earle of *Anion*, King of *Ierusalem*. 451.49
Fowage what imposition it was. 598.136
Fowey in *Deuonshire* burnt by the *French*. 679.67
Richard Fox Doctor of Diuinity in great fauour with King *Henry* the 7. 733.40
Aduanced by him. *ibid.*
Founder of *Corpus Christi* Colledge in *Oxford*. *ibid.*
A great preseruer of Antiquities. 733.40
Lord Priuy Seale, and of the Priuy Councell. 741.10
Richard Fox Bishop of *Durham* agent for a marriage between *Iames* the fourth, King of *Scotland*, and Lady *Margaret* eldest daughter of King *Henry* the seauenth. 759. 64
France in a combustion vpon the death of the Duke of *Guize* and the Cardinall. 893.253
France annexed to the Kingdome of *England*. 157.13
France, whence, and when it tooke that name. 279.5
France with the Crowne thereof, how deuolued vpon King *Edward* the 3. 579.15, &c.
France alloweth the right of that Kingdome, deriued from heires

heires fœmale. 638.19
France in a miſerable ſtate. 668. 21
France deeply indebted to *England*. 862.8
France reuolteth from the *Engliſh*. 696.29
Francis Duke of *Britaine* dyeth. 747.25
Francis 1. the *French* King taken priſoner before *Pauia*. 773. 53
Impriſoned in *Madril*. 775. 60
Francis 2. King of *France* ſendeth forces into *Scotland* againſt the Proteſtants. 837. 17
Yeeldeth vp his Dominions to the Pope. 838.22
His death. *ibid.*26
Saint *Francis* for his 5. wounds Canonized a Saint at *Rome*. 523.13
Franciſcan Fryers their 4 orders pernicious to the Clergy of *England*. 595.120
How mighty they were elſewhere. 595.121
Frankners vanquiſhed by *Conſtantine* the Great. 260.5
Frea the wife of *Woden*. 298. 12
Freemen in the ſtate of *Rome*, what they were. 200.23
Fredericke Emperour depoſed from his Empire by the Pope. 527.29
Fremond his death and buriall. 362.19
French Armory firſt quartered with the *Engliſh*. 584.50
The *French* prepare to inuade *England*. 611.48
The *French* aſſaile the Iſle of *Wight*, and the coaſts of *Suſſex*. 795.129
The *French* commanded out of *England*. 640.29
Frethericke Abbot of Saint *Albans* a ſtout and politick Prelate. 416.4
His deſcent. *ibid.*
His good ſpeeches to *William Conquerour* ill taken. 418.25
Frethulfe King of *Bernicia*. 315. 5
Friday whence it tooke name. 290.7
Fryers diſtaſted and odious throughout all *England* in King *Richard* the ſecond his dayes. 622.117
Fryars of the 5. Orders, their great Reuenues in *England*. 790.101
A Fryer Carmalite for accuſing *Iohn* of *Gaunt* Duke of *Lancaſter*, committed and murdered. 609.40
A Frier Minor drawne and hanged for a franke ſpeech in the behalfe of King *Richard* the ſecond. 628.26
Fryers Minorits, or *Franciſcans* in number 8. hanged & headed for fauouring the cauſe of King *Richard* the ſecond. 628.26
Friſco an Idoll of the *Saxons*, how portrayed. 290.8
Friſo the ſuppoſed Author of the *Friſlanders*. 286.1
Saint *Friſwids* Church in *Oxford*, a Sanctuary, burnt with *Danes* in it, by the *Engliſh*. 394.16
Repaired by K. *Ethelred*. *ibid.*
Sir *Martin Frobiſher*, or *Furbiſher* his Nauigations into the North-Eaſt Seas. 878.146
Iul. Frontinus ſubdueth the *Silures* in *Britaine*. 211.9
Fulco a *French* Prieſt, how hee reproueth king *Richard* the firſt. 492.71
Ralph de Fulgiers hauing taken part againſt *Henry* the ſecond, compoundeth for his ranſome. 477.79
Furniſhe Abbey founded. 472. 49
Dreadfull *Fire* in *Southwarcke*, and vpon *London* Bridge. 562.49
The *Fire-Croſſe* in *Scotland*, what it was. 838.9

G

Galba proclaimed Emperour by *Vindex*. 200.25
His Coine. 200.1
He gat the Empire before he looked for it. 201.1
His policy to make *Nero* more odious. *ibid.*
His oration to his Souldiers. 201.2
He purpoſeth to reſigne vp the Imperiall Diademe. 201. 3
He is murdered. 202.5
His perſon deſcribed. 202.6
His vices, age and raigne. *ibid.*
Galerius Maximinus, Ceſar to *Diocleſian*. 254.4
Galerius Emperour with *Conſtantius Chlorus*. 257.1
His coine. 257
Galgacus, Generall of the *Britaines* againſt *Agricola*. 214.7
His oration to the *Britaines*. 214.8
His coine. 216.
A valiant Prince of the *Caledonians*. 217.15
His ſuppoſed Coines. *ibid.*6
A *Galliaſſe* of *Naples*, taken. 887.211
Galienus choſen Emperour in *Rome*, 245.1
An vnkinde ſonne. *ibid.*
His vanities. *ibid.*
His owne, his wiues and ſons Coines. *ibid.*
Hee ſtayeth the perſecution of Chriſtians. 246.3
His troubleſome times foreſhewed by Saint *Iohn* in the *Apocalips*: 246.4
He is murdered. *ibid.*5
A *Gallion* of *Biſcay* taken. 887. 212
Gallio ſent to aide the *Britaines*, againſt *Scots* & *Picts*. 279.6
Galls or *Gaules*, why ſo called. 158.5
Named before time *Cimbri* as deſcended from the *Gomerians*. 161.4
Long vnknowen to *Hiſtoriographers*: 161.4
Galloglaſſes in *Ireland*, why ſo called. 285.8
Trebonianus Gallus by treaſon becommeth Emperor. 242.1
His birth. 242.2
His careleſſe and cruell gouernment. 242.3
His Coine. 242.4
He baniſheth Chriſtians. 243 4
Gallus and his ſon ſlaine. 243.5
His life and raigne. *ibid.*
Gallus, Ceſar to *Conſt*. 263.7
Licentious and cruell. *ibid.*
Executed. *ibid.*
Stephen Gardiner ſetteth forraine Princes againſt King *Henry* the eight. 791.105
Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, & Lord Chancellor, examineth Lady *Elizabeth* in the Tower. 848.57
Henry Garnet ſuperiour of the Ieſuites in *England*. 916.
Order of the *Garter* founded. 588.79
The Motiues and occaſion thereof. *ibid.*
Ceremonies belonging to this Order. 588 81
The firſt 26. founders of this Order who they were: *Map of Barkeſhire*. *Map.*
Garter principall K. at Armes firſt inſtituted. 660.83
Garter King at Armes ſent from King *Henry* the 8. with defiance into *France*. 795.126
Gaſcoigne loſt by the *Engliſh*. 674.45
Gaſcoigne ſheweth hope to bee recouered. *ibid.*60
Gaſcoignes become good ſubiects to K. *Henry* the third. 543.83
Sir *Iohn Gates* executed. 843. 17
Gaueſhed. See *Blacklow*.
Robert de Gaugi defendeth the Caſtle of *Newarke*, againſt K. *Henry* the third his Army. 522.10
Geffrey ap Arthur. 163.12
Geffrey of *Monmouth* when hee liued. *ibid.*13
Geffrey, a younger ſonne of K. *Henry* the ſecond riſeth againſt his father. 476.65
He is Duke of *Britaine*. 478. 86
Called a child of perdition. *ibid.*
His miſerable end. 479.93
Geffrey the fourth ſon of King *Henry* the 2. by his wife, is Duke of *Britaine*. 481.
His death, buriall, and iſſue. 481.105
Geffrey a baſe ſon of King *Henry* the ſecond by *Roſamund* his Concubine. *ibid.*112
His riſing, aduancement, buriall and iſſue. *ibid.*
Geffrey Archbiſhop of *Yorke*, diſloyall vnto his brother King *Iohn*. 496.9
Geffery Archdeacon of *Norwich* leaueth King *Iohn* and obeyeth the Pope. 507.41
His puniſhment. *ibid.*
Geffrey Fitz-Roy, baſe ſonne of King *Iohn*. 518.73
Geniſſa the daughter of *Claudius Ceſar*. 194.12
The Gentlemen murdered by Rebels in the North. 834.50
George Owen-Harry, his booke of Pedegrees. 164.19
Saint *Georges* Chappell in *Windſor* Caſtle. 588.81
George Duke of *Clarence* inclineth to his brother, King *Edward* the 4. 693.46
Attaint of high treaſon and committed to the Tower. 700.104
He endeuoureth to reconcile *Richard Neuil* Earle of *Warwicke* to his brother King *Edward* the fourth. 692.60
Impriſoned by his brother K. *Edward* the 4. 701.106
George the good Duke of *Clarence*, a ſuter vnto *Mary*, daughter to the Duke of *Burgundy*. 701.105
Conuict and attaint, of high Treaſon, and ſo himſelfe and his iſſue diſabled for inheriting the Crowne. 706.4
Drowned in a But of *Malmſey*. 701.107
His iſſue. *ibid.*
Germans, *Pagans*, take their names from beaſts. 291.5
Saint *Germans* in *Cornewall*, a Biſhops See annexed to that of *Exceſter*. 385.6
Saint *German*, aſſiſteth the *Britaines* againſt *Pelagian Scots* and *Picts*. 281.1
Germanus and *Lupus*, two Biſhops aſſiſt the *Britaines* againſt *Pelagians* and *Saxons*. 292.13
Gernaſe, a naturall ſonne of K. *Stephen*, Abbot of *Weſtminſter*. 464.57
Hee lyeth there within the Cloiſter. *ibid.*
Geſſoriacum, is *Boloigne* or *Bullein* in *Picardy*. 254.6
Septimius Geta ruleth part of *Britaine*. 229.9
Emperour with his brother *Baſſianus Caracalla*. 221.1
Slaine by his brother *Caracalla*, euen in his mothers armes. 232.3
Giants progeny in *Britaine*, is ridiculous. 158.4
Gilbert the 5. baſe ſonne of King *Henry* the firſt. 453.70
Gilbert brother to *Richard* Earle Marſhall, hath his brothers lands and poſſeſſions 531.48 49
Gilbert Earle of *Gloceſter* ſlaine in fight. 569.25
Gildas the *Britiſh* Hiſtoriographer. 163.15
When he liued and died. *ibid.*
He declareth the *Britains* wofull calamities. 281.2
Gildo or *Gildus* Gouernour of *Africke*. 274.6
Rebelleth and is beheaded. 275.2
Saint *Giles* brotherhood without *Creple-gate* in *London*, erected. 661.83
Gilla the wife of *Rollo*, her deſcent 423.19
Gillamare King of *Ireland*. 335. 4
Girald, Fitz-Girald Earle of *Kildare* at variance with *Piers Butler* Earle of *Oſorie*. 774. 55
Lord Deputy of *Ireland*. *ibid.*
Accuſed by the Earle of *Oſorie* of many miſdemeanors. *ibid.*
His anſwer to Cardinall *Wolſey* his accuſations, in the behalfe of *Piers Butler* Earle of *Oſorie*. 774.57.58
Committed to priſon by Cardinall *Wolſey*. 775.58
Sent to the Tower. 775.59
In danger of being beheaded *ibid.*
His noble courage. *ibid.*59
Receiued into *Dublin* with proceſſion. *ibid.*
Girth brother to King *Harold*, diſſwadeth him from the field. 416.32
At *Giſors* a famous victory atchieued by King *Richard* the firſt. 491.64
Githa mother of *Harold* the 2. 413.8
Glaſe in *Britiſh* is blew. 159.7
Glaſtenbury Abbey built. 307. 11
Sumptuouſly endowed with rich ornaments. *ibid.*

Glaſtenbury firſt receiueth the Goſpell. 202.2
Burnt. 207.21
Re-built. *ibid.*
Glaſtenbury Abbey poorely built at firſt, by what Princes raiſed to great glory. 207.21
With what titles termed. *ibid.*
Glaſtun is Woad. 159.7
Gloceſter built by *Claudius Cæſar*. 194 12
A title, fatall to the Dukes thereof. 722.1
Counteſſe of *Gloceſter* taken priſoner in *Tunbridge* Caſtle, 548.99
Set at large by King *Henry* the third. *ibid.*
Glory from the people, a bubble. 201.3
Glota, i. *Dunbritton Frith*. 212. 6
Goda reſiſteth the *Danes*, and is ſlaine. 379.6
Goda daughter to King *Ethelred* the vnready. 398.51
Doctor *Godard* at *Paules* Croſſe declareth King *Henry* the 6. true heire to the *Engliſh* Crowne. 693.49
Godfrey de Bolein refuſeth to weare his Crowne of gold in *Ieruſalem*. 466.9
Hee recouereth *Ieruſalem*. 479.24
Godfrey Duke of *Loraine* with other Captaines in the Holy voyage. 441.30
Godfrey the *Norman*, ſeized of part of *Neuſtria*. 421.4
Godfrey, Sithrickes ſonne chaſed into *Scotland*. 381.5
Aſſiſted by *Conſtantine* King of *Scotland* and *Howel*, alias *Ludwal* K. of *Wales*. *ibid.*
Sir *Godfrey de Crancomb* knight, apprehendeth *Hubert de Burgh*, and barbarouſly entreateth him. 528.34
Godſtone Nunnery by *Oxford* founded. 317.63
Gog and *Magog*. 256.13
Gold threeſcore thouſand ounces giuen by *Tancred* king of *Sicilie* to *Richard* the firſt, K. of *England*. 484.19
Gomer gaue name to the *Gomerians* and *Cimbri*. 161.4
Goodwin Earle of *Kent*, putteth the *Vandales* to flight. 401.9
Affecteth the Crown of *England*. 407.6
His diuelliſh pollicy. *ibid.* 7
His gifts to the King. *ibid.*
He and his ſonnes moleſt K. *Edward* the Confeſſor in his raigne. 409.12
Hee ſeeketh to bee popular. *ibid.*
He bandeth againſt the King. 410.13,14
He and his fiue ſonnes baniſhed. 410.15
Proclaimed Out-lawes. *ibid.*
They become Pirats. 410.16
He returneth into the Kings fauour. 410.19
Dieth ſodainely at *Wincheſter* *ibid.*
Goodwin King *Harolds* ſonne, from out of *Ireland* inuadeth *England*. 427.14
Goodwins ſands, why ſo called. 442.39
Gordianus elected Emperour, and his ſonne *Cæſar*. 236,4
Gordianus the father ſtrangleth himſelfe. 237.5
Gordianus the younger ſlaine. 237.5
His Coine. 237.4
Gordianus the third, ſonne to old *Gordianus* his daughter *Ceſar* to *Pupienus* and *Balbinus*. 238.1
Elected Emperour. *ibid.*
His ſpeech to the Souldiers. 239.5
Depoſed. 240.6
Becommeth a Captaine vnder *Philip* his Præfect. *ibid.*
Is ſlaine. *ibid.*
Gordianus the third, Emperour, his Monument. 240.6
His vertues. 240.7
Gorlois Duke of *Cornewall*. 332.
Goths inuade *Roman* Prouinces. 241.4
They inuade the Empire. 247.4.272.3
Gothred claiming the Crowne of *Scotland*, vanquiſhed and hanged by King *Iohn*. 509.45
Gotmund in *Gaham*. 351.7
Matthew Gough a worthy Warriour, ſlaine in conflict with *Iacke Cade*. 676.53
Hugh Gournay his valour in defence of the Caſtle *Gaiard*. 501.22
His ingratitude & infidelity otherwiſe. *ibid.*
Græcians inhabited all the coaſts well neer of the world. 160.7
Granada City deſcribed & rendred to *Ferdinando* King of *Spaine* 758.62
Granada Kingdome recouered from the *Moores*. 758 62
Granceſter an ancient Citie decayed. 326.5
Gratianus 3 Generall in *Britaine*. 263.4
His ſtrength. *ibid.*
Surnamed *Funarius*. *ibid.*
Flauius Gratianus Emperour with his father *Valentinian*. 272.1
His Coine. *ibid.*
Colleague with his brother *Valentinian* in the Empire. *ibid.*
Defeated by *Clemens Maximus*, and trecherouſly murdred. 273.6
Gratian a *Britaine*, made Emperour, and murdred. 276
Sir *Henry Green* Counſellour to king *Richard* the ſecond, beheaded at *Briſtol*. 620.108
Gregory afterwards Pope, taketh a liking to the Angles at *Rome*. 346.5
Pope *Gregory*, otherwiſe named *Hildebrand*, his impiety. 432. 49
Pope *Gregory* the 11. laboureth to vnite King *Edward* the 3. and the *French* King againſt the common enemy of Chriſtendome. 597.141
Pope *Gregory* the 13. inciteth *Philip* the ſecond, King of *Spaine* againſt *England*. 879. 151
Sir *Thomas Greſham* founder of the Royall Exchange in *London*. 878.145
Iohn Grey Biſhop of *Norwich*, enthronized Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. 594.31
Deputed Gouernour of *Ireland* by King *Iohn*. 508.43
Walter Grey Archbiſhoppe of *Yorke*. 514.57
Lord *Grey* of *Ruthen*, quit his place at the battell of *Northampton*, and fled to the *Yorkiſts*. 682.79
Sir *Ralph Grey* Knight, in what manner degraded, and then beheaded. 688.15
Sir *Thomas Grey* Marqueſſe *Dorſet*, ſeeketh to eſcape from *Henry* Earle of *Richmont* in *France*. 734.45
Lord *Leonard Grey* beheaded for treaſon. 792.109
Lord *Grey* raiſeth *Chaſtellon Garde* a *Baſtillon* neere to *Bulloigne*, a prohibition to the contrary vnder King *Henry* the 8. his hand notwithſtanding. 796.132
Pardoned therfore with many thankes. *ibid.* 132
Lord *Grey* of *Wilton*, Liuetenant of the North, winneth and fortifieth many holds in *Scotland*. 837.61
Henry Lord *Grey* Duke of *Suffolke* pardoned. 842.22
His ſecond offence, for which he after dyed. 844 21
Apprehended and ſent to the Tower. 844 22
Beheaded. *ibid.* 23,26
Thomas Lord *Grey* ſuffereth death. 844 26
Arthur Lord *Grey* of *Wilton*. Generall of the *Engliſh* forces ſent into *Scotland* to expell the *French*. 860 18
Deputy of *Ireland*. 880.153
Vanquiſheth & killeth both *Spaniſh* and *Iriſh* in the Fort *Del-Ore*. 880.153
Thomas Lord *Grey* of *Wilton*, arraigned and condemned of Treaſon. 913 14
Repriued. *ibid.* 17
Lady *Iane Grey* her commendable parts. 843,19
Her letter ſent to her father. *ibid.*
Condemned. 844 20
Her ſpeech vpon the ſcaffold at her death. 844.24
Grey-Fryers Church in *London*, lately ſuppreſſed, made a Pariſh Church. 796.132
Endowed and maintained with fiue hundred markes yeerely of lands. *ibid.* 133
Griffith, alias *Gruffith*, King of South-*Wales* infeſteth *England*. 409.11
Griffith, or *Gruffith ap Llewellin*, Prince of *North-Wales*, ſpoyleth *Hereford*, &c. 413.3
Beheaded. 413.5
Griffith, or *Gruffith*, elder brother to *Dauid* Prince of *Wales*, breaketh priſon, and ſticketh by the neck. 537.67
The *Groyne* ſurpriſed by the *Engliſh*. 891.233
Robert Groſthead the Maule of *Rome*, his letter to the Pope. 543.83
His death and propheſie. *ibid.*
Grotes and halfe-Grotes of ſiluer coined by King *Edward* the third. 593.110
Guaran a Prieſt, ordained Primate of *Ireland*, by Pope *Vrbane* the ſecond. 880.152
Slaine in the field. *ibid.*
Guard of the Kings perſon firſt inſtituted. 741.9
Guardians appointed for the gouernement of *London*. 617. 89
Guaſco de Biern rebelleth, and vpon his appeale condemned in Law, ſet at liberty by K. *Edward* the firſt. 554.8
Guido King of *Ieruſalem* taken priſoner. 478.90
Guido de Luſignian late King of *Ieruſalem*, poſſeſſed of *Cyprus* for reſignation of *Ieruſalem*. 487.40
Guido husband to *Conſtantine*, and mother to *Arthur*, King *Iohns* brother, in league with King *Iohn* and the *Engliſh*. 505.33
Lord *Guilford Dudley*, weddeth *Iane Grey* eldeſt daughter to *Henry* Lord *Grey* Duke of *Suffolke*. 838.74
Condemned. 844.10
Beheaded. *ibid.* 23
Guliam a Frier in *Scotland* preacheth feruently againſt the Pope. 794.121
Guillomar King of *Ireland* tributary to *Arthur* Duke of *Britaigne*. 478.9
Guimundus his prety reproofe of King *Henry* the firſt. 448.31
Preferred therefore. *ibid.*
Queene *Guineuers* body found interred with her husband King *Arthur*. 335.318
Gunnes when firſt vſed in *England*. 631.44
Gundred daughter to King *William Conqueror*, her iſſue and buriall. 436.73
Lady *Gunhilda* with her husband both Chriſtians ſlaine. 394.16
Gunhilda daughter of King *Canute*, wife to the Emperour *Henry* the third, of ſurpaſſing beauty, ſuſpected of incontinency, and cleared by combat. 403.24
Gun-powder treaſon plotted, to what intent. 916.32
Guorong Earle of *Kent* diſpoſſeſſed by *Hengiſt*. 338.8
Guymo or *Gurmund*, how entirely hee loued his ſonne *Canute*. 402.4
Gurthrum, alias *Gurmund* a King of the *Danes*. 373.4
Baptized. 374.16
Named at the Font, *Athelſtan* by *Elfred*. *ibid.*
Made Gouernor of the *Eaſt-Angles*. 375.19
His death and buriall. *ibid.*
Guta, See *Iutes*.
Guthurn K. of the *Danes*, conuerted to the faith of Chriſt, here in *Britaine*. 205.17
Guy de Beauchampe, Earle of *Warwicke* ſurpriſeth *Piers Gaueſton*. 568.14
Died not without ſuſpition of poyſon. 569.17
Guy the baſtard of *Flaunders* ouerthrowne, and ſlaine by the *Engliſh*. 583 42
Guido or *Guy Fawkes*, ſent into *Spaine* to negotiate the inuaſion of Great *Britaine*. 917. 35
Duke of *Guize* aymeth at the Crowne of *France*. 893.245
The *Guizians* practiſes. *ibid.*
The Duke of *Guize* being forewarned of his owne death, neglecteth it. *ibid.* 249
Duke of *Guize* and the Cardinall ſlaine by the *French* K. *Henry* the 3. his commandement. 893.251
Prayſed after his death publikely by the Papiſts. *ibi.* 253.

H

H*Adrian de Caſtello*, learned and eloquent, aduanced

uanced by *Henry* the ſeuenth. 747.26
Made a Cardinall, ſeeketh to be Pope. *ibid.*27
Hadrian his wall. 219.5
Fortified. 220.2
His politicke gouernment. 218.3
He came in perſon into *Britaine*, 218.5
He fauoureth Chriſtians. 219.8
His birth and deſcent. 218.1
He forbiddeth perſecution of Chriſtians. 219.
His wonderfull memory.218 2
His death. 219.9
His skill and knowledge. 218.2
His perſonage, raigne, and age. *ibid.*
His Coines. 218,219.5
Hadrian the ſixt Pope. 747. 27
Haire worne long by men, anſwerable to that of women. 452.59
Sir *Iames Hales*, alias *Halles*, refuſed to ſubſcribe vnto K. *Edwards* diſheriting of the Ladies *Mary* and *Elizabeth*, his ſiſters. 838.75
Sir *Robert Hales* Prior of Saint *Iohns*, *&c.* beheaded by Rebels. 607.19
Hall a Seminary Prieſt, animateth *Somernile* to kill Qu. *Elizabeth*. 871.82
Halden a King of the *Danes*. 373.5
Hallidowne-Hill battell, and victory on the *Engliſh* ſide. 628.28
Hamilton ſlaine by *Newton* in combat. 837.61
Hammes beſieged by the garriſon of *Calais*. 744.44
Hamſhire purged of theeues by King *Henry* the third. 540. 75
Hannibal whether he warred in *Britaine*. 168.9
Harflew beſieged and aſſaulted by King *Henry* the fifth. 642. 39
Deliuered vp to him. 642.41
Peopled with the *Engliſh*. 643.43
Harflew beſieged by the *French*. 647.35
Harflew recouered from the *French* by the Duke of *Somerſet*. 972.35
Harald, or *Herald* the firſt King of *Norway* ſacrificeth his children. 290.8
Harald ſonne of *Radulph*, anceſtor to the Barons of *Sudley*. 398.51
Hardi-Canute ſonne of *Canute* Monarch of *England*. 403. 23
Hardi-Canute King of *England* 1,2
His Coine. *ibid.*
Monarch of *England*. *ibid.*
His raigne and death. 405. 10
Harold Harfager King of *Norway* entreth league with King *Edward* the Confeſſor. 409. 9
Harold Harfager King of *Denmarke* claimeth the Crowne of *England*. 414.19
Why ſo called. 414.20
He together with *Toſto* inuade *England*. *ibid.*
Both ſlaine. 415.23
Harold the ſecond, Earle *Goodwins* ſonne, Monarch of *England*. 413.1
His Coine. 412
His vertues. 413
He taketh part with his father againſt the King. 413.2
His Marſhall exploits before he was King. 413.3 4,5
Taken priſoner in *France*, & preſented to *William* the Duke of *Normandy*. 413.6
Affianceth *Adeliza*, Duke *Williams* daughter. *ibid.*
Reſerueth the Crowne of *England* for Duke *William* vpon a condition. *ibid.*
His lineall diſcent. 413.8
He crowneth himſelfe King. 414.11
His anſwere to Duke *Williams* Ambaſſage. 414.15
K. *Harold* the ſecond ſlaine in battell. 417.39
His dead Corps diſcouered by *Edith Swanſhalſe*. 408.50
King *Harold* the ſecond his buriall, & Epitaph. 408.50
Entered in *Waltham* in *Eſſex*. 418.1
His commendation. 418.51
His Iſſue. 419.54
Harpes and Harlots the Subiect of *Neroes* exerciſes. 197. 5.
Haſtings a towne burnt by the *French*. 605.3
Haſting a *Norman* Arch-pyrate obtaineth the Earledome of *Chartiers* at the *French* kings hands. 421.4
Haſting of *Norway* entreth *England*. 375.
Periured, and ioyneth with the *Danes*. *ibid.*
William Lord *Haſtings*, Lord Chamberlaine, held in Iealouſie by Queene *Elizabeth* wife to King *Edward* the fourth. 706.9
Arreſted in the Councell Chamber within the Tower. 715.44
Haſtily beheaded within the Tower. *ibid.*
Familiar with *Shores* wife in K. *Edward* the 4. his dayes, and after. 716.48
His deſcription. 716.46
Sir *Edward Haſtings* his meſſage to *Wyat*. 845.35
Hatwaker Anceſtor to the Dukes of *Saxony*. 341.3
Robert Hawlee a valiant Eſquire murdered in Sanctuary, by the meanes of *Iohn* Duke of *Lancaſter*. 605.7
Entered in *Weſtminſter* Abbey Church. *ibid.*
Iohn Hawcut Hawkwood, alias *Hareſcrobd* a famous warriour in *Italy*. 596.129
Sir *Iohn Hawkwood* dyeth in *Florence*. 617.90
His Statue, *ibid.*
Healadine a Daniſh King ſlaine. 378.6
Hebrides Ilands annexed to the Crowne of *Northumberland* by King *Edwin*. 351.2
Hegeley-Moore skirmiſh. 688. 14
Helena mother of *Conſtantine* the great, a *Britiſh* Lady 205,13.258,8
Her Coine. 258
The lawfull wife of *Conſtantius Chlorus* the Emperour. 258. 8
Her birth and vertues, *ibid.*
Shee built a Church in the place where Chriſt ſuffered. *ibid.*
Why called *Stabularia*. *ibid.*
Helena Queene of *Adiabena*, a Conuert and vertuous Lady. 258.9
Her ſepulchre. *ibid.*
Helias de Brantfield alloweth not the election of *Langton*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. 506.37
Helias Conſull of *Cenomania*, his couragious anſwere to King *William Rufus*. 441. 32
Put to death by King *Henry* the firſt. 448.30
Heliogabalus or *Elagabalus* what it ſignifieth. 233,4.234,1
Heliogabalus the Emperour his Coine and ſuperſcription. 234.1
His exceſſiue wickednelſe. *ibid.*2
His exceeding ſumptuouſneſſe. 234.3,4,5
His troubled conſcience. *ibid.*
His age, and raigne. 235.7
Hengiſt and *Horſa* brethren, when and with what power they entred *Britaine*. 291.1
What their names ſignifie, 291.5
Hengiſt poſſeſſed of *Kent*. 291. 3
Hee feaſteth King *Vortiger*. *ibid.*4
His Country and parentage. 292.7
Firſt King of *Kent*. 295.1
Hengiſt the firſt Monarch of the *Engliſh* Nation. 341.
Hengiſt his armes. 344.
Hengiſt ſlaine. 293.16
His death otherwiſe related. *ibid.*1
His raigne. 341
Henning a leader of the *Danes*. 394.23
Henry ſonne to *Robert Curtois* hanged in New-Forreſt. 431. 46
Henry ſonne to *William Conquerour* his education. 436. 71
Surnamed *Beauclerk*. 436.71
Oppugned by both his brethren, *William Rufus*, and *Robert Curtois*. 439.13
Henry the firſt king of *England*, why called *Beauclerke*. 444. 1,2
His Armes, Broad-Seale, and Coine. *ibid.*
His Coronation. 445.3
He reformeth the Court firſt. 445.4
He marrieth *Maud*, & ſo into the *Engliſh* bloud. 445.6
Hee alloureth the *Normans* to ſide with him. 446.17
Hee taketh *Cane* in *Normandy*. *ibid.*
His ſmooth Oration to his Nobles for to winne them. 447.20
Breaketh promiſe to his Peeres. 448.27
Goeth to ſecure *Normandy*. 446.17
Wounded in battel, & brauely acquitteth himſelfe. 449. 38
Marching againſt the *Welſh*, ſtrucken with an arrow, and his company ſore aſſailed, & hurt. 450.43
Hee inuadeth *France*. 451.51
Vſeth meanes to diſturbe *Flanders*, againſt his nephew *William*. 451.51
His death in *Normandy*. 452. 57
King *Henry* the firſt his corps wrapped in a Buls hide to auoyde extraordinary ſtinch. 452.57
Enterred at *Reading*. *ibid.*
His preheminence and vices. 452.58
His perſonage. *ibid.*59
His inſtitution and learning. *ibid.*
His vertues. *ibid.*
His workes of deuotion. *ibid.*
His iſſue legitimate. 452.62
His naturall or illegitimate iſſue. 453.66, *&c.*
He had three naturall daughters (beſide the reſt) not named. 454.
Henry the ſonne of *Geffrey Plantagenet*, and *Maud* the Empreſſe. 453.53
Henry Fitz-Empreſſe, arriueth and commeth to his mother into *England*. 462.39
He goeth into *Normandy*, *ibi.*
Returneth into *England* with an Army. 463.41
Goeth againe into *Normandy*. *ibid.*
Marrieth *Eleanor* Dutcheſſe of *Guien* and *Aquitaine*. 463. 42
Duke of *Normandy*, *Anion*, *Aquitaine* and *Guien*. 463. 42
Returneth into *England*. 463. 43
Adopted by King *Stephen*, as his ſonne and ſucceſſor. 463. 47
Henry the ſecond, K. of *England*, his Armes, Broad-Seale, and Coine. 465.
His entrance and Coronation. 465.2
His graue and wiſe Councell of State. 466.3
King *Henry* the ſecond aſſureth the ſucceſſion to the Crown vpon his two ſonnes. 466. 3
Doth homage to *Lewis* King of *France*, for his Dukedomes in *France*. *ibid.*5
He entreth amity with *Malcolme* King of *Scots*. 466.7
His Standard againſt the *Welſh*, abandoned by *Henry d' Eſſex*. 466.8
Crowned in three ſeuerall places. 466.9
He and his Queene *Eleanor*, refuſe to weare their regall Crownes. 466.9
His mortification and Piety. 466.9
His affaires in *Normandy* after he was King. 466.10
At variance with *Lewis* the French

French King, but reconciled. *ibid.*

Henry eldest sonne to K. *Henry* the second marrieth *Margaret*, *Lewis* the French Kings daughter. *ibid.*

King *Henry* the second his wisedome, constancy, and zeale. 467.13

Willing to haue Iustice indifferently executed. 467.13

He aimeth at a free Empire or absolute Monarchy. 468.17

Sendeth an Embassage to *Rome* against *Thomas Becket*. 469.25

Hee goeth about to forsake the Pope, & ioyne with the Antipape. 470.34

His Edict to match the Popes Interdict. 470.35

The losse of his best shippe with his friends and followers. 470.37

Hee sorroweth for the murder of *Tho. Becket*. 471.44

King *Henry* the second his projects for the conquest of *Ireland*. 472.46

His motiues & inducements for the conquest of *Ireland*. 472.48

Hee is iealous of *Richard Strong-bow*, and other Captaines, seated in *Ireland*. 474.59

His Edict for recalling home the English. *ibid.*

Pacified with *Strong-bow*, and other Conquerours in *Ireland*, vpon termes! *ibid.*

He arriueth with his forces at *Waterford*. 474.60

Hee keepeth a royall Christmas in *Dublin*. *ibid.*

His purgation and absolution for the death of *Thomas Becket*. *ibid.* 63

His penances. *ibid.*

His rebellious enemies in *England* ouercome in his absence. 475.70

His partakers against K. *Henry* the yonger his sonne. *ibid.*

He embarketh from *Normandy* for *England*. 476 74

His saying and prayer when he taketh the sea. *ibid.*

His felicity. 478.78

Hee is compared with *Salomon*. *ibid.*

How many Ambassadors in his Pallace at once. 476.78

He mourneth for his sonne. 478.87

Hee meeteth *William* King of Scots at *Yorke*. 477.83

He refuseth the Kingdome of *Ierusalem*. 478.89

His resolution for the holy warre. 479.96

How he left it off. *ibid.* 97

The place of his Natiuity. 479.99

He curseth his sonnes. *ibid.*

King *Henry* the second accepteth vnequall conditions of *Philip* king of *France*. 479.98

His death. 479.99

His raigne, and age. *ibid.* 100

His Issue. 526.102,&c.

Henry eldest sonne to K. *Henry* the second crowned King of *England* in his Fathers time. 470.36

His vnnaturall behauiour & speech to his Father. 470.37

He conspireth against his Father. 475.65

His Seale. 477.79

His maintenance encreased 477.85

His death. 478.87

His repentance at his death for his disobedience, &c. *ibid.*

Henry the third, eldest sonne of King *Iohn*: his Seale, stile, & coine. 519

His childhood, how succoured. 519.1

His first coronation. 520.3

His second coronation. 522.11

His inducements & motiues for war with *France*. 524.22

He raiseth money of his Subiects, and loseth their hearts. 525.23

He transporteth into *Bretaign* with a full Army. 527.27

His humility & charity. *ibid.*

He returneth without effect. *ibid.*

His wants how repaired. 527.31

He sitteth personally in iudgment vpon *Peter de Riuallis*, and others, &c. 532.49

Hee marrieth *Eleanor* daughter to *Raimund* Earle of *Prouince*. 533.53

The stately solemnity of this marriage. *ibid.*

Hee is much addicted to the Pope. 534 57

Reproued therefore by *Richard* Earle of *Cornwall*. *ibid.*

In danger of being murdred. 535.59

Hee attempteth the recouery of *Poictou*. 536.63

Much fauouring those of *Poictou* and *Prouince*. 540.77

Burdenous to his Subiects, & to the *Iewes* especially. *ibid.* 75

Driuen for want to sell his Iewels. *ibid.*

His base parcimony. *ibid.* 77

Hee sitteth in the Couent of *Winchester*, and preacheth vnto them. 540.76

His hope to recouer *Normandy*, frustrate. 542.80

In small credit with his owne Subiects for wasting the treasure of the Realme. *ibid.*

Thought to haue no valor, & therfore lesse regarded. *ibid.*

Hee solemnly sweareth to maintaine all Liberties, and to rule by Law. 542.82

His clemency to Traitours, strangers, and rigour to the English. *ibid.* 83

His great debts. 543.84

Honourably entertained in *France*. *ibid.*

His charity to the poore. 543 84

His magnificent port & feasting in *France*. *ibid.*

He with the Pope grinde the people. 543.86

Hee sitteth personally in the Exchequer against Sheriffes and Bayliffes of Townes incorporate. 544.87

His excellet memory. 545.90

His lauish expenses. *ibid.* 92

Another *Proteus*. *ibid.*

Hee feareth *Simon Montfort* Earle of *Leicester* more then thunder and lightning. 546.94

He saileth into *France* to demand *Normandy*. 546.97

Hee quitteth his claime to *Normandy*, *Anion*, and other parts, to the French king. *ibid.*

Hee abridgeth his stile and changeth his broad-seale. 547.97

Hee disclaimeth his former oath at *Oxford*. *ibid.* 98

He taketh the Tower of *London*, and standeth vpon his guard. *ibid.*

He seiseth the ancient stocke of the Crowne. *ibid.*

Taken prisoner by *Simon Montfort* Earle of *Leicester*, and led about with him. 548. 101.102

Like to haue beene slaine at the battel of *Euesha* 549.103

His death. 550.105

His long raigne. *ibid.*

His buriall. *ibid.*

His wife & issue. 550.106,&c

Henry of *Bolingbrooke*, Earle of *Derby*, seekes aduentures in forreine parts. 617.87

Created first Duke of *Lancaster*. 593.111

Earle of *Derby* and of *Lancaster*, his fortunate seruice in *Gascoigne* & *Guien*. 592.107

His honourable and liberall vsage of a Souldier vnder him. *ibid.*

Henry of *Bolingbrooke* created Duke of *Hereford*. 410.102

Banished first, for ten yeares: afterward for 6. 620.103

He entreth againe into *England*. 620.108

He challengeth the Crown & Realme of *England*. 621.114

Elected King of *England* in the Parliament-house. 620. 109

Crowned King, by the name of K. *Henry* the fourth. 623

His Armes, broad-Seale, and Coyne. *ibid.*

His Ambassages into forrain parts, for iustifying his actions in taking the Crowne of *England*. 624.8

His death, and of the Prince his son complotted. 625.14

He entreth *Northwales* with an Army against *Owen Glendowre*. 627.22

In danger to be slaine, and is sore wounded in his head. *ibid.* 24

He taketh to wife *Iane* of *Nauarre*, widow of *Iohn Montford* Duke of *Bretaigne*. 628. 30

His victory at *Shrewesbury*. 630.37

His wise & christian answere to the Duke of *Burgundies* request. 632.48

Hee forsaketh the Duke of *Burgundy* and aideth the D. of *Orleance*. *ibid.* 49

Hee falleth sicke, and dyeth. 653.50

King *Henry* the 4. his charge vnto Prince *Henry* his sonne at his death. *ibid.* 51

His wiues and issue. *ibid.* 53,&c.

Henry of *Munmouth* eldest son to *Henry* the fourth, Prince of *Wales*, after King of *England*. 624.6

King *Henry* the fift compared to the Emperour *Titus Vespasianus*. 635.1

His Armes, broad-Seale and Coine. *ibid.*

His birth and mother. *ibid.* 2

Whiles he was Prince, wounded at the battell of *Shrewesbury*. 636.4

Prince *Henry* his youthfull prancks. 637.5.6

Remoued from being President of the Kings Counsell. 636.7

His behauiour at the Kings Bench to the Lord Chiefe Iustice. 636.6

His demeanour to the King his Father. 637.10

King *Henry* the fift his Coronation. *ibid.* 11

His choise of good Counsellers. 637.11

His deuotion and zeale to Religion. *ibid.*

His iustice. *ibid.*

His passionate and tender affection to the dead corps of King *Richard* the second. 637 11

How he claimeth his title for *France*. 639.20,21

He demandeth the Dutchies of *Normandy*, *Aquitaine*, &c. 640.25

What meanes were presented vnto him for the warres of *France*. *ibid.* 26

Hee embarketh for *France*. 641.33

His care that Churches should not be spoiled. 641.14

His noble victorie at *Agincourt* field. 645.58,&c.

Hee returneth into *England*. 646.29

Receiued into *London*. *ibid.*

His three aduantages for the Conquest of *France*. 648

His second expedition into *France* for conquest. 648

He soliciteth Pope *Martin* to confirme him K. of *France*. 653.5

Hee goeth in person to *Troy* in *Campaigne*, to affiance the Lady *Katherine* of *France*. 653.52

Stiled and proclaimed Regent of *France*, during the life of *Charles* the sixth, and declared successor in the Kingdome. 654

He marrieth the Lady *Katherine* of *France*. 655.53

His Oration to the States of *France*. *ibid.* 54

Taxed for cruelty. 656.56

His single fight with *Barbason* 656.57

His prophesie of Prince *Henry* his sonne, after K. of *England*. 659.74

He with his Queen *Katherine* sit crowned in their royall Robes in *Paris*. 659.77

King *Henry* the 5. his last speech on his death-bedde vnto his Nobles. 660.81

His death. 660.82

His workes of deuotion. 660 83

His vertues and commendation. *ibid.*

His dead corps in what manner brought into *England*. 660.84

When enterred. 661.85

His Epitaph. *ibid.*

His Wife and issue. *ibid.* 86,87

Henry of *Windsor* crowned by the name of K. *Henry* the sixt, with two Crownes. 661. 87

His Armes, broad-Seale, and Coine. 662

Borne at *Windsor*. 659.74

He contracteth mariage with *Margaret*

Margaret daughter to *Renate* titulary King of *Sicilie*, &c. 673.29
Hee breaketh promiſe made to the Earle of *Armenacks* daughter. *ibid.*39
His raigne interrupted, and himſelfe with his Queene retireth into the North. 684 93
Being diſguiſed, he returneth into *England*, is apprehended, and committed priſoner to the Tower of *London*.688. 16
His wife and iſſue. 684.94, 95
Proclaimed King of *England*, and of *France*. 663.4
Hee receiueth Knighthoode, 665.11
Crowned in *Paris* King of *France*. 667.20
Henry the 6. with his Queene flie to *Kenelworth*. 676.51
Wounded and taken in battel by *Richard* Duke of *Yorke*, & the *Yorkiſts*. 679.64
His pious affection to compoſe factions in his Realme. 680.69
Taken priſoner at *Northampton*. 682.80
His and the *Lancaſtrians* title how maintained againſt that of *Yorke*. 683.87
He with his ſonne Prince *Edward* diſherited by Parliament. 688.11
By the States he is taken out of the Tower, and goeth ſolemnely crowned to *Paules* Church. 693.52
Taken priſoner againe by K. *Edward* the fourth, and ſent to the Tower. 695.61
Murdered in the Tower by Crooke-backe *Richard* Duke of *Gloceſter*. 697.78
His lawes abrogated in Parliament. 698.90
His body carried bare-faced through the ſtreets of *London*, twice bled freſh againe. 697. 79
Enterred in the Abbey of *Chertſey*. *ibid.*
Tranſlated to *Windſor*. *ibid.*
His Saint-like vertues, and feature of body. 697.80
Henry the ſixt like to haue beene canonized a Saint. *ibid.*
His red Hat ſuppoſed to heale the head-ache. *ibid.*
His remembrance honoured by King *Henry* the ſeauenth, 763.72
Henry Earle of *Richmond* flyeth into *Bretaigne*. 698.84
Sought after by king *Edward* the fourth. 700.99
He taketh Sanctuary at Saint *Malos*. *ibid.*
Heire to the houſe of *Lancaſter*. 730.27
Attainted by Parliament, 732.37
Hee hardly eſcapeth apprehenſion. 733.39
Arriueth at *Milford-hauen*. 734.46
His order of battell. 736.55
His Oration to his Souldiers. 736.56
Proclaimed and crowned in the field King *Henry* the 7. 737.59
King *Henry* the ſeauenth his Armes, broad-Seale, & Coin 739
His parentage. 671.32
By the femall line deſcended from the *Beauforts*, vncapable of ſucceſſion to the Crowne by law. 739.1
The deſcription of his minde and qualities. 740.3
The poftract of his body. 740.4
His auarice. *ibid.*
His entrance into *London*. 741.5
His Coronation. *ibid.*
He marrieth *Elizabeth* eldeſt daughter of King *Edward* the fourth. 741.6
The marriage ſolemnized. 742.11
He prepareth againſt *Lambert Symnell*, and his Complices. 744 19
What Nobles and Captaines repaired vnto him at *Nottingham*. *ibid.*
His ſpeech vnto his Nobles before the battell of *Stoke*. 745.21
Hee entreth into *London* triumphantly. 746.23
He aideth the Duke of *Bretaigne* with men and money againſt *Charles* K. of *France*. 746.25
Drawne perforce to warre. 748.29
Winneth Londoners by popularity. *ibid.*
Entred their brother in the Marchant-Taylors Company. *ibid.*
His voyage with an Army into *France*. *ibid.*
Hee returnes into *England*. 749.31
His deuotion. 760.66
His delight in building. *ibid.*
The two laſt Scenes of his life. *ibid.*
His courſes taken with his wiues kindred, branches of the family of *Yorke*, and the *Plantagenets*. *ibid.*
Giuen ouer-much to gather money. 761.70
Hee falleth ſicke of a pyning diſeaſe. *ibid.*
His compunction of heart, & remorce for his auarice, and polling the people. 762.71
His death. 763.71
His faire buildings and foundations. *ibid.*
His age and raigne: *ibid.*
His good parts. *ibid.*
Saluted defender of Chriſts Church by three Popes. *ibid.*
His Will taketh order for reſtitution of monies, vniuſtly leuied by his officers. 763. 71
His Wife. *ibid.*
His Iſſue. *ibid.*72,&c.
His buriall. 763 71
Henry ſonne to King *Henry* the ſeauenth, afterward K. *Henry* the eight, created Prince of *Wales*, Earle of *Cheſter*, and of *Flint*. 759.65
He ſpouſeth Lady *Katherine*, Wife to his brother *Arthur*. *ibid.*
Henry the eight King of *England*, his Armes, broad-Seale, and Coyne. 765.1
His birth, education, and Coronation, with his wife *Katherine* of *Spaine*. *ibid.*
What Councell hee choſe, 766.2
His iuſtice and charity. *ibid.*4
His goodly ſhape of body & ſtrength. *ibid.*
He by an *Herald* demandeth *France*, & the Crowne thereof, of *Lewis* the twelfth. 766. 6
Elected *Caput fœderis Italici*. *ibid.*5
He entreth league with many Princes, and Pope *Iulius* the ſecond. *ibid.*6
He entreth *France*. *ibid.*
His meeting with *Francis* the French King. 770.34
His Ambaſſadors vnto foraine States, relating wrongs done by the French vnto the Engliſh. *ibid.*36
His Booke againſt *Martin Luther*. 771.39
He falleth from the Emperor *Charles* the fift. 773.53
Likewiſe from *Francis* the French King. 776.64
Vpon what cauſes. *ibid.*
His marriage with *Katherine* of *Spaine* called in queſtion. 776.66
He diſclaimeth contract with *Katherine* of *Spaine*, whiles he was Prince. *ibid.*67
Hee refuſeth Queene *Katherines* bed. 777
His marriage with her condemned vnder the Seales of diuers Vniuerſities. *ibid.*
His diuorce from *Katherine* of *Spaine* wrought by Cardinall *Wolſey*. 779.67
His ſpeech to the Nobles and Iudges, as touching his Wife *Katherine* of *Spaine*. *ibid.*
His marriage with her debated of here in *England*. 780. 68,69,70
King *Henry* the 8. and Queene *Katherine* ſummoned to appeare perſonally in the Court at the Blacke Fryers. 780.69
His marriage with Lady *Katherine* of *Spaine* diſſolued by Act of Parliament. 782. 80
He weddeth Lady *Anne Bullen*. 783.82
His complaint of the Pope to the French King. *ibid.*
He marrieth *Iane Seymor* the morrow after Queene *Annes* beheading. 784.91
His anſwere to the demands of the *Yorkiſts* Rebels. 788
His free pardon of the Northerne Rebels by proclamation. 789
Hee marrieth *Anne* of *Cleue*. 791.105
He diuorceth her. 791.106
He marrieth the Lady *Katherine Howard*. 792.108
He eſpouſed *Katherine Parre* 793.113
His conference with his Q. *Katherine Parre* about Religion. *ibid.*
He aſſumeth the name of K. of *Ireland*. 793.114
His expedition into *Scotland*. 794.115
He ſickneth. 796.133
His Will. *ibid.*134
His three Children ordained to ſucceed in the holding of the Crowne. 796.134
He dieth penitent. 796.135
Buried at *Windſor*. *ibid.*
His Tombe vnfiniſhed, how ſumptuous it ſhould haue beene. *ibid*
His deſcription for perſonage and qualities. 797.135
His wiues. *ibid.*
His legitimate Iſſue. 798.142
His naturall Iſſue. 798.148
King *Henry* the eight, and King *Salomon* in ſome points compared. 829.2
The firſt King that quailed, and vncrowned the Pope. 205.13
Henry of *Huntingdon*, when hee wrote. 163.12
Henry a ſeauenth naturall ſonne of King *Henry* the firſt. 453. 72
Slaine in battell. *ibid.*
His Iſſue. *ibid.*
Henry Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, agent for his brother *Stephen* Earle of *Mortaigne*, to attaine the Crowne of *England*.455. 2
Hee entrappeth the Nobles. 458.22
Hee curſeth the oppoſites of *Maud* the Empreſſe. 461.30
He recalleth his curſe. 461. 34
He equiuocateth with *Maud* the Empreſſe. *ibid.*35
Henry Biſhop of *Wincheſter* fireth *Wincheſter* vpon *Maud* the Empreſſe. 462.35
He entrappeth the Empreſſe. *ibid.*36
Henry of *Newburgh* firſt Earle of *Warwicke* ſince the Conqueſt. 444.2
Henry Prince of *Scotland* abandoneth the field againſt the Engliſh. 458.14
Created Earle of *Huntingdon*. 458.16
In danger at the ſiege of the Caſtle of *Ludlow*, and recouered by King *Stephen*. *ibid.*
Henry the fourth Emperour, ſuppoſed to haue beene an Eremite in his latter dayes. 451.48
And to change his name into *Godſcall*. *ibid.*
Buried at *Spire*. *ibid.*
Henry the Emperour, and his Empreſſe *Conſtantia*, receiue the Imperiall Crowne from the Popes feet. 485.24
Puniſhed for the wrongs done to King *Richard* the firſt, K. of *England*. 489.53
He dyeth at *Meſſana*, excommunicated for King *Richards* cauſe. *ibid.*
His body lieth aboue ground vnburied. *ibid.*
Henry Archbiſhop of *Dublin* alloweth not King *Iohns* ſubmiſſion to the Pope. 510.48
L. *Henry* ſonne to *Richard* King of *Romans*, impriſoned in *Douer* by *Simon Montford*. 549.102
Henry ſecond ſonne to K. *Edward* the firſt, his death and buriall. 563.59
Henry Hotſpurre his fortunes againſt the Scots. 628.28
His dangerous rebellion. 629 31
The cauſes pretended of his rebellion publiſhed. *ibid.* 32
He is ſlaine at the battell of *Shrewesbury*. 630.37
His dead corps firſt buried, afterwards drawne, beheaded, and quartered. 630.38
Henry, baſtard-brother to *Peter* King

King of *Caſtile*, choſen and crowned King of *Spaine*. 596. 131

He murdreth his brother *Peter* with his owne hands. 596. 134

Henry Le Spenſer, the ſtout Biſhop of *Norwich*, his good ſeruice againſt *Iohn Litteſtar* a Rebell, King of the Commons. 608.27

He leadeth forces into *Flanders* for Pope *Vrban*, againſt *Clement* the Antipape. 609. 36

Henry Lord *Darley* or *Darnley*, eldeſt ſon to *Mathew* Earle of *Lenox*, by *Margaret* daughter of *Archibald Dowglaſſe*, and *Margaret* eldeſt daughter to *Henry* the ſeauenth. 763.75

His graue and Epitaph. *ibid.*

Henry Lord *Darley* or *Darnley* their ſecond ſonne, his perſonage, and marriage with *Mary* Queene of Scots. 764. 75

Henry Fitz-roy naturall ſon of King *Henry* the eighth. 798. 148

His Mother, time, and place of Natiuity. *ibid.*

His dignities, his death, and buriall. *ibid.*

Henry 2. the French King quarrelled with by Queene *Mary*. 855.109

Defiance ſent vnto him. *ibid.* 110

Wounded to death in tilting 860.16

Henry the third King of *France*, his eloquent and pithie Oration for vnion in *France*. 893.244

He giueth notice to Queene *Elizabeth* of the Spaniſh Inuincible Armado. 886.296

Henry King of Scots ſhamefully murdered. 867.60

Henry of *Burbon* Prince of *Nauarre*, marrieth the Lady *Margaret de Valois*, *Charles* the 9. King of *France* his ſiſter. 862.35

Being King of *Nauarre*, diſabled by the *Leaguers* & *Guizians* for the Crowne of *France*. 893.252

Henry King of *Nauarre*, proclaimed King of *France* by the Army, againſt *Charles* Cardinall of *Burbon*. 894.255

Sueth to *Elizabeth* Queene of *England* for aide. *ibid.*

Forſaketh his Religion, and is crowned King of *France*, by the name of *Henry* the 4. 894.257

Heptarchy of the Saxons. 295. 18

Hiraclianus Lieutenant General in *Britaine*. 228.3

Heraclius Patriarch of *Ieruſalem*. 478.88

Soliciteth King *Henry* the ſecond to accept the Kingdome of *Ieruſalem*. *ibid.*

He departeth home diſcontented. 478.90

Iaſper Herbert Earle of *Pembroke* created Duke of *Bedford*. 741.5

Lord *Herbert* Earle of *Pembroke*, marcheth againſt Sir *Iohn Coniers*, and the Rebels in the North. 691.32

He with his brother Sir *Richard Herbert* valiantly fighting, taken by the Rebels, and beheaded. 691.34

Lord *William Herbert* Earle of *Pembroke*, Lord Generall in the field againſt *Wiat*. 846. 37

Andrew de Herckley Captaine of *Carleil*, taketh *Thomas* Earle of *Lancaſter* priſoner. 571.39

Created Earle of *Carleil*. *ibid.* 40

Degraded, drawne, hanged, and quartered for Treaſon. 572.48

Hercules ſuppoſed to haue been in *Britaine*. 162.10

Hereford Cathedrall Church built in memoriall of *Ethelbirth* murdered. 327.14

Hereſwith Wife to *Ethelbert* King of the Eaſt-Saxons. 327 14

Hereward, his hallowed ſword. 429.28

Hereward, a Caſtle in the Iſle of *Ely*. *ibid.*

Hericus King of the *Northumbrians*. 383.3

Herthum. i. the Mother-Earth worſhipped. 290.6

Herthus a Goddeſſe of the heathen Saxons. *ibid.*7

Heruetus de Monte Mariſco, Mediator to King *Henry* the ſecond, in the behalfe of Earle *Strongbow*, &c. 474.59

Heathfield, or *Heathenfield* battell. 330

Hexam field. 688.15

Hide Monaſtery which had beene before at *Wincheſter*. 379.14

Hierome, or *Ierome* of *Prague*, Martyr burnt. 628.30

Hilda, the famous, learned, and vertuous Abbeſſe of *Streanſhale*. 327,8.352,14

Hiſdigerdus, Tutor to young *Theodoſius*. 277.11

Hiſtories of the firſt time meere coniecturall. 161.3

Hocktide, or *Hoxtide*, what it is, and how it came vp. 407.11

Holy maide of *Kent*. 783.83

Executed with 7. of her Diſciples for treaſon. *ibid.*

Hollanders new Coine vpon occaſion of the Inuincible Nauy defeated. 890.228

Henry Holland Duke of *Exceſter*, and Earle of *Huntingdon*, his high deſcent, aliance, & miſerable ſtate. 698.86

Vnkindly vſed by his Lady *Anne*, ſiſter to King *Edward* the fourth. 698.87

His body found dead on the ſhore of *Kent*. *ibid.*

Lord *Iohn Holland* killeth the L. *Stafford*, and taketh Sanctuary. 611.50

Earle of *Huntingdon* taken, and brought to *Playſie* or *Pleſhy* in *Eſſex*, and beheaded. 626. 17

Iohn Holland, being alſo Duke of *Exceſter*, drawne out of Sanctuary, and conueyed to *Pomfret* Caſtle by the *Yorkiſts*. 679.65

Suſpected for the murder of *Humfrey* Duke of *Gloceſter*. 667,17.675.49

Iohn Holland Duke of *Exceſter*, left for dead at *Barnet* field, recouereth, & taketh Sanctuary at *Weſtminſter*. 695.66

Thomas Holland Earle of *Kent*, beheaded at *Circeſter* by the Townesmen. 626.17

Homers Iliads written in a Dragons guts. 261.13

Honorius Emperour in the Weſt, his raigne and death. 274.6 277.12

Horeſh. i. *Anguſe* in *Scotland*. 215.14

Robert Horne, a worthy Alderman of *London* perſwadeth reſiſtance of *Iacke Cade*. 676. 51

Horſa and *Catigerne*, ſlaine in ſingle fight. 292.9

Horſemen well appointed 40000. ſhewed at *Blacke-heath* field, before King *Richard* the ſecond. 698.28

Horſtead the place of *Horſa* his Monument. 292.9

Knights *Hoſpitaliers* of the Rhodes, or S. *Iohn* of *Ieruſalem*, aduanced by the fall of the *Templers*. 568.12

Hotſpurre. See *Percey*.

Howards Dukes of *Norfolke*, whence deſcended. 564.71

Lord *Thomas Howard* Earle of *Surrey* inuadeth *Scotland*. 755 48

Lord *Thomas Howard* Earle of *Surrey*, and high Admirall of *England*, winneth *Morleis* in *France*. 772.42

Hee inuadeth and ſpoileth *France*. 772.44

Made Lieutenant of the North. 772.45

His rough anſwere to the D. of *Albany*. 773.49

He is made Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*. 774.55

Hee vanquiſheth the Rebels there. *ibid.*

Thomas Howard Duke of *Norfolke* Lieutenant Generall againſt the Rebels in *Yorkeſhire*. 787.98

L. *Thomas Howard* late Duke of *Norfolke*, his troubles and death. 877.138

Philip Lord *Howard* Earle of *Arundell*, condemned of high treaſon. 874.106

Charles Lord *Howard* Baron of *Effingham*, high Admirall againſt the inuincible Nauy of *Spaine*. 886.195

Commander of a Fleet ſet out againſt *Spaine*. 895.268

Made L. Lieutenant Generall of all *England*. 903.327

Iohn Lord *Howard* Duke of *Norfolke* ſlaine. 737.58

Thomas Howard D. of *Norfolke*, with other priſoners, releaſed out of the Tower. 843. 15

Lord Generall for Queene *Mary* againſt *Wyat*. 845.30

He dyeth for dolour of heart. 845.32

Thomas Howard Earle of *Surrey*, priſoner in the Tower. 737. 58

Hubba and *Hungar* leaders of the Danes inuade *England*. 371,2.328,15

Hubba and *Inguar*, *Lothbrookes* ſonnes, leaders of the Danes, inuade *England*. 398.9

Hubert de Burgh Earle of *Kent*, in a generall defection of the Nobles, adhereth to K. *Henry* the third. 534.58

Troubled by the King vpon an action of treſpaſſe in the Kings Bench. 535.61

Hubert de Burgh, or *Burgo* L. Chamberlaine of *England*. 498.14

Hubert Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* meeteth King *Richard* the firſt moſt ioyfully. 489. 53

Hubert Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* his Sophiſticall Oration againſt the Coronation of K. *Iohn*. 495.5

His forecaſt to bridle K. *Iohn*. *ibid.*

Made Lord high Chancellor. *ibid.*

Hubert Walteri Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* his hollow heart to King *Iohn*. 497,12. 500,18

He outbraues K. *Iohn*. 487. 12

Hubert Archbiſhop of *Yorke* his death. 504.31

Hubert de S. Clare ſaueth King *Henry* the ſecond his life by his owne death. 467.4

Hubbleſtone, why ſo called. 374. 14

Hugh or *Hugo* Biſhop of *Couentrie* for default of appearance adiudged puniſhable. 489. 55

Hugh Biſhop of *Lincolne* royally buried. 497.11

Hugh Le Brun Earle of *March* conſpireth againſt King *Iohn*. 498.15

Hugo de Neuill ſlew a Lyon in the holy Land. 492.71

Hugh Lupus Earle of *Cheſter* taketh part with *Henry* the young King, againſt King *Henry* the ſecond, the father. 475.65

Taken priſoner. *ibid.*66

Hugh Baron of *Dungannon*. 880. 155

Flyeth from his wiues Father *Turlogh*, into *England*. 888. 156

Employed by Queene *Elizabeth*. *ibid.*

His ſeruice againſt the Earle of *Deſmond* a Rebell. *ibid.*

Made Earle of *Tir-Oen*. *ibid.*

Complaineth of Sir *William Fitz-William* the Lord Deputy, and others. 880.153

His diſſimulations. *ibid.*

Hugh Baron of *Dungannon*, and Earle of *Tir-Oen*, getteth the Fort of *Blacke-water*. 899. 292

He and his adherents proclaimed Traytors. 899.293

His victory ouer the *Engliſh* in *Ireland*, neere to *Armagh*. 900.302

Sueth for Parley, and is reiected. 900.307

Receiueth a Plume of *Phanix* Feathers as a preſent from the Pope. 901,311

Hee goeth on Pilgrimage to the Croſſe of *Tipperarey*. *ibid.* 312

He, with the Iriſh Rebels, and auxiliary Spaniards put to flight. 902.319

He ſueth to the Lord Lieutenant or Deputy for pardon, and peace. 903.328

Brought into *England* by *Charles Blunt* Lord *Montioy*. 911 8

A valiant warriour, but a perfidious, ſubtile, and ſmooth-tongued Traytor. *ibid.*

Robert Huldern Captaine of a Commotion about *Yorke*. 690.30

Beheaded. *ibid.*

Humfrey

Humfrey the Duke of *Glouceſter*, his ſtile. 934 58
His commendable vertues & patronage of learning. *ibid.*
His Wiues. *ibid.*
Murdred at *Bury*. *ibid.*
Buried at S. *Albans*. *ibid.*
His reaſons againſt the Duke of *Orleance* his enlargement. 672.38
Arreſted of high Treaſon. 673.41
Found dead. 674.42
His praiſes. *ibid.* 42
Protector of *England* marrieth *Iaqueline*, during *Iohn* D. of *Brabant* her husbands life. 659.9
Hee challengeth combate of *Philip* Duke of *Burgundy* taking part againſt him with *Iohn* Duke of *Brabant*. 664.9
He marrieth *Eleanor* daughter to *Reginald* Lord *Cobham*. 665.9
Hee accuſeth *Henry Beaufort* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*. 665.9
Declared to haue been a true Subiect. 679.64
Humfrey Lhuyd a learned ſearcher of Antiquities. 158.4
Hungar. See *Hubba*.
Lord *Hungerford* beheaded for his offence in abuſing Nature. 792.108
Hunſtanton Tower. 328.14
Huntingdon Earledome beſtowed vpon *Alexander* King of Scots. 544.86
Held by *Henry* Prince of *Scotland*. 456.7
Hurling times. 609.34
Iohn Huſſe Martyr burned. 642. 35
Peter Hyalus Embaſſadour from *Spaine*, procureth a truce betweene *England* & *Scotland*. 755.49

I

Iacke Strawe, his rebellion, his execution and confeſſion. 607.10
Iacke Cade. See *Cade*.
Iacke Sharpe of *Wigmorſ-land* an arch-rebell, headed & quartered. 668.20
Iames the firſt King of Scots, priſoner in *England*, and enlarged, marrieth *Iane* daughter to *Iohn Beaufort* Earle of *Somerſet*. 664.8
Murdred by the Scots. 671. 34
Hee entended Hoſtility to *England*. *ibid.*
Crowned with a Crowne of red-hot Iron. 672.34
Iames the ſecond King of Scots beſiegeth *Roxborough* againſt the *Yorkiſts*. 682.83
Slaine there with the ſhiuer of a great peece of Ordnance. *ibid.*
Iames the third K. of Scots baniſhed *Alexander* King of *Albany* his ſecond brother. 701. 110
Iames the third King of *Scotland* cauſeth *Iohn* Earle of *Marre* his brother, to bleed to death. *ibid.*
Slaine in battell by his owne ſubiects. 647.27
Iames the fourth King of Scots, contracteth marriage with *Margaret* eldeſt daughter to K. *Henry* the 7. 759.64
He entertaineth *Perkin Warbecke*. 753.43
Hee, together with *Perkin Warbecke*, inuade *Northumberland*. *ibid.* 43
Slaine at *Floden* field. 767. 16
His valour in fight. *ibid.*
His body ſuppoſed to haue beene enbalmed and entered in *Shine* or *Shene*. 768. 17
Hee is yet imagined to haue eſcaped out of the field and fled to *Ieruſalem*. *ibid.*
Iames the fifth King of Scots, dyeth of a melancholike paſſion. 794.119
Iames Clement a *Iacobin* Frier, killeth the French King *Henry* the third. 894.257
Himſelfe ſtabbed to death. *ibid.*
Iames the ſixth King of Scots, after Monarch of Great *Britaine*, the firſt King that by his penne depeincted Antichriſt. 205.13
His lineall deſcent, from K. *Henry* the 7. King of *England*, and *Iames* the fourth King of *Scotland*. 760.65
IAMES the firſt Monarch of Great *Britaine*, beginneth his raigne. 910
Proclaimed King of *England*, *France*, and *Ireland*, &c. *ibid.* 2
His iuſt title to the Crowne of *England*. *ibid.* 3
He commeth to *London*. 911. 5
His mercy to Priſoners. *ibid.*
Paralleled with *Conſtantine* the great, and *Octauian Auguſtus*. *ibid.* 6
His entrance to the Crowne of *England* congratulated by forraigne Ambaſſadors. *ibid.* 7
His Coronation and Queen *Annes* his wife. 912.10
His gracious Letter for ſtay of execution of Traitors condemned. 913.16
His ſpeech to the Prelates & Church-gouernours before Conference about matter of Liturgy, and gouernment of Church. 914.19
His demands vnto the Prelacy, as touching Confirmation of Children baptized, &c. *ibid.* 20
His ſpeech vnto Diuines aſſembled for the ſaid conference. *ibid.* 22
His triumphant paſſage thorow *London* to *Weſtminſter*, with Queene *Anne*, Prince *Henry*, &c. 915.28
Enſtiled ſolemnely King of Great *Britaine*, *France*, and *Ireland*. 916.30
Scandalized & ſlandered by Papiſts. 916.37
Iames Lord *Audley* his valour and bounty at the battell of *Poictiers*. 594.116
Iames, alias *Iaques d'Arteuile*, a potent man in *Flanders*. 582. 41
Confedered with *Edward* the third againſt *France*. *ibid.*
See *Arteuile*.
Iane or *Ioan* baſe daughter to K. *Iohn*, married to *Lewin* Prince of *Wales*. 518.72
Her louing kindneſſe to her Father. *ibid.*
Iane de Valois intreateth for a truce betweene King *Edward* the third, and *Philip de Valois* the French King. 585. 62
Iane alias *Ioan* Wife to *Dauid* the ſecond King of Scots dyeth in *England*. 596.127
Iane the third wife of K. *Henry* the 8. 797.138
Her parentage, when maried, her death and buriall. *ibid.*
Her wombe ript for King *Edward* the ſixth his birth. 829.1
Queene *Iane* dyeth. 791.105
Iane Grey made Succeſſor to the Crowne of *England* by King *Edward* the ſixth in his Will. 838.75
Proclaimed Queene of *England*. 842.16
Her parentage. 838.75
Beheaded with the L. *Guilford*. 844.23
Her ſpeech at her death. *ibid.* 24
Ianus Temple in *Rome* opened. 239.3
The ſame ſhut. 189.6
Iaphets Progeny peopled *Europe*. 161.2
Iaques Van Arteuile ſlaine in a mutinie. 587.78
See more of *Iames D'Arteuile* in *Arteuile*.
Iaques Francis a perfidious traitor. 855.112
Iaquet Dutcheſſe of *Bedford*, mother to *Elizabeth*, *Edward* the fourth his wife, ſlandred for Witchcraft. 723.3
Iaſper Earle of *Pembroke* flyeth into *Bretaigne*. 698.84
Iccius Portus thought to be *Calais*. 185.1
Icenians withſtand *Oſtorius*. 194. 12
Ouerthrowne. *ibid.*
Oppreſſed by Roman Officers rebell. *ibid.* 11
Ida firſt King of *Bernicia*. 313. 1
His raigne. *ibid.*
Ide daughter of the Lady *Mary* King *Stephens* daughter married. 464.55
Idols. See Images
Idols worſhipped by Britains. 167.168
Idols, i. Counterfeit Princes erected to dethrone the right, an old ſtratagem. 742.13
Ieffrey Chaucer. See in *Chaucer*.
Ieffrey Plantagenet Sonne of *Foulke*, Earle of *Anion*. 451. 49
He marrieth *Maude* the Empreſſe. *ibid.*
He dieth. 463.42
Ieffrey brother to King *Henry* the ſecond put to a yearely penſion. 466.6
His death. *ibid.*
Ieruſalem loſt. 479.99
Ieruſalem wonne by *Titus*. 212. 3
Raced to the ground. 219.7
New built, and named *Ælia*. *ibid.*
Not recouerable by warre. 769.30
Wonne by *Godfrey* of *Lorain*, and his confederates. 441. 30
Ieſtin Lord of *Glamorgan*, ſideth againſt *Rhees ap Thewdor*, Prince of *South-Wales* 439. 15
Slaine. *ibid.*
Ieſuites by proclamation baniſhed. 889.
Ieſus Chriſt our Sauior, in whoſe raigne borne. 189.6
Iewes reuolt vpon a propheſie. 210.4
They warre vpon the Gentiles. 217.3
Slaughtered by *Traian*. 217.3
Rebell in *Hadrians* time. 218 4
Iewes Clippers of the Kings Coine. 540.75
Not permitted to looke toward *Ieruſalem*. 219.7
Iewes baniſhed the Realme. 558 17
Iewes ſlaine at King *Richard* the firſt his Coronation. 483. 6
Ieuaff alias *Iago*, Prince of *North-Wales* payeth tribute in Wolues. 387.5
Ignatius ſuffereth martyrdome. 217.2
Igren Duke *Gorlois* Wife. 332
Ilands ſeparated from the main by the great deluge. 155.4
They be ornaments and of vſe to the Maine. *ibid.*
Ilands belonging to *Britaigne*, had their ſeuerall Kings. 157. 13
Ilands, or Iſles of the Gentiles, are thoſe of *Europe*. 161.2
Images in Churches to be adored. 356.3
Images or Idols ſuppreſſed by Parliament. 790.100
Aboliſhed. 831.18
Images ſuperſtitious caſt out of Churches & burnt. *ibid.* 16
Imericke fourth King of *Kent*. 297.4
His iſſue, and raigne. *ibid.*
Immanuentius ſlaine by *Caſſibilan*. 173.2
Immuration a kind of death. 523.13
Indies not heard of by the Romans before King *Traian* his time. 217.2
Ine King of the *Weſt-Saxons*. 306 11
His victories. 307
His Lawes tranſlated into Engliſh. *ibid.*
His zeale to Religion. *ibid.*
His voluntary pouerty. *ibid.* 11
Ingilram de Cowcy died a threefold death. 538.69
Inguar the Dane, *Lothbrookes* ſon, ſendeth defiance to K. *Edmund*. 398.9
Hee with his brother *Hubba* put King *Edmond* to death. *ibid.*
Ingulphus, when hee liued, and died. 163.16
Inis-Wen, a name of *Britaine*. 158.4
Inis Witrin, i. *Glaſtenbury*. 202
Pope *Innocent* the fourth, maketh ſuite to ſee *England*. 157. 11
Pope *Innocentius* being Vmpier, playeth falſe. 505.36
His preſent & Letter to King *Iohn*. 495.36
His three ſtrange lawes. 506. 38
Hee interdicteth *England* for many yeares. 507.40
Hee interpoſeth betweene K. *Iohn*, & *Philip* king of *France*. 505.34

Pope *Innocentius* his curſe denounced vpon King *Iohn*. 508.44
He abſolueth King *Iohns* people from Alleagiance: *ibid.*
Inſula Florum, i. *Britaine*. 160. 8
Inſula Cæruli, a name of *Britaine*. *ibid.*
Inſurrection at *Abingdon* in *Oxfordſhire*, 668 20
Inſurrection of the Nobles againſt King *Stephen*. 457. 12
The pretended reaſons thereof. *ibid.* 14
Interdict of the Pope, what it is. 570.35
Interdiction of *England* for many yeares. 506.40
Interdiction of *England* in King *Iohn* his time releaſed. 513. 55
Interregnum in the Empire for eight moneths. 144.1
Interregnum not allowed in gouernement of *England*. 483. 3
Interview of *Iohn* king of *England*, and *William* K. of Scots. 496.10
Interview betweene *Iohn* King of *England*, and K. *Philip* of *France*. *ibid.* 16
Inuaſion of *England* plotted by the Catholikes. 880.34
Inueſtiture of Prelates, in what manner it was. 446.13
Claimed by the King and by the Pope. *ibid.* 14
Inuincible Nauy of *Spaine* preapared againſt *England*. 884. 193
The furniture and prouiſion thereof. 885.889,&c.
Flyeth before the Engliſh. 485.215
Ioachim an Abbot auoucheth the Pope to be Antichriſt. 485. 24
Ioan daughter of King *Edward* the firſt. 564.63
Her marriages, Iſſue, death & buriall. *ibid.*
Ioan Widdow of Lord *Thomas Holland*, remarried to *Edward* the Blacke Prince. 601.156
She dyeth for ſorrow and griefe, being denyed a pardon for her ſon *Iohn Holland*. 611. 50
She was named the faire maid of *Kent*, and was married to Sir *Thomas Holland* Earle of *Kent*, and mother to *Thomas* and *Iohn Holland* Duke of *Surrey*, and Earle of *Huntingdon*. 565.72
Mother by *Edward* of *Woodſtocke* the Blacke Prince, to King *Richard* the ſecond. *ibid.*
Ioan daughter to King *Edward* the ſecond, wedded to *Dauid*, Prince, and after King of *Scotland*, by the name of *Dauid* the ſecond. 576. 80
Her death and buriall. *ibid.*
Called by the Scots in skorne *Ioan* or *Ione* Make-peace. 579. 13
Ioan eldeſt daughter to King *Iohn*, married to *Alexander* the ſecond King of Scots. 518.69
Ioan daughter to K. *Iohn* married to *Lewelin* Prince of North-*Wales*. *ibid.* 72
Queene *Ioan* committed vnto priſon for ſorcery. 649.49
Ioan of *Loraine* a Marſhall mayden. 666.14
Her Letter to *William de la Pole* Earle of *Suffolke*. *ibid.* 15
She is called *Ioan la Pucelle de Dieu*. *ibid.* 16
Betrayed and taken priſoner. 666.18.
Burnt for a Witch at *Roan*. *ibid.*
Ioan third daughter of K. *Henry* the ſecond by Queene *Eleanor* his wife. 481.110
Her husband and Iſſue. *ibid.*
Ioan daughter of King *Henry* the ſecond, married to *William* King of *Sicily*. 484.19
Ioan Butcher an Heretike. 839.78
Saint *Iohn* the *Euangeliſt* baniſhed by the Emperour *Domitian*. 215.17
His Reuelation in the Iſle *Pathmos*. *ibid.*
Compared with *Daniels* viſions. *ibid.*
Returneth from exile out of *Pathmos*. 217.4
Iohn an vſurper of the Romane Empire ſlaine. 275.5
His Coine. *ibid.*
Iohn of *Oxford* a great Clerke. 468.22
Hee writeth a Booke againſt *Thomas Becket*. 469.27
Hee was Biſhop of *Norwich*. 477.82
Iohn Sans-Terre, after K. *Iohn*, King *Henry* the ſecond his ſonne. 478.91
Why ſo named. 481.107
Entituled King of *Ireland*. 478.91
Iohn the laſt ſonne of K. *Henry* the ſecond, knighted, & ſent into *Ireland*. 479.92
His ſtile in the Scale of *Ireland*. *ibid.*
Firſt ſtyled Lord of *Ireland*. 481.107
What Earledomes and Seignories hee held in king *Richard* the firſt his brothers time. 483.9
His attempts during his brother King *Richards* captiuity. 488.44
For want of appearance adiudged to forfait all his eſtate in *England*. 489.55
He is reconciled to King *Richard* the firſt his brother. 490.59
He becommeth moſt faithful vnto him. *ibid.*
His challenge ſent to the French Court, in defence of his loyalty to king *Richard* the firſt his brother. 491. 67
Iohn king of *England* his Armes, Broad-Seale, and Coine. 493
His tragicall raigne, and the principall actions therein. 493.1
His meanes and title to the kingdome. 494.2
His Agents in *England*. *ibid.*
King *Iohn* of *England* crowned Duke of *Normandy*. 494. 4
Hee purſues King *Philip* of *France* from place to place. 495.7
He diuorceth *Hawiſia* his wife and eſpouſeth *Iſabel* Heretrice of *Ailmar*, Earle of *Angoleſme*. 496.8
Crowned againe at Queene *Iſabels* Coronation. 496.9
He offereth a golden Chalice in *Lincoln* Cathedrall Church on Saint *Iohns* Altar. 496. 10
Hee arriueth in *Normandy*. 498.14
Summoned by *Philip* the French king to appeare perſonally at *Paris*. 499.16
His victory at *Mirabeau*. *ibid.* & 17
His clemency to his Nephew *Arthur*. 500.18
Cleared of his death. 500. 20
Cited by king *Philip* vpon treaſon for *Arthurs* death. *ibid.*
Condemned and adiudged an enemy to the French State, &c. *ibid.*
He looſeth many Seigniories beyond ſea, through his own negligence, & his Captaines treachery. 501.22
Enchanted with the loue of his wife *Iſabel*. 501.23
How much he was diſtreſſed. 502.24
His Letter to Pope *Innocentius*. 506.38
Forſaken of his Nobles, and debarred or inhibited his voyage into *Normandy* by *Hubert* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. 503.29
What wrongs were offered to him. 506.38
He entreth *France* with a great Army. 505.33
King *Iohn* winneth *Mont-Alban*, and recouereth *Angiers*. *ibid.* 34
He commandeth diuine Seruice to bee celebrated in S. *Albans*, notwithſtanding the Popes interdiction. 507.40
Excommunicated and accurſed by name from *Rome*. 507. 41
Hee ſetleth the State in *Ireland*. *ibid.* 42
His Broad-Seale for *Ireland* before he was King. 508.43
He ſubdueth *Wales*. *ibid.*
He offereth well to the Clergy, but his offers are reiected. *ibid.*
Enformed of a great conſpiracy and treaſon of his Nobles. 509.45
In danger to be vncrowned. *ibid.*
His preparation againſt *Philip* king of *France*. 509.48
Hee yeeldeth vp his Crowne &c. to the Pope, and ſweareth vnto him homage and fealty. 510.48
Hee is abſolued by *Stephen Langton*. 511.51
Entrapped by a guilefull oath. *ibid.* 52
By a new Charter ſubiected to the Pope. 512.54
He is become a petty king among his Barons. 514.56
Hee looſeth his treaſure and carriages on the ſands by *Lincolneſhire*. 516.59
His deadly ſickneſſe. 516.61
His death and repentance. *ibid.*
His buriall. *ibid.*
The occaſion of his ſickneſſe and death. 516.62
King *Iohn* poyſoned at *Swenſted* Abbey. 516.62
King *Iohn* his workes of deuotion. 517.63
His orders for gouernement, and Weale-publike. 516.63
Compared to *Marius*. 517. 61
His wiues. 517.64,65,66
His Iſſue. *ibid.* 67
His Children extraordinarily aduanced. 517.51
Iohn the French king taken priſoner, after a yeare ſet at liberty. 795.122
Iohn of *Gaunt* Duke of *Lancaſter* gouerneth *England* vnder his Father K. *Edward* the third. 600.150
A protector of *Iohn Wickliffe*. *ibid.* 152
His Armories reuerſed by the Londoners. *ibid.*
He procureth the Maior and Aldermen of *London* to bee thruſt from their places. 601. 152
His wiues and iſſue. 602
His death and Tombe *ibid.*
Hee claimeth the Crowne of *Caſtile* and *Leon*. 606.17
Accuſed by a Carmelite Frier of higheſt treaſon. 609.39
Withdraweth himſelfe vpon his guard, and is reconciled to king *Richard* the ſecond, by meanes of Princes *Ioan* the Kings Mother. 611.47
Hee marrieth *Conſtance* eldeſt daughter of *Peter* K. of *Caſtile*. 602.132
He with Dame *Alice Piers*, & others remoued from king *Edward* the third his perſon. 600.149
Suſpected of king *Richard* 2. 611.51
His noble Army for the conqueſt of *Spaine*. 612.59
He arriueth at the Port *Corone* or *Groine*. 613.61
His proceedings and ſucceſſe about the kingdomes of *Caſtile* and *Leon*. 616.83,843 &c.
He inuadeth *France*. 598.139
He calleth vpon God in his diſtreſſe, and is heard. 617. 84
He returneth into *England*, & doth good offices. 617.86
Made Duke of *Aquitaine*. *ibid.* 87
Enſtileth himſelfe king of *Caſtile* and of *Leon*, in right of *Conſtance*. 599.145
He marrieth *Katherine Swinford* his old loue. 618.94
His children begotten of her before marriage made legitimate. *ibid.*
He departeth this life. 620. 106
His goods ſeized by the king *ibid.*
Iohn ſonne of king *Edward* the firſt his death and Tombe. 563.58
Lord *Iohn* of *Eltham* ſecond ſonne to King *Edward* the firſt, proclaimed *Cuſtos* of *London*. 574.60
He is Earle of *Cornwall*. 576. 79
His death. *ibid.*
Iohn the French king taken priſoner by *Edward* the Blacke Prince. 594.115
He dieth in *England*. 596 127.
Entombed at Saint *Denis*. *ibid.*

Iohn de Montfort accepted Duke of *Britaine Armoricke*. 596. 128

Iohn Earle of *Pembroke* taken priſoner by *Ambroſe Bucca-Nigra*, and the Spaniſh Armado. 599.145

Iohn Duke of *Bedford* ouerthroweth the French Nauie, and Genoaes at Sea. 647. 37

Protector of *England* in king *Henry* the fifth his abſence. 648.41

Lieutenant Generall, and Regent of *France*, vnder his brother king *Henry* the fifth. 658.69

He eſpouſeth *Anne* ſiſter of *Philip* Duke of *Burgundy*. 663 6

Hee marrieth Lady *Iaquet* daughter to *Peter* of *Lutzenburgh*, Earle of Saint *Paul*. 668.20

He dyeth in *Paris*. 670.25

His commendation, ſtile, and Tombe. *ibid.*

King *Lewis* princely teſtimony of him. 670.26

Iohn Duke of *Burgoigne* ſuſpected to affect the Crowne of *France*. 652.48

Slaine as hee kneeled before *Charles* the *Daulphin*. 653. 49

His death reuenged. 656. 56

His body honourably interred in *Dijon*. 656.56

Sir *Iohn Mortimer* arraigned for treaſonable ſpeeches. 664. 8

Drawne, hanged, and headed for treaſon. *ibid.*

Iohn Duke of *Bretaigne Armoricke* forſaketh the Engliſh, and turneth to *Charles* the French King. 591.10

Iohn a Chamber, raiſeth a tumult in the North, againſt the Duke of *Northumberland*. 747.26

Taken priſoner, and executed. *ibid.*

Iohn de Vere Earle of *Oxford*, flyeth from *Barnet* field into *Wales*. 695.65

Don Iohn of *Auſtria* baſe brother to *Philip* the ſecond K. of *Spaine*, Gouernour of the Low-Countries. 881.163

His death. *ibid.*165

Saint *Iohns* Hoſpitall in *Oxford* founded. 530.42

Iones come from *Iauan*. 162.6

Ioſeph of *Arimathia* brought the Chriſtian faith firſt into *Britaine*. 202.2

Buried in *Glaſtenbury*. *ibid.*

Michael Ioſeph the Black-Smith his rebellion, and death. 753,44.45

Iouianus nominated Emperour. 267.1

His piety and Chriſtian Religion. 268.2

Maketh peace with the Perſians. *ibid.*

His death. *ibid.*

His perſonage, raigne, vertues and vices. *ibid.*6

His Coine. 267

Iouianus a Roman Enſigne-bearer his treaſon. 268.3

Iouinus vſurpeth the Empire. 277.11

His Coine. *ibid.*

Is ſlaine. *ibid.*12

Ireland had fiue Kings in it at one time. 157.13

By whom it firſt receiued Engliſh lawes and Officers. 517.63

Irelands ſinnes fore-runners of a change. 472.48

Ireland by whom annexed to the Crowne of *England*. 517. 63

By what right and title it came to King *Edgar*. 478. 91

Ireland in ciuill diſſention. 472. 46

Iriſh voluntaries aide againſt *Scotland*. 558.29

Iriſh *Anthropophagi*, i. feeders vpon mans fleſh. 167.7

The Iriſh enter *Seuerne*. 409. 11

Iriſh petty Kings doe homage to King *Henry* the ſecond. 474.60

Iriſh Rebels in King *Henry* the third his dayes. 527.28

Ireneus martyred. 230.15

Iſabella, alias *Haweiſia*, or *Auis*, ſecond wife to King *Iohn* diuorced. 517.65

Remarried to *Ieffrey Mandeuill* Earle of *Eſſex*, alſo to *Hubert de Burgo* Earle of *Kent*. *ibid.*

Iſabel third Wife to King *Iohn*, her parentage, ſecond marriage, and iſſue. 517.66

Iſabel daughter to K. *Iohn*, married to *Fredericke* the ſecond Emperour. 518.71

Her iſſue, and death. *ibid.*

Iſabel Queene Dowager of *England*, married to the Earle of *March* in *France*. 522.12

Practiſeth for her ſonne king *Henry* the third againſt the French. 526.26

Falſly charged to haue ſought by poyſon to make away K. *Lewis* of *France*. *ibid.*

Iſabel a baſe daughter of King *Richard* the firſt. 492

Iſabel king *Henry* the third his ſiſter, married to *Fredericke* the Emperour. 532.50

The marriage conſummate by calculation of ſtars. *ibid.* 51

Iſabel Queene Dowager, King *Henry* the third his mother, another *Iezabel*. 537.66

Iſabel Counteſſe of *Arundell*, a Widow, her bold reproofe of king *Henry* the third. 542. 81

Queene *Iſabel* a mediatrix for peace betweene her husband king *Edward* the ſecond, and the Lords. 571.36

Denyed one nights lodging at *Leeds* Caſtle. *ibid.*

Setteth her heart againſt the Lords, and ſeeketh reuenge. *ibid.*

Her diſcontentment with the *Spenſers*. 573.50

Negotiateth the King her husbands affaires in *France*. 573.52

Shee and Prince *Edward* of *Windſor* proclaimed enemies to the State. 573.55

She with the Prince and *Roger Mortimer* goe into *Henault*. *ibid.*56

With forraigne forces, and others, ſhee entreth *England*. 574.57

Her forces encreaſe againſt the king her husband. 574. 61

Her parentage, widowhood, yeares, death and burial. 576. 77

She forbeareth to company with King *Edward* the ſecond her husband. 578. 5

Iſabel Queene-mother ſuppoſed to be with-childe by *Mortimer*. 580.21

Her great dower abated to a ſmall rate. *ibid.*

Iſabel Queene Dowager, Mother to K. *Edward* the third, dyeth. 594.120

Queene *Iſabel* of *France* robbed of her Iewels & Plate by the *Daulphin*. 651.60

Committed to priſon. 652. 61

Queene *Iſabel* of *France* eſcapeth out of priſon by the meanes of the Duke of *Burgoigne*. *ibid.*41

Made Regent of *France*. *ibid.*

Her parentage and diſpoſition. 652.42

She inciteth the King to diſherite the *Daulphin*, & adopt *Henry* the fift K. of *England*. 653.50

Iſabel Counteſſe of *Warwicke*, dyeth of poyſon. 701.107

Iſabel Queene of *Spaine*, her deſcent. 759.62

Her vertue and deuotion. *ibid.*

Queene *Iſabel* daughter to *Charles* the 6. K. of *France*, affianced to *Richard* the ſecond king of *England*, and remaineth a Virgine during his raigne. 622.120

Sent after a Princely manner home into *France* a Virgin as ſhe came. 627.23

Married to *Charles* Duke of *Orleance*. *ibid.*

Iſacius. See *Curſac*.

Iſis a Goddeſſe of the Saxons. 290.7

From *Iſraels* departure out of *Ægypt* vnto *Salomons* Temple, what time. 278.2

Italy compared to an Oaken leafe. 155.

Italy tooke name from *Italus*. 157.2

Itun, i. *Solwey Frith*. 229.8

Iubilee of K. *Edward* the third. 596.126

Iudith wife to Father and Son, rauiſhed by *Baldwine* Forreſter of *Arden* in *France*. 376 5

Iulia the Empreſſe, how ſhee reproued a Britiſh woman, and how ſhee was anſwered. 167.6

Iulia the inceſtuous Wife, and mother in law of *Caracalla*. 232.7

Iuliana a third naturall daughter of *Henry* the firſt, King of *England*. 453.75

Didius Iulianus buyeth the Empire of the Souldiers. 277.2

His employments and riſing. *ibid.*3

His Coine. *ibid.*1

Iulianus Ceſar. 263.657

Elected Emperour and conſort with *Conſtantius*. *ibid.* 1

His parentage. *ibid.*

His proportion and feature of body. *ibid.*

His education. *ibid.*2

Hee became a Deacon, and profeſſed holy life. 264.3

His temperance and chaſtity. *ibid.*

Vaine-glorious, vnconſtant, and full of words. *ibid.*

His iuſtice. 266.4

His clemency, and charity. *ibid.*

His popularity. *ibid.*

A great ſecret perſecutor of Chriſtians. *ibid.*

His worldly pollicy. *ibid.*

Ouer-ſeuere and vnthankfull. *ibid.*

He goeth about to re-edifie *Ieruſalem*. *ibid.*

His open perſecution of the Chriſtians. 266.8

His ſkoffing at Chriſtians. *ibid.*

His prudence and learning. *ibid.*

Iulian the Emperour his ſuperſtitious Religion. 266.5

His Coine 265

His fortitude. 265.6

His exploits and victories. *ibi.*

His apparitions and preſages of Soueraignty. *ibid.*

Deluded by a Pythoniſt. 267 7

Hee proiecteth the conqueſt of *Perſia*. *ibid.*

His exceſſiue ſacrifices. *ibid.*

His huge Army into *Perſia*. *ibid.*

Stricken with a Dart. *ibid.*

His death and buriall. *ibid.*

His age and raigne. 267.8

His vertues and vices. *ibid.*

Iuly the moneth, whence it tooke name. 190.7

Iulius a Martyr in *Britaine*. 206 19

Iulius Ceſar, the firſt *Roman* attempter of *Britaine*. 183.2

His Coine. 185

Vpon what occaſion hee attempted it. 183

Hee complotteth to attaine the Empire. *ibid.*1

The firſt *Roman* that aſſailed *Germany*. *ibid.*

Hee gouerneth *Gallia* tenne yeares. *ibid.*

Vpon what cauſes and pretenſes hee inuaded *Britaine*. 183.2

Hee commeth in perſon againſt *Britaine*. 148.4

His firſt landing in *Britaine*. *ibid.*

Hee putteth the *Britaines* to flight. *ibid.*5

His fleete diſperſed. *ibid.*8

His fleet in harbour diſtreſſed *ibid.*

Sodainly aſſailed by the *Britaines*. 184

Honored with the grant of a ſupplication or proceſſion for 20. dayes. 185.16

His ſecond landing in *Britaine*. 185.2

His Nauy empaired by tempeſt. 186.4

He draweth his ſhips on land *ibid.*

He impoſeth a tribute vpon *Caſſibelan*. 187.11

He would be ſtyled and ranged among the Gods. 187. 13

He ſeeketh to be king. 187.11

Hee gat nothing in *Britaine*, but the ſight of the Country. 187.12

His death. 187.11

The firſt that had his owne image in Coyne. 169

Iulius

Iulius Cæsar forewarned of his death by Prodigies. 187.13
By *Spurina* the Diuinor. 187.14
By a Braſen Table in *Capua*. *ibid.*
By dreames. *ibid.*
By Beaſts entrals, and Birds. *ibid.*
His perſonage. 188.14
He wore alwaies the Lawrell garland, to couer his baldneſſe. *ibid.*
His qualities. *ibid.*
Eaſie to bee reconciled vnto his enemies. *ibid.*
His moderate carriage. *ibid.*
His military vertues. *ibid.*
His fortunate ſucceſſion in warres. *ibid.*
His Offices of State. *ibid.*
His triumphes. *ibid.*
Iul-Laber a place. 186.6
Iuſticiars Itinerant firſt inſtituted in *England*. 477.83
For corruption puniſhed. 558.17
Iuſtina Mother to *Valentinian* the younger, Emperour. 272.2
Of incomparable feature and beauty. *ibid.*
Iutæ, or *Iutes*, a Tribe of the Saxons. 286.6
Iutæ, called alſo *Gutes*, i. *Gothes*, or *Vites*, 287.9

K

VVIlliam *de Kahames*, alias *Kains*, taketh King *Stephen* priſoner. 460.28
Lady *Katherines* picture ſent to *Henry* the fift lying before *Roan*. 650.54
Queene *Katherine*, wife to king *Henry* the fift Crowned at *Weſtminſter*. 657.64
Queene *Katherine* late Wife of King *Henry* the fift, and now Queene *Dowager*, paſſeth royally through *London* with K. *Henry* the ſixt her ſonne an Infant in her lappe. 663.3
Re-married to *Owen Theudor* of *Wales*. 671.32
Her iſſue by him. *ibid.*
Her death. *ibid.*
Her Coffin neuer buried. *ibi.*
Lady *Katharine*, or *Katherine Gordon*, the vnfortunate wife of *Perkin Warbecke*. 755.49
Her beauty and amiable preſence. 756.51
Honourably vſed by K. *Henry* the ſeauenth. *ibid.*
Katharine, or *Katherine* of *Spain*, daughter of *Ferdinando*, and *Iſabella*, alias *Elizabeth*, King and Queene of *Spaine*, firſt wife to K. *Henry* the eight. 757.60.797.136
Her ſpeech about the death of the young Earle of *Warwicke* in King *Henry* the ſeauenth his dayes. *ibid.*
Shee arriueth at *Plimmouth*. 758.62
Her marriage, Coronation, diuorce, deceaſe, and buriall. 797.136
Her commendation deliuered by her husband K. *Henry* the eight. 780.70
Her ſpeech to the King her husband in open Court. 780.69
She departeth the Court. *ibid.*
Hard at worke with her maidens, 781.72
Called Princeſſe *Dowager*. 789.80
Katharine, or *Katherine Howard* wedded to King *Henry* the eight. 792.108
Beheaded for Adultery. 792.109
After condemnation ſhe proteſteth to her Confeſſor, her vnguiltineſſe of the Crime for which ſhee dyed. 792.110
Her parentage, marriage, beheading and buriall. 798.140
Katharine, or *Katherine Parre*, the ſixt wife of K. *Henry* the eight. 793.113
Her parentage. *ibid.*
Thrice married. *ibid.*
Her death. *ibid.*
In danger to be apprehended and committed to the Tower for ſuppoſed hereſie. 793.113
Her life laid-for. *ibid.*
Fallen ſicke, viſited by King *Henry* the eight her husband. 793.114
Katharine, or *Katherine* Dutcheſſe of *Suffolke*, with her husband *Richard Bartue* flyeth the Land. 853.87
Her deſcent. *ibid.* 88
No fauourer of Popiſh Religion. *ibid.*
Her dangerous eſcapes, arriuall, and trauell beyond Seas. 853.90
Her abode and her husbands in *Poland*. 853.95
Katrington, alias *Carton* Eſquier, defendant, in Combat vanquiſhed, dyeth franticke. 610.44
Lord *Keepers* Letter to *Robert Deuereux* Earle of *Eſſex*. 904.330
Kenelme King of *Mercia*, murdred by the meanes of *Quendrid* his ſiſter. 322.14
How his corps was found. 322.14
His body afterwards tranſlated. *ibid.*
Kenelworth Caſtle beſieged, and yeelded. 549 104
Kenred killeth *Oſred* his Soueraigne, and is King of *Northumberland*. 317.17
Kenred, *Wulfheres* Sonne, King of the *Mercians*, and Monarch of *England*, became a Monke of *Rome*. 322.8
His raigne and death. *ibid.*
Kenred Monarch of the Engliſhmen, his Armes. 358.1
Reſigneth vp his regal crown for a Monkes Coule. 359.2
Kenrich King of the Weſt-Saxons. 344.3
His battels. *ibid.*
His raigne and iſſue. *ibid.*
Kenricke ſonne of *Cuthred* ſlain. 307.13
Kenricke ſonne of *Cherdicke*, Monarch of the Engliſhmen. 344
His Armes. *ibid.*
His raigne and iſſue. *ibid.*
Kent diuided into Pariſhes. 298.7
Kent kingdome. 297.1
The circuit of it. *ibid.*
The beginning, continuance, and end thereof. 299.17
Kent inuaded during the Anarchy of 6. yeares. 298.10
Kent diuided into factions about Queene *Maries* marriage with K. *Philip* the 2. of *Spaine*. 844.29
Kentiſh Britaines moſt ciuill. 167.4
Foure Kentiſh Kings reſiſt *Cæſar*. 186.9
Kentiſh mens pollicy againſt King *William* Conquerour. 426.7
Kentiſhmen true to K. *Stephen* in his captiuity. 460.29
Kentiſh Rebels vnder the conduct of *Wat Tiler*, and *Iacke Straw* embattell on Blackheath. 606.19
Their outrages about *London*. 607
Kentiſh Rebels led by *Iack Cade*. 676.50
Kentiſh commotions, In time of Anarchy, doe much hurt about *London*. *ibid.* 51
Kenwald King of the Weſt-Saxons. 306.8
Driuen out of his kingdome. *ibid.*
Wonne to Chriſtianity. *ibid.*
Reſtored to his Kingdome. *ibid.*
His raigne and death. *ibid.*
Kenwin king of the Weſt-Saxons. 306.8
A ſcourge of the Britaines. *ibid.*
His raigne. *ibid.*
Kenulph of *Mercia* taketh *Ethelbert Pren* priſoner. 364.15
Kenwulph King of Weſt Saxons, his deſcent and victories. 299
Slaine. *ibid.*
His raigne. *ibid.*
Kenwulph king of *Mercia*. 364.1
His deſcent, raigne, and buriall. 364.3
Kenwulfe Monarch of the Engliſhmen. 364.1
His Armes and his Coine. *ibid.*
His vertues. *ibid.*
He taketh priſoner *Prenne* K. of *Kent*. *ibid.* 2
He ſetteth him free. *ibid.* 3
Kenwulph King of the Eaſt-Angles, his raigne. 327.14
Robert Ket his commotion and rebellion in *Norfolke*. 833.31
Hee and his Rebels put to flight. 834.44
Apprehended. 835.47
Hee with his brother *William Ket* hanged, one vpon *Wimundham* high Steeple: the other vpon *Norwich* Caſtle, in chaines. *ibid.* 47
Henry Earle of *Kildare* dyeth of griefe, for the death of his two Foſter-brethren, ſlaine. 899.296
Kilkenny in *Ireland*, a City late erected. 531.47
Kimbeline. See *Cunobeline*.
Kineburge wife to king *Alfrith* an Abbeſſe. 317.13
Kineburge Wife to King *Oſwald* a vertuous Lady. 354.8
Kineſwith, King *Offa* his Wife, a Nunne. 322.12
Kings Colledge in *Cambridge* founded. 697.82
Kingdomes period not much aboue 600. yeares. 178
Kings become Monkes. 317.17
Three Kings at once viſite king *Edward* the third. 596.127
The Kings-euill cured by King *Edward* the Confeſſor, & his ſucceſſors. 411.25
Kingils King of the Weſt-Saxons. 305.7
The firſt Chriſtian King of the Weſt-Saxons. *ibid.*
His raigne and iſſue. *ibid.*
Kingſton vpon *Thames*, the ordinary place for Coronation of Saxon Kings. 391.2
Kinſale held by the Spaniards. 902.315
Knights 400. at one time made by King *Edward* the third. 595.122
Twelue poore knights at *Windſor* inſtituted. 796 134
Sir *Robert Knolles* ſent into *France* with an Army. 598.140
Accuſed by Sir *Iohn Menſterworth*. *ibid.*
A fit Parallell to *Bertram de Gleſquin*. *ibid.*
A braue Captaine. 599.140
Hee built *Rocheſter* Stonebridge. *ibid.*
Iohn Knox a hot Miniſter, and ouer-heady reformer in *Scotland*. 860 15
Kyrton in *Deuonſhire* a Biſhops See, annexed to *Exceſter*. 385.6

L

QVintus *Laberius* ſlaine by the *Britaines*. 186.6
T. Labienus vnder-Gouernour of *Gaule*. 185.1
Labyrinth at *Woodſtocke* built by *Henry* the ſecond for *Roſamond*. 480.102
Lacedemonians ſtate from *Lycurgus* to *Alexander* the Great, of what continuance. 2782
Robert de Lacey Conſtable of *Cheſter*, his fidelity and valorous ſeruice at Caſtle-Rocke-*Audeley*. 504.32
Taken priſoner. *ibid.*
Robert Lacey ſurpriſed in *Chinon*. 505.33
Walter and *Hugh Lacey* the ſon of *Hugh*, flie out of *Ireland* into *France*, and are reconciled againe to K. *Iohn*. 507.42
Lælianus Lieutenant Generall in *Britaine*, murdered. 254.8
Æl. Lætus, one that conſpired *Commodus* his death. 226.2
Lætus a traitour to *Septimus Seuerus*, put to the ſword. 228.3
Laity of *England* ſeeke to diſſeize the Clergy of their temporalties. 612.55
Lanfranke Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. 428.21
Gouernor of *England* whiles *William* Conquerour was in *Normandy*. 438,4
Stephen Langton commended by Pope *Innocentius* to be Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. 506.37
Elected and conſecrated at *Viterbium*. *ibid.*
Hee with others ſolicite the Pope for depoſition of King *Iohn*. 509.46
Hee arriueth in *England* with other exiled perſons. 511.51
A very Engliſh Pope. 512.52

Walter de Langton Bishoppe of *Chester*, arrested, and imprisoned. 567.3
His fault. *ibid.*
Stephen Langton Archbishop of *Canterbury* appeales against King *Iohns* subiection to the Pope. 512.54
Suspended from Episcopall authority. 514.57
Simon Langton elect Archbishop of *Yorke* made by the Pope incapable of Episcopall dignity. 514.57
Hugh Latimer Bishop of *Worcester*, burnt in *Oxford*. 850.66
Lanatræ, *Bowes* vnder *Stanemor* in *Richmondshire*. 228.4
Saint *Laurance* broyled on a Gredyron. 242.3
Laurence Archbishop of *Canterbury*. 298.6
English lawes abrogated by *William* Conquerour. 428.20
Lawes for the English written in the *Norman* tongue. 428.20
Lawyers sent for to make treasons. 614.71
Rob. Laund knighted, and endowed with lands by King *Richard* the second. 608.25
Lea riuer diuided, and made nauigable by King *Elfred*. 375.23
Learned and lewd, *i.* wicked. 631.42
Learning by heart. 1688
Thomas Lee a Captaine executed for words. 906.344
Doctor *Lee* Bishop of *Chester*, *Couentree* & *Litchfield*. 783.82
The Lightning Legion of the Christians. 121.4
Legionary Souldiers called *Milites grauis armaturæ*. 187.12
Their Armour. *ibid.*
Leiden Castle in *Holland* begun by *Hengist*. 292.11
Leides Castle wonne by King *Edward* the second. 571.36
The Captaine and all within put to shamefull death. *ibid.*36
Leides Castle in *Scotland* wonne. 458.16
Earle of *Lennox* Regent of *Scotland* traiterously murdered. 877.137
Leo King of *Armenia* bountifully sent away by King *Richard* the second. 612.58
Pope *Leo* the tenth his Bull sent vnto King *Henry* the eight. 771.41
Leofricke Earle of *Chester*. 409.5
Freeth *Couentree* of Impositions. 410.15
Leofrun wife to *Ethelred* the 13. King of the East-Angles. 327.13
Leolin, alias *Llewelin* Prince of *Wales* doth homage to King *Edward* the elder. 318.7
Leolin, or *Llewelin* Prince of *Wales* his speech of King *Henry* the third his Almesdeeds. 530.42
He doth voluntary homage to the king of *England*. 534.56
His outrage and excommunication. 527.28
Leolin, or *Llewelin ap Gruffith*, leader of the Welsh discomfited Prince *Edward* and the English. 544.88
Confedered with the Barons, wasteth Prince *Edwards* seignories in the Marches. 548.98
Reconciled for a summe of money. 550.104
Refuseth to come vnto King *Edward* the first his Coronation, and to the Parliament. 554.10
Vnfortunately slaine. 555.14
Leolin, or *Llewelin* Prince of *Wales* maketh his peace with King *Edward* the first vpon what conditions. 555.11
His head set vpon *Londonbridge*. 555.14
Leolin, or *Llewelin Bren*, and his two sonnes, taken prisoners. 570.28
Leonard Dacres of *Harlesey* giueth battell to *Henry* Lord *Hunsdon*. 868.70
Flieth toward *Scotland*. *ibid.*
Leoneat supposed daughter of King *Ethelstan*, wife to *Reinburne* Earle of *Warwicke*. 382.16
Leopold, or *Limpold*, Archduke of *Ostrich*, his cause of malice to King *Richard* the first. 487.42
The reason of his detaining K. *Richard*. *ibid.*43
Punished grieuously for his wrongs done to king *Richard* the first. 488.51
Dyeth vpon an hurt, excommunicate. 489.52
Lepidus ruleth *Africa*. 188.2
Lether tanned serueth for Armour. 742.12
Sir *Richard Leuison* his good seruice at Sea about *Kinsale*. 902.316
John Lewis reformer of the British history. 164.19
Lewis king of *France* taken prisoner by the *Normans*. 432.2
Bound to hard conditions. *ibid.*
Hee entreth *Normandy* with an Army. 449.38
Lewis Daulphin of *France*, prepareth for the Crowne of *England*. 515.59
Hee entreth *London*, and bestoweth Offices of State. *ibid.*
He besiegeth *Doner* Castle. *ibid.*
His followers and abetters pronounced euery Sunday and holyday accurst, and excommunicate. 520.4
Lewis Daulphin of *France* gaineth *Hertford* Castle. *ibid.*
He stuffeth many Castles in *England* with French Garrisons. *ibid.*
Lewisians that were English, returne to their true obedience. 520.5
Lewis goeth into *France*, & looseth many Englishmens affections. *ibid.*
His Army of French raskals. *ibid.*
Hee, and his followers accursed a second time by *Wallo*. 521.6
Lewisians defeated. *ibid.*7
Lewis the faire, why so called. *ibid.*
Lewis absolued, and driuen out of *England*. *ibid.*8
He had no money at his departure giuen for composition. *ibid.*
Lewis King of *France* denieth restitution of *Normandy*, &c. 524.17
He inuadeth *Poictou* & *Xaintoing* against King *Henry* the third. *ibid.*17
Taking the Crosse, and warring vpon the *Albigenses* at *Auinion*, was crossed by sundry plagues. 525.21
Poisoned. *ibid.*
Lewis the French king offereth faire vnto King *Henry* the third, but is not accepted. 536.63
A most Christian, iust & valiant Prince. 536.63
Magnanimous and bounteous. 537.65
Of a tender conscience. 541.80
King *Lewis* of *France* dyeth at the siege of *Tunis*. 552.2
Lewis King of *France* dealeth with *Gartar* King at Armes, about peace with king *Edward* the fourth. 699.92
Don Lewis Gouernour of the Low-Countries, desireth to haue the Netherlanders banished out of *England*. 880.159
Lewis the 12. King of *France*, marrieth the Lady *Mary* K. *Henry* the eighth his sister. 798.21
His death. *ibid.*
Lewis of *Bauaria* Emperour, reuoketh the Vicarship of the Empire, granted to *Edward* the third King of *England*. 586.66
Lewis of *Luxenburgh* King of *Bohemia*, his *Apothegme* of the English at the battell of *Cressy*. 590.92
His high resolution & death. 590.94
Lewis a Physitian, employed about the marriage of *Henry* Earle of *Richmond*, and the Lady *Elizabeth*. 731.29
Lewis battell. 548.101
Lhoyger or *Lhoegria* what part of *Britaine*. 340.13
Vnder the Archbishoppe of *London*. 206.18
Liberties granted by King *Henry* the first. 445 4
Library in *Constantinople*. 261.13
Lichfield, why so called. 206.19
Lichfields armes. *ibid.*12
Another *Golgotha*. *ibid.*
Lichfield Cathedrall Church founded. 355.7
Licinius Priscus Lieutenant of *Britaine*. 219.6
Licinius Cæsar to *Constantine*. 158.3
His vsurpation of soueraignty. 260.6
Their Coines. *ibid.*
Hee persecuteth the Christians. *ibid.*
Hee and his sonne *Licinianus* put to death. 260.7
John Lidgate Monke of *Bury* deuiseth speeches gratulatory at king *Henry* the sixth his Wiues entrance into *London*. 673.37
Leith in *Scotland* won and spoyled by the English. 795.125
Light forbidden by *William* Conquerour called *Courfew*, restored by his sonne K. *Henry*. 427.
Lightning doing much harme. 442.39
Lilla a faithfull seruant to *Edwin* king of *Northumberland*. 351.4
Limoges in *Limosin* wonne by force, burnt, and put to the sword. 599.142
Linne for faithfull seruice enfranchized largely, and graced by King *Iohn*. 516.59
John Lincolne executed for ill-May-dayes worke. 769.28
Lincolneshire Commons rise. 785.95
Their aggreeuances. *ibid.*
Lincolne besieged by K. *Stephen*. 459.23
Lincolne neuer entred by King, before K. *Stephen*. 462.40
Lionel Duke of *Clarence* borne. 584.53
Why so entituled. 601.58
His marriages, and issue. *ibid.*
Sir *William de Lisle* Knight pardoned. 544.86
Literatorum Iuramentum, what oath. 524.19
John Littistar a Dyer in *Norwich*, styled himselfe King of the Commons. 607.20
Drawne, hanged, and headed as an arch-Rebell. 608.27
Liuingus Elstan Archbishop of *Canterbury*. 400.2
Liuingus Bishoppe of *Winchester*. 409.5
Locusta, a woman skilfull in poisoning. 196.22
Lodowicke, alias *Lewis* King of *France*, casteth the Popes Bull into the fire. 463.43
Hee inuadeth *Normandy*, because his daughter *Margaret* was not crowned with her Husband. 470.38
Besiegeth *Vernoile* in person, & raiseth his siege for feare of King *Henry* the second. 475.67
Lodouicus Perez Duke of *Medina Sidonia*, Generall of the Army in the inuincible *Armado* of *Spaine*. 885.192
In disgrace at home for his ill successe. 639.218
Lolards, why so tearmed. 600.152
Lolards, i. *Wicliuists* encrease, & by law to be burned as heretikes. 627.23
Lollius Vrbicus Lieutenant in *Britaine*. 220.2
Surnamed *Britanicus*. *ibid.*3
His Coine or portraiture. *ibid.*1
London a famous City in *Nero* the Emperour his dayes. 198.17
Recouered from the Danes, and restored to Liberty. 375.19
Much defaced by fire. 393.5
Besieged by *Swaine* or *Sueno* King of the Danes. 395.27
The beauty thereof from *Ludgate* westward. 393.
Besieged by *Swaine* king of *Denmarke*. 395.27
Submitteth to the Danes. 396.31
Faithfull to K. *Ethelred*. 398.
True to *Edmõd Ironside*. 399.1
Besieged by K. *Canute*. 399.2
Londoners sue to *Maud* the Empresse, for easement of hard lawes, & that king *Edwards* lawes might bee reuiued, and in force. 461.33
Londoners conspire against *Maud*

Maud the Empreſſe. 461.33
London interdicted by the Pope, for diſloyalty to King *Iohn*. 515.58
Londoners in diſgrace with K. *Richard* the ſecond. 617.89
They looſe their liberties & proper gouernment. *ibid.*
They deny him loane of one thouſand pounds. *ibid.*
London ſailing with the fairer winde, receiueth King *Edward* the fourth againe. 695.61
London Armories augmented with the weapon in the *Dexter Canton*, and whereupon. 608 25
Londoners large contributions to king *Henry* the ſeauenth, for his warres in *France*. 748.29
London beſieged by *William Marſhall* Earle of *Pembroch*. 521.8
Londoners engroſſe Corne in time of Dearth. 545.92
London vpon her guard. 546.93
Ioyneth with the Barons to redreſſe the ſtate of the kingdome. *ibid.*
They villanouſly abuſe the Queene, king *Henry* the 3. his wife. 548.98
London Charters, ſeized into K. *Henry* the third his hands. 449.103
Taken by the Earle of *Glouceſter*. 550.104
London fortified againſt *Wyat*. 846.40
Lord Maior of *London*, and Citizens ſworne to Lady *Iane Grey*. 841.3
Doctor *Longland* Biſhop of *Lincolne*, firſt toucheth the conſcience of *Henry* the 8. about marriage with *Katharine* of *Spaine*. 776,65. 780,70
Iohn Longſtrother, Prior of Saint *Iohns*, beheaded at *Tewksbury*. 696.73
Looſe-coate field at *Stamford*. 692.40
Rodericke Lopez a Phyſitian, hyred to poyſon Queene *Elizabeth*. 875.14
Found guilty, & at Tiburne with his conſorts executed. 875.117
Lord-Danes. 394.15
Lothair vſurpeth the Kingdome of *Kent*. 298 9
Slaine. *ibid.*
His raigne and ſepulture. *ibid.*
Lothbrooke, alias *Lether-breech* a noble *Dane*. 374.14
Murdered by *Berricke* King *Edmunds* Faulconer. 398.7
A *Loue-day* ſolemnely celebrated betweene the *Yorkiſts* and *Lancaſtrians*. 679.69
Philip Louell King *Henry* the third his Treaſurer reconciled vnto him. 541.79
He with many other officers of the Exchequer remoued by the Barons for abuſes. 546.95
Lord *Louell* rebelleth againſt K. *Henry* the ſeauenth. 742.12
Flyeth. *ibid.*
Louers, a Caſtle in *Normandy* wonne. 648.42
Francis Lord *Vicount Louell* a fauorite of King *Richard* the third, taketh Sanctuary. 737.58
Slaine at *Stoke-field*. 745.22
Lucius a Britaine firſt Chriſtian King in the world. 205.13 222.6
Apoſtle to the *Bauarians*. 206 18
Lucius Leuer Maur King of Britaine, the ſame. 222.6
His raigne and place of buriall. 223.11
Dame *Elizabeth Lucy* inſtigated to claime marriage of K. *Edward* the fourth. 689.24
Ludecan King of the *Mercians*. 323.17
His raigne and death. *ibid.*
Ludlow Caſtle wonne by King *Stephen*. 458.16
Ludlow the Rendez-vous of the *Yorkiſts*. 680.73
Spoyled to the bare walles for harboring the *Yorkiſts*. 681.75
Luke Archbiſhop of *Dublin*, a true friend to *Hubert de Burgh* in his troubles. 528.33
LL. Lumleis a noble family whence deſcended. 704.151
Lundinium, the old name of *London*. 263.6
Lupicinus, Deputy in *Britaine*. 263 6
Martin Luther out-lawed by *Charles* the fift Emperour. 771.39
Lutherans againſt King *Henry* the 8. his diuorſe. 777.
Lymming Nunnery built. 552.12

M

Mac. Guier in *Ireland* raiſeth rebellion in defence of the Romiſh Religion. 884.157
Slaine by Sir *Warham Saint-Leger*. 901.309
Macrianus, and his two ſonnes elected Emperours by the Souldiers. 245 1
Subdued and ſlaine. *ibid.*
Macrinus with *Martial*, murder *Antonine Caracalla*. 232.7
Is elected Emperour. 233.2
Put to death. 233.5
His raigne. *ibid.*
Mary Magdalen a counterfeite, immured to death. 522.13
Magike highly honoured among the *Britaines*. 168.8
Magna Charta confirmed and eſtabliſhed. 542.82
Procureth King *Henry* the 3. money from his ſubiects. *ibid.* 82
Magnentius murdereth *Conſtans* the Emperour. 262.2
Why called *Taporus*. *ibid.*
He vſurpeth the Empire. 262 3
His Coine. 293.3
He killeth himſelfe. *ibid.*
Magnus an Anchorite, his Epitaph. 473.56
Magnus King of *Norway* meaneth to inuade *England*. 409.8
Mahomet his doctrine, his beginning and riſing. 339.
His hereſies. 340.
His death. *ibid.*
A Maiden, Embaſſadour to *George* Duke of *Clarence*. 692.46
King of *Maiorica* ſlaine at the battall of *Creſcy*. 591.100
Doctor *Makarell* a Monke, author of an inſurrection in *Lincolneſhire*. 785.95
Nameth himſelfe Captaine *Cobler*. *ibid.*
Malcolme Can More king of *Scots* weddeth *Margaret* ſiſter to *Edgar Etheling*. 427.11
He inuadeth *England*. 431.44
He with his ſonne Prince *Edward* ſlaine. 440.21.23
Malgerius Archbiſhop of *Roan* degraded by *William Conqueror*. 435.62
Malgo Canous or *Conanus* king of the Britans, his perſon, and ſinfull life. 337.
Malmesbury Abbey founded. 316,8.382,13.
Malmesbury Caſtle beſieged by king *Stephen*. 458.22
Mammæa mother of *Alexander Seuerus* a good woman. 235.2
Murdered with her ſonne. 236.4
Geffrey de Mandeuil, keepeth the Tower of *London* vnder *Maude* the Empreſſe. 460.29
Surrendreth it to King *Stephen*. *ibid.* 29
Mandubrace or *Mandrubace*, a Prince of the *Trinobantes*. 173 4
Craueth *Iul. Cæſars* aſſiſtance. 186.5
Manethon the Hiſtorian. 165.22
Manlius Valens encountreth the Britans with ill ſucceſſe. 196.19
Sir *Iohn Manſell*, a diſcreet Counſellor. 541.78
Mantell executed in Queene *Elizabeths* daies, for aſſuming the perſon of King *Edward* the ſixth. 860.13
Mants in *Maine* yeeldeth to the Engliſh vpon conditions. 664.7
Earle of *March* in *France* betrayeth king *Henry* the third. 536.65
Appealed of Treaſon, and challenged to Combate 537,66
Vulp. Marcellus a man of great vertues. 224.4
Lieutenant in *Britaine*. *ibid.* 4
Marcus Lieutenant in *Britaine* elected Emperour by the Armies there. 276.5
Murthered. *ibid.*
Marcus Aurelius the Emperoar his parentage, and honourable titles. 223.12
His death, age, and praiſe, *ibid.* 12
Vnhappy in his ſonne. *ibid.*
See more in *Aurelius*.
Saint *Margaret* King *Malcolmes* wife, dieth of griefe for her husbands death. 440 23
Margaret, the daughter of *Lewis* the yonger, king of *France*, wife to King *Henry* the yonger of *England*, remaried ro *Bela* King of *Hungary*. 480.103
Margaret, ſecond wife to King *Edward* the firſt, her death and buriall. 563.57
Margaret daughter to King *Edward* the firſt, her marriage and iſſue. 564.64
Margaret daughter of *Renate*, alias *Reiner*, king of *Sicilie*, &c. married to King *Henry* the ſixth. 684.94
Her quality. *ibid.*
Queene *Margaret*, wife to King *Henry* the ſixth, obtaineth victory at the battell of *Wakefield*. 683.89
Her victory at Saint *Albans*, where ſhee recouereth the king out of the hands of the Yorkiſts. 684.93
Her parentage. 684.94
Taken priſoner out of a Religious houſe, and ranſomed by her father Duke *Rainer*. 697.82
She with Prince *Edward* her ſonne hindred by tempeſt for comming into *England*. 694 54
She landeth at *Weimouth*, and withdraweth her ſelfe, to *Cerne* Abbey. 695.67
Taken forth of Sanctuary & kept ſtraightly in *Worceſter*. 696.74
Lady *Margaret* ſiſter to *Iames* the third King of *Scots*, promiſed in marriage to Prince *Edward*, ſonne of king *Henry* the ſixth. 687.10
Margaret Dutcheſſe of *Burgondie*, an implacable enemy to King *Henry* the ſeauenth. 746 23
For what cauſe. 749,33
Margaret Counteſſe of *Salisbury* the onely daughter of *George* Duke of *Clarence*. 791,79.701,107.
Beheaded. 705.109
Margaret Counteſſe of *Richmund* ſole-Heire to *Iohn* Duke of *Somerſet*. 747.26
Margaret Counteſſe of *Oxford*, not permitted to come to her Husband. 698.85
Put to ſhift for her liuing *ibid.*
Margaret eldeſt daughter of K. *Henry* the ſeauenth contracted to *Iames* the fourth, K. of *Scots*. 759.64
Accompanied royally into *Scotland*. 760.65
Married to king *Iames* the 4. in *Edenborough*. *ibid.* 65
The happy effects and conſequence of this marriage. 760.65
Her two marriages and iſſue. 763.75
Margaret daughter of *Archibald Dowglaſſe*, eſpouſed vnto *Matthew* Earle of *Lenox*. 763.75
Margaret daughter to *Edward* the Out-law, ſole-heire to the *Saxon* Monarchie, married to *Malcolme Can More* K. of *Scotland*: whence K. *Iames* of *Great Britaine* is lineally deſcended. 401 21
Margaret daughter of *William Conquerour* by his wife *Maud*. 436.77
Married Prieſts placed by king *Edwy* in *Malmesbury* and *Glaſtenbury*. 385.2
Marriages three in one day, tending all to alter the ſucceſſion of the Crowne. 838.73
Marriage of King *Henry* the 8. with *Katherine* of *Spaine*, whether lawfull or no? debated in Court by Lawyers.

yers. 780.70.71
Marriage intended betweene Prince *Edward* and Queene *Mary* of *Scotland*. 790.119
Saint *Marie Oterie* in Deuonshire founded. 411.25
Mary the mother of Christ, a counterfeite, immured to death. 523.13
Mary daughter of King *Stephen*, Abbesse of *Rumsey* Nunnery in *Hampshire*. 464.55
Became a wife, diuorced, returneth to her Monastery, her Issue. *ibid.*
Mary daughter to King *Edward* the first, made a Nun. 564.67
Maria de Padilla concubine to *Peter* King of *Castile*, practiseth Magicke. 596.131
Shee persecuteth Queene *Blanch* to death, she becommeth King *Peters* wife. 596.132
Her issue. *ibid.*
Mary, yonger daughter of K. *Henry* the seuenth, assured by contract vnto *Charles* King of *Spaine*. 762.71
Mary third daughter of King *Henry* the seauenth, married to *Lewis* the 12. K. of *France*, and to *Charles Brandon* Duke of *Suffolke*. 764.77.768,21
Shee falleth in loue with *Charles* Duke of *Suffolke*. 768.22
Mary Queene of *Scots* borne. 794.118
Crowned. 794.122
Demanded by K. *Henry* 8. in marriage with Prince *Edward*. 794.123
Conueyed into *France* to be married vnto the *Daulphin* 831.17
Married vnto the Prince *Daulphin*. 860.12
Her claime to the English Crowne. *ibid.*
Taken prisoner by her owne subiects, and forced to resigne her Regall gouernement, and to flie. 867.60
By contrary windes driuen to land in *England*. *ibid.*61
Her vnfortunate end at *Fotheringhay* Castle. 883.183
Her body interred at *Peterborough*. 883.183
Mary Queene mother and Regent of *Scotland*, dyeth of griefe and melancholy. 860.22
Queene *Mary* of *England*, her birth, marriage with King *Philip* the 2. of *Spaine*, her death. 798.
Her Armes, Broad-Seale and Coine. 841
She remoueth to *Keningall* in *Norfolke*. 841.3
Her letters to the Councell, and their answere. 842.3,4
Shee remoueth to *Fremingham* Castle. 842.5
Her answere to *Suffolke* men, requiring her promise to bee performed. 842.5
Proclaimed Queene of *England* in *Buckinghamshire*, and elsewhere. 842.9
Proclaimed Queene in *London*. 843.10
Proclaimed in *Cambridge* by *Iohn* Duke of *Northumberland*. 843.11
Deuoted to Popish Religion. 843.18
Shee meeteth with K. *Philip*. 850.70
Her marriage concluded with King *Philip* vpon what couenants. 850.71
Married to K. *Philip*. 851.73
Crowned Queene. 843.18
Her Oration in *Guild-Hall* in *London*. 845.28
Restoreth Ecclesiasticall liuings assumed to the crown. 852.85
Her worthy Apophthegme. *ibid.*
Thought to bee conceiued with child. 853.96
Reported to be deliuered of child. 854.101
Her melancholly for the losse of *Calais* and other pieces in *France*. 856.117
Her saying for the losse of *Calais*. *ibid.*
She sickened of a burning feauer, and dyeth. *ibid.*118
Her body interred without monument or remembrance. *ibid.*
Her acts in fauour of the Romish Religion repealed. 858.5
Marinus proclaimeth himselfe Emperour. 241.4
William de Marisco sendeth one to murder King *Henry* the third. 524.59
He and his complices put to death. *ibid.*
Marius the Roman killed by a *Cimbrian*. i.a *Galle*. 161.
Marius a British King. 217.3
Chosen Emperour. *ibid.*2.5
Markadey Captaine of the Brabanters Rutters, 490.62
How he executed *Bertram de Gourdon*. 491.69
Sir *Griffin Markham* condemned of high treason, Repriued. 913.17
Marlborough Statutes enacted. 550.105
Marle, for manuring of ground. 167.7
Marmodius a Welsh King. 361.5
Hee breaketh downe *Offaes* Ditch, or *Clawdh Offa*. 361.7
Vanquished by *Offa*. 362.8
Marshals 5. Earles of *Pembrocke* die successiuely issueless. 539.71
William Marshall Earle of *Pembrocke* his piety and wisdome. 522.10
His death, issue, monument and Epitaph. *ibid.*
His loyalty and prudent care for King and Countrey. 519.2
His speech to the Lords for a re-vnion. 520.2
Guardian of King *Henry* the third his person, and Vice-Regent of the Kingdome. 520.3
William Marshall Agent for K. *Iohn*, created Earle of *Pembrocke*. 494.5
Martia the concubine of *Commodus* the Emperour. 224.2
Fauourable to the Christians doctrine. 224.3
Martials Epigrams sent into *Britaine*. 204.7
Martial murdereth *Caracalla*. 232.7
Martian a British professor. 206.19
Martilet a Gentleman Nauarrois, foyled in Combat, afterwards drawne and hanged. 610.44
Martinus Deputy in *Britaine*. 263.4
Stabbeth himselfe. *ibid.*
Saint *Martins* in *Canterbury*, an ancient Church built by Christian Romans. 347.8
Saint *Martins le grand* in *London* priuiledged. 435.65
Pope *Martin* the fift how elected. 642.35
Martyrs how many suffered death in Queene *Maries* raigne. 852.86
Martyrs in *England* before *Martin Luthers* time. 791.102
Massacre of the French Protestants in *Paris*. 862.36
Mastelzerius beheadeth his brother *Gildus* the Traitour. 275.2
Hee is beheaded himselfe. *ibid.*
Matthew Earle of *Boloigne* against King *Henry* the second in the behalfe of the young King his sonne. 475.65
Matthew Paris honoured by King *Henry* the third. 545.90
Matthew Earle of *Lenox* claimeth to bee Lord Gouernour of *Scotland*. 794.122
Falleth from Queene mother. *ibid.*
Marrieth Lady *Margaret* King *Henry* the eight his sisters daughter. 795.124
Proclaimed Traitor to the State of *Scotland*. *ibid.*125
Maud wife of *William Conqueroue* her death and buriall. 535.67
Maude daughter to *Mary* king *Stephens* daughter wedded to *Henry* Duke of *Loraine*. 464.55
Maude daughter to King *Henry* the second, married to *Henry*, surnamed the *Lion*, Duke of *Saxony*, her issue. 481.109
Maude the wife of King *Henry* the first, before a Votarie. 452.60
Her descent, vertues, death and buriall. *ibid.*
Her death and commendation. 452.37
Maude King *Henry* the first his daughter, espoused to *Henry* the fourth, Emperour. 453.28
Married to him at *Mentz*. *ibid.*33
Whence descended. 453.5
Maude the Empresse, vpon the Emperours death, ordained Heire apparent (for want of King *Henry* the first his heires Males) of the Crowne of *England*. 451.47
Maude the Empresse of good repute and esteeme. 451.48
Her issue. 453.63
Being wedded to *Geffrey Plantagenet*, shee departeth from him. 451.53
Reconciled againe. *ibid.*
Shee bare him a sonne named *Henry*. 451.53
She arriues in *England* against King *Stephen*. 458.18,19
Her politicke excuse to auoyde danger. 458.20
Maude and her brother besieged in *Wallingford* Castle. *ibid.*22
Maude the Empresse absolute Gouernesse of *England*. 460.29
Her Broad Seale. 461.29
She had the regall Crowne of *England* deliuered to her. *ibid.*30
Receiued with state into *London*. *ibid.*
Carried in a Coffin as a dead Corps. 462.36
Besieged in *Oxford*. *ibid.*38
Her shift to escape out of *Oxford* vnto *Wallingford* Castle. *ibid.*
She goeth into *Normandy* to her husband. 462.39
Her Epitaph. 480.101
Maude a naturall daughter of King *Henry* the first, Countesse of *Perth*. 453.73
Her issue. *ibid.*
Drowned in the sea with her brethren. *ibid.*
Maude a second base daughter of King *Henry* the first, her issue. 453.74
Maude Abbesse of *Quealingburg*. 372.12
Maude the wife of King *Stephen* sueth for her husbands liberty. 461.32
Her descent, death and buriall. 464.50
Maude daughter of King *Stephen*, her death and buriall. *ibid.*54
Iohn Maudler, alias *Maudlen*, a counterfeit King *Richard* 2. 631.41
Drawne, hanged, and quartered at *London*. *ibid.*
Maundy Thursdayes solemnity instituted first by K. *Edward* the third, in his yeare of Iubilee. 596.126
Maunz taken and sacked by King *Iohn*. 494.3
Saint *Maurice* his banner. 381.12
Maurice Fitz-Thomas slaine at the battell of *Stoke*. 745.22
Richard de Saint Maurice a deformed elfe, challengeth and obtaineth the wife of *Thomas* the great Earle of *Lancaster*. 570.30
Maxentius an vsurper, and *Romulus* his sonne, their Coines 259.3
He trusteth to Sorcerers. 260.5
His ouerthrow, and the memoriall thereof. *ibid.*
Maximianus consort in the Empire with *Diocletian*. 254.1
Hee resigneth it in a madmoode. 256.18
He hangeth himselfe. 556.19
Maximianus Emperour, and *Romulus* his *Cæsar*, their Coines. 259.3
Put to death by *Constantius*. 259.3
Maximilian Emperour serueth vnder King *Henry* the eight, wearing the Crosse of Saint *George*, and the Rose, King *Henries* badge. 766.8
Maximinus Emperour. 236.1
His rising vp of nothing. *ibid.*12
His Gianteslike stature. 236.1
237.7
Hee persecuteth Christians. 236.3
His sundry names and titles. *ibid.*
His death attempted. 236.4
His

His intemperate Diet. 237.7
Hee and his ſonne ſlaine. 237.6
Their Coynes. *ibid.*236
Maximinus the Emperour his age and raigne. 237.7
Cuthbert Maine in *Cornewall* diſwadeth ſubiects from their obedience to Queene *Elizabeth.* 871.86
Meates prohibited. 166.7
Meaux ſtraitly beſieged by K. *Henry* the fift, and deliuered vpon hard conditions. 659.75
Medes come from *Madai.* 162.6
Medeſhamſteed, now *Peterborough.* 321.5
Medinus de Belga, i. of *Welles*, a learned Diuine. 206,18.19
Meeting of two Kings, *Lewis* of *France*, and *Edward* the fourth of *England*, in what manner at *Picquigni.* 700.98
Robert Mellent ſideth with King *Stephen.* 459.25
His deſcription. *ibid.*
At *Melun* a treaty of peace betweene *Charles* the French King, and King *Henry* the 5. 657.58
Melun beſieged and aſſaulted. 656.57
Rendred vpon compoſition. *ibid.*
Bernardine Mendoza the Spaniſh Ambaſſador in *England*, practiſeth to bring-in a forraine Army, and to alter Religion. 872.91
Sir *Iohn Menſterworth* a Traitor put to death. 599.140
Mentz ſet on fire. 579.9
Mercian Kingdome the circuit thereof. 329.1
Merkham Lord Chiefe Iuſticiar left his office rather then aſſent to the iudgement of *Burdet*, beheaded for a word miſconſtrued. 718,56
Merlin a Wizard. 164.18
His bookes inhibited. *ibid.*
Whether begotten of an *Incubus* or no. 332.
His propheſies verified in K. *Iohn.* 517.63
His propheſies of the Mouldwarpe, Dragon, and Wolfe. 629.33
Sir *William Mericke* executed. 906.347
Merton Field won by the *Danes.* 372.10
Merton Abbey in *Surrey.* 533.53
Merton Statutes why ſo called. *ibid.*
Meſſalina a monſter of the fœmall ſexe. 199.19
Meſſana in *Sicilie* the Rendezuow of King *Richard* the firſt, and King *Philip* of *France.* 484.16
Meuian Iſlands. See *Hebrides.*
Mich Abbey at *Abington* built firſt, and repaired by whom. 385.6
Michael de la Pole made Earle of *Suffolke.* 612.56
Slaine at the battell of *Agincourt.* 645.61
Where enterred. 646.30
Michelneſſe Monaſtery founded. 381.3
Middleham Colledge founded. 738.60
Middleton Abbey founded. 396.3
Mildred, or *Mildrith* Abbeſſe of *Minſter.* 357.8
Miles a skilfull Gunner in *Kets* Campe. 834.44
Miletus Biſhop of *London.* 311.4
A Milners man hanged for his Maſter, by Sir *Anthony Kingſton.* 833.29
Milo alias *Miles*, high Conſtable to King *Stephen*, reuolteth from him. 457.12
Created Earle of *Hereford*, maintaineth the Empreſſe at his owne charges. 461.34
Minſter Abbey in *Kent* founded. 2988
Mintage allowed in diuers townes. 382.14
Mirabeau wonne by *Arthur*, & recouered by King *Iohn* his Vncle. 500.18
Miſitheus Tutor and Counſellour to *Gordianus* the third, dyeth. 239.4
Miſopogen or *Antiochenſis*, an inuectiue of *Iulianus Apoſtata.* 266.5
Miſoxenie, or hatred to Strangers, a quality appropriate to Engliſh, euen of old. 534.57
Modewine an holy Lady in *Ireland.* 366.20
Adam Molins Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, Lord Priuy Seale, murdered by the procurement of *Richard* Duke of *Yorke.* 675.46
Nicholas de Molis giueth the King of *Nauarre* an ouerthrow. 538.69
Mollo inuadeth *Kent*, and is burnt to death. 298.10
Mona, is *Angleſey*, 197.7
Inuaded. *ibid.*8
Conquered. *ibid.*
Brought vnder ſubiection by *Iulius Agricola.* 211.11
Monarchies periods not much aboue fiue hundred yeeres. 278.2
Monarchs ſucceſſiuely in great *Britaine* in the *Romans* time. 183.&c.
Monaſteries diſſolued cauſeth King *Henry* the eighth to runne into obloquie. 791.116
Hugh de Moncado a Commander in the Inuincible Armado ſlaine. 888.211
Monks liue prophanely. 440.19
Monkes of *Bangor* liued by the labour of their owne hands 315.7
Maſſacred by *Ethelfride* the wilde. *ibid.*
Monkes of *Cheſter.* 431.44
Monkes of *Canterbury* in King *Iohns* time, ſeed-men of *Englands* troubles. 304.31
Monkiſh ſlanders of King *Iohn.* 517.63
Monopolies by Proclamation prohibited. 911.6
Mounſieur *Valois* Duke of *Anion* commeth into *England* about marriage with Queen *Elizabeth.* 881.166
Choſen Protector of the *Low-Countries.* *ibid.*162
He dyeth penitent. *ibid.*163
Monſtreau towne and Caſtle ſurrendred to King *Henry* the fifth, vpon compoſition. 656.60
Mont Alban aſſaulted by King *Iohn*, and wonne. 595.34
Marqueſſe *Montacute* reuolteth from *King Edward* the 4. and cleaueth to King *Henry* the ſixth. 693.49
Vic. *Montacute* whence deſcended. 564.63
Montacute raiſed by King *Edward* the third to bee Earle of *Salisbury* for what deſert. 580,22.
William Montacute Earle of *Salisbury* taken priſon by the French. 582.35
King of Man his death. 587.76
Thomas Montacute Earle of *Salisbury* his valiant ſeruice in *France.* 663.5
Slaine in *Orleance.* 666.13
Sir *Henry Montague* Recorder of *London*, his pithy and gratulatory ſpeech in the name of the City vnto King *Iames*, King of *Great Britaine, &c*, 915.28
Mont-forts Caſtle betrayed to the French. 504.32
Mont-forts Family in *France*, whence deſcended. 518.70
Mont-forts in *Tuskane*, whence deſcended. *ibid.*
Guy Mont-fort excommunicat. 554.7
He murdereth *Henry* of *Almaine*, ſonne to *Richard* king of *Romans.* *ibid.*
Taken and ſlaine. *ibid.*
Henry de Mont-fort ſlaine. 518.70
Iohn de Mont-fort claimeth the Dutchy of *Britaigne.* 591.96
He returnes into his Dutchy of *Britaigne* with the aides of the Engliſh. 606.12,13
Robert de Mont-fort, vanquiſheth *Henry d' Eſſex* in Combate. 466.8
Simon Mont-fort Earle of *Leiceſter* his parentage and iſſue. 518.70
He with *Henry* his ſon ſlaine at *Eueſham.* *ibid.*
Simon de Montford weddeth *Eleanor* widdow of *Will. Marſhall* Earle of *Kent.* 534.58
Simon Montfort Earle of *Leiceſter* another *Sinon* to the *Gaſcoignes.* 541.80
He with other Barons combine againſt King *Henry* the third. 545.92
They ſeeke to exclude and expell ſtrangers. 546.92
They contemne the Popes excommunication. 549.102
Sir *Simon Montford* beheaded for *Perkin Warbecks* conſpiracy. 751.37
Simon Montfort falleth at debate with the Earle of *Gloceſter.* 549,102
Slaine at *Eueſham.* *ibid.* 103
Simon Montfort the younger liueth in exile. 549.104
Hugh Montgomery cruelly mangleth the *Welſh* and is killed in the eye. 441.29
Montſorell in *Leiceſterſhire* beſieged. 520.6
Morcar Earle of *Cheſter* releaſed out of priſon. 437.1
Morcar and *Edwin* brethren of Queene *Egitha* affect the Crowne of *England.* 417.44
Earle *Morcar* impriſoned wrongfully, releaſed. 433.55
Mordred incountreth K. *Arthur*, is ſlaine. 333.
Thomas de la More Knight, an author cited in this worke. 581.36
Sir *Thomas More* beheaded. 267 111
More Maiorum what it was. 226 6
Morgan a naturall ſonne of K. *Henry* the ſecond. 471.113
He refuſeth the Biſhopricke of *Durham* rather then hee will renounce his father. 481 113
Morins yeeld obedience to *Caſar.* 184.3
Who they were. 184
In the margin. *ibid.*
Morleis in *Bretaigne Armorica*, won by the *Engliſh.* 772 42
Mortality and Murraine vniuerſally throughout the world. 410.
Mortality in *England.* 570.27
Hugh Mortimer rebelliouſly fortifieth againſt king *Henry* the ſecond. 466.4
Roger Mortimer Earle of *March*, Lieutenant of *Ireland*, ſlaine by *Obrin.* 620.105
Rogers, the *Mortimers* apprehended and committed to the Tower of *London.* 571.38
Roger Mortimer the younger eſcapeth out of the Tower into *France.* 573.49
Roger Mortimer growne ouerfamiliar with Queene *Iſabel.* 573.54
Edmond Mortimer Earle of *March* true heire to the Crowne of *England*, after K. *Richard* the ſecond. 628 129
His birth-night noted for a ſtrange prodigie. *ibid.*
Entituled to the Crowne of *England.* 664.8
His name vſed by *Iacke Cade.* 676.50,53
Taken priſoner by *Owen Glendour.* 628.27
Mortimers croſſe battell. 684.92,94
Roger Mortimer with other Lords make head againſt *Simon Montfort* and the Rebels. 549.102
Roger Mortimer of *Wigmore* ouerruleth all and worketh the depoſition of King *Edward* the ſecond. 576.76
He keepeth the Queene in adultery. 578.5
Roger Mortimer with *Geffrey* his ſonne and others, ſurpriſed by King *Edward* the third. and ſent to the Tower of *London.* 580.21
How he was ſurpriſed at *Nottingham.* *ibid.*22
Mortimers hole. *ibid.*
Roger Mortimer condemned in Parliament at *Weſtminſter* vpon what cauſes. 380.23
Hanged ignominiouſly at Tiburne gallowes, called the Elmes. 580.23
Statutes of *Mortmaine* firſt enacted. 554.10
Iohn Morton Biſhop of *Eli* empriſoned in the Tower, for not conſenting to diſherite King *Edward* the fourth his Iſſue. 725.8
His place of birth and riſing *ibid.*
His releaſe ſued for by the Vniuerſity of *Oxford.* 725.8
Releaſed out of the Tower, & committed to the keeping of

of *Henry* Duke of *Buckingham.* 726.10
His Story. 728.23
A fast friend vnto the *Lancastrians.* *ibid.*
Wooed vnto king *Edward* the fourth his side. *ibid.*
He first deuised the vnion of *Yorke* and *Lancaster.* *ibid.*
Iohn Morton Bishop of *Ely* made Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Lord Chancellour and Cardinall. 728.23
His wisedome and deepe policy. *ibid.*24
Conference betweene him and *Henry* Duke of *Buckingham.* 729.24,25 &c.
He perswadeth the Duke to take vpon him the Crowne, *ibid.*
He escapeth from *Brecknocke* disguised & saileth into *Flanders.* 730.28
Made of the Priuy Counsell. 741.10
Nicholas Morton a Popish Priest aduanceth the rebellion of *Northumberland* and *Westmorland* Earles. 867.62
Commenceth suit against Q. *Elizabeth.* 871 86
Mount-Morancy Earle in *France*, whence descended. 454.78
Rob. Mowbray Earle of *Northumberland* committed to prison. 440.22
He there dyeth. *ibid.*23
Roger Mowbray against King *Henry* the second, in the behalfe of king *Henry* the yonger. 475.65
Mowbrayes Dukes of *Norfolke*, whence descended. 564.71
Thomas Mowbray Earle of *Nottingham* created Duke of *Norfolke.* 619.102
Banished for euer. 620.103
Mowbray Earle Marshall, conspireth against King *Henry* the fourth, is betrayed by the Earle of *Westmorland* and loseth his head. 631.43
Mount-Norris a Fort in *Ireland*, in memoriall of Sir *Iohn Norris.* 901.312
Mousehold the strength or place where *Ket* & the Rebels with him encamped. 833,33. 834,42
Murraght or *Amurath* the Great Sultan his letter to Queene *Elizabeth.* 879.150
Muskleborough field wonne by the *English.* 851.16
Mutterel besieged by the *English.* 795.126

N

HEnry Nailor a Champion for *Simon Low* and *Iohn Kyme.* 878.135
Names of Ancient Inhabitants and their Countries in *Britaine* according to *Ptolomee.* 171.
Will. of *Nassau*, Prince of *Orenge* proclaimed Traitor by an Edict from *Spaine*, murdered. 881.167
Maurice de Nassau, chosen Gouernour of the *Low-Countries.* 883.84
Natan-Leod a *British* Prince slaine. 305.2
Nations had the first names of their owne. 159.7
Nations peopled from Nations neere bordering. 162.6
Naturall sonne, a terme in olde time, bearing no staine of Barstardy, as since it hath done. 520.2
Naual fight at *Cadize.* 896.273
Nauarre Kings whence descended. 862.273
King of *Nauarre* slaine at *Roan.* *ibid.*73
Queene of *Nauarre* dieth. 862. 34
A Nauy *English* set foorth by Queene *Elizabeth* against *Spaine.* 895.263
Nectaridius slaine. 301.3
Nenion Cassibilans brother, winneth *Cæsars* sword in single fight. 187.12
Neot a great Clerke, and one of the first Readers of Diuinity in *Oxford.* 358.16
Saint *Neods* or Saint *Needs*, a towne, before time *Annulphesbury.* 369.16
Neot-Stoke a Monastery in *Cornwall.* 369.16
Nero assumeth the Empire. 197. 1
His parents. *ibid.*2
Irreligious. *ibid.*
Bloody & libidinous. *ibid.*3
He fireth *Rome.* *ibid.*4
Odious to God and man. 200.24
Seeketh to flie into *Ægypt.* 200.25
Hideth himselfe and is apprehended. 200.26
He killeth himselfe. *ibid.*
His skill in Musicke. *ibid.*27
His lineaments of body. *ibid.*
His loue of horse-riding. *ibid.*
His lauish expense in apparel and building, *ibid.*
His raigne and age. *ibid.*
The last of *Cæsars* progeny and race. 201.1
His wicked life laid open. *ibid.*2
Nerua the Emperour, a prudent Prince. 217.2
Nerua fauoured the *Britaines* & Christian Religion. 217.4
His death, age, and reigne. *ibid,*
His Coine. 216
Ralph Neuill Chancellour to K. *Henry* the third, elected Archbishop of *Canterbury* by the Monkes. 527.29
Iohn Neuil Lord *Montacute*, his victory at the battell of *Hexham.* 688.15
Hauing beene Earle of *Northumberland* is created Marquesse. 690.26
Taken into *Edward* the 4. his fauour. 692.45
Slaine at *Barnet* field. 675.65
Richard Neuil Earle of *Salisbury*, in right of *Alice* his wife. 678.61
Made Lord Chancellour. 679.65
Depriued of it. *ibid.*66
He seeketh to reuenge the wrongs done to his sonne *Richard* Earle of *Warwicke.* 680.72
Wounded and taken prisoner at *Wakefield.* 684 90
Beheaded by the Common people, and his head set vpon a Gate in *Yorke*, together with *Richards*, Duke of *Yorke.* 684 90
Richard Neuil the Great, Earle of *Warwicke* in right of his wife *Anne* heire to *Henry Beauchampe*, Duke of *Warwicke.* 678.61
Captaine of *Calais.* 679.65
Assailed by the kings seruants hardly escapeth to *Calais.* 680.71
Richard Neuil Earle of *Warwicke* robbeth Merchants ships at Sea. *ibid.*
Releeued by king *Lewis* of *France.* 692.43
He saileth into *Ireland.* 681. 76
He taketh into *Couentree.* 694 59
His stout answere and resolution to *George* Duke of *Clarence* his messengers, for reconciliation with K. *Edward* the fourth. 695.60
His house-keeping. 689.19
He soliciteth a marriage betweene the Lady *Bona*, daughter to *Lewis* Duke of *Sauoy*, and K. *Edward* the fourth. 688.19,20,&c.
Discontented with king *Edward* the fourth, he affecteth the cause of king *Henry* the sixt, vpon what occasion. 690.26
Heplotteth the deposition of king *Edward* the fourth. 690 27
He complotteth and conspireth with *George* Duke of *Clarence*, against King *Edward* the fourth. 690.28
Affinity contracted by a mariage betweene *George* Duke of *Clarence*, and the Lady *Isabel*, eldest daughter to *Richard Neuil* Earle of *Warwicke.* *ibid.*29
Slaine at *Barnet* field. 695.65
George Neuil Bishop of *Excester* depriued, for being Lord Chancellour. 690.26
Sir *Henry Neuil* knight, cruelly slaine, after hee had yeelded himselfe prisoner. 691.33
George Neuil Archbishop of *Yorke*, his goods and lands seized vpon vnkindly by K. *Edward* the 4. 698.88
Imprisoned at *Hames* in *Normandy.* *ibid.*
Charles Neuil Earle of *Westmorland*, in rebellion. 867. 64
Flyeth into *Scotland.* 868.68
Wandereth in forraine parts vnto his miserable end. 868. 71
New-Castle vpon *Tine* founded. 431.44
New-Forrest made by *William Conquerour*, fatall to his two sonnes and nephew. 431.46
New-hauen with other pieces surrendred into Queene *Elizabeths* hands. 862.28
Lost by the *English.* *ibid.*30
Newton a Victor in Combate rewarded. 837.61
Nicene Councell. 261.16
Nicene Councell the second. 362.9
Written against by *Alcuine* or *Albine.* *ibid.*9
Saint *Nicholas Priory* in *Excester* founded. 435.65
Nicholas the Popes Legate commeth into *England.* [illegible]. 53
Niding, a word of reproch. 438 8
Nigrinianus his Coine. 263.8
Ninianus conuerted the *Picts* to Christian Religion. 204.9
Ninus a Writer. 163.15
Nitocris Empresse of *Babylon.* 199.19
Noahs floud. 161.2
Noahs Arke landed at the Hauen of Mount *Ararat.* *ibid.*
Nobles of *England* fortifie Castles against king *Stephen.* 457.13
Non obstante, a detestable Clause. 541.77
Nonnius Philippus Lieutenant generall in *Britaine.* 238.2
Normans, whence they tooke name, and first came. 421.2
Great Pirats. 421.4
Prayed publikely against by the *French*, in *Charles* the Great his time. *ibid.*
Normanny or *Normandy* what Countrey, and why so called. *ibid.*
Wonne to the Crowne of *England.* 447.22
Normandy Dukes, the Kings eldest sonnes of *England.* 453. 62
Normandy lost. 503.28
Normandy and other Seigniories in *France* demaunded of king *Lewis*, by king *Henry* the third. 523.15
Normans their ourrages and villanies at *Winchelsea.* 595. 121
In *Normandy*, the Commons rebell against the *English.* 669 22
In *Normandy* many townes and Castles wonne by the *English.* 651.57,60
Normandy lost by occasion of breaking truce. 674.44
From *Normans* Conquest to the death of Queene *Elizabeth* what time. 278.2
Sir *Iohn Norris* Lord Generall. in the Low-Countries vnder Queene *Elizabeth.* 882. 171
Sir *Iohn Norris* re-called out of the *Netherlands*, and sent into *Ireland.* 883.184
His valiant seruice in *Galicia* at the *Groyne.* 891,237. 238.&c.
His valour and victory ouer the *Spaniards.* 891.238
Lord Generall of the Forces in *Ireland* against the Earle of *Tir-Oen*, and other Traitors. 899.292
His death. 899.298
Northampton taken by K. *Henry* the third. 548.99
Northampton battell. 682.79
Iohn Northampton, alias *Cumberton*, sometime Maior of *London*, arraigned, confined and Confiscated. 619.43
See more in *Iohn Cumberton.*
Northumberland Kingdome and the circuit thereof. 313.1
Diuided into two Prouinces. *ibid.*
Their Kings descent. *ibid.*
The continuance thereof. 318.24
Norway Pirats infect and annoy *Cheshire.* 395.4
Norwich taken and spoiled by *Hugh Bigot* and others. 473. 73
Norwich Priory-Church set on fire in a tumult. 550.105
Norwich wonne by *Ket* and the Rebels. 833.27
Fired by them. 834.39
Nottingham won by the *Danes.* 371.4

Nouatian Heretickes. See *Cathari.* 206.19
Numerianus Cæsar, and *Augustus* with his Father *Carus.* 253.4
Murdered. *ibid.*
Nunnes incontinent. 360.3
Nuns of *Coldingham* disfigure and deforme themselues to auoide the *Danes* pollutions. 371.5

O

O *Conor-Dun.* See *Rothoricke* the Great.
Octa, a Saxon Captaine, sent for into *England* by *Hengist.* 292.7
Octa, the sonne of *Eske* third King of *Kent*, his raigne. 298.3
Octauian the Emperour against *Iulius Cæsars* murderers and *Anthonie.* 188.1
Gouerneth the West parts of *Europe.* 188.2
Hee prepareth for Britaine three times. 189.3.4
See more in *Augustus.*
Octauius or *Octauian* a Gouernour in Britaine. 262.3
Slaine. *ibid.*
Odenatus vsurpeth the Empire in the East. 245.1
Odin-Char a Philosopher and a Dane, conuerteth forraine Countries to the faith. 400.8
Odo king *William* the Conquerours brother, an Earle, affecteth the Papacy. 432.49
His oppressions of the English taxed by *William* the Conquerour. 432.50
His treacheries. 432.51
His wealth. *ibid.*
His imprisonment. *ibid.*
Released. 438.
His emulation against *Lanfranke.* *ibid.*
Conspireth against king *William Rufus.* *ibid.*
Odo Bishop of *Baieux* banished *England.* 438.8
Imprisoned by King *William Rufus.* *ibid.*
Offa king of the East Saxons. 312.12
His personage and Coine. *ib.*
Shorne a Monke, and so dyed. *ibid.*
Offa, Monarch of Englishmen. 361.
His Coine. *ibid.*
His parents and former name *ibid.*2
A Prince of an high stomacke. *ibid.*1
Conquered *Kent* & with his owne hand slew King *Alricke.* *ibid.*4
Hee discomfiteth king *Kenwolfe* and the West-Saxons. *ibid.*5
Offaes Ditch. 361.6
He had entercourse for state and Church, with *Charles* the Great King of *France.* 362.10
Hee putteth the *Danes* to flight. *ibid.*
He went to *Rome.* *ibid.*11
His Armes. *ibid.*
His repentance and bounty to Church and poore. 362.12
Of-Church why so called. *ibid.*
Of-ley a towne taketh *Offa* his name. 362.13
Offa his issue. 362.15.&c.
Offa king of the *Mercians*, and Monarch of the *English.* 322.11
His descent, raigne, wife, issue, and buriall. *ibid.*
Offa Heire to the Kingdome of East-Angles adopteth *Edmund* son of *Askmund.* 327.14
Offrid slaine with his father *Edwin* king of *Northumberland.* 352.10
Offride wife of King *Ethelred* killed. 358.5
Alexander Oge killeth *Shan O-Neale.* 880.155
Slaine by *Tarlogh Leinogh.* 880.155
Bastard *Ogle* ouercommeth Q. *Margarets* French Forces. 688.12
Oriflambe, or *Auriflambe*, what banner. 590.92
The Oke or Tree of Reformation. 833.36
Olafe Martyr, King of *Norway.* 403.21
Olanus King of *Sweiden* slaine. 401.10
Sir *Iohn Old-Castle*, Lord *Cobham*, persecuted by *Arundell* Archbishop of *Canterbury* for *Wickliffes* doctrine. 637.13.14
Pronounced an Hereticke. 638.14
Accused of treason. *ibid.*15
Hee defaceth the faces of Saints. 649.45
Taken and sore wounded by the Lord *Powis* in *Wales.* 649.47
Hanged and burnt hanging. *ibid.*
What crimes were deuised against him. *ibid.*
Olinaca is *Hekeley* in *Yorke-shire.* 228.3
William Ombler a yeoman with others, make rebellion in the North for Papall Religion. 855.48
Executed with other Rebels at *Yorke.* *ibid.*51
O-Neals family in *Ireland* how raised. 863.38
O-Neale, a title forbidden in *Ireland.* 880.150
Oppressions by Poictouins and other petty Tyrants in *England*, enquired after by Commissioners. 546.94
Ordalium what kinde of tryall. 411.23
Order of *Burgundy*, the golden Fleece. 694.56
Ordgar Duke of *Deuonshire*, father of faire *Elfrida.* 388.14
Ordouices, i. *North-Wales.* 195.13
Saint *Orduffes* Abbey. 393.11
Ori-flame. See Oily flame.
Origen conuerteth *Philip* the Emperour. 240.2
Suffereth Martyrdom. 242.3
Originall names of Countries assumed first from their possessors. 157.2
Orleance besieged by *Thomas Montacute* Earle of *Salisbury* and the *English.* 665.13
Duke of *Orleance* sendeth to King *Henry* the fourth for aide. 632.49
Offereth the Dutchie of *Aquitaine* vnto him. *ibid.*
Osbright slaine by the *Danes.* 371.3
Osbright a Northumbrian Vice-Roy forceth *Beor-Bocador* his Lady. 397.3
Slaine by *Inguar* and *Hubba.* 398.9
Osburg wife to king *Ethelwolfe.* 368.9
Osred King of *Northumberland*, a wicked Prince. 317.13
Slaine. *ibid.*
Osred sonne of king *Alured*, or *Alefride* king of *Northumberland* deposed. 328.23
Osricke murdereth his Soueraigne, and is King of *Northumberland.* 317.15
His raigne and death. *ibid.*
Osrick king of *Diera* or *Northumberland.* 316.9
An Apostata. *ibid.*9
Slaine. *ibid.*
Ostorius Scapula succeeded *Plautius* as Lord Deputy in *Britaine.* 194.12
Adorned with triumphant honours. 196.16
His fortunes decline. *ibid.*
His death. 196.18
Oswaln king of *Northumberland.* 316.9
Slaine by *Penda* the *Mercian.* *ibid.*
His raigne and buriall. *ibid.*
Oswald the second King of *Northumberland* 28. dayes. 315.24
Oswald monarch of the *Englishmen.* 353.
A religious Prince. 353.3
He vanquished & slew *Cadwallo* in battell. *ibid.*
His right hand neuer consumed, and therefore worshipped. 354.6
He is mercifull to the poore. *ibid.*
Oswaldstre a towne, before-time *Naserfield.* 354.6
Oswald where slaine, and barbarously torne in pieces. 3546
His Monument in *Glocester* Cathedrall Church. 354.7
Oswin king of *Deira* murdered by *Oswy.* 316.9
Oswin king of *Deira.* 354.2
Betrayed into the hands of *Oswy.* 355.3
His vertues and humility especially. *ibid.*
Oswulph king of *Northumberland* murdered by his owne seruants. 318.18
Oswy King of *Bernicia* first. 316.9
Afterwards of all *Northumberland.* *ibid.*10
His raigne and death. *ibid.*
Oswy king of *Northumberland* holdeth a Synode as touching Easter. 348.12
Oswy Monarch of the Englishmen. 354.1
Obtaineth victory against *Penda.* 355.6
His issue. 355.10
His death and raigne. 355.8
Saint *Oswyth* Queene, Abbesse of *Berking.* 311 8
Oth of secresie ministred to the Conspirators in the Gunnepowder treason. 916.42
Oth of Supremacy offered. 912.11
Othinus. See *Woden.*
Saluius Otho conspireth *Galba* his death. 202.5
His originall. 208.2
Concurrent with *Vitellius* for the Empire. 208.4
Seeketh to *Vitellius* for a composition. *ibid.*
His Oration to his Souldiers. 208.5
He killeth himselfe. 208.6
His age and raigne. *ibid.*
His person and habite. *ibid.*
Otho the Emperour sendeth a present to king *Ethalstan.* 381.12
Otho the fourth sonne of *Henry* Duke of Saxony, & *Maud* daughter of King *Henry* the first. 496.8
Otho the fourth Emperour is at variance with K. *Philip* of *France*, and thereby encurreth the Malice betweene King *Philip* and King *Iohn.* *ibid.*
Royally entertained by king *Iohn* in *London.* 505.35
Defeated by King *Philip* of *France* in the battell at *Bouines.* 513.55
Otho or *Otto* the Popes Legate in *England*, his good offices that he did. 534.57
Commanded to depart out of *England.* 536.62
He calleth a National Councell. 534.57
For a large contribution departeth out of *England* without effect. 524.20
In danger to be murdered at *Oxford.* 535.59
Ouerthrow of *Scots* at *Fawkirke.* 559.35
Owen Ap-Theodor, or *Teder*, marrieth *Katherine* Queene Dowager, widdow of King *Henry* the fifth. 671,32
His commendation and descent. *ibid.*
Their Issue. *ibid.*
Owen Glendower his open rebellion and hostility. 627.21
His beginning & rising. *ibid.*
The occasion of his breaking forth. *ibid.*
He taketh the Lord *Grey* of *Ruthen* prisoner. *ibid.*
He with his *Welsh*, waste the Marches. 630.40
Aided with a Fleet of French ships. 631.44
Oxen 600. eaten at one meale. 541.79
Oxford Vniuersity founded by King *Elfred.* 376.25
The second Vniuersity in Christendome. 545.59
Interdicted by *Otho* or *Otto* the Popes Legate. *ibid.*
Oxford Students absolued vpon penance. *ibid.*
Discharged of 15000. Students at King *Henry* the third his comming thither. 548.99
Oxford Students take part with the Barons at *Northampton*, and arme against the King. *ibid.*
Oxford stored with 30000. Students. 595.120
Oxford Citie chiefly ruled by the Chancellour of the Vniuersity. 601.154
Oxford yeeldeth to king *Stephen.* 462.39
Oxford Masters complaine to king *Henry* the third, of the Bishop of *Lincolne.* 545.90

P

P*Acatianus* Vicegerent in *Britaine.* 260.11

Paenius Posthumus Campmaster killeth himselfe. 800.21
Charles Paget, a traitor. 872.91
Ralph Painel burneth *Nottingham*. 458.22
Palace of *Westminster* founded. 441.31
Sir *Thomas Palmer* executed. 843.17
Palme Sunday bloody battell. 687.9
Palmyra a great City. 249.5
Pandulph the Popes Legate landeth at *Douer*. 509.46
His perswasion to King *Iohn*. *ibid.*
Legate in *England* after *Wallo*. 522.11
A Panicke feare at the execution of *Edward Seimer* Duke of *Somerset*, and Lord Protector. 838,71
Papinianus the famous Lawyer, seated in *Yorke*. 229.6
Slaine for not defending a murther. 232.4
Lord *William Parre* entreth *Norwich*. 834.38
Forced out of *Norwich* by *Ket* and the Rebels. 834. 39
A Parallelization of the English and French States, in K. *Richard* the second his raigne. 613.62
Pardon of life forfeited for treason, strangely tendred. 674. 41
Sir *Edward Parham* endited of treason and acquit. 913. 15
Paris yeelded vp to King *Henry* the fift. 656.59
Lost from the *English*. 670. 28
Parisians conspire to dispossesse the English. *ibid.*
Parisians practise with *Charles* the seauenth to deliuer *Paris* into his hands. 663.6
Woodstocke Parke made by king *Henry* the first. 452.59
Of Courts of *Parliament* the foundation laid. 449.35
Parliament at *Northampton*. 477 83
Parliament at *Oxford*. 546. 92
Parliament at *Couentree* called Lacke-learning Parliament. 631.42
The Great Parliament. 619. 102
The good Parliament. 600. 150.
Parley betwixt King *Stephen* & *H. Fitz-Empresse*. 463. 44.45
A Parley intended betweene the Queene mother Regent of *Scotland*, and Queene *Elizabeths* Agents. 861.19
The same disturbed by the French. *ibid.*
William Parry his treason. 872. 94
Hee woundeth *Hugh Hare* his Creditor. *ibid.* 94
Confesseth his treason. 872. 96.98
His Letter to the Lords of the Councell. 873.99
Arraigned, condemned, and executed. 873.100
Prince of *Parma* opposeth against *England*. 884.193.
Prince of *Parma* hath a consecrated Sword and Hatte sent vnto him from Pope *Sixtus*. 883.177
Hee aspireth to bee King of *England*. 888.209
Parsons alias *Dolman* a Iesuite. 875.113
Parthians giue the Romans a great ouerthrow. 179.6
Pascentius Vortigern his sonne, contriueth the poisoning of *Aurelius Ambrosius*. 331.
Passeline detected of plotting the ruine of *Richard* Earle of *Pembrocke*, taketh Sanctuary. 532.49
Patricke Cullen vndertaketh to kill Queene *Elizabeth*. 875. 112
Executed at *Tiburne*. *ibid.*
Patricke the *Irish* Apostle preacheth in *Wales*. 204.9
Saint *Paul* the Apostle preached in *Britaine*. 203.6
Beheaded. 197.5
Pope *Paul* the fourth besieged in *Rome*. 855.108
Saint *Pauls* Church in *London* built. 311.3
Afore-time the Temple of *Diana*. *ibid.*
Pauls Crosse guarded in Sermon time. 851.15
Sir *Amias*, alias *Iames Paulet* setteth *Thomas Wolsey* in the Stockes, and repenteth it afterwards. 768.
Paulinus conuerteth *Edwin* K. of *Northumberland*. 350.7
Archbishop of *Yorke*. *ibid.*
Paulinus, See *Suetonius*.
Paulus a Notary, subtile, and cruell. 263.5
Called *Catena*, wherefore. *ibid.*
Henry de Pay, a braue Warriour at Sea, discomfiteth the French Fleet. 632.45
Iohn Paine a Priest with other Resolutes appointed to kill Queene *Elizabeth*. 871.88
Peace concluded betweene *Don Iohn D' Aquila*, and *Charles* Lord *Montioy*, Lieutenant Generall of *Ireland*. 902. 322
Peace throughout the world. 188.6
Peace betweene *Dauid* King of *Scots* and King *Stephen*. 458. 16
Peace concluded betweene *England* and *Scotland*. 794. 121
Peace betweene *England* and *France*. 770.33
Peace for a time concluded betweene *Charles* the 6. King of *France*, *Henry* the 5. King of *England*, and *Philip* Duke of *Burgoigne*. 649.50
Peace treated of neere *Amiens*, betweene *Lewis* K. of *France*, and *Edward* the fourth king of *England* by their Commissioners. 699.96
Peace concluded with great ioy of the *French*. *ibid.*
Peace betweene *French* & *English*, costly to the *French*. 749 31
Peace concluded between *England* and *France*. 795. 131
Peace betweene King *Edward* the first and *France*. 559.36
Peace dishonourable with the *Scots*, at the Parliament of *Northampton*. 579.13
Peace concluded betweene the King of *Spaine*, and *Iohn* D. of *Lancaster*. 617.85
Peace betweene Great *Britaine* and *Spain* proclaimed in *London*. 916.29
Peace setled in *England* betweene King *Henry* the 3. and his Barons. 539.105
A Peace pretended and treated vpon betweene *Spaine*, *England* and the *Low-Countries*. 883.182
Peacocks feathers Crowne sent from the Pope to King *Iohn*, Lord of *Ireland*. 508.43
Peada first Christian king of the *Mercians*, 306,5.307,5.
His End. *ibid.*
Pearles in the British Seas. 156. 183
Don Petro de Valdez, yeeldeth to Sir *Francis Drake*. 887. 209
Pelagius the Hereticke a Britaine. 277.10
Condemned by *Innocentius*. *ibid.*
His opinions and Doctrines. *ibid.*
Pelagianisme brought into *Britaigne* by *Agricola*. 292.13
Penda King of the *Mercians*. 321.4
His raigne and issue. *ibid.*
His nature and manners. *ibid.*
Slaine by *Oswy*. *ibid.*
Doctor *Pendleton* preaching at *Paules* Crosse had a Gunne discharged at him. 851.76
Pentarchie in *Ireland*. 472 47
Sir *Iohn Perat* condemned of high treason. 874.106
Earle of *Perch* the French Generall vnder Prince *Lewis*, slaine. 521.7
Thomas Percy a Conspirator drawne into the Gunpowder treason. 816.41
Percies whence they had the name. 440.23
Henry Lord *Percie*, surnamed *Hotspurre*, sent to *Calais*. 613.61
Taken prisoner. 616.79
Redeemeth himselfe, and is made Lord Warden of the Marches against *Scotland*. 617.88
Pursued by King *Henry* the 4. flyeth into *Scotland*. 631 44
Earle of *Northumberland* pardoned of life, abridged of liberty, &c. 630.38
Fully restored. 630.40
Slain by the Shiriffe of *Yorkshire*, and his head set on *London-Bridge*. 632.46
Henry L. *Percie*, Earle of *Northumberland* in Queene *Elizabeths* dayes, committed to the Tower vpon suspition of Treason. 874.105
He killeth himselfe. *ibid.*
Sir *Ralfe Percie* a valiant and faithfull Knight slaine. 688. 14
His saying at his death. *ibid.*
Thomas Lord *Piercy* Earle of *Worcester*, cause of the battell at *Shrewsbury*. 629.35
Taken prisoner and beheaded. 630.38
Thomas Lord *Piercy* Earle of *Northumberland*, rebelleth. 867.62
Flieth into *Scotland*. 868.68
Sent backe againe into *England*, and is beheaded. 868.76
Perennius a great man vnder the Emperour *Commodus*. 224.6
Deliuered to the British Souldiers to be put to death. 225. 6
William de Perepound a great Astrologer. 525.21
Perkin Warbecke a counterfeite *Richard Plantagenet* Duke of *Yorke*, suborned against King *Henry* the seuenth by *Margaret* Dutchesse Dowager of *Burgundy*. 749.32
Vpon the coast of *Kent*. 752. 39
He saileth into *Ireland*. 743.14
He saileth into *Scotland*. *ibid.*
He marrieth into the blood-royall of *Scotland*. 753.43
His parentage. 749.32
Reputed the yonger son of King *Edward* the 4. 752.14
Perkin Warbecke his Proclamation. 753.45
He flyeth and taketh Sanctuary at *Beaulieu*. 756.51
He yeeldeth himselfe to King *Henry* the seauenth. 756.52
Conueied through *London* on horseback with shame. 756. 52
He maketh an escape. 756.53
Set in a paire of Stocks, all a day vpon a Scaffold before *Westm.* Hall gate. 757.53
Also in *Cheapeside*. *ibid.*
He readeth openly his confession. 757.54
His place of birth, parentage, and education. 757.54.&c.
Committed to the Tower. *ib.*
Condemned vpon a new Conspiracy, and executed. 758.60
Persecution of Christians the second. 215.17
Persecution of Christians the third. 217.2
Persecution the fourth of Christians. 221.2
Persecution of Christians the fift. 230.15
Persecution of Christians the sixt. 236.3
Persecution of Christians the seauenth. 241.2
Persecution of Christians the eight. 244.2
Persecution of Christians the ninth. 249.8
Persecution of Christians the tenth. 254.12
Persian and Saxon tongues agree in many words. 286.3
Opposed by the Pretorian Souldiers. 226.4
Heluius Pertinax Lieutenant in *Britaine*. 225.7
Surnamed *Britanicus*. *ibid.*
Heluius Pertinax Emperour his Coyne. 225.
His meane parentage. *ibid.*
His rising from low degree. 225.2
His speech to his Souldiers about to kill him. 226.2
Murdered by them. *ibid.*7
His raigne and age. *ibid.*
His personage and qualities. *ibid.*8
Pescentius Niger chosen Emperour in *Syria*. 227.
His Coyne. *ibid.*
His Coine to good hope. *ibid.*
Why surnamed *Niger*. *ibid.*
His feature & coplexion. *ibid.*
Put down and killed by *Septimus Seuerus*. *ibid.*
Pestilence in *England* through scarcity of foode. 532.82
Pestilence vniuersall throughout the world. 243.4
Pestilence in *Rome*. 245.2

Peſtilence in *London*. 758 61
Peter-pence. 307.11
Called *Eleemoſyne*. i. *Almes*. 442.34
Peter-pence promiſed by K. *Henry* the ſecond out of *Ireland* to the Pope. 472.48
Peter-pence, alias *Rome-ſcot*. 362. 11
Saint Peter the Apoſtle crucified. 197.5
Hee preached the Goſpell in *Britaine*. 203.6
Saint *Peters* Church in *Cornehill* founded by King *Lucius*. 223.11
Saint *Peters* Church in *Thorney* built. 311.3
Sometimes the Temple of *Apollo*. *ibid.*3
Saint *Peters* Church in *Weſtminſter* built by King *Edward* the Confeſſor, and endowed by him. 411.25
Peter Baſily. See *Bartram de Gordon*.
Peter an Eremite, leader of an Army to the *Holy-land*, is ſlaine. 441.30
Peter of Pomfreit an Eremite and Prophet. 509.45
Peter de Rupibus Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, predominant in K. *Henry* the third his dayes. 528,31.529,36
Peter Biſhop of *Wincheſter* gouernour of King *Henry* the third. 522.11
Hee with others remoued from his Counſell. 531.46
Peter de Rupibus Biſhop of *Wincheſter* his plot detected againſt *Richard* Earle of *Pembrocke*, and Earle Marſhall. 532.49
He taketh Sanctuary. *ibid.*
His commendation. 532.49
Peter Duke of *Britaigne*, wherefore by-named *Mau-Clerke*, or *Mal-duit*. i. *Male doctus*. 526.23
Peter de Rinallis, detected of a practiſe againſt *Richard* Earle of *Pembrocke* and Earle Marſhall, taketh Sanctuary. 532. 49
Taken into the Kings fauour againe. 533.54
Peter de Rinallis, Treaſurer to King *Henry* the third, in diſgrace. 531.46
Peter King of *Caſtile* and of *Leon*, driuen out of his Kingdome. 596.130
His bloody tyranny. 596.131
Set in the throne of *Spaine* by *Edward* the black Prince. 596.133
His ingratitude to the Prince. *ibid.*
Peter de la Mare, ſpeaker in the good Parliament, condemned to perpetuall priſon, at the ſuit of Dame *Alice Piers*. 600.150
Set at Liberty. *ibid.*
Peter warbecke. See *Perkin Warbecke*.
Peterborough Church, founded by *Penda*. 321.5
Peterborough Monaſtery founded by *Wulfheire*. 321.6
Finiſhed alſo by him. 357 3
Petilius Cerealis L. Deputy in *Britaine*. 211.8
Fryer *Peto*, alias *Peito* or *Pasto*, conſecrated by Pope *Paul* the fourth Biſhop of *Sarum*. 649.84
Forbidden to enter *England*. *ibid.*
A Petition exhibited to *Richard* Duke of *Gloceſter* Lord Protector to accept of the Crowne of *England*. 722.2
Petronus Turpilianus Lieutenant Generall in *Britaine*. 200.24
His diſpoſition. *ibid.*
Slaine. *ibid.*
Philip Earle of *Flanders* ſideth with *Henry* the yong king againſt his father King *Henry* the ſecond. 477.65
Philip the fift ſonne of *Henry* the ſecond King of *England*. 481.106
Philip King of *France*, vpon enuie leaueth King *Richard* the firſt, and the voyage to the *Holy-Land*. 486.33
Defeated ſundry times by K. *Richard* the firſt. 488.491
In danger to be drowned in his flight from King *Richard* the firſt. 491.64
Philip K. of *France*, marrieth the King of *Denmarks* ſiſter, and preſently putteth her away. 490.62
Hee breaketh amity with K. *Iohn*, and vſeth hoſtility. 499. 16
Pleaſed with Treaſon, but hateth Traitors. 501.22
His demaunds implying his deſire to the Crowne of *England*. 502.25
Choſen by the Pope, King of *England*, vpon the depoſition of King *Iohn*. 509.46
He prepareth a mighty Army againſt *England*. *ibid.*
He ſetteth forth with his nauy againſt *Ferdinando* Earle of *Flanders*. 510 50
His Nauy defeated by the *Engliſh*. 511.50
He dyeth. 523.15
Philip de Valois, how he claimed the Crowne of *France*. 579. 17
His motiues to reſiſt K. *Edward* the third claiming the Crowne of *France*. 583.46
The iuſtification of his reſiſtance. *ibid.*47
His mighty Army againſt K. *Edward* the third. 585.58
Philip de Valois, the *French* king tyrannizeth ouer his Nobles. 587.77
His horſe ſlaine vnder him at the battell of *Creſcy*, and his flight. 590.96
Philip de Valois, the French king dyeth. 593.110
Philip of *France*, ſonne to *Iohn* the French King, ſurnamed the Hardy. 594.115
Queene *Philip*, wife to King *Edward* the 3. her Princely demeanour in her husbands abſence. 592.105
Her praiſes, death & tombe. 601.155
Philip a baſe ſonne of King *Richard* the firſt. 492.
Philip the firſt King of *Spaine*, caſt vpon the coaſt of *England*. 761.69
Kindly entertained by direction from King *Henry* the ſeauenth. 761.70
Philip the ſecond king of *Spaine*, arriueth at *Southampton*. 850.70
His Stile ioyned with Queen *Maries*. 851.73
A great friend to the Lady *Elizabeth*. 554.97
He paſſeth the Seas, & is abſent from Queene *Mary* a yeere and ſixe moneths. 854.102
He returneth to *Douer*, and meeteth with Queene *Mary*. *ibid.*
Declared enemy to the State of the Low-Countries. 881 167
He contriues warre againſt the Engliſh, vnder the falſe proffers of Peace. 883.187
Philip Duke of *Burgoigne* or *Burgundy* a friend to the Engliſh Soueraignty in *France*. 663.4
Philip Duke of *Burgundy* breaketh amity with the Engliſh, and cleaueth to *Charles* the ſeauenth and the French. 669.23
Iulius Philippus Præfect to *Gordianus* the third, his treacherie to *Gordianus*. 239.4
His parentage. 240.1
Slew his liege-Lord *Gordianus*. 240.6
Made Emperour. 240.2
Philip the ſonne his *Cæſar*. *ibid.*
His Coine. 240.
Iulius Philippus the Emperour repentant and is baptized with his ſonne and wife. 240 3
Philip both father and ſonne murdered for their Chriſtian profeſſion. 241 3
Philip the ſonne, *Cæſar*, neuer ſeene to laugh. *ibid.*5
Iulius Philippus his raigne. *ibid.* 6
Philopater a Ieſuite, See *Creſwell*.
Iohn Philpot knighted, and endowed with lands by King *Richard* the ſecond. 608. 25
Sir *Iohn Philpot* mans out a Fleet to ſcowre the Seas. 605 5
His fortunate ſeruice. *ibid.*
Phœnix feathers in a plume ſent from the Pope to *Hugh* Earle of *Tir-Oen*. 902. 308
Henry Picard Lord Maior of *London*, feaſted foure Kings at once. 594.118
Picards whence they tooke name. 287.8
Picts a Nation in Britaine, why ſo called. 167.2
Picts diuided into two Nations. 269.4
Piers, alias *Peter de Gaueſton*, baniſhed. 563,54.567,4
Re-entertained. 567.4
His deſcription. 567.5
His ſcoffing miſ-behauiour toward the great Peeres of the land. 567.6
Earle of *Cornewall*, baniſhed for euer. 567.8
Aboue meaſure powerfull with King *Edward* the ſecond. 567.7
He miſleadeth the King. 568 10
Reuoked out of exile. 567. 9
Made principall Secretary. *ibid.*10
Taken by *Guy* Earle of *Warwicke*, and beheaded. 568. 14
His funerals celebrated. 570. 28
Pontius Pilate being baniſhed, killeth himſelfe. 192.4
The holy Pilgrimage or Rebellion of Yorkeſhire. 786. 96
Their demaunds. 787.
Pinker a Fryer prouinciall, and a flattering Preacher. 717 53
Piſo Licinianus choſen by *Galba* his *Cæſar* and ſucceſſor. 202. 4
Slaine. *ibid.*5
Pius Quintus the Pope his Bull to dethrone Queene *Elizabeth*. 868.72.73
His Bull hanged vp at the Biſhop of *Londons* gate. 870. 76
Placidia taken priſoner by *Alaricus*, and married to *Athaulphus* King of the *Gothes*. 279. 4
Plague in *London*. 595.109
889.229
Plague in *Newhauen* ſpreadeth from thence into *England*. 845.30
Plaiſie Colledge in *Eſſex* founded. 601.158
Richard Plantagenet Duke of *Yorke*, weddeth *Anne Mortimer*, his vneles daughter. 601.
Edward the laſt Male *Plantagenet*, Earle of *Warwicke*, arraigned, condemned and beheaded. 758.61
Heire to *George* Duke of *Clarence*, impriſoned. 741.6
Ruined by *Perkin Warbecks* Conſpiracy. 758.61
Plates of Copper, purpoſely cut and prepared for this Impreſſion, contayning the Genealogies & deſcents of the *Saxon* Kings, in the time of the Heptarchie, when *Britaine* was diuided among them into ſeauen kingdomes or Iuriſdictions, with their armes, coines and actions. 294.
1 The *Saxon* Kings of *Kent*, from *Hengiſt* the firſt King, vnto *Baldred* the laſt, being ſeauenteene in number. 297.
2 The Kings of the South-*Saxons*, by ſome termed Captaines; from *Ella* the firſt K. vnto *Edilwach*, or *Ethelwolfe*, the laſt, being but three in number. 299.
3 The kings of the *Weſt-Saxons*, when the Heptarchie was brought into a Monarchie, from *Cherdicke* the firſt king, vnto *Brithricke* the laſt, being in number ſixteene. 305.
4 The kings of the *Eaſt Saxons*, from *Erchenwine* the firſt king, vnto *Suthred* the laſt, being foureteene in number. 313.
5 The kingdome of *Northumberland*, and her *Saxon* kings (the Countrey deuided into two Prouinces, *Deira* and *Bernicia*) the firſt that changed it from a Dukedome to a Kingdome, were *Ella* and *Ida*. From them it continued to *Ethelred*, being in number 24. kings. 315.
6 The *Saxon* kings of *Mercia*, from *Crida*, ſonne of *Kenwald*, vnto *Burdred*, being twenty Kings in number. 321.
7 The *Saxon* kings of the *Eaſt-Angles*, it being raiſed to the title

title of a kingdome, by a *Saxon* Captaine named *Vffa*: From whom to *Edmund*, were fifteene Kings in number. 326.

Plautius, or *Plotius* sent by *Claudius Cæsar* against the *Britans*. 193.3

His Souldiers first vnwilling, were encouraged by a signe from heauen. 193.4

The first Lord Deputy in *Britaine*. 194.12

A fortunate Conquerour in *Britaine*. 175

Pleas in Law made in English. 596.126

Plinius secundus, *Traians* Tutor entreateth for the Christians. 217.2

Plotting betweene *Richard* Duke of *Gloceſter*, Lord Protector, and the Duke of *Buckingham*. 714.40

Poictiers battell. 594.115

Poicton lost. 524.17

Poicton recouered by King *Iohn*. 513.55

Poictouins commanded to depart the Realme of *England*. 531.46

Vntrue to King *Henry* the 3. 537.66

They flie out of the land. 546 93

Sir *Edward Poynings* with many other slaine neere *Bulloigne*. 795.131

De la Pole Family how it was first raised. 612.56

William de la Pole of a Marchant made knight Baneret. *ibid.*

William de la Pole Marquesse of *Suffolke* made Duke. 674.43

Committed prisoner to the Tower and enlarged 675.46

Accused by the Commons in Parliament. 675.47

Going into banishment is wickedly murdered. 675. 49

Michael de Pole. See in *de la Pole*.

William de la Pole his noble and great deserts. 675.49

Iohn de la Pole Earle of *Lincolne* proclaimed Heire apparant to the Crowne. 732. 38

He flyeth into *Flanders* to the Dutchesse of *Burgundy*. 744 17

His title to the Crowne. *ibid.*

He with *Lambert* the Idoll, aduanceth in battell array, against King *Henry* the seauenth. 745.20

Slaine at the battell of *Stoke*. *ibid.* 22

William de la Pole in trouble for his brother *Edmund*. 760.66, 67, &c.

Edmund de la Pole, Earle or Duke of *Suffolke*, his wilfull killing of a man. 760.66

Pardoned, yet flyeth out of *England* twice. 760.66

He bringeth many into troubles, & to confusion. 760.67

Putteth himselfe into the protection of *Philip* the first, K. of *Spaine*. 761.69

See more in *Edmund*.

Pollesworth Nunnery beforetime at *Tamworth*. 379.15

Polybius an ancient Greeke Historian. 160.1.157.7

Policletus sent to reconcile *Glassicianus* and *Suetonius*, in *Bruan*. 200.23

Polydor Virgil taxed for partiall writing. 496.9

Pomponia Græcina, the wife of *A. Plautius*, first L. Lieutenant in *Britaine*, became a Christian. 204.8

Ponthieu reuolted from the English. 598.136

The reason why. *ibid.* 136

Pontois besieged by *Charles* the seauenth King of *France*. 672 37

Wonne by him at a second siege. *ibid.* 36

Pontois or *Ponthois* surprised and wonne by the English. 678. 59

Poole in *England*, a Family of what descent. 791.103

Henry Poole Lord *Montacute* with others beheaded. *ibid.* 104

Reginald Poole, Cardinall, about to be set vp King of *England*. *ibid.* 103

His death the same day that Queene *Mary* dyed. 858.4

Reginald Poole sent for home, by Queene *Mary*. 852.83

Made Archbishop of *Canterbury*. *ibid.* 84

See more in *Reginald*.

Poore of three sorts. 840.85

The Popes absurd collections out of the Scripture. 223.9

The Pope disposeth of crownes. 330.3

Popes of *Rome*, two at once. 441.33

Pope to be Antichrist, no new opinion. 485.24

The Pope denied entrance into *England* and *France*. 538.70

Denyed any more contributions in *England*. 539.72

Flyeth from *Rome* for feare of *Fredericke* Emperour. 540. 76

The Popes exactions and extortions repelled in *England*. 562.50

Popes of *Rome* three at once. 641.34

Pope curseth King *Henry* the eight and his Realme. 780. 80

The Popes authority called in question. *ibid.*

Port or *Porth* a Saxon. 292.2

Portsmouth how it tooke name. *ibid.*

Port-*Trutulensis*. 1. *Richborow*. 215.15

Portugall voiage. 892.231

Gilbert Port looseth his eares for words. 842.6

Pottier his words vpon King *Edward* the fourth his death. 706 7

D. *Powell* a British Writer. 164.

Poysoning suspected against the Barons. 546.94

Precedency of place in women the ouerthrow of their husbands. 894.53

Predictions and signes of the Lord *Hastings* death. 715. 45.46

Predictions fantasticall inhibited by Act of Parliament. 164.18

Prelates of *England* ready to submit to Duke *William* of *Normandy*. 428.2

Prelates against their Prince detested euen by Monkes 546.93

A presage to King *Stephen*. 463. 44

Presages of King *William Rufus* his death. 442.39

Prætors in prouinces their iurisdiction. 218.6

Prayers and intercessions publike for King *Edward* the third his good successe in the warres of *France*. 586. 68

Prasutagus King of the *Iceni*. 176.13

His Testament. *ibid.* 10

Maurice de Pendergest entreth *Ireland*. 473.55

Whence he tooke name. *ibid.*

His Coat of Armes. *ibid.*

A Priest of *Ware* drawne and hanged for practising against King *Henry* the fourth. 628.26

Priests married fauoured by the Nobles. 385.2

Priests marriages moue debate. 390.4

Referred to the answere of a Rood. *ibid.* 4

Priests marriage inhibited by Pope *Gregory*. 432.48

Primate of the *Druides*. 168.8

Principality of *Wales* downefalling from the Welsh line. 555.11

Priory of the Trinity within *Algate* in *London* founded. 464.51

Prior thereof is Alderman of *London*. *ibid.* 51

Priory of S. *Martins* in *Douer*, founded. 311.1

Priory of Saint *Iohns* without *Smithfield* burnt by the Rebels vnder *Iacke Cade*, and *Wat Tyler*. 607.19

Probus elected Emperour. 251.1

His descent. *ibid.* 2

Compared with *Annibal* and *Iulius Cæsar*. *ibid.*

His single fights & Ensignes of victory. 252.2

His exploits. 252.2, 3, &c.

Hee slayeth in one battell 400000. Germans. *ibid.*

Murdered. 252.9

His Sepulchre. *ibid.*

Proclamation made to publish *William* the Lord *Hastings* treasons. 716 48

Procopius an vsurper beheaded. 269.2

His Coine. *ibid.*

Proculus a Rebell against *Probus*. 252.6

A vassall to *Venus*. *ibid.* 7

His death. *ibid.*

Prodigious and presaging apparitions of warre betweene *Bedford* and *Bicklesmade*. 628 31

Prodigies preceding *Iulian* the Emperour his death. 267.7

Prodigies before *Iouianus* the Emperour his death. 268.5

Prodigies fore-going the *Danes* inuasion. 398.10

Prodigies in king *Brithicke* or *Bithricke* his time. 308.16

Prodigious portents in *England* 620.104

Prodigies in *Valentinian* the Emperour his time. 271.11

Prodigies daily seene. 198.11

Prodigies strange and hidious. 245.2

An old Prophesie in all the East parts. 210.4

Prophecie of *E. G.* decciueth *George* Duke of *Clarence*. 701 105

Prouinces of *Rome* reuolt. 198. 11

Statute of Prouisors enacted, vpon what occasion. 575.75

Prutenia. 159.6

Πρυτανειον. 159.6

Prytania whence deriued. *ibid.* 6

Pryd-Cain, or *Prydain*, the originall name of *Britaine*. 158. 6

A *Pseudo Richard* in King *Henry* the fourth his time 742.13

A *Pseudo Nero* among the Parthians. *ibid.*

Papienus Maximus Emperour with *Clodius Albinus*. 237.6

His parentage. 238.3

They enuy one the other. *ibi.* 4

Both slaine by the Pretorian Cohorts. 238.5

Their raigne. *ibid.* 6

Putta Bishop of *Rochester*. 341. 2

Q

Quadratus a Disciple of the Apostles. 219.8

Saxon Queenes debarred by law from all royalty. 308. 16

Queenes Colledge in *Cambridge* founded. 743.16

Endowed with lands by king *Richard* the third. 738.60

Queenes Colledge in *Oxford* founded. 743.16

Queene of *Scots*, wife to King *Malcolme* the third, dissuadeth *William* King of *Scots*, to inuade *England*. 496.10

Queenburg King *Edwins* wife. 352.11

Quendred murdreth her innocent brother King *Kenelme*. 322 14

Dyeth for sorrow. *ibid.* 7

Procureth the murther of K. *Ethelbert* her sonne in Law. 327.14

Quendred alias *Petronilla*, wife to King *Offa*. 362.14

Her Coine. *ibid.*

Her treacherie. *ibid.*

Quendred as one would say, Queene *Drida*. 362.14

Quinchelinus associate with his father in the West-Saxon Kingdome. 305.7

Quinchelme or *Quincseline*, king of the West-Saxons, plotteth the murther of King *Edwin* King of *Northumberland*. 351.4

Quintilius chosen Emperour. 241.1

Hee letteth himselfe blood to death. *ibid.* 2

His short raigne. *ibid.*

Saint *Quintins* taken by King *Philip* and the *English*. 855. 111

R

Radagasius King of the Gothes maketh hauocke of the Roman Empire. 276. 4

Ragman Rowle, an Euidence deliuered vp to the *Scots*. 579. 3

Raimund Earle of *Tholouz*, maried *Ioan* King *Richard* the first his sister, Queene of *Cicilie*. 490.62

Raimund le Grosse leader of forces into *Ireland*. 473.56

Raimund

Raimund Earle of *Prouince* his foure daughters all Queenes. 533.53
A *Rainbowe* reuerſed, ſeene at *London*. 850.67
Rainold a third naturall ſonne of *Henry* the firſt, Earle of *Cornwall*, &c. His Iſſue. 453.68
Ralph Biſhop of *Durham*, Generall of the field againſt the Scots, winneth the day. 458.14
Impriſoned. 444.2
Breaketh priſon. 445.7
Ralph Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* a paralyticke, but cholericke Prelate. 431.42
Edward Randolph a braue warriour ſlaine in fight againſt *Shan-O-Neale*. 863.45
Frier *Randolph* Confeſſor to Queene *Ioan*, wounded to death. 649.49
Ranulph, alias *Randall*, Earle of *Cheſter*, againſt King *Stephen*. 459.24
He ioyneth with Earle *Robert*, and both of them encampe neere *Lincolne*, againſt King *Stephen*. *ibid.*23
His Oration vnto his confederates before the battell. *ibi.*24
Surpriſed by King *Stephen*. 462.40
Saueth *Hubert de Burgh* his life. 527.27
Sir *Richard Ratcliffe* the Protector of *Richard* Duke of *Glocester*, his Inſtrument to doe villany. 717.51
Robert Ratcliffe beheaded about *Perkin Warbecke*. 751.37
Sir *Walter Rawleigh* condemned for treaſon. 909.13
Reading Abbey founded. 514.57
Reafan the Danes Banner taken. 374.14
Rebels executed to the number of 1500. vpon the Commotion of *Wat Tyler*, and others. 608 29
Rebels of *Cornwall* put to flight, and ouerthrowne thrice. 832.25
Their laſt & vtter ouerthrow at Saint *Mary-Clift*. 833.27
Rebels of *Norfolke*, vnder the conduct of *Ket*, yeeld and receiue the Kings pardon. 834.46
Rebellion in the North for maintenance of Papall religion. 835.48
Rebellion breaking out at *Harlſtone*-faire in *Norfolke*. 843.7
Rebellious traitors executed. *ibid.*
Reconciliation betweene three Brethren, *William Conquerors* ſonnes. 439.14
Redburg the wife of K. *Egbert*. 366.17
Redwald King of the Eaſt-Angles, and Monarch of *Kent*, aſſiſteth *Edwin*. 326.3
Redwald Monarch of the Engliſhmen. 349.
His Coine. *ibid.*
His raigne, and iſſue. 350.5,7
Redmore, alias *Boſworth* field. 737.58
Rees, alias *Rhees ap Tewdor*, Prince of *South-Wales*, ſlaine. 439.15
Regency of the Engliſh in *France*, how farre it extended. 663.5
Regent of *Scotland* ſlaine by ſhot as hee rode in *Lithquo*. 877.132
Reginald, alias *Reiner*, enſtalled Metropolitan by the Monks of *Canterbury* at midnight. 504.31
He forgoeth his new dignity. *ibid.*
Reginald Earle of *Bulloigne*, adhereth to King *Iohn*. 511.50
Reginald Poole his life and ſtory. 851.79
Deane of *Exceſter*. *ibid.*
Cardinall. 852.78
Legate of *Viterbium*. *ibid.*78
Choſen Pope twice. *ibid.*79
See more in *Poole*.
Regiſter-bookes of Chriſtnings and burials kept in Churches. 790.100
Reinhere King *Redwalds* ſonne ſlaine. 350.4
Reinburne Earle of *Warwicke* his combate with *Colbrand* the Dane. 382.16
Reinold ſonne of the Daniſh *Gurmo*, baptized. 383.3
Reinold Earle of *Cornewall* aſſiſteth *Maude* the Empreſſe. 462.36
Doctor *Reinolds* ſpeaker before King *Iames* for the complainants about Reformation in the Church and Liturgy. 914.23
Religion Chriſtian when firſt planted in *Britaine*. 202.1
About Religion a free diſputation in *Paules* Church. 850.65
In *Oxford* alſo. *ibid.*66
Religion proceedeth and is aduanced in *Scotland*. 860.13,14
Religious houſes, what a number in *England* now ſuppreſſed. 790.100
Religious houſes ouerthrowne in *Scotland*. 860.15
Renate Duke of *Loraine*, and of *Barre* taken priſoner. 668.21
Redwald King of the Weſt-Saxons. 349.2
Reeſe, alias *Rheſe* the Welſhman, ſlaine, and beheaded. *ibid.*11
Reſtitutus Biſhop of *London*. 206.19
Reth a Souldier, his moderate behauiour in the battell of *Brigerac*. 592.107
Reuley Abbey founded. 518.68
Rheſe, alias *Rees ap Gruffith*, Prince of South-Wales, refuſeth to viſite King *Richard* the firſt, for want of ſome complemental ſeruice on his part. 483.12
Rhutupi, i. *Ribcheſter*, or *Richborow*. 263.6
Ricebanke abandoned by the Engliſh for feare of the Duke of *Guize*, and the French. 855.113
Rice, alias *Rees ap Thomas*, ſideth with *Henry* Earle of *Richmont*. 734.46
Richard the hardy, third Duke of *Normandy*. 423.22
His wiues, and iſſue. *ibid.*
Rschard the ſecond, or the good, fourth Duke of *Normandy*. 423.23
His wiues, and iſſue. *ibid.*
Richard the third, fift Duke of *Normandy*, thought to bee poyſoned. 423.25
Richard a legitimate ſonne of King *Henry* the firſt. 453.64
Richard a ſecond ſonne to King *Henry* the ſecond, contracted to *Alice* the French Kings daughter. 467,10.485,22
Richard a yonger ſonne of King *Henry* the ſecond, ſideth againſt his Father. 475.65
Humbleth himſelfe, and is receiued into fauour. 476.79
Richard a ſecond natural or baſe ſonne of King *Henry* the firſt, thought to be drowned with his brother *William* neere *Barbfleet*. 453.67
Richard a yoūger ſonne of K. *Henry* the ſecond, fortifieth againſt his Father. 479.93
Commeth in. *ibid.*
He hath remorſe for his vnnaturall behauiour to his father. 480.100
Richard a third ſonne of King *Henry* the ſecond, afterward King *Richard* the firſt, ſurnamed *Cueur de Lion*, wherefore. 480,104.491,70
He is ſtyled King *Richard* the firſt, and is wholly deuoted to recouer Chriſtianity. 482.1,2
His Broad Seale, Armes and Coine. *ibid.*
His choiſe of friends and ſeruants. 483.4
His Coronation and oath at *Weſtminſter*. *ibid.*5
He puruaieth treaſure for his pilgrimage or voyage to the Holy Land. *ibid.*7
How he ſetled the ſtate of his Kingdome during the pilgrimage. 483.9
King *Richard* the firſt and king *Philip* of *France*, ſet forward to the Holy Land. 484.15
He refuſeth to viſit the Popes Holineſſe. *ibid.*16
His mighty power and forces at *Meſſana*. *ibid.*
His voluntary and ſerious repentance. 485.23
He conferreth with *Ioachim* a learned Abbot. *ibid.*24
He marieth *Berengaria* daughter to *Sanctius* King of *Nauarre*. 484.25,28
His Nauy-royall towards the Holy Land. 485.26
King *Richard* the firſt and King *Philip* of *France* competitors of glory at the ſiege of *Acon*. 486.31
He winneth the rich Conuoy or *Caranan* of the *Saladine*. 487.38
His exploits in *Paleſtine*. *ibid.*39
Forſaken by the Duke of *Burgundy*. *ibid.*
Trauailing diſguiſed like a Marchant in *Germany*, hee is diſcouered, & yeeldeth to *Lepold*, or *Lumpold* Archduke of *Oſtrich*. *ibid.*43
Impriſoned by *Henry* the Emperour. *ibid.*
His liberty procured, vpon what Articles. 488.46
Crowned King of *Prouince*. *ibid.*47
Set at liberty by the Archbiſhop of *Mentz* and *Coleine*. 488.48
He landeth in *England*. *ibid.*50
Crowned againe at *Winchester*. 489.56
His new Broad-Seale. *ibid.*
His regall Armes. *ibid.*57
He forgiues his Brother *Iohn*. 490.59
His victories againſt *Philip* King of *France*. *ibid.*60
His amendment of life and daily exerciſes. 490.61
His pleaſant queſtion to the Pope. *ibid.*63
His noble valour performed in his owne perſon. 491.65
His couetouſneſſe and want of mercy puniſhed by God. 491.68
Wounded to death at the Caſtle of *Chalus*, or *Galiard*. *ibid.*
He forgiues the author of his death. *ibid.*69
His laſt Will and Teſtament. *ibid.*70
His death. *ibid.*
How hee bequeathed or beſtowed his body. 445.70
His preſent reſolution like to that of *William Ruſus*. 489.58
K. *Richard* the firſt his wiues & Iſſue. 492.
His 3. Metaphoricall daughters. *ibid.*
How hee beſtoweth them. *ibid.*
Richard, *William* Conquerour his ſonne, goared by a Deere. 431.46
His Monument in *Winchester* 436.69
Richard ſecond ſonne of King *Iohn*, crowned King of Romans and of *Almaine*, his death and buriall. 517.68
His wiues and iſſue. *ibid.*
Richard a naturall ſonne of K. *Iohn*. 518.74
Richard Earle of *Cornwall* ſent with a power into *Gaſcoigne*. 524.19
Author of the Barons rebellion in K. *Henry* the third his time. 526.24
Appeaſed and ſatisfied by the King. *ibid.*
Hee with the Barons reuolt from King *Henry* the third. 534.58
Richard Earle of *Cornewall* elected King of *Romans*, accepted thereof. 544.89
How rich hee was in Coine. *ibid.*
Crowned King of *Romans* in *Aquiſgraue*. 545.89
His Broad-Seale. *ibid.*
Hee dareth not come ſtrong into *England*. 546.96
Sweareth to aſſiſt the Barons for reformation of the State. *ibid.*
Richard King of *Romans* taken priſoner by *Simon Montfort* at the battell of *Lewis*, and empriſoned in the Tower of *London*. 548.101
Richard Earle of *Glouceſter* thought to bee poyſoned. 546.94
Richard of *Burdeaux* afterward K. *Richard* the ſecond borne. 596.130
Made Prince of *Wales*, & the Nobles ſworne to his ſucceſſion. 600.151
Made Knight of the Garter. 601.153
Richard the ſecond his Coronation, his Armes, Broad-Seale,

Seale, and Coine. 603.
Taketh to Wife, *Anne* the daughter of *Charles* the 4. Emperour. 609.33
By enriching Bohemians, & ſtrangers, growne diſtaſtfull to the State. 609.37
Hee aſſembleth an Army of 300000. Engliſh to ouer-run *Scotland*. 611.49
A friend to the Clergy. 612.55
Declareth himſelfe to be of age, and taketh the gouernement vpon him. 616.81
A great ſpender, in hope to be Emperour. 618.96
King *Richard* the ſecond creates himſelfe Earle of *Cheſter*. 619.102
Hee addeth to his eſcuchion-Royal, the Armories of S. *Edward* K. and Confeſſor. *ibid.*
His depoſition from the Crowne. 621.113
His gouernment vniuerſally hated. 620.105
Hee offereth to reſigne the Crowne vpon conditions. 621.110
His iourney to *Ireland* with a Nauy of 200. ſaile. 620.107
His reſignation of the crown. 621.111
His friends diſenabled after his depoſition. 624.7
Articles publiſhed againſt him. 621.112
His death at *Pomfrait* Caſtle. 626.18
Thought to bee ſtarued to death for hunger. *ibid.*
His dead corps ſhewed openly at *London*. *ibid.*
Conueied to *Langley*, & tranſlated afterwards to *Weſtminſter*. *ibid.* 19
His Epitaph. *ibid.*
Being dead, oftentimes voiced aliue. 631.41
Reuiued againe by the Scots. 648.44
K. *Richard* the ſecond a counterfeit, flyeth to *Robert* king of *Scotland*. 626.18
Dyed, and is buried in *Striueling*. *ibid.*
Richard Earle of *Pembroke* and Marſhall, with Engliſh Peeres confederate againſt the *Poictouins* and *Britons* ſtrangers. 529.37
In armes againſt King *Henry* the third. 530.39
Confederate with *Llewelin* Prince of *Wales*. *ibid.*
His great valour and agility. *ibid.* 41
Richard Earle Marſhall and of *Pembroke*, diſcomfiteth King *Henry* the third, and the *Poictouins*. 530.41
He is diſſeiſed of his poſſeſſions in *Ireland*. *ibid.* 44
Taken & wounded to death. 531.47
His buriall. *ibid.*
His armes in *Kilkenny*. *ibid.*
Richard Earle of *Arundell*, with others, take an hundred ſaile at ſea. 614.69
Their victory deprawed by K. *Richard* the ſecond his fauorites. *ibid.*
Malignant conſtructiõ made of his ſeruice, and theirs. *ibid.*
He is arraigned, condemned, and beheaded. 619.101
Richard Plantagenet Earle of *Cambridge* his conſpiracy with other detected. 641.31
The conſpirators beheaded. *ibid.*
His title to the Crowne from *Edmund Mortimer* Earle of *March*. 664.8
Richard Earle of *Cambridge*, knighted, and created Duke of *Yorke*. 665.11
Made Conſtable of *England*. 667.19
Made regent of *Frãce*. 670.28
Employed in *Ireland*. 674.45
He goeth with an Army into *France*. 671.29
Taketh Armes openly vpon pretence to reforme, but indeed to gaine the Crowne. 677.55
Made regent againe. 672.37
His pedigree & claime thereby to the Crowne. 682.84
Richard Duke of *Yorke* practiſeth and reacheth at the Crowne of *England*. 674.43
His ſolemne oath to be true to K. *Henry* the ſixt. 677.58
He cauſeth *Edmund* Duke of *Somerſet* to bee arreſted and practiſeth his ouerthrow. 677,55.678,61
Createth himſelfe Protector of the Realme. 679.65
Diſcharged from it. *ibid* 66
He purſueth Queene *Margaret* and the Prince into the North. 683.88
Richard Duke of *Yorke* returneth out of *Ireland*, and openly in Parliament claimeth the Crowne of *England* 682.84
Richard Duke of *Yorke* ſlaine at the battell of *Wakefield*. 683.89
His head crowned with a paper, ſent to Queene *Margaret*. 684.90
His younger ſonne Earle of *Rutland* a childe, ſlaine by the Lord *Clifford*. *ibid.* 89
Richard Duke of *Yorke* ſecond ſon to K. *Edward* the fourth, conueyed with his Brother *Edward* to the Tower. 713.39
Richard Neuill Earle of *Warwicke*, with *George* Duke of *Clarence*, proclaime *Henry* the 6. King again. 693.47,48
He is made Gouernour of the Realme during ciuill troubles, with *George* Duke of *Clarence*. 694.53
Richard Duke of *Gloceſter* inuadeth *Scotland*. 701.111
His deſcription for perſon & qualities. 706.5,6
Hee killeth K. *Henry* the ſixt with his owne hands. *ibid.*
Cauſeth the death of *George* Duke of *Clarence* his brother. *ibid.* 7
He forecaſteth to be King in his brother K. *Edward* the fourth his time. *ibid.*
His deepe pollicy to attaine the Crowne. *ibid.*
He with the D. of *Buckingham* impriſoneth the Lord *Riuers* at *Northampton*. 708.16
Made Protector of K. *Edward* the fift, and of the Realme. 709.24
Intreated to accept of the Crowne. 721.60
Saith Nay, and would haue it. 721.63
Richard Duke of *Gloceſter* accepteth of the Crowne. 721.63
Richard the third beginneth his raigne. 722.
His armes & broad-Seale. *ibid.*
Compared to *Galba* the Emperour. 725.5
A bad Subiect, but a good Prince. *ibid.*
His clemency and affability in the beginning of his raign. 725.6
His Coronation in great ſtate. 726.12
His progreſſe towards *Gloceſter*. 726.15
He plotteth the death of his Nephewes *Edward* and *Richard*, K. *Edward* the fourth his ſonnes. 727.15
He maketh peace with *Scotland*. 732.38
His vnquiet conſcience for murthering his Nephewes. *ibid.* 36
He refraineth Queene *Anne* his wiues bed. 733.42
He courteth the Lady *Elizabeth* daughter to King *Edward* the fourth his brother. 734.43
Marcheth in order of battell to *Leiceſter*. 735.48
His manner of embattelling in the field. 735.52,53
His Oration to his ſouldiers. 735.54
Slaine in battell valiantly fighting. 737.57
Being dead, attainted in Parliament. 741.9
His dead body how vſed, & enterred. 737.59
His ſtone-coffin made a drinking trough for horſes. 739.59
His deſcription. 737.60
His works of deuotion. 738.60
His iſſue. *ibid.* 62
Richard, a name ominous to the Kings of *England*. 722.1
Richard de Saint Albaine renounceth Chriſtianity, and turneth to the *Sultan* of *Babilon*, *Saladine*. 479.93
Richmond Earledome firſt erected. 436.73
Richmond the Kings houſe built out of the aſhes of *Shene*, or *Shme*. 758.61
Nicholas Ridly Biſhop of *London* burnt in *Oxford*. 850.66
Nicholas Ridley Biſhop of *London* defendeth Queene *Ianes* title in a Sermon. 824.10
Rye Towne fired, and rifled by the French. 605.3
Lord *Riuers* King *Edward* the fift his Vncle, with others, ſent to *Pomfret* Caſtle, with the Lord *Rich. Grey Edward* the fift his halfe-brother. 717.51
Beheaded there without order of Law, at the very inſtant when the Lord *Haſtings* was beheaded in the Tower of *London*. 708,19.717,51
Roan true to King *Richard* the firſt. 488.45
Euer true to the Engliſh Crowne. 503.27
Beſieged by the French King *Philip*. *ibid.*
Loſt. *ibid.*
Roan diſmantelled of her walls. 503.28
Beſieged and aſſaulted by the Engliſh. 650.51
Vpon what Articles to be rendred to the Engliſh. 651.56
Wonne by them. 651.57
Robert ſurnamed *Curtoiſe*, *William Conquerours* ſonne, claymeth *Normandy*, and warreth againſt his Father. 431.39, 431.44
Why ſo ſurnamed. 435.68
Impriſoned, and bereft of his ſight by his brother *Henry*. *ibid.*
Poſſeſſed of *Normandy*. 438.3
His gentle diſpoſition. *ibid.*
He releeueth his brother *Henry* an enemy. 439.14
He morgageth land for ſupply of money, to gaine the kingdome of *England*. 438.5
Conſtrained to make peace with his brother *William Rufus*. 439.12
Morgageth *Normandy* to his brother. 440.26
He goeth to *Ieruſalem*, to the holy warre. *ibid.*
Returneth into *Normandy*. 445.7
Attempteth the Crowne of *England*. *ibid.*
Robert Curtoiſe remitteth his yearely pay out of *England*. 446.15
Sueth ſubmiſſiuely to his brother King *Henry* for peace. 446.18
Not regarded of him. *ibid.*
Prepareth for warre. 447.21
Taken priſoner by his Brother *Henry*. 447 22
His valour & raſhnes. 447.24
Eſcapeth out of priſon, is taken againe, and bereft of his eie-ſight. *ibid.*
Dyeth in priſon vpon ſorrow. 452.56
Buried in *Gloceſter*. *ibid.*
Robert the ſixt Duke of *Normandy*, magnanimious and liberall. 423.26
Marrieth *Arletta*. *ibid.*
His death in pilgrimage. *ibid.*
Robert Earle of *Mellent* attempteth to make *William*, *Robert Curteiſe* his ſonne, Duke of *Normandy*. 450.44
Both taken priſoners by *Tankerule*. *ibid.* 45
Robert the third baſe ſonne of King *Henry* the firſt, his Iſſue, death, and buriall. 453.66
Robert the fourth baſe ſonne of King *Henry*. *ibid.* 69
Robert Earle of *Glouceſter* halfe-brother to *Maude* the Empreſſe, riſeth againſt K. *Stephen*. 457.12
He flyeth into *France*. 458.15
He denounceth *Stephen* an open enemy to the ſtate, and forſworne. 457.12
Robert Earle of *Glouceſter* his bold attempt for the Crowne of *England*. 458.19
He ſpoileth *Worceſter*. 458.22
His ſpeech before battell. 459.25
True to *Maude* the Empreſſe, taken priſoner. 462.36
He and king *Stephen* redeeme one another. 462.37
Robert Earle of *Glouceſter* dyeth. *ibid.* 40
Robert Earle of *Leiceſter* ſideth with young King *Henry* againſt his Father. 475.65
He affronteth his ſoueraigne diſloially. 475.69

Vanquiſhed

Vanquiſhed in fight and taken priſoner. 475.68
Robert de Artois Earle of *Richmond* ſlaine. 587.74
Sir *Robert Rous* a braue warriour, his exployts. 606.9
Robert of *Riddiſdale* Captaine of Northerne Rebels. 691.35
Robin of *Riddiſdale* the leader of Northerne Souldiers againſt the Coronation of *Richard* the third. 725.7
Robert Deuereux Earle of *Eſſex* ſent into *France* to aide *Henry* the fourth King of *France*. 894.260
His anſwere to the Lord Keepers Letter. 904.231
Robert Deuereux Earle of *Eſſex* his valiant ſeruice at *Lisbon*. 891.38
See more in *Deuereux*.
Rochell beſieged by the French. 599.145
Manfully defended, continueth Engliſh. *ibid.*
Rochell remaineth true to the Engliſh. 905.33
Rochell in *Xantoign* taken from the Engliſh by *Lewis* the French King. 524.17
Rocheſter Cathedrall Chruch built. 349.13
Iane Rochford widow to *George Bullen* Lord *Rochford* beheaded for concealing adultery. 792.109
Rodoricke King of the *Picts* conquered by *Marus* a Britiſh King. 217.3
Roger Biſhop of *Salisbury* and other Prelates come to a Councell armed. 458.17
Hee, with the reſt, refuſe to yeeld vp their Caſtles to king *Stephen*. *ibid.* 18
He, with *Alexander* Biſhop of *Lincolne* apprehended. *ibid.*
Roger yeeldeth vp *Deuizes* and *Sherburne* Caſtles, with a great ſumme of money to K. *Stephen*. *ibid.*
Roger Mortimer oppoſeth *Simon Montford* and the rebellious Barons. 549.102
Roi-Croſſe, a Meere-marke betweene *England* and *Scotland*. 429.32
Rollo the Dane diſcomfited in *England*, paſſeth into *France*. 374.10
His aduentures and deſcent. 421.5,6
His dreame. 422.7
The ſame expounded. *ibid.* 8
He ſendeth an Embaſſage to *Alſtan* alias *Athelſtane* king of *England*. 422.9
Hee commeth to K. *Alſtans* Court. 422.10
Hee entreth into league with King *Alſtane*. *ibid.* 13
His faith to King *Alſtan*. *ibid.*
Rollo the firſt Duke of *Normandy* how hee did homage to King *Charles* the Simple. 423.19
Romania, i. *Britaine*. 160.8
Romane Writers beſt directors for the antiquity of *Britaine*, and the *Britaines*. 157.1
Romans downefall cauſe of many Kingdomes riſing. 160.9
Romans neuer deſcended of the *Troians*. 166.25
Romans long vnknowne to Hiſtoriographers. 169.9
The *Romans* baſe originall. 170. 13
Romans ſecond poſſeſſours of *Britaine*. 183.1
Roman Souldiers die of ſicknes in *Britaine*. 229.6
Roman Empire diuided. 257.1
Roman Monarchy of what continuance. 272.2
Romans ſtate from *Tarquinius* vnto *Iul. Ceſar*, of what continuance. 278.2
Roman Empires diſſipatiõ. 278.3
Romans vnable to defend their owne. 279.8
Romans giue *Britaine* a finall farewell. *ibid.* 7
Roman Empire ouer-great. 178. 3
King of *Romans*, a title equiualent to *Ceſar*, in the time of the late Emperours of *Rome*. 545.89
Romes birth-day ſolemnized. 240.2
Rome ſacked by the *Gothes* and *Vandals*. 277.9
Rome taken and ſacked againe. 773.54
New-Rome built. 261.12
Romans the originall of the old *Romans*. 166.25
Romaniſts inſolency and oppreſſion in *England*, cauſeth inſurrection. 527.29
Roman ſtrangers or *Popelings* in *England*, infeſt the Realme much in King *Henry* the 3. his daies. 53457
Romiſh rites, and Idolatrous reliques reſtored in *England*. 852.85
Rome-Scot. See *Peterpence*.
Rood of Grace, or of *Boxley* in *Kent*, broken in peeces. 790. 100
Roſamund, daughter of *Walter* Lord *Clifford*, Paramour to King *Henry* the ſecond. 480. 112
Her tombe and Epitaph. *ibid.*
Red-Roſe, badge of the *Lancaſtrian* houſe. 694.59
White-Roſe, badge of *Yorke* Family. *ibid.*
Rotheram Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. 733 42
Rothericke the great Prince of *Conaught* ſtileth himſelfe King, and Monarch of *Ireland*. 472.46
He doth homage to K. *Henry* the ſecond. 474.60
Receiued into king *Henry* the ſecond his protection, becommeth tributary. 477.83
Round-Table erected at *Windſor*. 587.76
Round-Table erected in *France* *ibid.*
Rowena, alias *Roxena*, *Hengiſts* daughter. 291.4
Roxburgh, or *Roxborough* Caſtle wonne. 558 29
Roxborough raſed by the Queene of *Scotland* in reuenge of her Husbands death. 682.83
Fired by the Scots. 605.3
Royall Exchange in *London* built. 871.145
Ruffinus fellow-Martyr with *Wulfald*. 357.8
Ruffinus Gouernour of *Conſtantinople*. 274.1
His ambition. 275.3
Slaine, and beheaded. 276.3
Rufus marrieth *Claudia* the Britiſh Lady. 203.7
He is ſurnamed *Pudens*. *ibid.*
Runing-Mead Councel & Charters. 515.56
Sir *Iohn Ruſſell* Lord Priuie-Seale, his valiant ſeruice againſt the Corniſh Rebels. 832.25
Ruſtandus the Popes Agent in *England*, his fetch to gather money. 543.86
Ruthlan Caſtle in *North-Wales*, recouered by King *Henry* the ſecond. 466.8
Rutters, or *Routs*, what they be. 490.63

S

Sabrina, i. *Seuerne*, a Riuer in *Britaine*. 194.12
Sacæ, a people in *Aſia*, thought to giue name vnto the Saxons. 286.2
Sir *Warham Saint Leger* killeth *Mac-Guir*, and is killed by him. 901.309
Saiſen, *Seaxen* and *Sèaxes*, what perſons. 287.8
Saladine Sultan of *Babylon*, ſubdueth the Chriſtians. 479.96
Winneth *Ieruſalem* from the Chriſtians. 478.90
Put to flight by king *Richard* the firſt. 486.35
Salicke Law. 579,17.583,47
Salicke Law for the kingdome of *France*, impugned by *Chicheley* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. 638.19
How farre it extendeth. *ibid.*
Claime of the Crowne in *France* by the Law *Salicke*, how badly it ſped, and what ſucceſſe the Vſurpers had. 639.22,23
Earle of *Salisbury* depriued of his Lord Chancellourſhip. 679.66
Biſhop of *Salubury* murdred by his owne Tenants. 675.48
Saluſtius Lucullus ſucceedeth *Agricola* in *Britaine*. 217.17
Put to death by *Domitian*, for what offence. 218,18
Salutes a Coine of King *Henry* the fift in *France*. 657.63
Paulus Samoſatenus the Heretick baniſhed. 664.8
Samothea, the firſt name of *Britaine*. 158.3
Samothes, alias *Meſech*, the firſt inhabitor of *Britaine*. 157.3
Sanctuary priuiledges debated in Councell. 709.25
Sanctuaries deuiſed the ſecond time. 761.68
Sanders maintaineth Queene *Elizabeths* depriuation. 870. 78
His Letter to Doctor *Allen*. 871.89
Sanders the Iriſh Legate his miſerable end. 871.81
Sandwich taken by the French. 679.67
Sanguelac, alias *Senlac*, the place where *William* of *Normandy* fought with K. *Harold*. 433, 54.434,63
Sapor, or *Sapores*, the bloudy K. or Tyrant of *Perſia*. 244.5
Submitteth to *Theodoſius* the Emperour. 272.4
Sarazens, whence they came. 340.
Saſones, a people, where ſeated. 286.2
Saturninus elected Emperour againſt his will. 252.3
His ſpeech to the Electors. *ibid.* 4
His death. *ibid.* 5
Sauary de Malleon deputed Lieutenant in *Aquitaine* vnder King *Henry* the third. 522.12
Ouerthrowne in battell by K. *Lewis* of *France*. 524.17
He turneth French. *ibid.*
Sauoy, an Hoſpitall founded. 763 70
Burnt by Rebels. 508.29
Saxo, the ſuppoſed Stock-father of the Saxons. 286.2
Saxons, the word whence deriued. *ibid.*
Saxons enter into *Germany*. *ibid.* 4
Their originall. *ibid.*
The Saxons propheſie to poſſeſſe *Britaine* 300. yeares. 283.8
They picke quarrels with the *Britaines*. 278.8
Saxons in olde time valiant and aduenturous. 286.8
Fearefull to the *Romanes*. *ibid.*
Saxons Heptarchy of what continuance. 278.2
Saxons Monarchy, of what continuance. *ibid.*
Saxons called into *Britaine* for friends, proue enemies. 281.1
Great warriours, and fortunate. 283.7
The Saxons Tribes. 284.6
The Saxons anſwere to the *Britaine* Embaſſadours. 283.7
They doe good ſeruice at their firſt comming. *ibid.*
Their firſt arriuall. *ibid.* 8
Saxons in *Britaine* conceale all victories againſt themſelues. 332
Saxons ſuperſtitious. 290.8
Their names and cuſtomes. 289.2
Saxons deſcribed. 286
Became Chriſtians firſt in *Britaine*. 205.16
Famous for Piracies. 285
Saxons apparell. 288.3
Great puniſhers of adultery, and incontinency. 289.6
Their maner of gouernment and iuriſdiction. 290.10
Valorous. 289.5
Their weapons. *ibid.*
Saxons of *Germany* thirſted after the Conqueſt of *Britaine*. 178.
Their manner of warre, and battell. 289.5
Their reſolute courage. *ibid.*
Saxons Empire in *England* endeth. 418.51
Saxons vanquiſhed in battell, and driuen out of *Thanet*. 292.10
Saxons and Britans treaty and agreement vpon *Salisbury*-Plaine. *ibid.* 12
They murder the Britaines. *ibid.*
Saxonie Dukes, their deſcent. 342.
Saxonie Dukedome, whence it came. 287.8
Saxum Iacobi a ſtone of high eſteeme among the Scots. 558.31
Lord *Say* beheaded at the commandement of *Iacke Cade*. 675.48
Scæua a bold Britaine and fugitiue. 184.5
Lord *Scales* murdered by the ſide of the Earle of *Warwicke*. 687.8
Schiſme vpholden by *Frederick* Emperour, againſt Pope *Alexander* the third. 468.18
Sluce ſurrendred. 883.185

Scotia and *Scotland*, whence they tooke name. 160.9
The partition thereof. *ibid.*
Scotish-men more ancient Christians than any other *Britains.* 204.9
Scots in derision rhyme vpon king *Edward* the first. 557.26
They inuade the Borders of *England.* 558.28
Scotland vnder Interdict. 572.48
Absolued. *ibid.*
Scots inuade the North parts of *England.* 578
Enuironed by king *Edward* the third, escape by the treason of *Roger Mortimer.* *ibid.*10
They inuade *England* in king *Henry* the fifth his absence. 648.44
Discomfited. 649.45
Inuade *Northumberland.* 679.67
Scotish-Noblemen taken at *Solem-Moss-field*, deliuered without ransome, and richly rewarded at their departure. 794.120
Scotland and *England* vnited by King *Iames* the sixt of *Scotland*, and first of *Great Britaine.* 911.3
Screeg and *Halden* leaders of Danes, entrench at *Reading.* 372.7
Sir *Richard Scroope* Chancellor of *England* surrendreth vp his Broad-Seale to king *Richard* the second. 609.35
Richard le Scroope Archbishoppe of *Canterbury*, for a conspiracy looseth his head. 631.43
Sir *William Scroope* knight Earle of *Wiltshire*, beheaded at *Bristoll.* 624.6
Henry Scroope Lord Treasurer. 632.47
Sir *Iohn Scudamore* his two sons beheaded by the Earle of *March*, vpon the battell and victory at *Mortimers* Crosse. 684.92
Scythians, whence they tooke name. 287.8
Scythian Empire of a poore beginning. 170.14
The Sea by low ebbes giues place to the sands. 448.34
Seedes of ciuill warres sowne in king *Richard* the second his dayes. 613.64
The sixe Seales in the *Apocalypse* opened. 256.14
Broad-Seale first vsed. 411.25
Great-Seale deliuered vnto *Elizabeth* Mother of king *Edward* the fift. 709.72
Seauen Sleepers. 242.3
Sebba king of the East-Saxons. 311.9
Giueth ouer his royall robes, and becommeth professed. *ibid.*
His death and tombe. *ibid.*
The miracle of his Coffin or Tombe. *ibid.*
Sebby, or *Sebba*, king of the East-Saxons entombed. 311.9
Sebert king of the East-Saxons. 311.3
Conuerted to Christianity. *ibid.*
His raigne, issue, and buriall. *ibid.*
Sered king of the East-Saxons. 312.13
His raigne. *ibid.*
Segburga K. *Kenwalds* Widow, ruleth ouer the West-Saxons. 306.8
Abbesse of *Ely.* *ibid.*
Segfrid King of East-Saxons. 311.11
Segonax a king in *Kent.* 197.3
Segontians, where seated. 173.5
Stephen de Segraue Lord chiefe Iusticiar, taketh Sanctuary, for practising against *Richard* Earle Marshall. 532.49
Receiued againe into fauour. 533.54
Iohn Lord *Segraue* Custos of *Scotland.* 551.42
Thomas Seymer Lord Admirall marrieth Queene *Katherine Parre* Dowager. 835.53
Thomas Seymer Lord Admirall beheaded. *ibid.*55
His enditement. *ibid.*
Edward Seymer Lord Protector, articled against by the Lords. 835.56
In what points. 836.60
Empriſoned in *Beauchampes* Tower at *Windſor*, & thence ſent to the Tower of *London.* *ibid.*59
Releaſed out of the Tower. *ibid.*60
Priuily armed, commeth to the Councell-Table. 837.67
Sent to the Tower. *ibid.*
Arraigned of Treaſon, and of felony. *ibid.*
Condemned of felony. *ibid.*68
His ſpeech vpon the Scaffold. 838.70
Beheaded. *ibid.*
Selbey Abbey, or Saint *Germans* Abbey founded. 435.65
Sems progeny planted in *Asia.* 261.2
Semiamyra mother of *Heliogabalus.* 232.8
Slaine & dragged with him. 234.6
Seminary Priests banished by Proclamation out of Great *Britaine.* 916.31
Semiramis Monarch of the *Assyrians.* 199.19
Sens in *France* rendred vpon composition to King *Henry* the fift. 651.56
Sir *Thomas Sentleger* K. *Richard* the third his brother in law, put to death. 737.56
Senwalch, ſee *Kenwald.* 297.8
Sered, *Seward*, & *Segbert* ioyntly Kings of the East-Saxons. 311.4
Slaine. *ibid.*
Sergeants at Law, and Lawyers plead in *Weſtminſter-Hall* armed. 845.36
Sergius a Monke inſtructeth *Mahomet.* 339.322
Serlo a fauourite of king *Richard* the ſecond, ſpreadeth the Impoſture of his being aliue. 631.41
Drawne from *Pomfrait* and hanged at *London.* *ibid.*40
Seruices at Coronation according to ſundry Tenures. 603.592
Iulius Seuerus ſent to ſuppreſſe Commotions in *Britaine.* 218.4
Lord General of the forces in *Britaine.* 225.8
Sept. Seuerus, *Cæſar* to *Galerius.* 257.2
Sept. Seuerus choſen Emperour in *Germany.* 227.3
He wageth warre for the Empire. *ibid.*5
He baniſheth the ſouldiers for betraying *Pertinax.* *ibid.*1
His deſcription. 230.17
Commeth into *Britaine* in perſon with his ſonnes *Baſſianus* and *Geta.* 228.4
His good parts. 230.17
Deſirous of glory. 228.6
Conſecrated a God. 231.2
Surnamed *Britannicus Maximus.* 229.8
His Coines. 227.229.9
Falleth ſicke in *Yorke.* 229.13
His ſpeech to his Counſell & Captaines. 230.14
His death. *ibid.*
His birth. 230.16
His vertues and vices equally compoſed. *ibid.*
His raigne and age. *ibid.*17
Seuerus his porch. 346.2
Segburga Abbeſſe of *Elye.* 306.7
Edmond Shaa Lord Mayor of *London*, of Counſell to *Richard* Duke of *Gloceſter*, and Lord Protector. 717.53
Iohn Shaa Clerke (brother to the foreſaid *Edmond Shaa*) Doctor of Diuinity, a flattering Preacher made for *Richard* Lord Protector. *ibid.*52
He dyeth for very ſhame of a Sermon, 717.53.718.55
His ſhameleſſe aſſertions at *Pauls* Croſſe. *ibid.*54
Shan-O-Neal his forces broken. 863.45
Slaine by *Alexander Oge*, and his brother. 863.46
Shan-O-Neal raiſeth rebellion in *Ireland.* 863.47
His parentage, and vnnaturall cruelty. *ibid.*40
His title to *Vlſter.* 863.42
Hee tyrannizeth in *Vlſter.* 863.40
His outrages. *ibid.*43
His manner how he was inaugurated *O-Neal.* *ibid.*41
Submitteth to Queene *Elizabeth.* *ibid.*44
Doeth good ſeruice in *Ireland.* *ibid.*
He falleth off againe. *ibid.*
Sheepe of *Cotteſwold* tranſported into *Spaine*, hurtfull to *England.* 676.17
Lord *Sheffeild* ſlaine at *Norwich.* 834.39
Shene, or *Shine*, now *Richmond*, burnt. 758.61
Sheriffes of Shires, their extortions and practiſes looked into by the Barons. 546.95
Shipwracke of Prince *William* his brethren, ſiſter, and other Gallants. 449.40,41
Ships of *Britaine.* 169.11
Shirburne an Epiſcopall See. 369.4
Pride in Shooes reformed. 638.17
(*Iane*) *Shores* Wife, ſpoyled of all that ſhe had by the Sheriffes of *London.* 716.49
She doth penance. *ibid.*
Her deſcription. *ibid.*50
Her qualities. 705.50
When ſhe dyed. 704.50
Her poore eſtate. 705.51
Shoreham in *Suſſex*, why ſo called. 343.5
Shrewesbury battell. 629.36
Siarclots a Britaine marrieth *Eurgaine*, ſiſter to *Ioſeph* of *Aramathia.* 203.4
Sicilie one Continent with *Italy.* 155.4
Caius Sidius Geta his valour. 194.7
Sir *Henry Sidney* Lord Deputy of *Ireland.* 863.45
Sir *Philip Sidney* ſlaine neere to *Zutphen.* 883.180
Sigebert, a deuout and learned King of the East-Angles. 326.5
He promoteth Religion and learning. 326.5
Becommeth a Monke. *ibid.*
Slaine. *ibid.*
His raigne. *ibid.*
Sigebert King of Weſt-Saxons. 307.14
Giuen to viciouſneſſe, and oppreſſion. *ibid.*
Killed. *ibid.*
His raigne. *ibid.*
Sigebert King of East-Saxons. 311.5
Sigebert King of East-Saxons. 301.6
Reſtored the Chriſtian faith, and was baptized. *ibid.*
He is murdered. *ibid.*
His raigne and iſſue. *ibid.*
Sigeferth and *Mercar* brethren, murdred by *Edricke.* 394.20
Sigeherd King of East-Saxons. 311.
His Coine. *ibid.*
Siger de Courtney ſideth with K. *Edward* the third againſt *France.* 582.41
Sighere King of the East-Saxons becommeth an Apoſtata. 311.8
Reclaimed againe. *ibid.*
Sigiſmund King of *Polonia* his Embaſſadour to Queene *Elizabeth.* 897.281
His meſſage. *ibid.*
Sigiſmund Emperour trauelleth into *England* for to make peace betweene *France* and *England.* 646.31
Honourably entertained, and ſtalled Knight of the Garter. 646.33
He entreth a league with *England* vpon articles. 647.35,36
Signes preſaging the end of K. *Henry* the ſixt his raigne, and tranſlation of the Crowne. 683.88
Silures deſcended from *Spaine.* 162.7
Silures, i. thoſe of South-Wales withſtand the *Romans.* 195.13
They become the more reſolute vpon *Claud. Cæſars* threats. 196.18
Simon Zelotes married in *Britaine.* 202.13
Simon Earle of *Hampton* taketh part with King *Stephen.* 460.25
His deſcription. *ibid.*
Simon a Monke of *Swinſtead*-Abbey poyſoneth King *Iohn.* 516.62
Is poyſoned himſelfe therewith. *ibid.*
Richard Simon Architect of *Lambert Symnel*, the Idols conſpiracy. 742.13
Another *Simon* taken priſoner at *Stokefield.* 745.23
Condemned to a dungeon and perpetuall ſhackles. 745.23
Simon Tibald Archbiſhoppe of *Canterbury* beheaded by Rebels.

Rebels. 607.19
Simonie losse of patronage for euer. 477.82
Simonie in the Popes. 484.16
Simon Montfort Earle of *Leicester* refuseth great honour in *France*, to auoide suspition of disloyalty. 542.82
Reconciled to king *Henry* the third, *ibid.*83
Possessed of King *Henry* the third, *Richard* King of *Romans*, and their two eldest sonnes. 548.101
See more in *Montfort*.
Oliuer Sinclere Lieutenant Generall of *Iames* the fourth King of *Scotland*, his forces inuadeth *England*. 794.117
Disdained of the Nobles, looseth the field. *ibid.*
Siricius Archbishop of *Canterbury* perswadeth composition with the *Danes*. 393.7
Sithricke a Danish King of *Northumberland*. 381.4
His sonne *Godfrey* and *Anlaf* disquiet the *English*. 381 5
Pope *Sixtus* the fourth his Bull against *Elizabeth* Queene of *England*. 884.187
Sixtus Quintus the Pope, his *Crusado*. 886.195
His contribution to the inuading of *England*. 874.195
Sixe Articles deuised by *Stephen Gardiner*. 792.105
Enacted. 793.111
What they were. *ibid.*
Repealed. 831.18
In some sort repealed in king *Henry* the eight his time: reuiued & executed by Queene *Mary*. 852.86
Slaughter of the *Scots* at *Dupline*, or the water of *Erne*. 580 24,25
Slidda King of the *East-Saxons*, his marriage, death and issue. 310.2
Marke Smeton confesseth against Queene *Anne Bullen*, and his owne conscience, yet was executed. 784.88
A Smiths francke speech in the behalfe of *Hubert de Burgh* Earle of *Kent*. 528.34
Sir *Thomas Smith* Ambassadour into *France* to demand *Calais* according to couenant. 864.47
His pleading for *Calais* before King *Charles* the ninth, the Queene mother, &c. sitting in state. 864. 865.866.867.
Sociall warres, what it is, and the Law or right thereof. 474.61
Solem-Mosse-Field. 794.118
Iohn Lord Somerset slaine at *Tewksbury* Field. 696.71
Iohn Someruile a Traitor strangleth himselfe in *Newgate*. 871 83
Sophes termed *Semmothoes*. 162.9
A Sophisticall æquiuocation deuised for the killing of K. *Edward* the second. 578.7
Soules immortall. 168.8
Southampton burnt by the French. 583.44
South-Saxons Kingdome the circuit of it. 391.1
The end thereof. *ibid.*4
Sodomie committed in Monasteries, Conuents, Collegiate Churches, and other Religious houses in *England*, by men of Religious profession. 791.
Sodomites being Monkes, Fryers, and Priests, with their names, surnames, and dwellings. *ibid.*
Sodomites in *Canterbury*, nine, one whereof kept three married whores. *ibid.*
Sodomites in *Battell-Abbey*, fifteene. *ibid.*
Sodomites, some of them most vnnaturall Sodomites. *ibid.*
Spaine so named of *Hispalus*. 157.2
Compared to an Oxe-Hide. 55.3
Spalding a Traitor, betrayeth *Berwicke*, to King *Robert Bruce*, and by him was put to death. 571.34
Spaniards long vnknowne to Historiographers. 169.9
Spaniards in *Ireland*, discomfited and slaine. 902.322
Spaniards rather die then yeeld. 593.110
Spanish Fleete vanquished by K. *Edward* the third. 592.110
Hugh de Spenser both father and sonne in high fauour with King *Edward* the second, banished. 571.35
Both reuoked out of exile. *ibid.*37
Hugh Spenser the elder, cruelly cut vp aliue and quartered. 574.62
Hugh de Spenser the younger another *Piers Gaueston*. 571. 35
Hanged on a Gallowes fifty foote high, headed and quartered. 575.67
Hugh Spenser the elder created Earle of *Winchester*. 572.47
Spensers sell the Kings fauour and pardon at a high rate. 573.51
A Spirit speaking in the Wall. 851.76
Sporus a youth, *Neroes* wife. 201 2
Edward Squire, his treason and execution. 875.120
Sir *Humfrey Stafford* slaine by *Iacke Cade*. 676.51
Thomas Stafford with others stir rebellion. 854.105
Beheaded. *ibid.*105
Sir *Humfrey Stafford* rebelleth against King *Henry* the seauenth. 742.12
He taketh Sanctuary, and is executed at Tiburne. *ibid.*
Humfrey Lord *Stafford* Earle of *Deuonshire* repelled by Sir *Iohn Coniers* & the Rebels of the North. 691.32
He and the L. *Herbert* Earle of *Pembrocke* fall out for their Inne in *Banbury*. *ibid.*33
He, leaue with his Archers the Earle of *Pembrock*, *ibid.*
Beheaded at *Bridgewater*. 691 35
Stamboli, sometime *Constantinople*. 485.29.
A Standard or measure first ordained. 445.4
Lord *Stanley* wounded at the Councell Table. 715.44
His fearefull dreame. *ibid.*45
Lord *Stanley* set at liberty out of the Tower. 725.7
Thomas Stanley Earle of *Darby*, husband to *Margaret* Countesse of *Richmond* suspected of *Richard* the 3. 734.44
He refuseth to come vnto K. *Richard* the third and his answere vnto him. 735.51
Sir *William Stanley* Lord Chamberlaine to King *Henry* the seauenth, accused for Conspiracy with *Perkin Warbecke*. 751.37
Beheaded. 752.38
Stanley a fugitiue, plotteth Q. *Elizabeths* death. 875.112
Sir *William Stanley* made Captaine of *Denenter*. 883.181
Traiterously selleth it to the Spaniards. *ibid.*182
Staple of Wooll translated out of *Flaunders* into *England*. 593.112
Walter Stapleton Bishop of *Exceter* beheaded. 574.60
Strange Starres appearing. 442. 39
The Starre, badge of the Earle of *Oxford* at *Barnet*-field. 695 64
Stephano Ibarra the King of *Spaine* his secretary complotteth the death of Queene *Elizabeth*. 875118
Stephen Earle of *Mortaigne*, and of *Bulloigne*, king of *England* his Armes, Broad-Seale, and Coine. 455.
King *Stephen* his descent. *ibid.*
His Princely parts. *ibid.*
Fealty sworne vnto him. 456 2
His personage and good endowments. 456.3
Free from all exactions of his subiects. *ibid.*
His periurie. *ibid.*
Crowned. 484.4
His Charter at his first entrance. *ibid.*
Recouered of a Lethargy. 457.9
He entreth *Normandy*. *ibid.*
Maketh league with *Lewis* the seauenth king of *France*. *ibid.*
He buyeth his elder brother *Theobald* his title to *Normandy* and *England* for money. 457.10
He compoundeth also with *Geffrey* Earle of *Anion* for money. *ibid.*10
He returneth out of *Normandy* into *England*, & winneth the Castle of *Bedford*. 457.11
His vsuall oath. 457.13
He subdueth *Scotland* 458.16
His great valour in fight. 460 28
Taken prisoner in battel *ibid.*
Hee desires liberty and not the Crowne. 461.32
He protesteth that hee would be a Monke or Pilgrime. *ibid.*
Loden with yrons. &c. 461. 33
King *Stephen* his death. 464 49
His commendation. *ibid.*
His deeds of deuotion. *ibid.*
His wife, his honours, and death. 464.54
Sterling money who first coined. 517.63
Sternwold a valiant Captaine vnder Earle *Goda*. 393.6
Robert Stewart sonne of *Mariorie Bruce* daughter to King *Robert Bruce*, maketh head against *Edw. Baliol*, in claime of the Crowne of *Scotland*. 381.33
Stigand Archbishop of *Canterbury* his counsell to the *English*. 426.6
Degraded. 428.19
He and other Prelates depriued, in fauour of the *Normans*. *ibid.*
Stilicho Gouernour of *Italy* after he had been imployed in *Britaine*. 274.7
He hazardeth the whole Empire. 276.4
Doctor *Stillington* sent in Embassage to *Francis* Duke of *Britaigne* for to haue away *Henry* Earle of *Richmond*, but effecteth nought. 700.99
Stoke battell. 745.22,23
Stonar, *Vortimers* monument. 331.
A precious *Stone* hauing vertue to make one inuincible. 517. 32
Stones Church in *Staffordshire*, why so called. 356.3
Stoneheng erected by *Aurelius Ambrosius*. 332.3
The description of it. *ibid.*
Doctor *Story* his story. 875.79
How hee was taken in his owne ginne and executed. 871.80
Stoure a water in *Britaine*. 186.3
George Stradlin, a graue Citizen of *London*, his oration in the common Councell. 838.58
George L. *Strange* pledge with King *Richard* the 3. for his father *Thomas Stanley*. 735.52
How he escapeth. *ibid.*
Strangers aduanced by K. *Henry* the third. 529.36
Discontenteth his Nobles thereby. *ibid.*
Strangers commanded to depart the Realme. 524.18
Strimelmo taken. 558. 29
Richard Strongbow, Earle of *Pembrock* of *Chepstow* or *Strigil*, solicited by *Dermot Mac Murgh* for *Ireland*. 472.52
Entreth *Ireland* with his forces. 473.56
Marrieth Lady *Eua*, *Dermots* daughter. 474.57
He winneth *Dublin*. 474.58
Gilbert Strongbow, Earle of *Strygil*. 448.32
Tho. Stukeley stiled Marquesse of *Ireland*. 861.52
Subsidie granted by the *Poll* of both Sexes occasion of mischiefe. 606.16
Subsidie denyed to King *Henry* the third. 538.69
Subsidie denyed to be paide. 773.52
Succession of the Crowne to a brother in what case. 557.
Suetonius Paulinus gouerneth *Britaine*. 197.7
His acts. 197.8, &c.
Hee prepareth against *Boudicea*. 199.17.
Suetonius Beatus a noble *Britain*. became a Christian. 204.9
The Sun in his brightnes badge of *Edward* Earle of *March* vpon what occasion. 684.92
Suffolke-men the first that aide Queene *Mary*. 842.5
Sumac a towne in *Poictou*, and name of a Familie. 421.2
Two Sunnes seene at once in the skie. 850.97
Fiue Sunnes or Parhelians appeare at once in the skie in *Aprill*. 529.37
Oath of Supremacy enacted, 792.111
A Surcoate of *British* Pearles. 187.11

Suria a Goddeſſe. 222
Earle of *Suſſex* his honourable carriage toward Lady *Elizabeth*. 848.51,52
Suthred K. of Eaſt-Saxons. 312.14
Expulſed by *Egbert*. *ibid.*
Siluer Swannes the Badge of Prince *Edward* ſonne to *Henry* the ſixt. 680.72
Sweating ſickneſſe. 837.65
Whence cauſed. *ibid.*
Swaine Earle *Goodwins* Sonne, for the ſlaughter of his brother *Beorn* goeth in Pilgrimage to *Ieruſalem*. 419.18
Coronel *Swart* ſlaine in the battell at *Stoke*. 743.22
Sweyne, or *Swaine*, ſonne of *Canutus* King of *Norway* conquered from Saint *Olaffe*. 403.21
Sweyne King of *Denmarke*, his deſcent. 409.9
Sweyne, or *Swaine* King of *Denmarke* enuadeth *England*. 394.17,18,19
Put to flight. 395.28
Sodainely ſtrucken, whereof he dyeth. 396.32
A Swine ſet vpon the Gate of *Ieruſalem*. 219.7
Swithelme King of Eaſt-Saxons, baptized. 311.7
Saint *Swithune*. 367.
Saint *Swythune* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*. 367.2
Syluеſter Giraldus Cambrenſis, when he flouriſhed. 164
Lambert Symnell erected as an Idoll againſt King *Henry* the ſeauenth. 742.13
Proclaimed and crowned K. of *England* at *Dublin*, as heire to *George* Duke of *Clarence*. 743.13.14.744.17
Lambert Symnell erected as Son to King *Edward* the fourth. 744.18
He with an Army landeth at *Fowdrey Pile* in *Lancaſhire*. *ibid.*
He with *Richard Simon* taken priſoner at *Stokefield*. 745.23
Lambert Symnell condemned to the Kings Kitchin, & became one of the Kings Falconers. *ibid.*
A Synode at *London* in the preſence of the two Kings, *Henries*, Father and Sonne. 477.82
The Canons thereof. *ibid.*
A Synode prouinciall holden at *Oxford* by *Stephen Langton* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. 522.13
A Synode at *Caſſils* for reformation of the Iriſh Church. 474.61
A Synode about celebration of Eaſter. 347.11

T

Claudius Tacitus elected Emperour. 250.3
After much entreaty. *ibid.*
His vertues. *ibid.*5
A great fauourer of learning, and learned men. *ibid.*
His raigne and death. *ibid.*6
Cornelius Tacitus his Bookes carefully preſerued. *ibid.*5
Iohn Lord *Talbot* firſt Earle of *Shrewesbury* ſent into *Gaſcoigne*. 678.60
Iohn Lord *Talbot* ſlaine with his Sonne Viſcount *Liſle*. *ibid.*
His commendation. *ibid.*
A famous warriour. 665.12
His ſword. *ibid.*
Sir *Gilbert Talbot* ioyneth with *Henry* Earle of *Richmond*. 734.47
Taliеſin a Briton Poet. 163.12
Tancred King of *Sicilie*. 484.18
Tania an addition to Countries. 159.7
Giuen by the Greekes. *ibid.*
Tanned Leather ſerueth for Armour. 742.12
Taniſtry law in *Ireland*, what it is. 863.42
Taporus. See *Magnetius*.
Tauеſtocke Abbey founded. 389.17
Taus Frith thoght to be *Tweed*. 157.5
Taximagul a King in *Kent*. 173.3
Temples of Mercy, *i.* Sanctuaries. 497.11
Temple Church in *London* dedicated. 478.89
The inſcription ouer the dore. *ibid.*
Templers aboliſhed throughout Chriſtendome. 568.12
Templers 54. with their great Maſter burnt at *Paris*. *ibid.*
Temporizing betweene K. *Edward* the fourth, and *Richard Neuill* the ſtout Earle of *Warwicke*. 690.26
Terah, the firſt recorded Idolater. 166.24
Terwin beſieged by King *Henry* the eight. 766.7
Wonne by the Engliſh. *ibid.*
Tetricus Emperour. 246.4
He commeth in vnder *Aurelius* his protection. 249.7
Tewkesbury field. 696.71
Thames Riuer fortified with ſtakes ſharpened, &c. 186.8
Thanet the Iſland inhabited by *Hengiſt* and *Horſa*. 291.1
Th. Thanie, Blewbeard, executed for treaſon. 675.46
Thaodiceus Biſhoppe of *London*, driuen into the deſerts of *Cornewall* and *Wales*. 207.20
Iaſper Theodor Earle of *Pembroke* Sonne to Sir *Owen Theodor*. 684.92
Sir *Owen Theodor* taken and beheaded. *ibid.*
Theobald Earle of *Bleſſis* in Arms againſt *Lewis* the French King. 449.36
Ayded by King *Henry* the firſt. *ibid.*
Theobald Earle of *Blois* layeth claime to *Normandy*. 457.8
Hee claimeth *England* alſo. *ibid.*10
Theobald Earle of *Blois*, holdeth with King *Henry* the ſonne, againſt King *Henry* the Father. 475.65
Theobald Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* refuſeth to conſecrate Prince *Euſtace* the ſon of K. *Stephen* for King. 463.42
Theodora the Chriſtian Virgin. 242.3
Theodoſius entreth into *Britaine*, and *London*. 270.5
Highly commended and beloued. 270.10
Theodoſius fellow-Emperor with *Valentinian* the younger. 272.3
Vanquiſhed the *Gothes*. *ibid.*4
After faſting and prayer miraculouſly obtaineth victory. 274.5
His death. 274.6
Theodoſius Emperour with *Valentinian* the younger, his vertues. 275.8
He ſubmitteth to the Church. *ibid.*
How hee ſuppreſſed choller. *ibid.*
His progeny, raigne, & age. 275.9
Theodoſius the ſecond, Emperour in the Eaſt. 278.
Gouerned vnder the Perſian King. 278.3
Theodoricke King of *Bernicia*. 315.6
Theodwald King of *Bernicia*. *ibid.*4
Theonus Biſhop of *Yorke* driuen into the deſerts of *Cornewall* and *Wales*. 207.20
Thira Wife to Earle *Goodwin*, her auarice & baſe marchandizing. 413.9
Killed with a thunderbolt. *ibid.*
Thirty vſurping tyrants or Emperours at once againſt *Galienus*. 246.4
Earle of *Tholouz* and his people hold of the Albigenſes. 525.21
Thomas the Holy an Engliſh Schoole in *Rome* rebuilt. 308.6
Thomas of *Brotherton* ſonne to King *Edward* the firſt. 564.71
His wiues and iſſue. *ibid.*
Thomas Earle of *Lancaſter* the greateſt ſubiect of *England* in King *Edward* the ſecond his dayes. 568.11
His wife ſtollen away, confeſſeth her incontinency. 570.30
Thomas Earle of *Lancaſter* and King *Edward* the ſecond at peace. 570.32
Cenſured. 571.42
Called in ſcorne K. *Arthur*, and whereupon. 572.42
Thomas of *Woodſtocke* his honours and vertues. 603.
Wilfull and obſtinate. *ibid.*
Murdered at *Cales*. *ibid.*
Entombed in *Weſtminſter*. *ibid.*
His Iſſue. *ibid.*
Thomas of *Woodſtocke* created Duke of *Glouceſter*. 612.56
His death conſpired. 614.68
Ouer-bold in checking his ſoueraigne. 618.96
Surpriſed and empriſoned. 619.99
Thomas Earle of *Lancaſter* taken priſoner. 571.39
Condemned of high treaſon, and beheaded. 571.40
Thomas Ratcliffe Earle of *Suſſex*, leadeth againſt the Earles of *Northumberland* & *Weſtmorland*, being in open rebellion. 868.68
S. *Thomas* Hoſpitall in *Southwarke* giuen to the City of *London*, with reuenewes. 840.139
Thor an Idoll of the Saxons. 290.8
Thored an Engliſh Duke did good ſeruice againſt the Danes. 397.40
George Thorne a Champion for *Thomas Paramour*. 876.135
Thracians come from *Tyras*. 162.6
Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton* arraigned for conſpiracy, & quit. 847.47
Francis Throgmorton his Treaſons. 877.90,91
Apprehended, confeſſeth his conſpiracy. 872.93
Thule, what Iland. 160.7
Thunder in a cleare skie. 469.98
Ominous to *Robert Deuereux* when he ſet forward to *Ireland*. 900.302
Thurſday, whence it ſeemeth to be named. 290.8
Thurſtan Archbiſhop of *Yorke* conſecrated by Pope *Calixt* againſt King *Henry* the firſt his command. 450.42
Enſtalled without ſubiection to *Canterbury*. *ibid.*
Baniſhed. 450.43
Thurſtan & *Feader* Collectors of Tribute, ſlaine. 407.7
Thyre King *Ethelreds* daughter, Wife to *Gormon* King of Danes. 372.12
Tiberius Cæſar his parents. 190.1
He murdereth *Agrippa*. *ibid.*
His tyranny. 190.2
He ſought to conuert the nobility. *ibid.*
His Hypocriſie. 190.3
His libidinouſneſſe. *ibid.*
His Epicuriſme. *ibid.*
Termed *Biberius Nero*. *ibid.*
Careleſſe in State gouernement. 191.
His raigne and death. *ibid.*6
His perſon and bodily endowments. *ibid.*
Times motions of three ſeuerall parts. 163.14
Timothy his hereſie. 277.10
Tinne plentifull in Britaine. 168.9
Iohn Tiptoft Earle of *Worceſter*, Lieutenant of King *Edward* the fourth in *Ireland*, beheaded. 693.53
Tirell killeth King *William Rufus* in *New-Forreſt*. 443.40
Iames Tirell King *Richard* the third his inſtrument to murder King *Edward* the fourth his ſonnes. 727.16
His parts. *ibid.*17
Knighted for ſeeing King *Edward* the fift and his brother murdred. 727.19
Executed at Tower-hill for treaſon. 727.20
Titulus King of the Eaſt-Angles, his raigne. 326.2
Titus Veſpaſian made Emperour without all contradiction. 212.1
The darling and delight of Mankinde. *ibid.*
His heroicall vertues. *ibid.*
His youth, how employed. 212.2
His Coine. 213.2
His faults. 212.4
His repentance at his death. *ibid.*
His gouernement. 212.7
His vertues. *ibid.*
His age, raigne, and death by poyſon. *ibid.*
Togodumnus a Britiſh Prince ſlaine in a bloudy battel 175,9.194.8.
Tomyris the valiant Sythian Queene. 249.5
Toſto depriued of the Earledome of *Northumberland*. 413.7
Cruell to his brother *Harolds* ſeruants. 413.7
He

He assaileth the coasts of *England*. 415.19
Iames Touchet Lord *Audley*, slaine. 680.72
Iames Touchet, alias *Tuichet* L. *Audley* Captaine of the Cornish in Rebellion. 754.46
Executed. *ibid.*47
Tower of *London* founded. 430.41
Walled about. 441.31
The battell at *Towton* on *Palmsunday*. 687.7
Traian Emperour. 217.
His Coine. *ibid.*
His descent and praise. 217.1
Hee raised the Romans Empire to the highest glory. 217.2
Persecuteth Christians. *ibid.*
Massacreth the Iewes. 217.3
His death. 217.4
His portraiture and description. 217.5
Traile-Baston, Iusticiars what they were. 551.46
Translation of the New Testament into English by *Tindal*. 784.86
Traitors excuted. 874.11
Cn. Trebelius Lieutenant in *Britaine*. 218.3
Trebellius Maximus Lieutenant Generall in *Britaine*. 200.24
He sideth with *Vitellius*. 208.3
Trinobantes submit to *Cæsar*. 186.8
Robert Trisilian Lord Chiefe Iusticiar of *England*. 610.47
Executed at Tiburne. 616.78
Triumph in *London*, and about, for defeating the Spanish inuincible Armado. 889. *&c.*
Triumuirate erected betweene *M. Antonius*, *Æmilius Lepidus* and *Octauianus*. 188.2
Triumuirs of *England*, three *Richards*, *Yorke*, *Warwicke*, and *Salisbury*. 680.72
Andrew Trolope a valiant Captaine drawne to be a *Yorkist*. 680.73
He abandoneth the *Yorkists*. 681.74
Trophees in *London* erected, stood long vnfinished, by reason of the plague. 912.9
Truce betweene *England* and *Scotland*, vpon what points. 831.43
Truce for 12. moneths between *England* and *France*. 617.29
Truce betweene the Kings of *England* and of *Scotland*. 581.35
Truce betweene *Philip de Valois*, and K. *Edward* the third, in the question of little *Britaine*. 586.70
Truce betweene King *Stephen* and Prince *Henry Fitz-Empresse*. 463.45
Truce or peace betweene *Lewis* the French King, and the two KK. *Henries* of *England*, father and sonne. 476.
Articles thereof. *ibid.*79
Truce betweene King *Richard* the first, and the *Saladine* for three yeeres. 487.39
Truce betweene *Philip* the *French* King, and *Henry* the third King of *England*. 522.12
Truce for three yeeres betweene *England* and *France* in King *Henry* the 3. his time. 527.29
Truce betweene *England* and *France* concluded at *Burges*, preiudiciall to the *English*. 600.148
Trumpetters commanded to sound before King *Offa* and his successors. 362.8
Sir *William Trussel* a Iudge, in behalfe of the Realme renounceth all homage and alleageance to King *Edward* the second. 564.74
Tufa what it is. 263.8
Tufa or *Thuuf* the *Roman* Standard. 351.8
Iames Tuichet. See *Touchet*.
A Tunne of Tennis balles sent from the *Daulphin* of *France*, to *Henry* the fift King of *England*. 640.25
How it was promised to bee repaied. *ibid.*
Tunis in *Africke* built out of the ruines of *Carthage*. 522.2
Besieged by King *Lewis* of *France*. *ibid.*
The siege raised vpon Capitulations. 553.3
The Turkish Ensigne. 489.57
Turkes come from *Togorma*. 162.6
Turkish Empire of a meane beginning. 170.14
Turkil a Leader of the *Danes*. 395.29
Protecteth the *English* for pay. 396 31.32
Turlogh Leinigh vsurpeth the title of *O-Neale*. 880.150
A tyrant to his neighbours the *Irish*. *ibid.*151
Turney besieged by King *Henry* the eight. 767,10
Wonne by the *English*. *ibid.*
The strength of *Turney*. *ibid.*
Yeelded to King *Henry* the eight. *ibid.*
Deliuered vpon composition to the French. 769.29
Tydders or *Tiders* after three descents English, and fiue Princes now vanished. 758.61

V

Valdenses. See *Albigenses*.
Valens partner in the Empire with *Valentinian*. 271.
His death. 271.14
Valentia the name of *Britaine*. 160,8.270,9.
Valentine rebelleth against *Theodosius*. 270.7
Put to death. *ibid.*
Valentinian elected Emperour. 269.1
His death, age and raigne. 271.22
His birth and parentage. 269.2
A Christian. *ibid.*
His personage and vertues. 271.13
His defects. *ibid.*12
Valentinian the elder, marrieth *Faustine* during the life of *Seuera* his owne wife. 272.2
Valentinian the yonger, Emperour with his brother *Gracian*. *ibid.*1
Strangled in his bed. 273.10
His raigne and age. *ibid.*
Valentinian the third Emperour in the West. 279.3
His descent. *ibid.*4
Valerianus Emperour. 244.1
His descent. *ibid.*2
A protector of Christians at first. *ibid.*
Taken prisoner by *Sapores*, King of *Persia*. *ibid.*3
His miserable seruitude. *ibid.*
Cruelly tortured and murthered by *Sapores*. *ibid.*4 *&c.*
His raigne and age. 244.5
Vandals sent to inhabite *Britaine*. 255.2
Vandals infest *Denmarke* in the absence of King *Canutus*. 401.9
Variance betweene *England* and *France*. 770.35
Varronianus a very infant declared *Cæsar*. 268.5
L. *Vauclere* Deputy of *Callais* vnder *Richard Nenill* Earle of *Warwicke* impeacheth his landing. 692.41
Taxed for playing with both hands. *ibid*
Bastard of *Vaurus* hanged on a tree which himselfe had named *Vaurus*. 659.76
Vbsola the Saxons Temple all of gold. 290.8
Vectius Bolanus Deputy in *Britaine*. 209.7
Vesturiones Easterne Picts. 269.4
Vellocatus Paramour to *Cartismandua*. 196.20
His Coine. *ibid.*
Iohn de Vere Earle of *Oxford* surprised S. *Michaels* Mount, against K. *Edward* the fourth 698.85
Streightly imprisoned in *Normandy*. *ibid.*
Iohn de Vere Earle of *Oxford*, ioyneth with *Henry* Earle of *Richmond*, and in great fauour with him now King. 733.40
Robert de Vere Marquesse of *Dublin* and the first in *England*. 612.56
Duke of *Ireland*. 613.65
Dyeth in *Brabant*, exiled. 616.82
Buried in *Colin* Priory. 618.92
Robert Vere Earle of *Oxford*, &c. forsaketh his wife *Philippa*, and marrieth *Lancerona*. 612.55
His banishment and death in penury. *ibid.*
Vernoil battell in *Perth*. 664.7
Verulamium, or *Verolamium* a famous Citie neere the place where S. *Albans* standeth. 198.
Sacked by the *Iceni*. 198.
L. *Verus* allociate to M. *Aurelius* in the Empire. 221.2
His Coine. *ibid.*
He persecuteth the Christians. *ibid.*
Vespasian his rising, and by what Abbettors. 209.3
Succeedeth *Vitellius* in the Roman Empire. 210.1
His worth. *ibid.*
His originall. *ibid.*2
His imployment in youth. *ibid.*3
Chosen Emperor by the *Mesian* Souldiers. 210.5
Proclaimed Emperour at *Cesaria* and *Alexandria*. 211.6
A great scourge of God against the Iewes. *ibid.*15
His peaceable death. *ibid.*
His endowments of body. *ibid.*16
His vertues. *ibid.*
His valiant seruitein *Britain*. 194.6
Rescued by his sonne *Titus*. *ibid.*7
Vetranio Proclaimed Emperour. 262.2
Vffa first King of the East-Angles. 326.2
Vffines who they were. *ibid.*
Robert Vfford Earle of *Suffolke*, taken prisoner by the French. 585.55
Vicount de Melun bewrayeth the Frenchmens intended treachery. 516.60
Victory at Sea against the French. 585.56
Victorinus. See *Aurelius*.
Victorinus a Moore his stratagem. 252.8
Victorinus Lieutenant in *Britaine*. 276.8
Villa Franca sacked by the English. 897.284
Iulius Vindex opposeth *Nero*. 200.24
Virgil the Poet alludeth to the vniuersall peace when Christ was borne. 189.6
He alludeth to the birth of Christ. *ibid.*
Virgins eleuen thousand sent with *Vrsula* into *Armorica*, cast away at sea, and perished. 280.9
In *Virginea* a Colony of *Britaines* seated. 157.13
Virius Lupus President in *Britaine*. 228.3
Hil-Vites. i. *Heluetians*. 287.9
Vitellius how hee came to bee Emperour. 208.3
Glad of *Otho* his death. 209.1
His magnificent entrance into *Rome*. *ibid.*2
His descent diuersly reported. *ibid.*3
His father in great fauor with former Emperours. *ibid.*
His excessiue gluttony and expences. 209.4
His raigne and ignominious death. 209.8
His age. 210.9
His person. *ibid.*10
Libelled against by Astrologers. *ibid.*8
Vlster spoyled. 903.327
Vlysses his Alter in *Caledonia*. 160,7. 168,9.
Whether he visited *Britaine*? 168.9
Sir *Robert Umfreuile* discomfiteth the *Scots*. 640.28
Underwood betrayeth his Master the Duke of *Suffolke* in Astley Parke. 844.22
Vnion treated of at *Bloys* for the French State. 893.248.
Vnion of England and Scotland before-time attempted but effected by King *Iames*. 911.3
Voabdelis King of *Granada*, looseth it. 758.62
Vodine Archbishop of *London* reproueth King *Vortigern*. 292.8
It cost him his life. *ibid.*
Vologeses a Persian Prince. 197.6
Volusenus Iul. Cæsars spie in *Britaine*. 183.2
Volusianus Emperour with his father *Treb. Gallus*. 242.4
His Coine. *ibid.*
Vortigern K. of *Britaine*. 329.1
His

His raigne full of troubles. *ibid.*
Choſen King by the *Britaines* to repell the common Enemy. 282.6
His deſcent. *ibid.*
Sendeth for the Saxons. *ibid.*
Why he ſent for the Saxons. *ibid.*
Giueth himſelfe to ſenſuality. 291.3
Enamoured of *Rowena* and weddeth her. 291.4
Hee marrieth his owne daughter by *Rowena*. 330.
Depoſed by the *Britaines* his owne ſubiects. 292.8
Depoſed and impriſoned. 330.
Reſtored to the Crowne. *ibid.* 11
Taken priſoner. 292.12
He flyeth into *Wales*. 293.14
His Caſtle in *Wales*. *ibid.*
Burnt with his inceſtuous wife in his Caſtle. 293.15
His iſſue. 330.
Vortimer choſen King by the *Britaines* in lieu of his father *Vortigern*. 292,9.330.
Poiſoned by *Rowena*. 292.10 330.
A valiant Prince. 330.
Vortimers battailes in what places fought. 330.2
Vortimers Monument. 331.
Vortiporius King of the *Britaines*. 337.
Gildas his cenſure of him. *ibi.*
Vrbane the Pope raiſeth warre for the *Holy-land*. 440.26
Pope *Vrbane* the fift laboureth to vnite the Kings of *England* and *France*, againſt the common Enemy of Chriſtendome. 599.141
Vſkfren King *Edwins* ſonne. 352 10
Vſurers called *Caurſini* heere in *England*. 532.52
Vſurers not knowne in *London*. 533.53
Vſurpers of the Weſt Empire. 246.
With their monies. 245.246. 3
Vter-Pendragon King of *Britaine* 332.
His victory. *ibid.*
In loue with Lady *Igren*. *ibid.*
How he obtained her. 333.
Poyſoned and buried in *Stoncheng*. *ibid.*
Why ſurnamed *Pendragon*. *ibid.*
A valiant Captaine of the *Britaines*. 292.15
Vtred forſaketh Prince *Edmund* and ſubmitteth to *Canutus*. 397.37
Vulfere Monarch of the *Engliſh*. 356.

VV

BAttaile of *Wakefield*. 683.89
A Wall in *Britaine* from *Tine* to *Carleil*. 220.2
A Wall made by *Seuerus* from Sea to Sea. 229.8
A Wall deuiſed by the *French* for the inuaſion of *England*. 613.61
Walbrooke in *London* whence it tooke name. 255.9
Wales ruled by Engliſh Lawes and Officers. 558.15
Wales Princes do homage vnto *William Conquerour*. 430. 37
Wales by whom firſt faſtened to the Crowne of *England*. 517. 63
Let out to ferme. 541 78
Walker a Citizen and Grocer of *London* beheaded for words bearing a double conſtruction. 687.4
William Wallace, alias *Wallais*, executed. 551.47
Wallingford Caſtle beſieged by King *Stephen*. 463.43
Wallo the Popes Legate his good ſeruice for expulſion of *Lewis* and the *French*. 519.2
Our Lady of *Walſingham* and of *Ypſwich*, with other Images burnt. 790.100
Waltham in *Eſſex* named *Holy-Croſſe* by King *Harold*. 414. 12
Waltheof Earle of *Northampton* diſcouereth a conſpiracy and looſeth his head. 430.34 36
His great eſtate. *ibid.*
Walter Deuereux Earle of *Eſſex*, his expedition vnto *Vlſter* and his vntimely death. 880. 54
Walther Biſhop of *Couentrey*, only allowed King *Edward* the ſecond, his affection to *Piers de Gaueſton*. 568 11
William Walworth Maior of *London* killeth *Wat Tyler*. 607. 22
Knighted and endowed with Lands by King *Richard* the ſecond. 607.25
Wannes ditch how called before time. 345.6
Wark Caſtle raiſed by the Queene of *Scots*. 632.83
Wark Caſtle beſieged by the *Scots*. 773.49
Iohn de Warren Earle, *Cuſtos* of *Scotland*. 559.33
Iohn de Warren Earle of *Surrey*, killeth *Alen le Zouch* Lord Chiefe Iuſticiar in *Weſtminſter* Hall. 550.105
Warren Earle taketh part with *Stephen* againſt the Nobles. 460.26
Warhams ſpeech to the Duke of *Burgunay* to ouerthrow *Perkin Warbecke* his faigned Title. 751.36
Warres in all parts of the Empire. 269.2
Earle of *Warwicke* condemned of high treaſon and baniſhed. 619.101
Counterfeit Earle of *Warwicke*, in King *Henry* the ſeauenth his time hanged. 757.59
Earle of *Warwicke* deſigned to die. 758.60
See more in *Edward Plantagenet* laſt male of that houſe. 758.61
William Wallace a leader of outlawes in *Scotland*, driueth *William Ormeſby*, King *Edward* the firſt his Iuſticiar in *Scotland* out of *Scotland*. 558. 32
Hee putteth to flight *Iohn Warren* Earle of *Surrey*, and the *Engliſh* forces. 559.33
Wat Tyler his rebellion. 607.20
The Idoll of Clownes. *ibid.*
Slaine in *Smithfield*. 507.21
Watches of the night foure. 184
Waters or bourne burſting out of the earth. 698.85
Waterford, alias *Porthlago* wonne by *Richard Strongbow*. 473.56
Watſon a Prieſt condemned for treaſon and executed. 913. 15
Weare or *Ware* fortreſſe built by the *Danes*. 338.23
Iohn Weathamſted, Abbot of Saint *Albans* when he wrote. 164.
Hee diſproueth the diſcourſe or narration of *Brute*. *ibid.*
Weights and meaſures who firſt ordained and ſetled. 517.63
Wels Cathedrall Church founded. 307.11
A Well of blood in *Barkeſhire*. 448.30
Sir *Robert Wels*, ſonne to the Lord *Wels*, raiſeth a Commotion in *Lincolnſhire*. 692.39
Taken & beheaded. 692.40
Wellesbourne a family in *England* whence deſcended. 518. 70
Lord *Welles* beheaded. 592. 34
Welſhmen come from *Cimbrica Cherſoneſus*. 161.
Welſhmen reſiſt King *Stephen*. 456.6
Welſh hoſtages hanged at *Nottingham* for their fathers diſloyalty to King *Iohn*. 509. 45
Welſh Lords in Armes ſoone repelled by King *Henry* the third. 522.12
Welſh in Armes againe in King *Henry* the third his dayes. 526 25
Welſh riſe in Armes for oppreſſion. 544.88
Their reſolution in defence of liberties. *ibid.*
Welſh voluntary aide againſt *Scotland*. 558.29
Welſhmen in Armes againſt King *Henry* the firſt ſubdued. 448.32
Welſh tumults. 450.43
Lord *Wenlocke* ſlaine by *Edmund* Duke of *Somerſet* for not following him at the battell of *Tewkesbury*. 696.71
William de Warren firſt Earle of *Surrey*. 436.75
Lord *Wentworth* late Deputy of *Callis* arraigned for the loſſe of *Callis*. 859.9
Wereburg a Nunne in *Ely*. 321. 6
A profeſſed Virgin. 357.9
Saint *VVereburgs* the Cathedrall Church in *VVeſtcheſter* built. *ibid.*9
Robert VVeſtbrome an Arch Rebell in *Suffolke* ſtiled King of the Commons there. 607. 20
VVeſtminſter Abbey Church newly founded by K. *Henry* the third. 522.11
VVeſtminſter Church enlarged and enriched. 431.1
VVeſtminſter Hall built. 441.31 312.12
The Eaſt part of it re-built. 441.31
Weſtminſter Statutes firſt enacted 554.10
VVeſtminſter Chappell built. 763. 73
Firſt by King *Edward* the 3. and enlarged by King *Henry* the 7. 601.154
Weſt-Saxons Kingdome. 309
The circuit thereof. *ibid.*2
Wethercocke or Eagle of *Pauls* Church blowne downe by tempeſt. 762.70
White roſe, a title giuen to *Katherine Gordon*, *Perkin Warbeckes* wife. 756.51
Thomas VVeyland Lord Chiefe Iuſtice ſeuerely puniſhed. 558.17
VVeyſford in *Ireland* rendred and giuen to *Robert Fitz-Stephen*. 473.56
It reteineth ſtill Engliſh attire and language. *ibid.*55
VVeyſford ſpeech. *ibid.*
VVhorwell Abbey founded. 389. 17
Whoremongers and adulterers, yea, and Sodomites beſide. 791.
Whoremongers in S. *Auguſtines Chicheſter*, and the Cathedrall Church, one whereof had 13. Whores. *ibid.*
Whoremongers in Winſor Caſtle, *Shulbred* Monaſtery, *Briſtow*, *Mayden-Beadly*, *Bathe* Monaſtery, *Abbington* Monaſtery, and *Bermondſey* Abbey, where the Prior was called the Bull of *Bermondſey*, and had 20. Whores. 791.
Sir *Thomas VViat* his conſpiracy and rebellion. 844.
His Proclamation againſt Queene *Maries* marriage with *Philip* the ſecond King of *Spaine*. 844. 28
His demaunds. 845. 35
How anſwered by Sir *Edward Haſtings*. 845. 35
He marcheth towards *London*. 846.38
He and his company ſpoile *VVincheſter* houſe. *ibid.*
He remooueth from *Southwarke* to *Kingſton* vpon *Thames*. 846.40
He paſſeth the *Thames*. *ibid.*
Commeth to *Ludgate*. 847. 42
Yeeldeth to *Clarentieux*. 847.45
Beheaded on Tower-Hill. 847.46
VVibba King of the *Mercians*, his iſſue, raigne, and death. 321.2
Wiccingi a company of *Danes*. 374.17
VVillam VVickham Biſhop of Wincheſter hath the Broad-Seale giuen vnto him. 616. 81
Iohn VVickliffe of *Oxford* the lampe to many Noble Diuines. 207. 22
His doctrine ſpreadeth, and is embraced in *England* in King *Richard* the ſecond his time. 622. 117
Approued eſpecially by the Vniuerſitie of *Oxford*. *ibid.*
Oppoſeth the Church of *Rome* at *Oxford*. 600. 152
His followers called *Lolards*. *ibid.*
Iohn Wickcliffe calumniated and defended. 622. 118
He dyeth of a palſie. *ibid.*
His ſlanderous Epitaph, deuiſed by a Monke *ibid.*
The principall points of his doctrine. *ibid.*
His books condemned as hereticall. 642. 35

Wickliuians burnt and ſtrangled. 638.15
Widomare Viſcount of *Limoges* findeth an hoard of gold and ſiluer. 491.68
Part thereof ſent by him to King *Richard* the firſt, is not well accepted. *ibid.*
Wight Iſle ſurpriſed by the French. 605.3
Wight Iſle, why ſo named. 287.9
Wigtred, or *Withred* King of *Kent*, his raigne and death. 298.11
Blacke-Will, alias *Will. Slaughter*, appointed to ſerue Prince *Edward* the fift, and his brother. 727.18
Ralph Wilford a counterfeite Earle of *Warwicke* in K. *Henry* the ſeauenth his time, hanged. 757.59
William de Wilford a valiant Sea-Captaine his exployts and prizes. 630.39
William a promoting calumniator of great men to the King hanged. 535.60
Wilfride Biſhoppe of *Selſie*. 311.3
His ſpeech as touching celebration of *Eaſter*. 348.
William of *Malmesbury*, when he wrote. 163.13
William of *Newborough*, when he liued. 163.16
Hee enueigheth againſt *Geffrey ap Arthur*. 164.18
With what deuiſe it is put by. *ibid.*
William Long-Eſpee, 2. Duke of *Normandy* his parentage 423.21
After Baptiſme, named *Robert*. *ibid.*
Murdered through the practiſe of *Lewis* the French King. *ibid.*
William Long-Eſpee firſt naturall ſonne of *Henry* the ſecond by *Roſamond*. 481.111
His marriage, iſſue, death & buriall. *ibid.*
William Aluery cruelly whipped and hanged guiltleſſe. 440.23
William of *Ance* for conſpiring *William Rufus* his death, bereft of eye-ſight and virility. *ibid.*
William Earle of *Mortaigne* taken priſoner. 447.21
William Ypres created Earle of *Kent*. 461.35
He and his Flemings fauoured of King *Stephen*. 457.13
Embattelleth againſt his Peeres. 460.26
William de Ypres true to King *Stephen*. 460.29
William Long-champe Chancellour of *England* for his infinite Tyranny thruſt out of the Realme by *Iohn Sans terre*. 486.36
Biſhop of *Ely* Viceroy; or Prince and Prieſt in *England*, in King *Richard* the firſt his abſence. 483.10
William eldeſt ſonne to K. *Henry* the firſt, created Duke of *Normandy*. 448.34
His death and buriall. 452.62
William Sonne of *Robert Curtoiſe* to be poſſeſſed of *Normandy*. 449.36
Hee weddeth *Sibyll* daughter of *Foulke* Earle of *Anion*. 450.44
Poſſeſſed of the Earldome of *Flanders*. 451.50
His great valour. *ibid.*52
He dyeth of a ſmall wound. *ibid.*
William de Tracie a ſixt baſe ſon of King *Henry* the firſt. 453.71
William a third ſonne of King *Stephen* conſpireth againſt *Henry Fitz-Empreſſe*. 464.48
He breaketh his legge. *ibid.*
His Wife, honors and death. 464.53
William a naturall ſonne of king *Stephen*. 464.56
Prince *William* King *Henry* the firſt his ſonne, weddeth the daughter of *Foulke* Earle of *Anion*. 439.39
Doth homage to King *Lewis* of *France* for *Normandy* 449.62
Drowned in the ſea with his brethren, his ſiſter, and many Gallants. 449.40
His pitty to his ſiſter coſteth him his life. *ibid.*
William the ſon of *Robert* Duke of *Normandy*, afterwards the Conquerour, committed to the tuition of Earle *Gilbert*, and protection of *Henry* the firſt King of *France*, during his minority. 423.27
His ſtratagem to eſcape from *Henry* the French King. 424.31
He enioyeth the Dukedome of *Normandy*. *ibid.*
His Embaſſage to King *Harold* for the Crowne of *England*. 414.14
His claime thereto. 414.16
Hee prepareth for *England*. 416.29
He is Conquerour and Monarch of *England*. 425.
His Armes, Broad-Seale, and Coine. *ibid.*
Crowned at *Weſtminſter*. 426.5
His Seales inſcription. 428.20
Hee fortifieth againſt inuaſions. 426.5
Saileth ouer into *Normandy*. 426.9
His pollicy to weaken the Engliſh. 427.17
His rigorous dealing with the Engliſh his Subiects. 428.18
He putteth downe learning. 428.19
Sworne to keepe K. *Edward* the Confeſſors lawes. *ibid.*23
Wounded in fight, & vnhorſed by his owne ſonne *Robert Curtoiſe*. 430.40
He oppreſſeth the Engliſh, & maketh their name reprochfull. 431.43
His depopulations. *ibid.*46
He inuadeth *France*, & burneth *Meux*, or *Mauntz*. 432.52
His laſt Will and Teſtament. *ibid.*53
His laſt ſpeeches at the point of death. 433.54
The whole race of his life, portrayed by himſelfe. *ibid.*
King *William* the Conquerour his workes of Deuotion. *ibid.*
His counſell to his children. *ibid.*
The diſpoſe of his States. *ibid.*
His Legacy to *Henry* his ſon. 433.55
His death. 434.56
His dead Corps forſaken of all. *ibid.*
His Herſe abandoned of all. 434.57
Buriall place denied him vntill it was bought. *ibid.*
Enterred with a foule ſtench. *ibid.*
His deſcription for lineaments and qualities. 434.59
He nameth himſelfe in a charter, *Baſtardus*. 434.61
King *William Rufus* ſonne to King *William* the Conqueror, why ſo called. 436.7
Pleaſing to his father. *ibid.*
His Broad-Seale, Armes and Coine. 437.
Crowned King of *England*. 437.2
His pollicy to winne the peoples hearts againſt *Robert Curtoiſe* his brother. 438.7
Compoundeth with his brother *Robert* for the Crown of *England*. 438.9
A cunning Time-ſeruer. 438.10
His looſe gouernment and couetous graſping. 438.11
He inuadeth *Normandy*. 438.12
Ouerthrowne in a Sally. 439.13
He preferreth the Knight that ouerthrew him. *ibid.*
Hee and *Malcombe* King of Scots enter league. 439.16
In ſickneſſe hee repenteth, & voweth newneſſe of life. 439.19
He ſoone repenteth of his repentance. 440.20
His exactions. 440.26,&c.
His magnanimity. 441.31
King *William Rufus* his valorous reſolutions in war. 441.33
His ſonne killed in *New-forreſt*. 431.
Oppoſeth againſt the Popes authority in *England*. 441.33
Denyeth allegeance to the Pope. 442.34
Denyeth the Popes power *Ligandi & ſoluendi*. 442.35
Againſt praying to Saints. *ibi.*
His pride and couetouſneſſe vntruely taxed by ſome Writers. 442.36,37
His incontinency. 442.38
In his time ſtrange accidents. 442.39
Slaine in *New-forreſt*. 443.40
Enterred in *Wincheſter*. *ibid.*
His raigne. *ibid.*
His perſon. 441.41
Why named *Rufus*. *ibid.*
His workes of deuotion. *ibid.*
William King of *Scotland* a faſt friend to King *Richard* the firſt. 483.13
Hee inuadeth and waſteth *Northumberland*. 476.73
Taken priſoner. 476.76
Compoundeth for his ranſome. 477.80
Sir *Iohn Williams* Lord *Tame*, ioyned with Sir *Henrie Benifield* in commiſſion for the keeping of Lady *Elizabeth* after Queene of *England*. 849.61
His durifull loue to her. *ibid.*
Richard Williams a Traitor executed. 875.119
Wilmot a notorious rouer. 394.22
Wilnoth King *Harolds* ſonne releaſed out of priſon. 437.1
Wilton Battaile wonne by *Danes*. 373.3
Wilton fired. 462.39
Winburne Nunnery built. 317.13
Winchcombe Monaſtery founded 322.13
Winchcombe Abbey Church built. 364.3
In *Wincheſter* the tearme kept. 912.11
Wincheſter Cathedrall Church founded. 322.8
Wincheſter houſe in *Southwarke* ſpoyled by *Wyat*. 486.39
Wincheſter ſacked by Danes. 370.2
Winds in *London*. 442.39
Wine made in *Britaine*. 252.8
Sir *Iohn Wingfield*, or *Winkfield*, ſlaine in *Cadiz*. 896.276
Thomas Winter ſent into *Spaine* to negotiate with King *Philip* the ſecond to ſend an Army for the Engliſh Catholikes. 915.33
Wiphandun, alias *Wimbledon* field. 297.5
Wisbich Caſtle built. 429.28
Withgar-birg in the Iſle of *Wight*. 305.2
Withburgh daughter of King *Anna*, a Menchion or minchin in *Ely* Abbey. 327.7
Withlafe by intruſion King of *Mercia*. 323.18
His Iſſue. *ibid.*
Withindus a writer of the Britiſh Hiſtory. 282.7
Woden a Prince, eſteemed by the Saxons a God. 287.12
Wodens fiue ſonnes, their names and ſeigniories. 287.13
Woden worſhipped by the Saxons for *Mercury*. 289.7
Woden an Idoll of the Saxons, how portrayed. *ibid.*8
Wodneſday, or *Wedneſday*, why ſo termed. *ibid.*
Wolfhild a Nunne carnally abuſed by King *Edgar*. 387.11
Thomas Wolſey King *Henry* the eight his Almoner, made Biſhop of *Turney*. 767.10
His birth, and riſing, &c. 768.23
Entertained in Court. 769.25
Cardinall and *Legate a latere*. *ibid.*26
Lord Chancellor of *England*. *ibid.*27
Biſhop of ſeuen Biſhopricks. *ibid.*
His accuſatory ſpeech againſt *Girald Fitz Girald* Earle of *Kildare*. 774.56
His pompous Embaſſage into *France*. 779.67
Excuſed by K. *Henry* the eight for ſuing diuorce with *Katherine* of *Spaine*. 780.70
His ſpeech to Queen *Katherine*. 781.73
Thomas Wolſey Cardinall, beginneth to decline. 781.74
The cauſe thereof. *ibid.*76
His greatnes & ſtate. *ibid.*75
Found in a *Præmunire*. *ibid.*
Arreſted by the Earle of *Northumberland*. *ibid.*76
His death and buriall. *ibid.*

He

Hee suppresseth forty Monasteries for his Colledges. 782. 77

Wolstan a sainted Bishop of *Worcester* true to king *William Rufus*. 437.

Wolues paid for tribute out of *Wales*, and so destroyed. 387. 5

Women employed in warres. 170.2

Women gouerne and leade armies in *Britaine*, and elsewhere. 199.19

Women inherite their Fathers possessions by the law of God. 542.19

Sir *Roger Woodhouse* inhumanely dealt with by *Ket* and his Rebels. 832.34

Lord *Wooduile* assisteth *Francis* Duke of *Britaine* against *Charles* the French King, & is slaine. 746.24

Richard Wooduile Earle of *Riuers* espouseth the Dutchesse Dowager of *Bedford*, sister to the Earle of S. *Paul*. 671.33

Richard Wooduile Earle of *Riuers* with his sonne *Anthony Wooduile* taken prisoners at *Sandwich* by the *Yorkists*. 681.76

Both of them surprised by Northerne Rebels, and beheaded. 691.35

Wooll rained from Heauen. 271.11

Woolstane Archbishop of *Yorke* sowing sedition is emprisoned, and released by King *Eadred*. 384.5

Worcester burnt. 407.7

World compared to a Cloake. 155.3

John Wraw a lewd Priest, a bellowes in time of *Wat Tyler*, and *Iacke Strawes* rebellion. 607.20

Christopher Wright sent into *Spaine* to signifie the death of Queene *Elizabeth*, and to prosecute inuasion of *England*. 916.35

Wriotheseley Lord Chancellour forward enough to persecute Gospellers. 793.114

Saint *Wulfald* his Colledge in *Stone*. 357.7

Wulfald Martyr, a Christian young Gentleman slaine by his Father *Wulfhere*. 357.7

Wulfere, or *Wulphere* King of *Mercia*, a noble Prince. 356. 2

His raigne, wife, and issue. *ibid.*

Wulfehere Monarch of the Englishmen. 356.

Killeth his two sonnes, whiles they were in diuine contemplation. 356.3

Wulfhere Monarch of the English, his repentance and conuersion. *ibid.*

Taxed for Simony. 357.3

His raigne. *ibid.*4

Wuller-Hampton, alias *Vlfrun-Hampton*, why so called. 402. 19

Wulpher, *Edilwalch* his Godfather. 301.3

Saint *Wystan* a Martyr. 323.19

X

XAincts in *Xaintoing*, reuolteth from the English. 536.65

Xenophon, a Physitian, of a large conscience. 196.22

Y

YEomen of the Guard first instituted. 741.9

Yorke Cathedrall Church built. 351.7

Yorke burnt by the *Danes*. 371. 3

Burnt by her owne Souldiers. 417.16

Edmund Yorke a traitor executed. 875.118

Rowland Yorke made Gouernour of *Zutphen*. 883.181

He selleth it traiterously vnto the *Spaniards*. *ibid.*

Yorkeshire commotion. 886.96

Yorkists repaire to King *Henry* the sixt with strong troupes. 679.68

Fly before the Lancastrians. 681.74

Diuers *Yorkists* attainted in Parliament of high Treason. 681.75

Yorkists send plausible Articles into *Kent* to seduce the people. 681.77

Ytene. See *New-Forrest*.

Z

ZElanders thankfulnesse to God for defeating the *Spanish* inuincible Armado. 880.228

Their new Coine & impresse vpon what occasion. *ibid.*

Zenobia a famous Lady. 246.4

Her warlike exploits. 246.4

Her Letter to *Aurelius* the Emperour. *ibid.*5

Vanquished and taken prisoner. 249.6

Her beauty, feature, and vertues. *ibid.*

Her studies of good Literature. 250.

Her high authority and repute. 249.

Zisca the scourge of Papacy. 642.36

Lost both his eies, yet his name terrible to his enemies. *ibid.*

Alan de Zouch Lord Chiefe Iusticiar slaine in *Westminster-Hall*. 550.105

Zutphen sold by *Rowland Yorke* to the *Spaniards*. 883.177

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